

“I Do Not Know How to Fulfill Those Demands”:

Rethinking Jesuit Missionary Efforts in *La Florida*, 1566-1572

by

Saber Gray

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Master of Liberal Arts  
Department of Florida Studies  
College of Arts and Sciences  
University of South Florida St. Petersburg

Major Professor: J. Michael Francis, Ph.D.  
Raymond Arsenault, Ph.D.  
Erica Heinsen-Roach, Ph.D.

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## ABSTRACT

Florida was the first Jesuit destination in the Spanish Americas. At the time of the enterprise (1566-1572), the Society of Jesus was under increasing pressure to provide Jesuits for both foreign missions and colleges. Jesuit correspondence and letters from Florida and Cuba officials reveal the regional nature of the Florida Jesuit enterprise and the colony's role within the Society as a whole. The Florida Jesuits moved frequently and freely between Florida and Cuba and planned to found a college in Havana to benefit both the children of Florida *caciques* and Havana residents. However, due to the lack of local support for the college and poor progress in the missions, the Florida Jesuits relocated to Mexico, where plans to found a college were already underway. Ultimately, the Jesuit experience in Florida influenced subsequent Jesuit enterprises in the Spanish Americas away from dangerous missions and towards educational institutions in urban areas.

## CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

In the summer of 1570, eight Jesuits, an Indian *cacique*<sup>1</sup>, and a young Spanish boy sailed from Santa Elena<sup>2</sup> to the Chesapeake to establish a new mission site. Father Juan Baptista de Segura, the Vice-Provincial<sup>3</sup> and leader of this Chesapeake mission, had insisted that he and his Jesuits undertake the new enterprise without the protection of Spanish soldiers. In the past, he argued, soldiers served only to antagonize mission natives, and the Father sought to avoid such obstacles in the Chesapeake. Furthermore, the Indian *cacique* don Luís had promised to protect the Jesuits and aid in conversion by acting as interpreter. Nine years prior to this expedition, a group of Spaniards and Dominicans had captured don Luís in the Chesapeake and brought him to Mexico where the *cacique* was baptized.<sup>4</sup> From Mexico, he travelled to Spain, where he received a Western education and later asked to return to the New World to aid in evangelization. It was the chance meeting between Vice-Provincial Baptista and don Luís in Havana that

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<sup>1</sup> *Cacique* is Spanish for “chief.” Spaniards in sixteenth-century Florida used it generically to refer to natives in political leadership positions.

<sup>2</sup> Santa Elena was located at present-day Parris Island, South Carolina.

<sup>3</sup> The highest member of the Society of Jesus was the Superior General, or simply called the General, whom his fellows elected at the General Congregations. The position was typically held until death. St. Ignatius was the first General, followed by Diego Laínez, and then Francisco de Borja, whose tenure (1565-1572) nearly exactly coincides with the Jesuit period in Florida. For this reason, when I use “the Superior General” or “General,” it is referring to Borja unless otherwise specified. The General appointed the Provincials, who were the heads of designated provinces that formed the “basic administrative unit[s]” of the Society. Vice-Provincials or Superiors, such as Father Juan Baptista de Segura, occupied the most local level of administration, John W. O’Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 51-3.

<sup>4</sup> The *cacique* took the name of his godfather, don Luís de Velasco, the governor of New Spain. Padre Juan de la Carrera, “Relación de la muerte del Padre Juan Baptista de Segura y sus compañeros en la florida y de toda aquella misión de la florida,” ARSI Hist. Soc. 177 (March 1, 1600), fol. 155v.

solidified the Father's idea to establish a mission in the Chesapeake. However, shortly after they arrived at the new mission site, don Luís abandoned the Jesuits, leaving them without a guide, interpreter or protector. In February 1571, after the Jesuits repeatedly tried to reconnect with the *cacique*, don Luís led a group of Indians against the missionaries, killing all eight of them except for the young Spanish boy Alonso, whom they spared and adopted. Spanish soldiers led by *Adelantado*<sup>5</sup> Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, along with the remaining Florida Jesuits, rescued the boy a year and a half later.<sup>6</sup>

The expedition to the Chesapeake, or Jacán, was the last Jesuit mission attempt in Florida, and they withdrew from the region in 1572.<sup>7</sup> Generally, Florida scholars overlook the Jesuits' brief six-year tenure, and those who address the period focus almost exclusively on the interactions between the Jesuits and Indians at the missions, citing either the obstinacy of the natives or the Chesapeake massacre as reason for the Society's decision to withdraw from Florida.<sup>8</sup> However, such a local focus ignores the goals of the Society as a whole and overlooks significant events occurring outside of Florida. An

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<sup>5</sup> *Adelantado* was a title granted by the monarch. An *adelantado* "underwrote the pacification and settlement of new lands in return for license to exploit them and the granting of titles, monopolies, revenues and lands." Eugene Lyon, "The Adelantamiento of Florida: 1565-1568" (Ph.D. diss., University of Florida, 1973), xiii.

<sup>6</sup> Ultimately, all versions of the Jesuit massacre are based on the young boy's account. Padre Juan de la Carrera, "Relación," fols. 155v-159; Padre Juan Rogel, "Relación de la misión de la florida," ARSI Mexico 19 (1607-1610), fols. 76r-77v.

<sup>7</sup> When I use the term Florida, I am referring to the sixteenth-century Spanish conception of *La Florida*, a territory that included whatever land they discovered approximately east of the Mississippi River.

<sup>8</sup> For instance, see Maria F. Wade, *Missions, Missionaries, and Native Americans: Long-Term Processes and Daily Practices* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2008); Nicholas P. Cushner, *Why Have You Come Here? The Jesuits and the First Evangelization of Native America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 31-48. Nicholas Cushner makes no mention of the Jesuit attempts to found a college in Havana, nor does he address the Jacán massacre. Rather, Cushner claims the Florida Jesuits were simply disillusioned with the local natives and the Society withdrew due to the few number of converts. Interestingly, in a review of Cushner's work, Charlotte Gradie criticizes Cushner's chapter on Florida, writing "it is surprising not to see my reference to the 1571-1572 Jesuit mission to Virginia [though this mission began in 1570 and ended with the Jesuit slaughter in 1571] . . . the massacre of the Jesuits at this mission on the York river was instrumental in the Jesuits' decision to pull out of Florida . . ." Charlotte M. Gradie, review of *Why Have You Come Here? The Jesuits and the First Evangelization of Native America*, by Nicholas P. Cushner, *History Faculty Publications*, Paper 5(2008): 3-4, accessed October 23, 2013, [http://digitalcommons.sacredheart.edu/his\\_fac/5](http://digitalcommons.sacredheart.edu/his_fac/5).

examination of the Society and Jesuit mission efforts outside of Florida points to tensions within the Society and to the interconnectivity of colonies.

At the time of the Florida enterprise, the Jesuit order was under increasing pressure to provide Jesuits for both foreign missions and colleges. Correspondence housed in the Jesuit archive in Rome and letters from Florida and Cuban officials in the *Archivo General de Indias* reveal the regional nature of the Florida Jesuit enterprise and the colony's role within the Society as a whole. The Florida/Cuba Jesuits did not view the two colonies as being mutually exclusive, thus they moved frequently between both places and planned to found a college in Havana to benefit both the children of Florida *caciques* and Havana residents. Therefore, this thesis stresses a regional view of the Florida Jesuit enterprise, one that would have fulfilled the Society's dual obligation of evangelization and education. However, due to the lack of local support for the college, the Florida/Cuba Jesuits were relocated to Mexico, where plans to found a college were already underway. Ultimately, the tie between Florida and Cuba, and the Society's internally divisive commitment to both evangelization and education provide a more compelling explanation than previous arguments for the Jesuit withdrawal from Florida.

For instance, the year after the Chesapeake mission at Jacán, Jesuit Father Juan Rogel travelled to Jacán with *Adelantado* Menéndez and others to discover what had happened to the missionaries and to rescue the boy Alonso. When Father Rogel arrived at Jacán, he was surprised to see that the Chesapeake Indian population appeared dense and sedentary, unlike previous native populations he had encountered in Florida. He then remarked in a letter to the Superior General of the Jesuit Order, Father Francisco Borja, that he would gladly resume the missionary efforts of the Jesuits who had been killed the



year before, for it seemed that converting a dense and sedentary population would be less difficult than Christianizing the nomadic Indians that the Jesuits had encountered in the south.<sup>9</sup>

Clearly then, at least for Rogel, the massacre at Jacán afforded no reason to abandon the mission enterprise in Florida. In fact, before the Superior General of the Society learned of the Jacán massacre, he had already directed the provincial of the new Jesuit mission in New Spain (Mexico), Father Pedro Sánchez, to visit Florida on his way to New Spain. In Florida he was to consult with the Florida Jesuits and determine whether or not Havana could support a Jesuit college and to decide whether the Society should continue its efforts in the province or consolidate in Mexico.<sup>10</sup>

If General Borja did not know about the Jacán massacre when he instructed Provincial Sánchez to investigate the viability of the Florida enterprise, why did he begin to doubt its utility? To understand the Jesuit abandonment of Florida, one must analyze the event from three perspectives. One, and the most popular in the historiography, is from a local mission level, which includes the experiences of the Jesuits on the ground in

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<sup>9</sup> Here Father Rogel seems to be contrasting the natives of Jacán with those of Orista. Padre Juan Rogel, "Pater Ioannes Rogel Patri Franc. Borgiae," Chesapeake, (28 August 1572) *MAF*, doc. 135, p. 530. The Jesuit scholar Félix Zubillaga also points out Father Rogel's reluctance to abandon Jacán, *La florida: la misión jesuítica (1566-1572) y la colonización española* (Rome: Institutum Historicum S. I., 1941), 420-1.

<sup>10</sup> There is no explicit evidence that General Borja did not know about the failure of the Jacán mission, but it can be concluded. General Borja wrote his instructions to Father Sánchez on 26 October 1571 and makes no mention of the Jacán massacre. The Spanish started to suspect trouble in the Chesapeake when Captain Vicente González sailed in spring 1571 to the Jacán mission to deliver supplies and was met by hostile Indians. As soon as the captain returned to Havana with his troublesome news, the Jesuits arranged another expedition to Jacán that was prepared to embark by September 1571 (it is unclear when the captain arrived at Havana). When Captain González originally brought the Jesuits to Jacán, the voyage took over a month, and they departed from Santa Elena (present-day South Carolina). Now having to travel from Jacán to Havana (approximately double the distance), it probably took him two months to reach Havana. Certain news of the death of the Jacán Jesuits was not communicated until 28 August 1572, almost a year before General Borja wrote his instructions for the possible abandonment of Florida, see Padre Rogel, "Carta del Padre Rogel al Padre Borja," *MAF*, p. 523-31). General Borja's instructions to Provincial Sánchez are transcribed in a footnote, Félix Zubillaga, *Monumenta antiquae floridae (1566-1572)* (Rome: Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, 1946), 516n6. Father Gerónimo Nadal repeats these instructions to Father Antonio Sedeño in "Carta del Padre Gerónimo Nadal al Padre Antonio Sedeño," *ARSI Hisp.* 69 (June 20, 1572), fol. 183r.

the various Florida missions. Another perspective comprises a broader view, taking into account the nature of the Society of Jesus and the administration's attitude toward the Florida enterprise.<sup>11</sup> But referring to the Society's attitude toward Florida as a singular viewpoint is misleading. At both the higher administrative level in Europe and at the local level, the Jesuits had differing opinions regarding not only Florida but also the Society's role in the world.

The recent establishment of the Society of Jesus (1540) and its continuing evolution meant that there was a multiplicity of opinions concerning the Society's direction. Early on, the Society committed itself to the dual obligation of evangelization and education. Though at its founding, the Society had not intended to be one of educators, it quickly assumed the role in Europe and parts of Asia.<sup>12</sup> Examining the early years of the Society and the unique educational background of its founding members reveals the order's attitude towards education, a view that saw schools and colleges as means to improve society and help souls, the chief aim of Ignatius since his initial conversion.

Establishing Jesuit schools in Europe appealed to secular powers because those schools were relatively inexpensive and their curriculum combined the newest pedagogies and humanism.<sup>13</sup> However, the surging popularity of the colleges and increasing European colonization that continued to reveal native populations in need of

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<sup>11</sup> Almost all Florida histories disregard the latter viewpoint, with the exception of Michael Kenny, *The Romance of the Floridas: The Finding and Founding* (New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1997) and Félix Zubillaga, *La florida*. Both Kenny and Zubillaga are Jesuits and historians of the Society, which seems to have affected their approach. They are concerned with the history of the Society in a particular area, while other scholars seem to privilege the history of a particular area and how the Jesuits fit into that history.

<sup>12</sup> The evolution of the Society's role as educators is the topic of Chapter 2.

<sup>13</sup> John W. O'Malley, "How the Jesuits Became Involved in Education," in *The Jesuits Ratio Studiorum: 400<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Perspectives*, edited by Vincent J. Duminuco, S.J. (New York: Fordham University Press, 2000), 63-4; also see Chapter 6, "The Schools" in John W. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993).

evangelization quickly strained the new Society's limited manpower,<sup>14</sup> so much so that administrators began to consider privileging either evangelization or education. These conflicts between Jesuit administrators shaped the history of the Jesuit enterprise in Florida and are ultimately responsible for the Society's withdrawal from the province.

The third perspective entails a regional analysis, one that includes Cuba in the story of the Jesuit enterprise in Florida. Indeed, Florida Jesuits were also meant to serve in Havana, especially after 1567, when Pedro Menéndez de Avilés acquired the governorship of Cuba, making him governor of both Florida and Cuba and thus responsible for the spiritual needs of both locations. In fact, Menéndez is central to the Jesuit mission in the region. Only through his adamant requests and good favor with Philip II was Menéndez able to secure Jesuits for the province. Philip II had even denied previous requests to send Jesuits to his holdings in the Americas though the Society had already been active in overseas colonies for decades, such as Portuguese Brazil since 1549 and Portuguese India from 1542. But Menéndez's favorable standing with Philip II convinced the monarch to allow the Society to evangelize Florida, making that province the first Jesuit destination in the Spanish Americas.

After his appointment to the Cuba governorship, Menéndez posited the idea of establishing a Jesuit college in Havana, where it would serve as a school for Cuban residents and sons of important Florida Indians, and a way station for Jesuits entering the Americas. According to Menéndez's plan, Jesuits destined for Florida would first go to

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<sup>14</sup> Though the Society grew very quickly, gaining 1,000 members by 1556 (only sixteen years after its founding), its ambitious goals stretched the Society's numbers. For instance, by 1565 the Society had approximately 3,500 members worldwide and thirty colleges in Italy alone. There also were colleges in Portugal (with 900 students enrolled at Coimbra in 1556), France, Vienna, Spain, Poland, and elsewhere. By 1580 there were 5,000 Jesuits and 144 colleges. None of these figures include the Society's numerous schools. O'Malley, *First Jesuits*, 2 and 207; Peter M. Daly and Richard Dimler, eds., *The Jesuit Series: Part One, A-D* (Montreal: MacGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), xi.

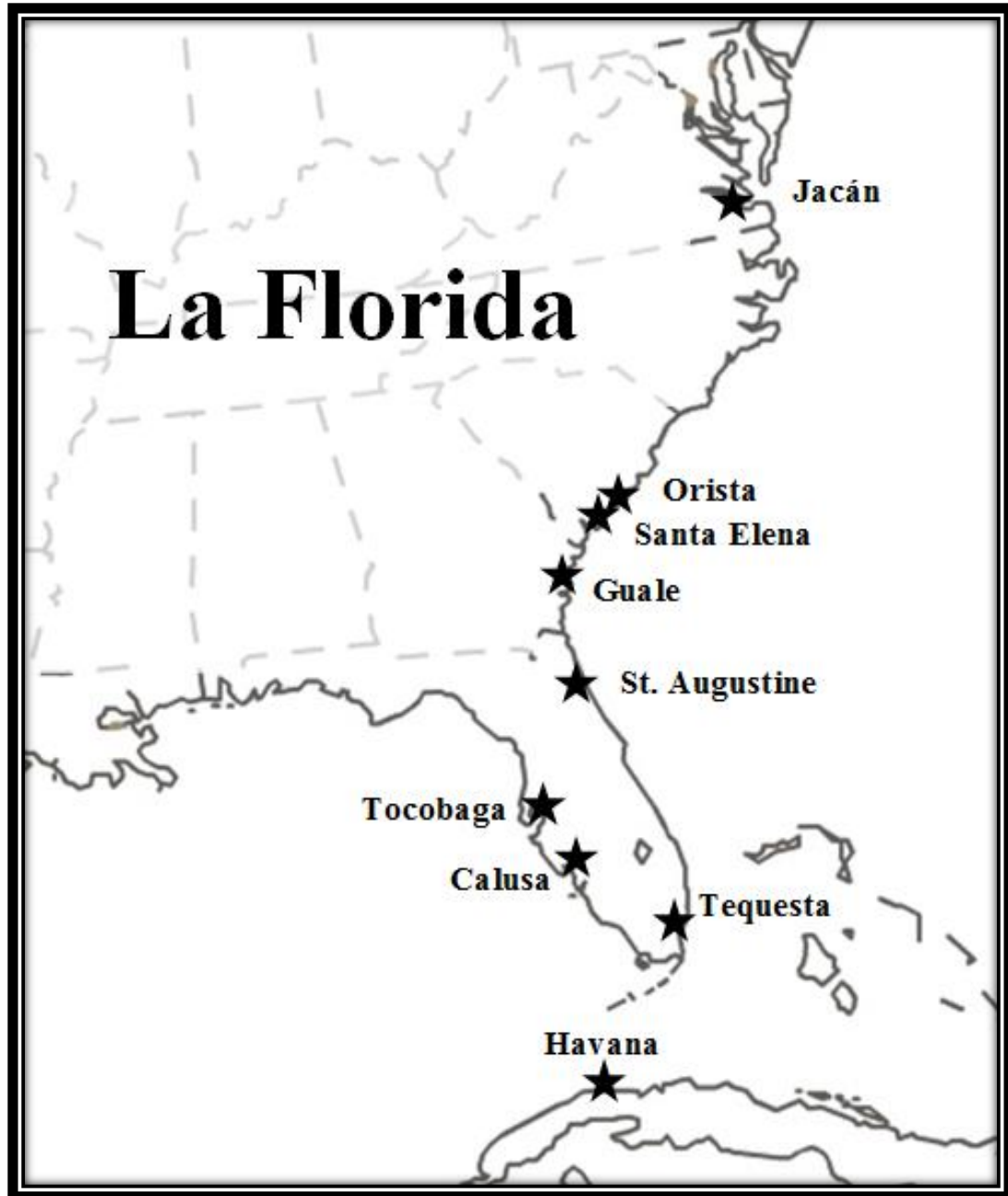


Figure 1.1: Map of the Florida Jesuit Enterprise

the Havana college to learn Florida native languages. Then from the college, Jesuits would bring indoctrinated Indian sons to Florida missions to facilitate evangelization.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Discussions of the projected Havana school occur throughout Menéndez's and the Jesuits' correspondence. For some of the earliest discussions, see Father Pedro de Saavedra, "Carta del Padre Pedro de Saavedra al Padre Francisco de Borja," ARSI Hisp. 107 (October 10, 1567), fol. 75r; Padre Diego Avellaneda, "Carta del Padre Diego Avellaneda al Padre Francisco Borja," ARSI Hisp. 107 (December 31,

Thus Havana's role in the Florida enterprise (solidified by Menéndez's governorship of both colonies) combined the Society's dual obligation of evangelization and education. From the perspectives of Menéndez and Superior General Borja, Havana complemented the Florida enterprise. Though an endowed Jesuit college in Havana never came to fruition, the friars still managed to run a small school in Havana that tended to the educational and spiritual needs of Havana children, Blacks, and even some Florida Indians. In fact, the same group of Jesuits travelled between and served in both locations so often that to call them Florida Jesuits or their project a Florida enterprise is misleading. By November 1568, Vice-Provincial Baptista considered Havana "the principal seat" of the Florida/Cuba enterprise.<sup>16</sup> Incorporating Havana into the story of the Florida Jesuits changes the nature of the enterprise, and its fate appears to rely less on the receptivity of the Florida Indians to Christianity and more on the viability of founding a Jesuit college in Havana.

None of this is to say that the events in Florida did not influence the Jesuit withdrawal. The individual experiences of the Jesuits in their Florida missions combined with their own opinions of the Society's role in the Americas to create competing views regarding the validity of the Florida enterprise. In October 1571, before he learned of the Jacán massacre, General Borja instructed the newly-appointed provincial of New Spain, Father Pedro Sánchez, to consult with Jesuits experienced in the Florida missions and determine the future of the Florida enterprise. Provincial Sánchez was then to decide whether to continue the Florida missions, consolidate in Havana, or relocate the Florida

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1567), fol. 239r; Father Juan Baptista de Segura, "Carta del Padre Juan Baptista de Segura al Padre Francisco de Borja," ARSI Epis. Selectas, n. 217 (November 18, 1568), fols. 594v-595r.

<sup>16</sup> Father Baptista de Segura, "Carta del Padre Baptista al Padre Borja," (November 18, 1568), fol. 594r. For the sake of brevity and convenience, I will continue to refer to the enterprise and Jesuits as the Florida enterprise and Florida Jesuits.

Jesuits to New Spain, where the Society had authorized a new mission province and had received funding to establish a Jesuit college.<sup>17</sup> However, upon arrival in Havana, Provincial Sánchez only met with one Jesuit, Father Antonio Sedeño<sup>18</sup> to discuss the future of the Florida enterprise. By the time Provincial Sánchez arrived in Havana, the Jesuits in Florida and Cuba knew that the Havana residents would not provide the necessary funding for the Havana college. In consultation with Provincial Sánchez, Father Sedeño decided that all of the Florida and Cuba Jesuits should be withdrawn and moved to New Spain. Thus, the decision to withdraw came down to the opinion of one Florida Jesuit, Father Antonio Sedeño, even though General Borja had instructed Provincial Sánchez to consult the views of all the Florida Jesuits. However, it was the nature of the Society—with the events at the administrative and regional levels—that afforded Father Sedeño the opportunity to decide whether to continue the Florida missions, consolidate in Havana, or completely relocate to New Spain, where the Society had authorized a new mission province and received funding to establish a Jesuit college.<sup>19</sup>

Scholars of early Florida have overlooked the Florida Jesuits' experiences in Cuba and the importance of the Havana college in maintaining Jesuit interest in the region. They tend to characterize the Jesuit enterprise as a failure, which resulted in the abandonment of the province. Anthropologists usually focus on the local level: the interactions between the natives and Jesuits at specific missions. For instance,

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<sup>17</sup> Zubillaga, *MAF*, 516n6; Father Nadal, "Carta del Padre Nadal al Padre Sedeño," (June 20, 1572), fol. 183r.

<sup>18</sup> Father Antonio Sedeño had taken Father Juan Baptista de Segura's position as Vice-Provincial while Father Baptista was away at Jacán. Father Francisco Borja, "Carta del Padre Francisco Borja al Padre Juan Baptista de Segura y en su ausencia al Padre Antonio Sedeño," *ARSI Hisp.* 69 (November 14, 1570), fol. 181v.

<sup>19</sup> Brother Juan de la Carrera explains that "the establishment of houses, colleges, residences, and missions were all funded in New Spain," in, "Relación," (March 1, 1600), fol. 159v.

anthropologist Maria Wade examines the missions to Calusa (modern-day Charlotte Harbor) and observes that the native sociopolitical structures were inherently contrary to the practices of Christianity (such as monogamy).<sup>20</sup> As long as those structures persevered, the native culture could and would resist Christian conversion. By 1568, she claims, the Jesuits “had realized the futility of its conversion efforts.”<sup>21</sup>

There is also the supposed outright hatred of Christianity by the Indians, an argument put forth mostly by early chroniclers of the Jesuit mission to Jacán, which emphasized the missionaries’ martyrdom. Franciscan Friar Jerónimo Luis de Oré’s early seventeenth-century chronicle *Martyrs of Florida* exemplifies this view.<sup>22</sup>

Anthropologist Seth Mallios challenges the portrayal of martyrdom in his article “The Apotheosis of Ajacán’s Jesuit Missionaries,” and analyzes the exchanges between the Jacán natives and the Jesuits. Mindful of native Chesapeake culture, Mallios argues that don Luis and his followers killed the Jesuit missionaries not because of their Christianity, but because the friars broke “two rules of the indigenous gift economy.”<sup>23</sup> First, the Jesuits received food and labor from the Jacán natives for the first few weeks following their arrival to the Chesapeake. When the missionaries did not reciprocate with gifts of their own, “a symbolic denial of intercultural alliance,” don Luis and his natives abandoned the Jesuits. After the Indians left them, the missionaries traded iron hatchets to Indian rivals of don Luis and his natives. Mallios claims that “failing to compensate the Ajacan locals and then rewarding their rivals with prestigious goods socially

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<sup>20</sup> However the same could be said of other Southeastern groups where the Franciscans established enduring missions.

<sup>21</sup> Wade, *Missions, Missionaries and Native Americans*, 52 and 60.

<sup>22</sup> Padre Luís Gerónimo de Oré, “Relación de los mártires que a avido en las provincias de la Florida,” (Madrid, 1619), fols. 4r-7r.

<sup>23</sup> Seth Mallios, “The Apotheosis of Ajacan’s Jesuit Missionaries,” *Ethnohistory* 54, No. 2 (2007): 226.

diminished don Luis and his followers,” which warranted violent retribution.

Furthermore, the symbolism Mallios finds in the Indian attacks on the Jesuits is in keeping with historical records that describe native violence in reaction to “individual European socioeconomic crimes.”<sup>24</sup>

Most scholars limit their investigation to either a certain region, such as south Florida or Guale, or to a particular mission site like Jacán. Such focus at the exclusion of the other Jesuit missions often obscures the scholar’s insight as to why the Jesuits “failed” or withdrew from Florida. For instance, in their book on the Jacán mission, Clifford Lewis and Albert Loomie wrote that “the Franciscans succeeded in Florida where the Jesuits had failed, and one of the factors doubtless was better protection from the Spanish garrisons.”<sup>25</sup> One can only arrive at such a judgment by focusing exclusively on the Jacán mission, where missionaries refused the company of Spanish soldiers. In the Calusa and Tequesta missions of southern Florida, the Jesuits cited the Spanish military presence as one of the main reasons for the inefficacy of their evangelization.

Historian Paul Hoffman’s *Florida’s Frontiers*, a broad survey of Florida’s early history, devotes a few paragraphs to the Jesuit missionaries.<sup>26</sup> He writes that the Jesuits found the Florida Indians unreceptive to Christianity and sometimes even hostile when the missionaries asked them to provide food. The Jesuits “complain[ed] of a general lack of support for their work,”<sup>27</sup> and their short-lived mission at Jacán was destroyed by don Luis. Hoffman is unclear whether the lack of support was from the Spanish in Florida or

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid., first two quotes from page 227 and third quote from page 228.

<sup>25</sup> Clifford M. Lewis and Albert J. Loomie, *The Spanish Jesuit Mission in Virginia 1570-1572* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953), 55n126.

<sup>26</sup> Paul E. Hoffman, *Florida’s Frontiers* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002). Various references to the Jesuits are found on pages 53-60.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 56.



the Jesuit Order in Europe. Regardless, his statement ignores the Spaniards' varying opinions, especially since Menéndez was the most vocal proponent of the Jesuit enterprise in Florida and repeatedly petitioned for more missionaries.

Though historian Nicholas Cushner attempts to explain the success or failure of conversion in Jesuit missions at various sites throughout the Americas, his chapter on Florida is flawed. In *Why Have You Come Here? The Jesuits and the First Evangelization of Native America*, Cushner homogenizes the native mission cultures (Guale, Orista, Calusa, Timucua) of Florida, ascribing a practice of one group to all. He claims that the Jesuit reports grew more negative over time as the missionaries became increasingly disillusioned. To support his conclusion, Cushner cites a letter from Father Rogel about the Orista as the positive, early example, while the negative examples come from the Calusa, which was actually Rogel's first mission. Cushner writes, "when Juan Rogel first wrote about the Indians to his superiors in Rome in 1568, he praised their natural qualities and abilities," and then cites Rogel's December 1569 letter regarding the Orista.<sup>28</sup> The majority of his argument comes from the writings of Rogel, who recorded his many conversations with the Calusa *caciques*. Cushner mentions a few times that the *cacique* was Carlos, but most of the conversations that Rogel recorded were between himself and Felipe, who was installed as the *cacique* after Carlos's execution. As Father Rogel struggled to convert Felipe, tensions grew between the Spanish soldiers and Felipe until a Spanish captain ordered his and eleven other *caciques*' executions, causing the Indians to flee. Cushner ignores this violence between the Calusa and the Spanish, and does not even distinguish between the two Calusa *caciques*. The failure of the Calusa

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<sup>28</sup> Cushner, *Why Have You Come Here?*, 44.

missions cannot properly be understood without at least acknowledging the hindrance of the Spanish military presence.

As many scholars who write about the Jesuit missions, neither Wade, Mallios, Hoffman, or Cushner address the debates occurring within the Society. Rather, they focus only on the Jesuits' difficulties converting the natives, and if they address the decision to abandon Florida, they attribute that decision to their supposed failure, as if the missionaries themselves grew frustrated and abandoned the province. Frank Marotti Jr.'s short article "Juan Baptista de Segura and the Failure of the Florida Jesuit Mission, 1566-1572" focuses on "the human frailties" of Vice-Provincial Baptista, particularly his inability to lead. Ultimately, Marotti argues that Vice-Provincial Baptista's "shortcomings were a major cause of the failure of the Florida mission of 1566-1572."<sup>29</sup> In Florida Jesuit correspondence, Marotti identifies personality clashes and disputes between the friars and Menéndez, which often aligned the missionaries and Menéndez against Vice-Provincial Baptista. Seeking to escape frictions between himself and some of the other Jesuits and prompted by his meeting with don Luis, the Vice-Provincial decided to take a select group of like-minded Jesuits to evangelize don Luis's Jacán. Marotti then associates the Jacán massacre to the Jesuit withdrawal. Though Marotti mentions the Jesuit presence in Cuba, he does not connect General Borja's instructions regarding the viability of a college in Havana with the Jesuit withdrawal.

Two Jesuits write works that address the abandonment of Florida. They both rely heavily on Jesuit correspondence, pay ample attention to the stresses within the Society, somewhat incorporate Cuba in the narrative, and acknowledge the inability to found a Jesuit college in Havana. Writing in the 1930s, Michael Kenny, S.J. claims that Father

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<sup>29</sup> Marotti, "Juan Baptista de Segura," 279.

Rogel's "pessimistic" letter regarding his missionary efforts in Orista "contributed more than any other influence to the ultimate abandonment of the Jesuit missions in the Floridas. The disasters on the [Chesapeake] were but to confirm this determination."<sup>30</sup> However, Father Rogel's "pessimistic" letter was addressed to Menéndez, and it is unclear how, or if it did, reach any Provincials or the General. Kenny does not explain how Rogel's letter influenced the Jesuit withdrawal; rather, he moves on to a different subject.<sup>31</sup>

Kenny claims that before General Borja could have known about the Chesapeake massacre, he had already issued instructions to newly-appointed Provincial Pedro Sánchez "to recall his men gradually from Florida to Mexico unless there was good hope for a college in Havana." In one paragraph, Kenny explains that the Society had limited manpower, being sought all over the world for missionaries and colleges, and "since no foundations for the Havana college were forthcoming, the prospects seemed more fruitful in Mexico."<sup>32</sup> He then claims that "none was found in Madrid, either lay or cleric, to take active and effective interest in founding a college in Havana or a civilizing settlement on [the Chesapeake]."<sup>33</sup> First, the instructions to Provincial Sánchez were more complicated than Kenny suggests. General Borja provided a third option: to continue in Florida.<sup>34</sup> It is significant that Provincial Sánchez only spoke with Father Sedeño regarding the future of the Florida enterprise, as seen by Rogel's indignant response to having been ignored. However, there were members of the Society interested in having a college in Havana. It was lack of local support in Havana that doomed the establishment of the college.

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<sup>30</sup> Kenny, *Romance of the Floridas*, 257.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 250-8.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 296, both quotes.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 296-7.

<sup>34</sup> As explained above on pages 6 and 7.

Seven years after Kenny, Félix Zubillaga, S.J. published his work on the Florida Jesuits, working closely with his 700-page volume of transcribed documents regarding the Jesuit enterprise in Florida. In *La florida: la mission jesuitica (1566-1572) y la colonización española*, Zubillaga addresses the Jesuit withdrawal and looks more carefully at the debates within the Jesuit administration than any of the previously-mentioned scholars. According to Zubillaga, the Society agreed with the decision to withdraw from Florida and Havana to New Spain, and their opinions were grounded in principles of the Society. The Jesuits had not been able to secure enough funding from the city of Havana to sustain a school for the Indian children of Florida or for a college to teach the Cuban residents, all of which “the Company considered to be the most important principles of their Institution.” Moreover, there were other religious orders in Cuba who could fill the roles of the Jesuits just as well, but in Mexico, the Society had organized a systematic mission and a college. Ignatius, Zubillaga claims, had always insisted that the Jesuits go where they would be of greatest service, and the experiences of the Florida Jesuits would undoubtedly bring more glory to God.<sup>35</sup>

Frequent correspondence within the Society kept Jesuits abreast of events occurring in Florida and Cuba. Ignatius required his Jesuits to communicate frequently through letters, which has produced an incredible amount of documentation. Father Juan Alfonso de Polanco became Ignatius’s secretary in 1547 and decided to preserve all incoming and outgoing correspondence of the Superior General in an archive.<sup>36</sup> This pattern of preservation continued throughout the Society’s history and many of these

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<sup>35</sup> Zubillaga, *La florida*, 413, 423-4.

<sup>36</sup> Ignatius’s own correspondence numbers over 7,000 letters, “the largest extant collection of any sixteenth-century figure.” John W. O’Malley, “Introduction,” in *The Jesuits II: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540-1773*, edited by O’Malley et al. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), xxvi.

early letters appear in the dozens of volumes of *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu*, published collections of early Jesuit correspondence geographically organized. In fact, “in sheer quantity this [correspondence] dwarfs the combined documentation for similar periods in all orders up to that time.”<sup>37</sup> Menéndez’s letters to General Borja are also preserved in the Society’s archive. As Jesuit scholar John W. O’Malley points out:

Ignatius and his closest associates were keenly aware that communication of the ideals, goals, and style of the Society did not occur automatically and that it had to be sustained on a consistent and ongoing basis. They were hampered in achieving such communication by the lack of any body of literature about the Society to which Jesuits and prospective Jesuits could be referred, except for the *Spiritual Exercises* (not printed until 1548) and the *Constitutions* (not printed until 1559). Moreover, as the Society expanded, fewer Jesuits had direct contact with Ignatius or with any others from the original nucleus. This situation accounts for the extraordinary emphasis the *Constitutions* placed on correspondence as a means of achieving ‘union of hearts.’<sup>38</sup>

Early on, Ignatius clarified that once a week, rectors and vice-provincials should write general updates to their provincial; provincials in turn were to write to the superior general at the same rate. In turn, at least once a month, the general was to respond to his provincials, and the provincials to their rectors and vice-provincials.<sup>39</sup> This Jesuit correspondence reveals the regional nature of the Florida enterprise and the Society’s focus on the opening of schools and colleges as one of its prime ministries. The prospect of a college in Havana became the cornerstone of the Florida enterprise. The Havana residents’ failure to provide adequate funding for the college prompted the Jesuit withdrawal from the region.

Additionally, this frequent correspondence kept Jesuits abreast of events in

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<sup>37</sup> John W. O’Malley, “The Historiography of the Society of Jesus,” in *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540-1773*, edited by O’Malley, et al (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 4. For an overview of the beginning of the *Monumenta* as published volumes, see *Ibid.*, 14-7.

<sup>38</sup> O’Malley, *First Jesuits*, 62.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 62-3.

Florida. At a time when the Society was torn between evangelization and education, members no doubt looked to the events in Florida's mission field—the first Jesuit destination in the Spanish Americas—as an indication of how to proceed in future sites. Every time a Florida Jesuit recorded a setback or success, his correspondence became ammunition in the debate over privileging missions or colleges. Interestingly, the Society's expansion in the Spanish Americas after the launch of the Florida enterprise followed a markedly different pattern of procedure from that of Florida. The murder of Vice-Provincial Martínez at the hands of enemy Indians on the Florida coast prompted administrators to argue against sending Jesuits into unpacified lands. In contrast with sparsely-populated Florida, subsequent Jesuit enterprises in the Spanish Americas were based in well-established, urban areas. The first group of Jesuits to come to Peru in 1568 had arrived with explicit instructions to begin a college in the city of Lima. When the Jesuits withdrew from Florida and Cuba, they relocated to Mexico City, where the Society had already secured funding for a college. It took the Jesuits seventeen years to venture outside Mexico's pacified areas into unpacified territory, only doing so at the behest of Provincial Diego de Avellaneda, an early supporter of Menéndez and the Florida mission.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Luis Martín, *The Intellectual Conquest of Peru: The Jesuit College of San Pablo, 1568-1767* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1968), Zubillaga, *La florida*, 9-10; 423-4; Marotti, "Juan Baptista de Segura," 278.

## CHAPTER TWO: THE SOCIETY OF JESUS

An early history of the Society of Jesus helps to explain the role of the Jesuits in Florida and why they were ultimately withdrawn. Within the historiography, only Jesuit scholars have properly placed the withdrawal within the context of the Society itself. As a result, they acknowledge the regional nature of the enterprise, one that included both Florida and Cuba. In fact, within a few years of their arrival, the Jesuits named as their base Havana, where they hoped to secure enough funding to establish a college, one of the Society's principal ministries. The background of the Society's founder, Iñigo de Loyola, and original members reveals their commitment to education, which quickly became a prime ministry of the Society. Since 1551, eleven years after the Society's founding, Jesuits had started opening four or five schools every year.<sup>41</sup> The preeminent Jesuit scholar, John O'Malley, begins his second volume on the Society claiming, "I believe that up to now we have not taken seriously enough how this reality [the opening of schools] entailed a redefinition of what the order was really about. Or, perhaps better, how it entailed a significant enlargement and enrichment of the mission of the order."<sup>42</sup> By the time of the Florida enterprise, the Society had become a teaching religious order struggling to meet the demands of benefactors and monarchs to evangelize and educate populations all over the world.

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<sup>41</sup> O'Malley, *First Jesuits*, 200.

<sup>42</sup> O'Malley, "Introduction," in *The Jesuits II: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540-1773*, edited by O'Malley et al. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), xxxi.

Iñigo López de Loyola was born in 1491 in the Basque province of Guipúzcoa in the Kingdom of Navarre in northern Spain. The prominent Loyola family comprised “one of the two *parientes mayores*, the major kinship groups that dominated the social, economic, and military life of the province.” Since 1387, the Loyola family “had controlled the church of San Sebastián de Soreasu and its district,” with Pope Benedict XIII granting the family patronage in 1415. This papal concession allowed the family to obtain greater influence in the province and granted their youngest child Iñigo access to influential houses.<sup>43</sup>

When Iñigo was about thirteen-years old, his father sent him to train as a courtier at the household of Juan Velázquez de Cuéllar, the treasurer of King Ferdinand. Upon Velázquez’s death in 1517, Iñigo entered the military under the command of Don Antonio Marique de Lara, duke of Náreja and viceroy of Navarre. While defending Pamplona from an invasion of French troops in 1521, Iñigo was struck by a cannonball, which shattered his right leg and seriously injured his left. Now, at the age of 30, he returned home to recover from his injuries. The bedridden Iñigo passed the time reading through his family’s limited library. Two books, *The Golden Legend* and *Life of Christ*, influenced Iñigo toward a strict Christian life, finding particular inspiration from the lives of Saint Francis of Assisi and Saint Dominic, which convinced him to lead a similar life of religious devotion.

Upon his physical recovery, Iñigo travelled to the Benedictine monastery of Montserrat in Catalonia, and through various stops and stays, arrived in Jerusalem in

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<sup>43</sup> O’Malley, *First Jesuits*, 22; Quotes from Lu Ann Homza, “The Religious Milieu of the young Ignatius,” in *The Cambridge Companion to The Jesuits*, edited by Thomas Worcester (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 14. For a description of the papal concession, see *ibid.*, 14. King Ferdinand of Aragón conquered Navarre in 1512.



1523 with the desire to “help souls.” However, hostilities with Turks in the area prompted the local Christian authorities (a group of Franciscans) to insist that Iñigo leave for his own safety. He resisted until they threatened him with excommunication. A disappointed Iñigo returned to Europe, where he decided to immerse himself in studies, thus beginning his lengthy foray into university-level education.<sup>44</sup> Iñigo’s autobiography, which he wrote in the third person, reflects on his forced removal from Jerusalem: “he continually pondered what he ought to do. At last he inclined more to study for some time so he would be able to help souls . . . .”<sup>45</sup>

Iñigo took classes at the University of Barcelona in 1524, learning basic Latin, and at thirty-three years of age, he was by far the oldest among his fellow students. He stayed in Barcelona for two years, studying Latin grammar and begging for food in the streets until his teacher suggested that he proceed to the prestigious University of Alcalá just outside of Madrid. While at Alcalá, Iñigo took classes, begged for food, and attracted followers through public religious instruction. Significantly, he began to guide individuals through the *Spiritual Exercises*, a text and process that later became central to membership in the Society.<sup>46</sup> However, Iñigo’s activities brought him before the

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<sup>44</sup> O’Malley, *First Jesuits*, 23-7; George Aschenbrenner, “Response to Howard Gray, S.J.” in *The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum*, 23. Also, see Ignatius Loyola, *A Pilgrim’s Journey: The Autobiography of Ignatius Loyola*, edited by Joseph N. Tylenda, S.J. (Wilmington: Michael Glazier, 1985).

<sup>45</sup> Quote from Francesco C. Cesareo, “Quest for Identity: The Ideals of Jesuit Education in the Sixteenth Century,” in *The Jesuit Tradition in Education and Missions: A 450-Year Perspective*, edited by Christopher Chapple (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1993), 18. Cesareo’s quote from Iñigo’s autobiography comes from *The Autobiography of St. Ignatius Loyola*, edited and translated by Joseph F. O’Callaghan and John C. Olin (New York: Harper and Row, 1974), 54.

<sup>46</sup> The *Spiritual Exercises* began as a personal journal that Iñigo kept while recovering in Loyola from his injuries. In this journal he recorded his experiences and realized that over time, it revealed his spiritual growth. While at Manresa, before travelling to Jerusalem, Iñigo began to compose the *Exercises* based on his notes in the journal and ongoing experiences. In short, the book was a “simplified distillation of his own experience framed in such a way as to be useful to others.” With the formal establishment of the Society in 1540, every aspirant was required to work his way through the *Exercises*, meant to take place over the course of a month with the guidance of an established Jesuit, before beginning his novitiate training. Ignatius himself summarized the *Exercises* as guiding the individual to “examin[e] his

Inquisition of Toledo, which insisted that he halt all public religious instruction until he had an appropriate degree. Frustrated with the Inquisition's verdict, Iñigo and four of his companions left Alcalá in 1527 to study at the University of Salamanca. Again, he and his companions ran into conflict with religious authorities. Ultimately, this constant conflict convinced Iñigo to leave Spain and continue his education at the University of Paris, where he arrived on 2 February 1528.

While in Paris, Iñigo met nine fellow students who went on to become the founding members of the Society. Their similar academic backgrounds influenced not only the primacy they came to place on education, but also their decision to take on teaching as one of their main ministries. Iñigo studied at the University of Paris for seven years, spending the first at the Collège de Montaigu to continue his study of Latin before attending Collège Sainte-Barbe, where he first began to call himself Ignacio, mistakenly thinking Ignacio was a variant of Iñigo. Ignacio quickly evolved into Ignatius, its Latin variant. At Saint-Barbe, Ignatius met and lived “with two other students much younger than he,” Francis Xavier and Pierre Favre, who later became the first official members of the Society.<sup>47</sup> Xavier (1506-52) went on to become the first Jesuit missionary to Asia. When John III, King of Portugal, requested more missionaries for India, Ignatius selected Xavier, who left Lisbon in 1541 for Asia. In Goa, India, he took part in one of the Society's first overseas schools, preached in Indonesia and Japan, and died just before

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consciousness, [turn] over his whole past life and mak[e] a general confession, meditat[e] upon his sins, and contemplat[e] the steps and mysteries of the life, death, resurrection and ascension of Christ our Lord, [and] exercis[e] himself in praying vocally and mentally according to the capacity of the person, as will be taught him in our Lord.” “Appendix I: Ignatius, the First Jesuit Schools, and The *Ratio Studiorum*,” in *The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum*, 220; Quoted text from (respectively) O'Malley, *First Jesuits*, 25 and Philip Endean, “The Spiritual Exercises,” in *The Cambridge Companion to the Jesuits*, edited by Thomas Worcester (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 53.

<sup>47</sup> O'Malley, *First Jesuits*, 27-9, quote from 29.

entering China. In 1622, Xavier was canonized as a saint.<sup>48</sup> Favre had been “a shepherd boy in a small village of Savoy,” but had studied the classics. Unlike Xavier, Favre meant to become a priest before ever meeting Ignatius, who guided both through the *Spiritual Exercises* by 1533.<sup>49</sup>

While on the streets of Paris in 1533, Ignatius came across Diego Laínez and Alfonso Salmerón, two young Spaniards who had just arrived to the Parisian Latin Quarter. The three bonded immediately over their shared past at the University of Alcalá, where Laínez and Salmerón had first met and studied after Ignatius had left for the University of Salamanca.<sup>50</sup>

A year later, Ignatius’s group grew to seven members with the addition of Nicolás de Bobadilla, who had received a degree in philosophy at Alcalá and taught logic at Valladolid before arriving in Paris in 1533, and Simão Rodrigues, a young Portuguese man studying at the University of Paris.<sup>51</sup> A few years later, while Ignatius was abroad, three more joined, completing the group of the original ten who later founded the Society.<sup>52</sup>

In late 1538, the group of ten proto-Jesuits dispersed to different cities throughout Italy, with Ignatius, Favre, and Laínez travelling to Rome “to offer their services to Paul

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<sup>48</sup> Worcester, “Introduction,” in *The Cambridge Companion to the Jesuits*, 6.

<sup>49</sup> O’Malley, *First Jesuits*, 29.

<sup>50</sup> Ignatius led both young men through the Exercises in 1534, and thus his band of followers expanded to five. After Ignatius’s death in 1556, members of the Society elected Laínez to replace him as the second Superior General of the order. “Salmerón received the Master of Arts degree on 3 October 1536, ‘under the tutelage of Master Francis Xavier,’ three and a half years after Iñigo had obtained the Licentiate of Philosophy degree on 13 March 1533.” John D. Willis, “A Case Study in Early Jesuit Scholarship: Alfonso Salmerón, S.J., and the Study of Sacred Scripture,” in *The Jesuit Tradition in Educations and Missions*, 52-3, quote from 53; O’Malley, *First Jesuits*, 30-31.

<sup>51</sup> O’Malley, *First Jesuits*, 31.

<sup>52</sup> They were Claude Jay, Paschase Broët, and Jean Codure, all three Frenchmen and graduates from the University of Paris with the Master of Arts degree. Under Favre, who had been the childhood friend of Jay, the three underwent the Exercises while Ignatius was away from Paris. *Ibid.*, 32.

III.”<sup>53</sup> After their arrival and upon a particularly engaging discourse on theology with the pope, Paul III appointed Laínez and Favre lecturers of theology at the University of Rome, the first time any of these future members of the Society received formal teaching positions. While Laínez and Favre were occupied with their positions at the University, Ignatius guided more people through the *Exercises*, including Cardinal Gasparo Contarini, who would later be indispensable in securing the pope’s approval of the Society. Less than one year later, the other seven companions gathered in Rome from surrounding Italian cities to discuss their future.<sup>54</sup>

Through a series of consultations among the companions in the spring of 1539, the ten companions discussed their religious direction and composed the “Five Chapters,” basically, “the substantial draft of the *Formula of the Institute*.” Ignatius gave Cardinal Contarini the “Five Chapters,” requesting that he present it to the pope. Over a year later on 27 September 1540, Pope Paul III confirmed the Society in *Regimini militantis ecclesiae*,<sup>55</sup> and on 8 April 1541, the founding members elected fifty-year-old Ignatius as the Society’s first Superior General. As the Superior General, “one of his chief responsibilities was to give oversight to the writing of the *Constitutions*, which would express the aims and means that identify the life and work of the Society,” assign positions to the other members and direct their ministries.<sup>56</sup>

Before the publication of the papal bull that ratified the Society, the original ten companions added new members, two of whom, Antonio de Araoz and Pedro de Ribadeneira, played important roles in the Jesuits’ Florida enterprise. The majority of the

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<sup>53</sup> Ibid., 35.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> Howard Gray, S.J., “The Experience of Ignatius Loyola: Background to the Jesuit Education,” in *The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum*, 8.

new members were originally from Spain or Portugal who happened to be in Rome. Among them was Antonio de Araoz, an in-law of Ignatius, who became the first provincial of Spain in 1547. Jerónimo Doménech, “a wealthy twenty-three-year-old canon from Valencia who was in Rome on family business at the papal court,” also studied at the University of Paris, where he met some of the members. On his visit to Rome, he completed the *Exercises* under Laínez in September 1539.<sup>57</sup> One of the first Florida Jesuits, Father Pedro Martínez, later worked closely with Doménech, assisting him as rector of the Toledo college.<sup>58</sup> Pedro de Ribadeneira first encountered the companions when serving as a page of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese. While shirking his duties, Ribadeneira “sought refuge at the house where the companions were staying.” Their spirituality impressed him, and at fourteen-years old, he entered the Society in 1540. Though only a young teenager, Ribadeneira was very intelligent and developed a close relationship with Ignatius. Not only did he later write the founder’s first biography, but he also composed an account of the Jesuit massacre at Jacán.<sup>59</sup> Though the original ten companions of the University of Paris are the only members mentioned in the papal bull, the Society had at least another twenty members by the time of the bull’s promulgation, all “international in their origins, varied in their social backgrounds, but drawn almost exclusively from an academic elite. This profile of membership presaged the future.”<sup>60</sup>

Following the administrative form of the Dominicans and Franciscans, the Jesuits established provinces “as the basic administrative unit of the Society.” In 1550, the

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<sup>57</sup> O’Malley, *First Jesuits*, 36

<sup>58</sup> Kenny, *Romance of the Floridas*, 166.

<sup>59</sup> O’Malley, *First Jesuits*, 36.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*

Society comprised three provinces (Portugal, Spain, and India). With the order's rapid development, especially in Spain, there were six provinces (India, Portugal, Castile, Aragon, Brazil, and Italy) just three years later. A provincial governed each province, and at the local level, superiors, or rectors were the heads of houses who answered to their provincial. All missionary groups had an appointed superior or vice-provincial. Superiors and vice-provincials answered to provincials or the superior general, and all provincials obeyed the superior general. Shortly after the establishment of the first provinces, Ignatius decreed that the superior general would appoint all provincials, and the superior general and provincials appoint all vice-provincials and rectors. Any "Jesuits whose ministries carried them beyond the boundaries of the established provinces" answered directly to the superior general.<sup>61</sup> Thus the Florida Jesuits took their direction from Superior General Francisco Borja, who served from 1565-72.

It was a long journey to become a Jesuit, and the selectivity of the Society slowed the proliferation of members, making it difficult to meet demands for teachers and missionaries, a constant problem for the Jesuit enterprise in Florida. A candidate first entered into a two-year novitiate, where he underwent the month-long *Spiritual Exercises* and "participat[ed] in Jesuit prayer, Jesuit community, and Jesuit work of various kinds." Novices, who typically appear in the Spanish documents as *mancebos*, often traveled to foreign missions as part of their early training, and the Americas were a popular destination.<sup>62</sup> More novices worked in the Florida missions than Jesuit fathers or brothers.<sup>63</sup> If the novice made satisfactory progress, a provincial allowed the novice to

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<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 52.

<sup>62</sup> Thomas Worcester, "Introduction," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Jesuits*, 5.

<sup>63</sup> Cumulatively (1566-72), Florida had six fathers, five brothers, and eight *mancebos*.

take the three vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience.<sup>64</sup> The new Jesuit then had a choice of pursuing ordination as a priest or becoming a lay brother. Those who chose the path to priesthood became a scholastic, or student, and studied the humanities and sciences before studying philosophy for two years. When the scholastic completed those studies, he began his regency, usually a period of three years working in a Jesuit ministry. To receive ordination into the priesthood, he had to study theology for four years.<sup>65</sup>

Brothers, or temporal coadjutors, “for the most part functioned as cooks, tailors, gardeners, buyers, masons, carpenters, even architects, and in other ways helped in ‘temporalities,’ ever more essential as communities grew larger. . . . These coadjutors were set off from other members of the Society by their lack of formal (or at least humanistic) education, and the *Constitutions* denied them the opportunity to acquire one.” Spiritual coadjutors were members who typically entered the Society having already been ordained, “but lacked the academic training considered prerequisite to the more delicate and difficult ministries, especially preaching.”<sup>66</sup> However, with only two Jesuits available during the first two years of the Florida enterprise, Brother Francisco Villareal preached on his own at several mission sites. He had begun clerical training, but abandoned his studies when he entered the Society.<sup>67</sup>

The Society did not accept all aspirants, and its high standards for its members affected the number of Jesuits available for missions and colleges. Sometimes the Society had to deny prospective members because there was not “enough money to

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<sup>64</sup> Although the original members of the Society had all been ordained to the priesthood, the majority of the members at the time of Ignatius’s death in 1556 were not priests. In 1545, Pope Paul II allowed “any member of the Society to preach anywhere in the world on any occasion, provided that he was approved for it by his superiors,” O’Malley, *First Jesuits*, 79-80; quote on page 80.

<sup>65</sup> Thomas Worcester, “Introduction,” in *The Cambridge Companion to the Jesuits*, 5.

<sup>66</sup> O’Malley, *First Jesuits*, 60-1 and 345-7, quotes from pages 60-1 and 345, respectively.

<sup>67</sup> Zubillaga, *La florida*, 234; Kenny, *Romance of the Floridas*, 173.

support them, and they refused to resort to dowries.” Other times, aspirants simply did not meet the Society’s criteria. Three priests from Burgos in 1551 attempted to join the Society, but were turned away because “they were judged too ignorant.” Also, “the Jesuits were especially concerned about the character and emotional maturity of those who wanted to join them.” People deemed “unstable” were refused admittance, though teenagers were often admitted, while boys were deemed too young.<sup>68</sup>

Dismissals and departures also affected the Jesuit ranks. In Italy (between 1540 and 1565), 35 percent of the candidates for the Society “either left or were dismissed.”<sup>69</sup> The Superior General and provincials had the authority to dismiss Jesuits. However, if a troubled member had already completed his novitiate training and taken his first vows, Jesuit administrators often employed other measures first, such as issuing warnings, or moving him to other communities. In the early years of the Society, Jesuits stationed in Lutheran strongholds sometimes defected; others admitted difficulty with the vow of chastity; and “there was mutual agreement that the ill could better recover and care for their health outside of the order.” Ignatius also ordered that candidates be examined more carefully before admission, particularly after an alarming number of departures and several scandalous incidents, such as one young novice who stole private letters from Father Laínez’s possession and threatened to blackmail Father Salmerón who “had written ‘freely’ about some leading citizens of Naples who were ill-disposed toward the Jesuits.” By 1546, Ignatius issued the *General Examen* “to give prospective Jesuits a

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<sup>68</sup> O’Malley, *First Jesuits*, 55-6.

<sup>69</sup> “Of those who departed for whom the evidence is clear, 22 percent left or were dismissed as novices (within the first two years), forty-six percent during the next seven years, and twenty-nine percent after being in the Society ten years or more. Of those who joined before they were eighteen, forty-four percent eventually left. These percentages seem to be about the same for the other larger provinces,” *Ibid.*, 56. For more a more detailed study and analysis, see Thomas Vance Cohen, “The Social Origins of the Jesuits, 1540-1600,” 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1973), 2:566-619.



fairly detailed description of the order and the kind of commitment required of them. He came to believe toward the end of his life that he had been too easy in granting admission.”<sup>70</sup> Thus, by the time Menéndez requested Jesuits for Florida in 1565, the Society had already begun curtailing its admissions.

Father Nadal expressed opinions similar to Ignatius regarding members of the Society, considering too many “inept,” in poor mental or physical health, and “to whom one could not confide a ministry of any substance.” To remedy such problems, Nadal suggested “more careful examination of those who wanted to enter, more thorough testing of those admitted as novices, prompter dismissal of those found unsuitable, and a moratorium on opening new schools, whose needs for ever more Jesuits had led to laxer standards for admittance and less vigorous action on dismissal.”<sup>71</sup> In fact, Nadal turned away the future first Vice-Provincial of Florida, Pedro Martínez, when the young man approached him regarding entrance into the Society. Even after a thorough examination, Nadal kept Martínez on a four-month probation before he could begin his novitiate training.<sup>72</sup>

Perhaps motivated by the Society’s concern over their admittees, Father Nadal compiled and distributed a thirty-point questionnaire to Jesuits in Spain and Portugal in 1561-1562, and in 1568, submitted the Questionnaire to other European provinces. Nadal’s Questionnaire offers remarkable biographical information and details of those who completed it, and it has become an invaluable source for understanding the lives and experiences of many sixteenth-century Jesuits. Today, approximately 1,250 completed

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<sup>70</sup> O’Malley, *First Jesuits*, 57-8.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 61.

<sup>72</sup> This episode is explained in more detail on page 36-7.

Questionnaires survive,<sup>73</sup> those of Florida's Jesuits among them.

Universities and Jesuit colleges proved to be the most successful locations to recruit new members for the Society. Indeed, the original ten companions all met as students at the “most prestigious academic institution in Europe,” the University of Paris, from which they all earned degrees in Masters of Arts. The shared experience united them, creating what scholar Gabriel Codina refers to as “a new kind of citizenship.”<sup>74</sup> When the Jesuits opened their first school in 1548, “they began to recruit over 50 percent of their novices from their students.” Of all who joined the Society in Spain in 1562, almost fifty percent came from only three municipalities—Alcalá, Salamanca, and Valencia—all university cities.<sup>75</sup> Despite the mutual educational backgrounds of the founding members, and the Society's tendency to obtain new recruits from university settings, the Society had no intention at its inception to be involved in education. As O'Malley points out, “just how [Ignatius] came to see a relationship between learning and the ministry in which he now hoped to engage he does not tell . . . , but the decision to study would in any case determine his future course” and the nature of the Society of Jesus.<sup>76</sup> However, Ignatius made it clear in his autobiography that after his failed pilgrimage to Jerusalem, he endeavored to pursue university education to enhance his missionary efforts.<sup>77</sup>

There appears to be several reasons for the Jesuit focus on education. O'Malley claims that the Renaissance humanism of the day influenced Ignatius and the earliest

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<sup>73</sup> O'Malley, *First Jesuits*, 55.

<sup>74</sup> John W. O'Malley, “How the Jesuits Became Involved in Education,” in *The Jesuits Ratio Studiorum*, 63; Gabriel Codina, S.J., “The ‘Modus Parisiensis,’” in *The Jesuits Ratio Studiorum: 400<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Perspectives*, edited by Vincent J. Duminuco, S.J. (New York: Fordham University Press, 2000), 29.

<sup>75</sup> O'Malley, *First Jesuits*, 54-55, quote from page 55.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 27.

<sup>77</sup> O'Malley, “The Historiography of the Society of Jesus,” in *The Jesuits*, 5.

Jesuits, especially through the humanist movement's connection between education and virtue.<sup>78</sup> In 1556, Father Ribadeneira wrote a letter to Philip II, claiming that “all the well-being of Christianity and of the whole world depends on the proper education of youth.”<sup>79</sup> As part of the Catholic Reformation, the Church emphasized the importance of education as a weapon against Protestantism, and the Society, very much a product of the Catholic Reformation, understood that they occupied a unique position to use education as a tool to combat heresy.<sup>80</sup>

Historian Andrés Prieto claims that the founding of the first Jesuit school in Messina, Italy “profoundly altered the Society’s approach to their mission.” In 1560, six years before the Jesuit arrival at Florida, Father Polanco, as secretary of the Superior General, “wrote to all the Jesuit superiors to indicate that the schools had become the main ministry of the order.”<sup>81</sup> Father Polanco explained, “generally speaking, there are [in the Society] two ways of helping our neighbors: one in the colleges through the education of youth in letters, learning, and Christian life, and the second in every place to help every kind of person through sermons, confessions, and the other means that accord with our way of proceeding.” He continued, “every Jesuit must bear his part of the burden of the schools.”<sup>82</sup> According to O’Malley, Polanco’s letter reveals that by 1560, “the Order had in effect redefined itself. From a group imaging itself as a corps of itinerant preachers and missions it, without ever renouncing that ideal, now reframed it with a commitment to permanent educational institutions.”<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> O’Malley, *First Jesuits*, 208.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, 209.

<sup>80</sup> Michael Foss, *The Founding of the Jesuits, 1540* (New York: Weybright and Talley, 1969), 164.

<sup>81</sup> Andrés I. Prieto, *Missionary Scientists: Jesuit Science in Spanish South America, 1570-1810* (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 2011), 3. Both quotes.

<sup>82</sup> O’Malley, *First Jesuits*, 200. O’Malley is quoting directly from Polanco’s letter dated 10 August 1560.

<sup>83</sup> O’Malley, “How the Jesuits Became Involved in Education,” in *The Jesuits Ratio Studiorum*, 65.

Jesuit colleges became so popular partly because the Jesuit teachers were not paid a salary and did not charge tuition; they required only food and clothing, in keeping with their vow of poverty. Even advanced degrees were free. Jesuit colleges depended on funding from outside the Society—from the city, a prince, a private individual, or a group of individuals.<sup>84</sup>

The first Jesuit school opened in 1548, and by about 1551, the Society was opening four or five schools every year.<sup>85</sup> However, as O'Malley explains, “while in many ways the schools enhanced the other ministries, which so often used them as a base, they also absorbed manpower and talent to an extraordinary degree.”<sup>86</sup> This dual obligation of evangelization and education was beginning to stretch the Society so thin that during the Second General Congregation of 1565, the same year Menéndez petitioned to bring Jesuits to Florida, the Society decided that it must curtail the opening of new schools until it could gather more recruits.<sup>87</sup> Accordingly, the Society made no mention of schools or colleges for the Florida mission; rather, Menéndez himself promoted the idea two years later. By the late 1560s, many Jesuits were divided on whether to privilege education or missionization. Disease, perilous ocean voyages, and pirates took the lives of many Jesuits before they even reached their destined mission.<sup>88</sup> According to J.C.H. Aveling, “Many members of the Society found it hard to believe that these risks, however glorious as a ‘divine folly,’ brought any real advantage to the

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<sup>84</sup> O'Malley, *First Jesuits*, 204-207, 219; Also see, Olwen Hufton, “Every Tub on Its Own Bottom: Funding a Jesuit College in Early Modern Europe,” in *The Jesuits II: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540-1773*, 5-23.

<sup>85</sup> O'Malley, *First Jesuits*, 54, 200.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 240. Though a Jesuit college was never founded in Havana, the Jesuits did begin a small school, which became the Jesuit base for the region.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 232.

<sup>88</sup> For instance, in 1570, corsair Jacques Sore apprehended a ship with forty Jesuits on board destined for Brazil. Sore executed all forty missionaries. *Ibid.*, 60.

Church or to a Society fighting to keep its school system open.” Most who went to convert the natives wrote to their superiors of the disappointing results.<sup>89</sup> Thus by the time of the Florida mission, Jesuit administrators were already debating the future course of the Society and whether they should focus their energy on missions or colleges.

The earliest colleges (1539-1541) functioned purely as lodging for Jesuit scholastics. The *Formula* required the Society to open these colleges near already-established universities, where the students were to take classes. The colleges had no official relationship with the universities and offered no instruction of their own.<sup>90</sup> Due to the Society’s vow of poverty, securing funding for the earliest colleges was problematic. However, by 1540, they had “resolved the problem by allowing these ‘colleges’—unlike the other houses of the Society, which were to live off alms—to be endowed and thus have a fixed income.” Though the Society seemed to have found a solution, they still had difficulty securing benefactors willing to endow institutions that were essentially dorms “reserved exclusively for Jesuits, a group of men untested and practically unknown.” The Society established the first dorm college in 1539 close to the University of Paris, where the residents took their classes. But, it struggled with funding, and at the start of the Italian War of 1542-46, Charles V’s subjects were forced to leave Paris. Gradually, dorm colleges opened in other university cities, and by 1544, the Society ran seven such colleges.<sup>91</sup>

The first time Jesuits worked as educators occurred in Goa, India. Father Francis Xavier, one of Ignatius’s first companions, travelled to India at the pope’s request,

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<sup>89</sup> J.C.H. Aveling, *The Jesuits* (New York: Dorset Press, 1987), 142. Kenny briefly discusses the debate over education and missionization in *Romance of the Floridas*, 213-4.

<sup>90</sup> O’Malley, *First Jesuits*, 202.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*

arriving in 1542. Not long after his arrival, the Portuguese governor of Goa asked Xavier to send Jesuits to teach in the city's College of St. Paul, which provided religious instruction to about six hundred Indian and East African youths. The Jesuits were to teach reading, writing, grammar, and catechism. Xavier forwarded the request to Ignatius, who sent a group of Jesuits to the Goa college. The enterprise was a success, and in 1548, the Society administered the college on its own. Three years later, the King of Portugal, John III, "donated both the seminary and the college in perpetuity to the Society of Jesus."<sup>92</sup>

Concurrent with the Jesuit experiment in Goa, complaints from Jesuit scholastics throughout Europe and particularly Italy "began to pour into Rome . . . concerning the lamentable state of studies in the universities." The problem at the Italian University of Padua was particularly troubling to provincials, and ultimately led to the idea that Jesuits themselves could at least supplement the Italian university curriculum. Fathers Polanco and André des Freuz "complained about the waste of time and lack of practical study exercises that would involve students more actively in their learning."<sup>93</sup> Thus, "Ignatius decided that under such circumstances lectures, repetitions, drills, and similar exercises could be conducted by Jesuits for other Jesuits." This form of pedagogy was familiar to the Jesuits who studied at the University of Paris, where it was employed, and the decision to apply the *modus parisiensis* to complement their members' education was "a

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<sup>92</sup> M. Antoni J. Üçerler, "The Jesuit Enterprise in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Japan," in *The Cambridge Companion to The Jesuits*, 155 (includes quote); O'Malley, *First Jesuits*, 202-3. This is not to suggest that Jesuits had never previously taught at colleges or universities, but it was the first time the Society itself was sought to provide members as teachers. For instance, Ignatius, Laínez and Favre "lectured on theology at the University of Rome at the request of Paul III. In 1542-43 Favre lectured on the Psalms at the University of Mainz, and in 1543-44 Jay filled the chair of theology at Ingolstadt left vacant by the death of Johannes Eck. In 1545 Ignatius agreed that Rodrigues become tutor to the son of John III of Portugal." O'Malley, *First Jesuits*, 201.

<sup>93</sup> Gabriel Codina, S.J., "The 'Modus Parisiensis,'" in *The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum*, 30-31.

key moment in the Jesuits' growing awareness that the *modus parisiensis* had something distinctive to offer to Italian schools."<sup>94</sup>

Duke of Gandía, Francisco Borja, personally oversaw the openings of several Jesuit colleges before becoming an important figure in the Florida enterprise as Superior General (1565-1572). He funded the Jesuit college at the University of Valencia and secured ecclesiastical revenues from Pope Paul III for a Jesuit college in Gandía, the location of Borja's duchy. However, the college at Gandía departed from the norms of previous Jesuit colleges in that Gandía did not have a university of its own. Whereas previous Jesuit colleges had always been placed next to a university, Borja envisioned this Jesuit college as offering the instruction on its own. Furthermore, Borja did not want the college to be restricted to only Jesuit scholastics; rather, Gandía would educate Jesuits and other students, particularly the sons of Borja's Morisco subjects. Ignatius, who was "always partial to the duke's suggestions," acquiesced, "and in 1546 Jesuits began to teach 'publicly.'" Not long after its establishment, the pope granted the college at Gandía university status.<sup>95</sup>

The experience at Gandía encouraged the Society's agreement to open a college in Messina, Sicily. In December 1547, city officials of Messina contacted Ignatius, asking him "to send five Jesuit scholastics to study there and five teachers for classes in theology, cases of conscience, 'arts,' rhetoric, and grammar—'all disciplines,' as Nadal said, 'except law and medicine.'" The city provided all necessary provisions such as food, clothing and lodging for the Jesuits so that tuition could be free to all.<sup>96</sup> Thus, in March the following year, Father Nadal and some of the most distinguished members of

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<sup>94</sup> O'Malley, *First Jesuits*, 203.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, 203.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, 204.

the Society left Rome for Messina, traversing over rough seas and encountering Turkish pirates along the way. According to Jesuit scholar Gabriel Codina, “to no other work of the Society had Ignatius given such consideration in assigning a team as numerous or as select. In doing so, Ignatius had to suffer the negative comments of Nicolás de Bobadilla, the most critical of Ignatius’s companions, who was displeased with the loss of personnel in such an undertaking. Yet time would justify the intuition of Ignatius: Messina would become the prototype and model for all the other colleges of the Society, the first laboratory for Jesuit pedagogy.”<sup>97</sup> Criticisms such as Father Bobadilla’s resurfaced in the early years, as demand for the services of members outpaced the Society’s growth. Again, the Florida enterprise provides a clear example of such tensions. Most importantly, the college at Messina “in very short order affected almost every aspect of the Jesuits’ self-understanding up to that moment” by convincing the Society to take on teaching as a formal ministry.<sup>98</sup>

Only a few years after the founding of the college in Messina, the Society had opened approximately thirty more schools, including the Roman College, known today as Gregorian University. By the time a papal edict suppressed the Society in 1773, “the Jesuits were in charge of some 800 educational institutions around the globe.”<sup>99</sup> Even before the Dominicans and Franciscans, the Jesuits were the first teaching order within the Catholic Church, for “they formally and professedly designated the staffing and management of schools a true ministry of the order, indeed its primary ministry;” became the administration and staff of these institutions; and did not limit the teaching to a

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<sup>97</sup> Codina, “The ‘Modus Parisiensis,’” in *The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum*, 28.

<sup>98</sup> O’Malley, “Introduction,” in *The Jesuits II*, xxix.

<sup>99</sup> O’Malley, “How the First Jesuits Became Involved in Education,” in *The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum*, 56.



clerical education, but geared them primarily “for boys and young men who envisaged a worldly career.”<sup>100</sup>

The Society’s emphasis on the opening of schools “entailed a shift from the Jesuits’ being essentially a group of itinerant preachers and missionaries to their becoming resident schoolmasters.”<sup>101</sup> Indeed, the Society began as a peripatetic order, and Ignatius ensured this mobility through the *Constitutions* and the Fourth Vow. The Fourth Vow is not only “an extension of the traditional vow of obedience,” but also “was essentially a commitment to an obedience bound to mobility and therefore often an obedience without direct supervision.” The *Constitutions* comment on the Fourth Vow, explaining that a Jesuit’s ultimate obedience was to the pope, and should be able to be moved or reassigned in accordance with the greatest service to God. It also acknowledges the distances that Jesuits often found themselves from the pope or a superior, especially when stationed in the Indies. In such circumstances, Jesuits were expected to act in the greatest service to God if they did not have immediate instruction from superiors. Ignatius and subsequent Superior Generals emphasized this commitment to mobility and recognized the difficulties that such mobility entailed. In discussion of the Jesuit usage of the term “*misiones*,” scholar John O’Malley observes that “besides pointing to overseas evangelization, the word points to the basically itinerant style of ministry the companions envisaged for themselves.” The *Constitutions* “implies that these missions would generally be of short duration, about three months. The members

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<sup>100</sup> Ibid., 57. Scholar Francesco Cesareo clarifies that the goal of the Jesuit schools was not only education for its own sake. While the schools expounded a humanist program, they also taught philosophy and theology to create a “spiritual orientation of education.” In this way, “Ignatius’s objective in education seems to have been twofold: to form a good, solid Christian leader who could exert a positive influence on the social, political, and cultural environment in which he lived and, by means of this, to allow for the spiritual progress of one’s soul on its pilgrimage toward salvation,” Cesareo, “Quest for Identity,” in *The Jesuit Tradition in Education and Missions*, 20.

<sup>101</sup> O’Malley, “Introduction,” in *Jesuits II*, xxx.

of the order originally saw themselves as most characteristically being on the road, with lots of comings and goings.”<sup>102</sup> At times, the Fourth Vow created conflict between the Jesuits and local royal officials.<sup>103</sup> For instance, Menéndez rarely criticized his Florida Jesuits except regarding their constant movement between Havana and Florida and among the various mission sites, which he claimed hindered their efficacy in evangelization. Though the effects of this itinerant movement on the success of the Florida missions are not explored in this work, the travelling nature of the Society deserves mention because it expresses itself in the approach the Jesuits took to their work, moving regularly between Florida and Cuba; in keeping with the concept of a mobile Society.

The Florida enterprise occurred during Francisco Borja’s tenure as Superior General. Born into nobility, Borja became the fourth duke of Gandía and had considerable political power and influence with his cousin, King Charles V. He was the great-grandson of Pope Alexander VI and King Ferdinand.<sup>104</sup> At the age of eighteen, Borja entered the court of King Charles V and became his close friend. Charles named Borja the Viceroy of Catalonia before the duke turned thirty-years old.<sup>105</sup> Borja began working with the Society after his father’s death brought Borja back to his duchy of Gandía. There he introduced the Society and even founded a Jesuit college and university, where he earned a doctorate in theology. The death of his wife in 1546 convinced Borja to renounce his titles and pursue life in the Society. At the age of thirty-eight, Borja took the Jesuit vows. According to Kenny, Charles V “pressed Borja to join

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<sup>102</sup> John W. O’Malley, “Introduction,” in *The Jesuits II*, xxv.

<sup>103</sup> Steven J. Harris, “Mapping Jesuit Science: The Role of Travel in the Geography of Knowledge,” in *The Jesuits*, 217.

<sup>104</sup> O’Malley, *First Jesuits*, 72.

<sup>105</sup> Kenny, *Romance of the Floridas*, 133.

him in his own retirement five years later, and appointed him, with his son Philip II, joint executor of his will; and it was [Borja] who pronounced the eulogy” of the Emperor at his service in 1558.<sup>106</sup>

Though both Charles V and Ignatius held Father Borja in high esteem, he faced trouble from the Inquisition and Philip II, who seems to have purposefully delayed the Society’s entrance into the Spanish Americas. In 1559, the Spanish Inquisition issued an Index of Prohibited Books, which included a book entitled *Obras del Cristiano*, a work falsely attributed to Father Borja. Even though Borja had been especially close with Philip II’s father, Charles V, Borja did not enjoy the same relationship with Philip.<sup>107</sup> According to Kenny, two members of the Borja family “had grievously injured and offended some intimate friends of the king,” adding further stress to their already precarious relationship. Philip also disapproved of Jesuit “efforts to persuade Spaniards to support with benefactions a foreign institution, the financially faltering Collegio Romano.”<sup>108</sup> An invitation from Cardinal Henrique to visit Portugal prompted Borja to escape the hostility of the Inquisition and the Spanish court. With the pope’s support,

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<sup>106</sup> Ibid., 134.

<sup>107</sup> During Borja’s troubles with the Inquisition, “King Philip, just returned to Spain, had become annoyed with Borja on several counts, not the least being a rumor in the royal court that, in the king’s absence during his marriage to Mary Tudor, Borja had lived in concubinage with Philip’s sister and regent, Princess Juana.” However, Juana had secretly been admitted as a Jesuit, O’Malley, *First Jesuits*, 318.

Coincidentally, Philip personally requested Pedro Menéndez to escort him to England for the wedding, Eugene Lyon, *The Enterprise of Florida: Pedro Menéndez de Avilés and the Spanish Conquest of 1565-1568* (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1976), 13-4. “Under the spiritual guidance of Francis Borgia the young widow lived in the palace of Valladolid as in a monastery and rapidly fell under the Jesuit spell. Her petition to enter the Society had to be taken seriously, and Ignatius appointed a commission to consider it. In strictest secrecy and with certain stipulations the Infanta, under the code name of Mateo Sánchez, was admitted as a Jesuit until her death in 1573. . . . she is the only female in history to have become a member of the Society of Jesus under permanent vows.” Gemma Simmonds, “Women Jesuits?” in *Cambridge Companion to the Jesuits*, 122.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid., both quotes.

“[Superior General] Laínez was able in 1561 to summon Borja from Portugal to Rome, thus beginning his rehabilitation by simply distancing him from his enemies in Spain.”<sup>109</sup>

Despite the standing of Superior General Borja—and perhaps the Society as a whole—with Philip II, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés insisted on bringing Jesuits to his new Florida territory, making La Florida the first Jesuit destination in the Spanish Americas.<sup>110</sup> The nature of the Jesuit order influenced the course of the Society’s Florida enterprise. At the time of the Society’s arrival to Florida, the order was experiencing growing pains typical of a burgeoning religious order. The highly educated backgrounds of its original members influenced the Society’s view of education. Jesuits were encouraged and required to pursue learning, which led the Society to take a role in education through the founding of schools and colleges throughout Europe at the behest of wealthy benefactors. As an increasing number of members became involved in administering and teaching in Jesuit schools and colleges, the Society’s manpower became strained, leading many Jesuit Provincials to begin privileging either education or evangelization, jealously reserving members for each provincial’s favored field to the detriment of the other.<sup>111</sup> These attitudes shaped the Jesuit enterprise in Florida, contributing to its initial delay and eventual withdrawal from the region.

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<sup>109</sup> Ibid.; O’Malley, *First Jesuits*, 319.

<sup>110</sup> Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, “Carta de Pedro Menéndez de Avilés al Padre Francisco Borja,” (March 2, 1565), ARSI Hisp. 102, fol. 134r; Lyon, “Adelantamiento of Florida: 1565-1568,” 77, 296-7.

<sup>111</sup> This is explored in Chapter Three.

### CHAPTER THREE:

#### PEDRO MENÉNDEZ AND THE BEGINNING OF THE JESUIT FLORIDA ENTERPRISE

The introduction of Jesuits into Florida must be viewed within the context of the motivations of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés and Philip II to launch an expedition to Florida in 1565. Upon news of a French fort in Florida, Philip II expedited and reinforced Menéndez's expedition to Florida to remove the enemy. Menéndez petitioned the Crown and Superior General Borja for permission to bring Jesuits to Florida on his initial expedition in 1565. Although both approved Menéndez's request, it took another year for General Borja to gather Jesuits for Florida. Not all of the Jesuits within the Society's administration, such as Fathers Diego Carrillo and Gonzalo González, agreed that their precious few members should be taken from their positions in European colleges and sent to missions across the Atlantic. Provincials successfully resisted General Borja's requests for a year, and only a direct order from Philip II forced the reluctant provincials to provide Jesuits for Florida.

The reasons behind the delayed start of the Jesuit enterprise in Florida are similar to those behind its ultimate withdrawal from the region in 1572. By the mid-sixteenth century, the Society had dedicated itself to education by administrating and teaching in schools and colleges. The same year Menéndez secured the governorship of Cuba (1567), he communicated to General Borja and several Spanish provincials his intention to establish a Jesuit college in Havana. His decision to establish a college united the

Jesuit provincials behind the Florida enterprise. Letters discussing Menéndez's and the provincials' plans for the Havana college abound, and the viability of a college maintained and strengthened the Society's interest in the region.

Though Juan Ponce de León first encountered Florida in 1513, it took the Spanish over five decades to establish a permanent foothold, and it was not for lack of effort. Spain launched expedition after expedition, with most ending in disaster due to hurricanes, hostile natives or poor preparation. For instance, Ponce himself died from a wound inflicted by natives during his second expedition to Florida in 1521. In 1528, Pánfilo de Narváez encountered a hurricane in the Gulf of Mexico, which scattered his fleet. Of the several hundred crew members who went ashore, only four survived, arriving tattered and worn in Mexico City by foot eight years later. Hernando de Soto's 1539-1543 expedition undertook an overland trek that lasted for four years and covered the majority of the Southeast without establishing anything beyond a temporary camp. Before the end of his expedition, Soto died and was interred in the Mississippi River.

All of the Florida expeditions had *asientos* (contracts) that required the conquistador to ensure the evangelization of the natives. Thus all sixteenth-century Florida expeditions included priests and/or members of religious orders. But even strictly religious expeditions to Florida fared no better than those of the conquistadors. The Dominican friar Luís Cáncer brought three other Dominicans, a lay brother, and a previously-captured Florida native woman named Magdalena to Florida in 1549. Not long after their arrival in Tampa Bay and initial encounters with the natives, a Spanish captive from the Soto expedition escaped his native captors and warned Cáncer that "one of the priests and the lay brother had been killed, that a ship's sailor was being held

captive, and that Magdalena, having divested herself of Christian clothing, had deserted to her people.” When Cáncer went ashore to investigate, natives clubbed him to death on the beach.<sup>112</sup>

After costly and failed attempts to establish a permanent settlement in Florida, Philip II decided to curtail any further royal support of Florida expeditions.<sup>113</sup> However, the French Crown launched two expeditions to Florida in 1562 and 1564, the former resulting in the short-lived Charlesfort at Port Royal and the latter establishing Fort Caroline at the mouth of the St. Johns River.<sup>114</sup> News of the Charlesfort settlement reached Spain in early 1563, and Philip II contracted Lúcas Vázquez de Ayllón the younger to establish a Spanish presence in Florida to combat further French settlement. However, Ayllón never sailed beyond Santo Domingo, where he experienced desertions and financial difficulties that prevented him from reaching Florida.<sup>115</sup> In 1565, the Spanish king learned of a second French settlement and turned to Pedro Menéndez de Avilés for advice regarding an appropriate response to the French incursion.

Pedro Menéndez was already a well-established seaman before Philip II contracted his expedition to Florida in 1565. A descendant of Asturian nobility in northern Spain, Menéndez began his career as a privateer, and by the age of thirty-one, had “received two royal commissions [from Maximilian and Charles V] to pursue

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<sup>112</sup> Information on the Cáncer expedition from Michael Gannon, “First European Contacts,” *The New History of Florida*, edited by Michael Gannon (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996), 32-33. Quote on page 33.

<sup>113</sup> Spain’s wars with France had bankrupted the Spanish state in 1557 (17) and the failed 1559 expeditions of Tristán de Luna and Ángel de Villafañe and their overall discouraging reports of Florida, played a role in Philip’s decision, Lyon, *Enterprise of Florida*, 17-22.

<sup>114</sup> Port Royal was located on present-day Parris Island, South Carolina. The Spanish referred to the same location as Santa Elena. For a detailed analysis of the French expeditions to Florida and the European political context during which they sailed, see John T. McGrath, *The French in Early Florida: In the Eye of the Hurricane* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000).

<sup>115</sup> Paul E. Hoffman, *Florida Frontiers*, 43-4.

corsairs.” Through his experience in the Indies, Menéndez became aware of French corsairs’ plans to attack Spanish trade routes; he approached the Council of the Indies and offered his services to combat the corsairs. The Council accepted his proposal, and Menéndez “received a commission as captain-general for the Indies voyages.” He also spent several years aiding the English and Flemish armies by “protecting supply lines and transporting personnel across waters active with French privateers.” He was so successful that Philip II personally requested Menéndez to escort him from Flanders to Spain.<sup>116</sup> The high esteem in which Philip II held Menéndez helped to convince the monarch that Jesuits should be sent to Florida, despite Philip’s dislike of Superior General Borja and his previous refusals to grant the Society access to territories in the Americas.<sup>117</sup>

Though at first it was assumed that multiple religious orders would evangelize Florida, the Jesuits were given select access to the province. The decision to send exclusively Jesuits to Florida had much to do with Pedro Menéndez’s newfound affinity for the Society following his encounter with the Jesuit Father Diego de Avellaneda, whom Menéndez met while imprisoned in the Torre del Oro shortly before his first voyage to Florida in 1565. In June 1563, Menéndez had travelled to Seville on the Guadalquivir, carrying bars of silver and chests with him. Upon learning of Menéndez’s cargo, the Casa de Contratación summoned him to appear before them under charges of smuggling. Eventually, he was jailed in an underground cell in Seville’s Torre del Ore,

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<sup>116</sup> Lyon, *Enterprise of Florida*, 10-16. Quotes on pages 14 and 16, respectively.

<sup>117</sup> For instance, in 1560, Philip II refused the Society permission to send members to Peru. Kenny, *Romance of the Floridas*, 131.



where he remained for eighteen months.<sup>118</sup> While taking confessions from prisoners, Father Avellaneda met Menéndez and they quickly acquired a mutual respect for each other. Father Avellaneda wrote that he found Menéndez “very worthy and trusted him to bring Jesuits to the Indies.” In Avellaneda, Menéndez found an enthusiastic ally, and the meeting prompted his request for Jesuits to join his voyage to Florida.<sup>119</sup>

In March 1565, Menéndez wrote the following letter to Father Borja, who was then acting as the temporary Vicar-General until a new Superior General could be elected following the death of General Diego Laínez:

The Father Provincial [Juan de Valderrábano] and his companions will write to Your Reverence regarding the journey that I am to undertake, by order of His Majesty, to the land and coast of Florida. . . . I hope that this journey will be of great service to God our Lord, and that the people of those lands and provinces will be shown and converted to our holy Catholic faith through the industry, influence and work of those who should go there. Aware of the great benefits that would result by bringing some fathers from the Society, I begged His Majesty to give me license to take some [Jesuits]. Knowing how much I desired it, he granted the license to me. I spoke about my plan to the Father Provincial in this court and to the rest of the companions in the house of Madrid. They understood His Majesty’s intention and good will, but responded that due to the death of the Superior General [Diego Laínez], they were unable to consider the proposal until the chapter meeting which would be held within three months. As I must depart for my voyage to Florida, with God’s help, at the end of May and am unable to delay any longer, I begged them to write to Your Reverence to see if you could

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<sup>118</sup> On February 3, 1565, the Council of the Indies dropped the cases against Menéndez. Zubillaga, *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, 14n5. For a detailed explanation of the charges made against Menéndez, see Eugene Lyon, *The Enterprise of Florida: Pedro Menéndez de Avilés and the Spanish Conquest of 1565-1568* (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1976), 25-41.

<sup>119</sup>Quote from Father Diego Avellaneda, “Carta del Father Diego Avellaneda al Father Francisco Borja,” ARSI Hisp. 102, fol. 211r; Félix Zubillaga, *La florida: la misión Jesuítica (1566-1572) y la colonización Española* (Rome: Institutum Historicum S.I., 1941), 181. Diego Avellaneda was the first rector of the college of Seville and the Provincial of Andalucía, *Ibid.* Scholar Michael Kenny describes the meeting between Menéndez and Avellaneda somewhat differently. He claims that don Pedro del Castillo, the *regidor* of Cádiz and founder of the Jesuit college of Cádiz, supplied Menéndez with artillery and 20,000 ducats for his first voyage. While in Seville, Castillo introduced Menéndez to Avellaneda. However, Kenny’s source is unclear, and all references I have found to their meeting follow the Torre del Ore narrative. Kenny, *The Romance of the Floridas*, 131.

allow some Jesuits from Seville to leave with me so that they may be the first religious I take ashore in those lands.<sup>120</sup>

Menéndez closed his letter with the specific request of Father Avellaneda to be one of the Jesuits to accompany him. Menéndez's request for Jesuits and Philip II's approval greatly pleased Father Borja, and he decided not to wait for the General Congregation before granting Jesuits for the Florida enterprise. In his letter to Menéndez in May 1565, Father Borja promised to send three Jesuits, of which two would be priests.<sup>121</sup>

Father Borja then wrote to Father Gonzalo González, rector of the Madrid college, with whom Menéndez had previously met. Borja instructed him to forego assigning Jesuits to present-day Colombia, as the bishop of Popayán had requested, until the general congregation could meet to discuss that new mission field. But Borja agreed that Menéndez's request for Jesuits before the meeting of the general congregation should be upheld since Menéndez had to depart for Florida by the end of May. In his letter, Father Borja suggested three Jesuits who could serve as vice-provincial of the new Florida mission. Though his first choice was Father Jerónimo Ruíz del Portillo, Portillo was unable to make the Florida mission, and instead, in 1567, Borja appointed him the first vice-provincial of Peru, where he established the College of San Pablo, the first Jesuit college in the Americas. Borja's second choice, Father Juan Baptista de Segura, who desperately wanted to work in the Indies, was also unable to make the initial voyage. Nevertheless, Baptista later became the second vice-provincial of Florida two years later.

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<sup>120</sup> Menéndez, "Carta de Pedro Menéndez de Avilés al Padre Francisco Borja," (March 2, 1565), fol. 134r. (Translation mine.) Francisco de Borja was elected Superior General in July 1565. I will refer to him as Father Borja in any events prior to then.

<sup>121</sup> Father Francisco Borja, "Carta del Padre Francisco Borja a Pedro Menéndez de Avilés," (May 12, 1565), ARSI Hisp. 67, fols. 99v-100r.

The third candidate, Father Pedro Martínez, was selected to lead the first Jesuit expedition to Florida.<sup>122</sup>

Borja recommended Martínez because he was one of the earliest Jesuits approved for the Indies. Martínez had actively sought missionary assignments in the Indies, and in 1559 Borja suggested to General Laínez that Father Martínez be a candidate for the mission to Peru. By 1561, both Martínez and Father Juan Rogel were “first on the approved list from which Father Nadal was to select the most suitable for the Indies; and they were only prevented from going then to Brazil by the difficulties their replacement would involve in the short interval before the sailing of the Portuguese fleet.”<sup>123</sup> However, the eagerness of Fathers Martínez and Rogel did little to convince influential provincials that they should be sent abroad to dangerous missions to the detriment of the European colleges, where both fathers held rectorships.

Both as acting Superior General and then as the elected Superior General, Father Borja had to send numerous petitions to Spanish Provincials to obtain Jesuits for Florida. Many Jesuit administrators objected to Menéndez’s plans and either did not provide names of missionary candidates for Florida when they were requested or they did not respond at all to Father Borja’s letters. For instance, Father Borja specified that “only the most reliable people should be sent for such an important enterprise,” and asked Father Gonzalo González to recommend Jesuits most suitable for the mission and whose absence would not be too inconvenient for their province.<sup>124</sup> However, González repeatedly ignored Borja’s requests for recommendations. In fact, González opposed the

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<sup>122</sup> Ibid., fols. 100r-v; For Father Portillo’s role in the Jesuit mission to Peru, see Martin, *The Intellectual Conquest of Peru*, ix.

<sup>123</sup> Kenny, *Romance of the Floridas*, 165-8, quote on page 167.

<sup>124</sup> Father Francisco Borja, “Pater Franciscus Borgia, Vic. Gen. [Missionariis Floridae],” (12 May 1565. *MAF*, doc. 5, p.12.

Florida enterprise in the beginning, as evidenced in a letter by Father Diego Carrillo the Provincial of Castile to General Borja. Responding to the early requests for Jesuit missionaries for Florida, Father Carrillo wrote: “. . . Father Gonzalo González told me that . . . it seemed to him that no Jesuits should be sent to any part of the Indies if those places are not under direct protection of the King.” In other words, missionaries should evangelize pacified and occupied areas. Father Carrillo’s letter is also an early example of the Society’s concerns of not having enough members to accomplish their many obligations. He continued, “. . . I am worried about removing Jesuits [from the colleges] for the Indies because I see Oñate and Burgos depopulated, and Logroño nearly so. And all of the colleges cry out for Jesuits, and I do not know how to fulfill those demands.”<sup>125</sup> Carrillo then explained that his province of Castile could not afford to lose Portillo and Baptista, who at the time was the rector of the college at Valladolid, but perhaps he could spare Martínez.<sup>126</sup>

Kenny suggests that Father González changed his position regarding the Florida enterprise when the Society received news that a thousand French Lutherans had recently set sail for Florida and established a fort on its coast. According to Kenny, this news convinced Father González to officially give his support for the Florida missionaries, as seen in a letter to Borja on 16 March 1565.<sup>127</sup> However, the letter Kenny seems to be referring to is actually dated 6 April 1565, and Father González’s opinion regarding the

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<sup>125</sup> Father Diego Carrillo, “Carta del Padre Diego Carrillo al Padre Francisco Borja,” 30 January 1566, ARSI Hisp. 103, fol. 46r.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 46v.

<sup>127</sup> Kenny, *Romance of the Floridas*, 131.

Florida enterprise is unclear. He simply states that he received news about the French threat in Florida, and prays Menéndez will remove the “evil sect.”<sup>128</sup>

Fathers Carrillo and González continued to take their time arranging Jesuits for the Florida mission until Philip II became frustrated with the delays and complaints from Menéndez. On 9 April 1566, the king wrote a letter to Carrillo, demanding that he take action and supply Jesuits for Florida. Philip reiterated the names of the Jesuits whom General Borja had recommended and insisted that Carrillo “hastily dispatch those he could spare to the city of Seville,” where a fleet was preparing to depart for Florida.<sup>129</sup>

Menéndez even visited his friend, Father Avellaneda, in Cádiz, and explained that his *asiento* with the king stipulated that he bring Jesuits to Florida but that he still had not received any missionaries. Later that day, Menéndez’s ships were finally prepared to sail for Florida, and according to Avellaneda, the *adelantado* cried at the thought of departing without members of the Society. But the French threat to Spain’s possessions had to be removed, so Menéndez set sail for Florida from Cádiz on 27 June 1565 without the Jesuits he had been promised. Although Father Avellaneda assured Menéndez that he would help secure Jesuits for the next Florida voyage, he wrote to the General Superior that he found it difficult to recruit members in Cádiz for “such an uncertain journey and dangerous conquest, since their going would be more to fight than to preach due to the presence of the French Lutherans.”<sup>130</sup>

King Philip II’s letter demanding Jesuits for the Florida expedition finally spurred the Jesuit provincials, who selected Father Pedro Martínez to be the first Vice-Provincial

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<sup>128</sup> The letter is Padre Gonzalo González, “Carta del Padre Gonzalo González al Padre Francisco de Borja,” (April 6, 1565), ARSI Hisp. 102, fols. 163r-163v.

<sup>129</sup> Philip II, “Carta del Rey al Padre Diego Carrillo,” (April 9, 1566), ARSI Hisp 103, fol. 141r.

<sup>130</sup> Padre Diego Avellaneda, “Carta del Padre Diego Avellaneda al Padre Francisco Borja,” (June 29, 1565), ARSI Hisp. 102, fols. 210r-212v.

(also called Superior) of the Florida mission. Provincials Carrillo and Suárez had previously appointed him as rector of the Monterey college, but the day he arrived to Monterey, he received notice that he had been requested to leave immediately for Seville to then set sail to Florida.<sup>131</sup> By mid-April, Martínez had arrived in Seville to await the rest of his missionaries.<sup>132</sup>

Before his appointment as the first Vice-Provincial of Florida, Father Pedro Martínez's experiences highlighted the tensions within the Society, the importance of colleges and education, and the restrictiveness with which the Society began admitting its members. Martínez was the son of a regent, born at Teruel in Aragon on 26 October 1533. He received his Master of Arts degree from the University of Valencia when he was twenty-two and was also an accomplished fencer. A group of Jesuits, led by Father Nadal, had recently arrived in Valencia, and Martínez accompanied four students who were eager to meet with Father Nadal. Although Martínez originally joined the students hoping "to have some fun at [the Jesuits'] expense," his observance of the Jesuits as they worked and spoke with the students convinced Martínez to ask Father Nadal to admit him into the Society. Nadal and other Jesuits had grown weary of admitting people too hastily, so he asked the four students, who also wished to join, to return in six months. However, Nadal instructed Martínez to return in a week.

Father Tablares witnessed Martínez's return to the Jesuit house and recounted the event in a letter to Ignatius. He wrote, "Some have come to us with a strong desire to enter the Society, but Father Nadal had seen fit to put them off for a time. One of these youths came one evening with his bundle on his back, begging to be admitted to work in

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<sup>131</sup> Kenny, *Romance of the Floridas*, 170-1.

<sup>132</sup> Zubillaga, *La florida*, 216-7.

the garden, for he said under no consideration would he leave the premises.” Indeed, neither Fathers Nadal or Tablares could convince Martínez to leave. Although the Fathers found Martínez to be intelligent and educated after an extensive examination the following day, Father Nadal did not allow Martínez to begin his novitiate training for another four months.<sup>133</sup>

The other two missionaries who comprised the first Jesuit group to Florida were Brother Francisco Villareal and Father Juan Rogel. Father Avellaneda, the Provincial of Andalucía, personally selected Brother Villareal for the Florida mission, claiming that he was the best lay brother in the province. Villareal was born in Toledo in 1530<sup>134</sup> and received a sufficient education that allowed him to earn a position as secretary of the Audiencia in Granada, the royal Court of Appeal. Villareal left shortly after his appointment and briefly resumed his education until his decision to enter the Society at almost thirty-years old. Though he had the opportunity to become a scholastic and pursue the priesthood, Villareal preferred to be a lay brother.<sup>135</sup> Born in 1529 in Pamplona, Father Juan Rogel earned a degree in medicine from the University of Alcalá and then travelled to the University of Valencia for a course on anatomy. Just as the Jesuit college at Valencia inspired Pedro Martínez to join the Society, Rogel was likewise encouraged and decided to pursue theology instead.

In mid-April 1566, Father Martínez traveled into Seville, with Brother Villareal joining him on the twenty-first. Father Rogel’s arrival at the city on the fifth of May

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<sup>133</sup> Kenny, *Romance of the Floridas*, 163-6. Father Tablares’s letter is quoted on page 166.

<sup>134</sup> Zubillaga estimates the date of Villareal’s birth based on his answers to Nadal’s Questionnaire, Zubillaga, *La Florida*, 234n99. Kenny claims 1529 is Villareal’s birth year, but provides no citation (though presumably, Kenny also gathered his information from the Questionnaire) or an explanation of how he arrived at 1529, Kenny, *Romance of the Floridas*, 173.

<sup>135</sup> Zubillaga, *La Florida*, 234-5 and Kenny, *Romance of the Floridas*, 173-4.

completed the first group of Jesuit missionaries designated for the Florida mission. The missionaries, all in their mid-thirties, departed together on 28 June for the Americas.<sup>136</sup>

They arrived at the Florida coast on 28 August 1566 and immediately encountered difficulty. They searched for Santa Elena,<sup>137</sup> sailing along the coast for nearly a month. At Tacatacuru,<sup>138</sup> Father Martínez and a small group of the Spanish and Flemish crew went ashore, hoping to locate fresh water and possibly some Indians who might guide them to the Santa Elena fort. For several days, the remaining crew waited aboard for their return, until a storm hit the ship and forced it away from where Father Martínez and the men had gone ashore. Now lost, Father Rogel, Brother Villareal and the crew sailed for Santo Domingo, where more storms prevented them from entering the port. Finally, on 24 October, they arrived to Española. Meanwhile, Father Martínez and the group wandered south along the shore searching for their ship. Near the mouth of the St. Johns River just north of St. Augustine, they encountered Mocama Indians. On the beach, the Indians killed Father Martínez and all but a few others, who escaped and were eventually found by Menéndez.<sup>139</sup> Father Martínez had been a well-liked and seasoned Jesuit, having entered the Society in 1553 at the age of twenty.<sup>140</sup>

The news of Father Martínez's death caused mixed reactions among the Jesuits in Europe. For some, his death reminded them of the risk of sending the Society's few Jesuits to dangerous missions. Father Provincial González, who had opposed the Florida enterprise from the beginning, wrote to Superior General Borja in April 1567 that he had

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<sup>136</sup> Zubillaga, *La Florida*, 216-7.

<sup>137</sup> Santa Elena was the site of a Spanish fort at present-day Parris Island, South Carolina.

<sup>138</sup> Present-day Cumberland Island, Georgia.

<sup>139</sup> Father Rogel provides an account of their arrival and subsequent difficulties in "Letter from Father Juan Rogel to Father Diego Avellaneda," November 1566, ARSI Hisp. 105, fols. 72v-74r.

<sup>140</sup> Zubillaga, *La Florida*, 217.



received news of Martínez's death, and that "all the friends here tell us that it is a lost cause to send people to such lands that are newly conquered until they are pacified. Moreover, there is no one to send due to our many obligations and few people to fulfill them."<sup>141</sup> Others, such as Father Provincial Carrillo, who also opposed sending Jesuits to Florida, wrote to General Borja regarding the Jesuits' reception of Martínez's death: "his death has created such a desire to go [to Florida], that it is as if his blood cries out to them."<sup>142</sup>

By the time Father Martínez died on the Florida coast, Rogel and Villareal had arrived in the town of Monte Christi on Española with fevers and colds that plagued them throughout their month-long stay.<sup>143</sup> Despite their illnesses, the two Jesuits taught the Christian doctrine to the local children and *morenos* and aided in formally establishing a *cofradía*. From Monte Christi, they set sail for Havana, but encountered several storms along the way that blew them off course and even cast them within sight of the Florida coast. They arrived in Havana, exhausted and tattered, two weeks later on 10 December 1566. Juan de Hinistrosa, the city treasurer, greeted them at the port, initiating an enduring friendship between him and the Society.<sup>144</sup>

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<sup>141</sup> Father González, "Carta del Padre González a Borja," (April 18, 1567), fol. 205v. However, it is somewhat unclear if Father Martínez's death convinced Jesuit administrators that they should not send Jesuits to Florida or if his death only reinforced the opinions of those already against the Florida missions.

<sup>142</sup> Father Diego Carrillo, "Carta del Padre Diego Carrillo al Padre Francisco Borja," 3 March 1567, Hisp. 105, fol. 159v.

<sup>143</sup> Father Juan Rogel "Carta del Padre Juan Rogel al Padre Diego Avellaneda," 10 November 1566 & 30 January 1567, fol. 74r.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid., fols. 74v-75r. Hinistrosa had considerable influence in Havana, having also been a town council member from 1554-1571. Alejandro de la Fuente, *Havana and the Atlantic in the Sixteenth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 189. Several Florida Jesuits wrote to Hinistrosa, either seeking further provisions, or updating him on their missionary efforts. Father Rogel wrote to Hinistrosa from Orista in 1569, relating to him the progress of Juanico, a young boy and possible relative of the treasurer, who the Father had brought with him from Havana to Santa Elena to assist him in the missions.

Once in Havana, Hinistrosa arranged for the Jesuits to stay in two rooms at a local church. Though Father Rogel at first asked that they reside at the hospital to help the sick and insisted that they were used to staying in hospitals when a Jesuit house was unavailable, he nevertheless conceded to Hinistrosa's wishes. The royal treasurer gave Father Rogel a letter from Menéndez that presented two options for the Jesuits. If Father Rogel and Brother Villareal wished to continue on to Florida, they should seek out Carlos, the head *cacique* on the west coast of the Florida peninsula called Calusa (present-day Charlotte Bay area). Approximately fifteen Spaniards were already residing in Calusa territory, and according to the *adelantado*, the Calusa were friends and had told Menéndez that they would like to be Christians. The other option for the Jesuits was to stay in Havana until the *adelantado* returned and could take them to Calusa territory himself. Father Rogel decided that he and Brother Villareal should remain in Havana since they were both ill and unable to travel. Also, he determined that the presence of Menéndez would lend more authority to their Christian teaching in the eyes of the Indians.<sup>145</sup>

The missionaries first taught Christianity to Florida Indians while in Havana. As they waited for the arrival of Menéndez, Rogel and Villareal met twelve Indians from Calusa and six or eight Tequesta Indians of present-day Miami. Menéndez had brought them from Florida, and they had lived as residents in the town since coming to Havana.<sup>146</sup> According to Father Rogel, the Indians would visit him at the church every day to learn the Christian doctrine. Among these Indians was a sister of the *cacique*, Carlos, and a

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<sup>145</sup> Ibid., 75r-75v.

<sup>146</sup> It is unclear in Father Rogel's letter when these Indians had arrived. But they must have been in Havana before the Jesuits came there. Ibid. fol. 75v.

relative, “who they say has the right to Carlos’s kingdom.”<sup>147</sup> Another of these Indians was the second son of the *cacique* of Tequesta. The Jesuit communicated the fundamentals of the faith through two interpreters, a *morena* and a *mulatto*, whom the Indians had brought with them to Havana. The interpreters were both survivors of Spanish expeditions, and had been living among the Indians since they were children. Rogel noted that even though the Indians enthusiastically engaged with their Christian learning, he did not baptize any of them, though he admitted that he would have if their lives had been in danger. He wanted the Indians to be sufficiently instructed, which would take some time since he found them to be “simple people with little understanding.”<sup>148</sup> He thought similarly of the interpreters, whose abilities he doubted, because they had lost a great deal of their Spanish after living among the Indians for so many years. These Florida Indians in Havana, Father Rogel claimed, “will be the first fruits of the great Florida enterprise.”<sup>149</sup>

Rogel and Villareal remained in Havana from August 1566 until 1567. In 1566, Menéndez had sent Captain Francisco Reinoso to establish a fort (San Antonio) in Calusa territory, and Father Rogel and Brother Villareal accompanied Menéndez from Havana to San Antonio in late February of 1567.<sup>150</sup> According to Kenny, Menéndez wanted to secure a passageway to the St. Johns River and found that he could do so only by going north of Calusa to Tocobaga (present-day Old Tampa Bay). However at the time, Tocobaga and Calusa were at war with each other, so Menéndez traveled to Tocobaga, established peace between the two caciques, and left a captain with thirty soldiers in

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<sup>147</sup> Ibid., fol. 76r.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid., fol. 75v-76r.

<sup>149</sup> Quote from Father Rogel, “Carta del Padre Juan Rogel al Padre Diego Avellaneda,” 10 November 1566-30 January 1567, fol. 76r.

<sup>150</sup> Hann, *Missions to the Calusa*, 220; Kenny, *The Romance of the Floridas*, 189-90.

Tocobaga to begin teaching Christianity to the natives.<sup>151</sup> Returning from Tocobaga, Menéndez next assigned Father Rogel to Calusa and then made his way to Tequesta (near present-day Miami), where he left Brother Villareal and another thirty soldiers.<sup>152</sup>

From the beginning there were tensions between the Spanish and the Calusa cacique Carlos, who not only had difficulties with Captain Reinoso and his soldiers prior to Father Rogel's arrival, but also resented Menéndez for pressuring him into making peace with his longtime enemy, Tocobaga.<sup>153</sup> Moreover, Carlos disliked Rogel for demeaning the *cacique's* idols and ordered his kidnapping if he went outside Fort San Antonio. As a result, Rogel rarely ventured beyond the immediate vicinity of the fort and was limited to preaching to the few Indians who came to the cross at the presidio.<sup>154</sup> Reflecting on Carlos's animosity, Rogel wrote in 1568 that "during Carlos's lifetime, I never had the chance, nor did he give me the chance, to teach anyone the things of our holy faith."<sup>155</sup> The presence of a Calusa faction that opposed Carlos and wanted the *cacique's* removal further complicated the relationship between Carlos and the Spanish. According to historian John Hann, the faction "forewarned the Spaniards of dangers from Carlos or even possibly misrepresented Carlos's intentions in order to win Spanish support for his removal."<sup>156</sup> Around this time, most likely in May 1567, the Spanish were running out of supplies, and Rogel agreed to travel quickly to Havana to procure supplies for both Tocobaga and Calusa. While Rogel was away, Captain Reinoso

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<sup>151</sup> At least Menéndez claimed to have made peace between the two *caciques*. More than likely he made the attempt, but peace was not achieved.

<sup>152</sup> Kenny, *The Romance of the Floridas*, 190-3. Father Rogel was instructed to travel periodically to Tocobaga to tend to the natives there.

<sup>153</sup> Hann, *Missions to the Calusa*, 220.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*, 220-2.

<sup>155</sup> Father Juan Rogel, "Pater Ioannes Rogel Patri Hieronymo R. del Portillo," Havana, 25 April 1568. *MAF*, doc.85, p. 290.

<sup>156</sup> Hann, *Missions to the Calusa*, 221.

became convinced of the validity of the faction's warnings. Reinoso lured Carlos to Fort San Antonio, where he seized and killed the *cacique* and two of his companions.<sup>157</sup>

The actions of the Spanish soldiers made Father Rogel's work even more difficult. Although the Jesuits endeavored to win souls not only by their preaching, but also by their example, the violence of the Spanish soldiers frequently hindered the missionaries' progress. Father Rogel and other Florida missionaries often blamed the presence of the Spanish soldiers for impeding the Society's progress because the soldiers would burden the Indians with unreasonable demands and interfere in their politics.<sup>158</sup> For instance, the first phase of Jesuit activity was focused in south Florida, and from the beginning those missions were always in the vicinity of the Spanish garrisons. When the garrisons withdrew from an area because of native hostility, the resident Jesuit felt he had to leave as well, lest he be treated as a representative of the Spanish military. After the Jesuits and soldiers withdrew from south Florida for a second time in 1569, the missionaries focused their activities around and north of St. Augustine, establishing their missions far enough from the garrisons so that the soldiers could not easily harass the mission natives, but not so far that the missionary could not seek Spanish protection if he felt threatened.

After the Spanish assassinated Carlos, they installed the leader of Carlos's opposition as *cacique*. At first Father Rogel thought that Felipe, the new *cacique*, was receptive to Christianity, and the Jesuit was optimistic. However, Rogel's attitude changed when he discovered that Felipe had taken his sister as a second wife.<sup>159</sup>

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<sup>157</sup> Zubillaga, *La florida*, 279-80.

<sup>158</sup> Mallios, "Apotheosis of Ajacan's Jesuit Missionaries," 225.

<sup>159</sup> Kenny, *Romance of the Floridas*, 196; Wade, *Missions, Missionaries, and Native Americans*, 58.

In December 1567, the Spanish captains convinced Rogel to return to Havana for more provisions. He departed from Calusa on the tenth and arrived just two days later to Havana, where he met with the *adelantado*'s nephew, Pedro Menéndez Márquez. As he waited for Márquez to gather the supplies, Rogel resumed the work he had begun a year earlier. Not only did he instruct the Spanish children in Christianity, but he paid careful attention to Havana's slaves, whose owners had failed to teach them anything regarding the faith. Rogel examined the Florida Indians whom he and Brother Villareal had instructed during their initial stay in Havana in 1566 and found one of the Calusa women prepared for baptism. He baptized the woman, and seemed particularly pleased with her progress, remarking that when the *adelantado* returned to Florida, Rogel would like him to bring the woman with him so that she could marry a Spaniard. Such a marriage, he hoped, would set an example for the other Indians and aid in their conversion. Thus, in January 1568, when Menéndez Márquez had secured the supplies, Father Rogel left Havana in high spirits, heading first for Tocobaga to bring the provisions to the garrison.

However, Rogel returned to Florida with Menéndez Márquez to find that the Indians of Tocobaga had risen against and killed the soldiers stationed in the garrison. In retaliation, Menéndez Márquez ordered the Tocobaga village burned, ending Spanish missionary efforts and military presence in the area. Menéndez Márquez then escorted Father Rogel to Calusa to resume his teaching.<sup>160</sup>

Brother Francisco Villareal, who was installed in Tequesta at the same time that Father Rogel began his mission at Calusa in 1567, stayed at his post for about a year and made as few gains as Father Rogel had with the Calusa. For three or so months during

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<sup>160</sup> Padre Juan Rogel, "Carta del Padre Juan Rogel al Padre Gerónimo Ruíz del Portillo," 25 April 1568, ARSI Peru 19, fols. 13v-14v.

the summer, Brother Villareal wrote that the mosquitoes became so unbearable that many times he was only able to sleep an hour a night, and was forced to do so by a fire so that its smoke would help protect him from the swarming mosquitos. During this mosquito season, he claimed that most of the Tequesta abandoned the land in favor of an offshore island, leaving no one to whom the brother could preach. Even following the mosquito season, Brother Villareal made very little progress in converting the natives. He managed to put on two “*comedias*,” or plays, to help him communicate the Christian doctrine. In fact, his letter documenting the plays is the first written record of a theatrical performance in North America.<sup>161</sup> However, Villareal’s mission quickly ended. According to Father Antonio Sedeño, the soldiers stationed in Tequesta “unjustly” killed the cacique.<sup>162</sup> Due to the resulting hostile environment, in April 1568, Menéndez Márquez ordered Brother Villareal and the several dozen soldiers stationed in Tequesta to abandon the site.<sup>163</sup>

While the two Jesuits were busy beginning the Florida missions, Menéndez wrote to Jesuit administrators and General Borja, hoping to expand the Florida enterprise by establishing a Jesuit college. By October 1567, Menéndez had already expressed an interest in establishing two or three colleges, one of which would be located in Havana.<sup>164</sup> He had just acquired the governorship of Cuba and was eager to establish the Jesuits in both of his territories. Two months later, Menéndez visited the Jesuit college in Seville

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<sup>161</sup> Brother Francisco Villareal, “Carta del Hermano Francisco Villareal al Padre Francisco de Borja,” (January 23, 1568), ARSI Epp Selectas n.483, fols. 327r-328r.

<sup>162</sup> Padre Antonio Sedeño, “Carta del Padre Antonio Sedeño al Padre Francisco de Borja,” (November 17, 1568), ARSI Mexico 16, fol. 6r.

<sup>163</sup> Kenny, *Romance of the Floridas*, 199.

<sup>164</sup> Father Pedro de Saavedra, who held an administrative position within the Society in Toledo, explains Menéndez’s interest in establishing colleges. Saavedra supports Menéndez’s plan, and in his letter to Father Borja, he requests that the Society do everything they can to provide more Jesuits for this endeavor. Father Saavedra, “Carta del Padre Pedro de Saavedra al Padre Francisco Borja,” (October 10, 1567), fol. 75r.

to clarify his plan for the Havana college and request more members of the Society for Florida. According to one Jesuit who was present for Menéndez's visit, the *adelantado* proposed "a college of the Society and another for eighty or one-hundred children of *caciques*," who would "learn Spanish and how to be good Christians so that the children could return home and instruct their parents." He stressed that the college and school should be in Havana because from Havana, one could easily sail to visit the missions in south Florida, where Rogel and Villareal preached. Havana was also en route to Mexico, making Cuba an ideal waypoint and strategic location to expand the Society's efforts in the Americas. Menéndez then requested to bring twenty Jesuits from Spain to Cuba to begin instructing the children in Christianity, reading and writing.<sup>165</sup> Though Menéndez never received twenty new members, eleven Jesuits arrived a year later to begin work in Havana and Florida.

Though Menéndez's acquisition of the Cuba governorship in 1567 prompted his interest in a Havana college, the Jesuit presence in Cuba began by accident. When the first group of Jesuits failed to find Santa Elena along the turbulent Florida coast, their ship brought them to Havana, where Father Rogel and Brother Villareal began instructing Blacks, children, and a group of Florida Indians who had recently arrived in the town. Their early efforts in Havana were more successful than the Florida missions during this first phase of the enterprise. The missionaries of South Florida struggled, and Spanish soldiers' interference in Indian politics shut down the missions. Their time in Cuba proved much more productive, with the most successful interactions with Florida Indians occurring at the school the Jesuits began in Havana. At Menéndez's request, additional

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<sup>165</sup> "[Relatio Anonyma de Visitatione Quam Petrus Menendez Hispali Missionariis Floridae Fecit]," 16 December 1567. *MAF*, doc. 69, p. 214 and 217.



missionaries arrived with Father Juan Baptista de Segura, the new Vice-Provincial, in 1568, initiating a second phase in the Jesuit enterprise, one that ultimately shifted missionary efforts north from the Florida peninsula and established Havana as the Jesuit base.

## CHAPTER FOUR:

## NEW JESUIT ARRIVALS AND THE WITHDRAWAL FROM FLORIDA

In June 1568 a second wave of Jesuits arrived in St. Augustine and included: Fathers Juan Baptista de Segura (Vice-Provincial), Gonzalo del Álamo, and Antonio Sedeño; Brothers Juan de la Carrera, Pedro Linares, and Domingo Agustín Báez; five *mancebos*; and six Florida Indians.<sup>166</sup> Vice-Provincial Baptista, not quite forty-years old at the time of his arrival in Florida, had extensive experience in the Jesuit colleges in Spain. He was born in Toledo and was educated at the University of Alcalá, where he earned his doctorate. He underwent his novitiate training at Simancas, where he met and befriended Father Borja prior to his election to Superior General. After becoming ordained, Baptista opened a Jesuit college in Billimar, “which he made a center for catechetical instruction in the surrounding districts, and he erected a retreat house for priests and for laymen under the patronage of the Cardinal of Burgos.” In 1563, he was appointed the rector of Monterey and three years later, the rector of Valladolid. Provincial Carrillo’s particular fondness for him, and Baptista’s competence as rector convinced the Provincial to retain Baptista in Spain rather than send him to Florida as per the request of General Borja in 1565. For years, Father Baptista had petitioned provincials and his friend General Borja to send him to the Indies, and finally his

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<sup>166</sup> Lewis and Loomie, *Spanish Jesuit Mission in Virginia*, 24-5.

opportunity arrived in 1568.<sup>167</sup>

When Vice-Provincial Baptista and the new missionaries arrived in Florida, Rogel departed from Calusa to join them in St. Augustine. Upon arrival, he told Baptista that the *caciques* of South Florida promised to convert once Menéndez returned to Florida. This was a common promise among Florida *caciques*, which strongly suggests that the *caciques* viewed Christianity as a means to create or strengthen political ties with the Spanish. Upon receiving this news, Vice-Provincial Baptista determined that most of the Florida Jesuits should sail for Havana to continue their teaching until Menéndez returned. On July 10, 1568, Baptista and most of the Jesuits left for Havana, leaving behind Brother Báez and two catechists in St. Augustine to serve the spiritual needs of the presidio and the neighboring Timucua allies.<sup>168</sup>

When Menéndez arrived in Havana, the Vice-Provincial decided not to return Rogel to his Calusa post. Deeming Rogel “the most knowledgeable and experienced” of the Florida Jesuits, Baptista appointed him as Rector of the newly established school in Havana. In the fall, he sent Father Álamo and Brother Villareal to resume Rogel’s mission in Calusa and directed Father Sedeño to Guale territory where Brother Báez would join him from St. Augustine.<sup>169</sup> Spanish relations with the Tequesta had improved since the first mission because the Spaniards had returned a brother of the *cacique*, whom they had captured years before and brought to Havana. His reappearance apparently thrilled the Indians so much that it prompted them to renew their friendship with the

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<sup>167</sup> Kenny, *Romance of the Floridas*, 205-6.

<sup>168</sup> Kenny, *Romance of the Floridas*, 221-2.

<sup>169</sup> Padre Sedeño, “Carta del Padre Antonio Sedeño al Padre Francisco de Borja,” (November 17, 1568), fols. 5r-5v.

Spanish. Deeming Tequesta territory safe enough to resume mission work, Baptista sent Brother Ruíz to preach among them.<sup>170</sup>

While the Vice-Provincial decided new assignments for his Jesuits, Father Antonio Sedeño wrote about the impressive progress that the Jesuits had made among the Spaniards, Indians, and Blacks in Havana. He congratulated the work of Rogel and Villareal, whose efforts in Havana had, by 1568, led to the creation of a small school for Havana residents.<sup>171</sup> Nearly every Jesuit destined for Florida served at least some time in Havana, and they often travelled back and forth repeatedly between the two locations. In fact, some members of the Society spent just as much time serving in Havana as they did in Florida, especially after Menéndez's appointment to the governorship of Cuba in 1567.<sup>172</sup> Menéndez, a great supporter of the Society, encouraged the Jesuit presence in both locations and repeatedly requested for more Jesuits to serve in Havana, but the small number of members prevented the Society from fulfilling most of his requests. Thus, their activities in Havana necessarily minimized their presence in Florida. This point seems critical to the Society's effectiveness in Florida, yet few scholars even mention that the "Florida" Jesuits spent a great deal of their time in Cuba.<sup>173</sup> If the Havana residents had provided an endowment for a permanent Jesuit college in Havana, then Jesuit efforts in Havana would have benefitted both the city and the Florida missions.

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<sup>170</sup> Zubillaga, *La Florida*, 349; Kenny, *Romance of the Floridas*, 224-7.

<sup>171</sup> Padre Sedeño, "Carta del Padre Antonio Sedeño al Padre Francisco de Borja," (November 17, 1568), fols. 5v-6r.

<sup>172</sup> In particular, I am thinking of Fathers Rogel, Sedeño and Baptista, and Brother Villareal. It would be interesting to create a detailed timeline tracking the locations of the members who were specifically requested for Florida, but also wound up spending a significant amount of time in Havana. Menéndez's interest in establishing a Jesuit college in Havana is just one piece of evidence that he encouraged their presence in both Florida and Cuba.

<sup>173</sup> The majority of scholarly work makes no mention of Cuba. Zubillaga and Kenny, both Jesuits, are the only scholars who acknowledge the considerable amount of time and effort the Jesuits spent in Cuba.

As Rogel settled into his position as Rector in Havana, interference from the Spanish military ended the second Jesuit mission in Calusa. Not long after Álamo and Villareal arrived, the soldiers stationed in Calusa began to fear that *cacique* Felipe was plotting against the Spaniards. Menéndez Márquez then executed Felipe and eleven other chiefs, causing all the Indians to evacuate the territory. With the Calusa dispersed, Father Álamo and Brother Villareal returned to Havana, from where Vice-Provincial Baptista directed them to Guale territory, north of St. Augustine. Father Álamo was so upset by Menéndez Márquez's execution of *cacique* Felipe that he left Guale after a few months and travelled to Havana, refusing to return to the Florida missions. When Vice-Provincial Baptista gave him permission to return to Spain, Father Álamo went directly to Provincial Gonzalo Esquivel to explain what was occurring in Florida. In a letter to General Borja, Provincial Esquivel related what Álamo had reported to him. Álamo had told Provincial Esquivel that he could not in good conscience remain in Florida because of the soldiers' violence against the *caciques*. He also claimed that Baptista was not trustworthy because though he claimed to be preaching out in Guale, he had actually travelled by canoe to the fort at Santa Elena and was residing there instead, writing letters as if he were in Guale and blaming the poor disposition of the Guale Indians for the little progress he was making in the mission.<sup>174</sup>

The Jesuits shifted their attention to the area around and to the north of St. Augustine after the violence between the Spaniards and natives forced the missionaries to withdraw from south Florida. In June 1569 they established a house and chapel in Santa Elena, the Spanish town in Guale territory located on the southern coast of present-day

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<sup>174</sup> Padre Gonzalo Esquivel, "Carta del Padre Gonzalo de Esquivel al Padre Francisco Borja," (September 26, 1570), ARSI Hisp 115, fols. 161r-162v; Zubillaga, *MAF*, doc. 113, p.445n18, 19, 20.

South Carolina.<sup>175</sup> Father Rogel departed from the Havana school in mid-August 1569 to establish a mission among the Orista in an Indian village “five leagues from Santa Elena . . . [residing] only with Indians and without protection of soldiers.”<sup>176</sup> He claimed that the Orista were much more disposed toward Christianity than the Calusa Indians, and that within six months, he and his three young assistants had learned enough of the language to preach in the Orista’s native tongue.<sup>177</sup> However, after making slight progress with the natives there, he received news that the lieutenant governor of Santa Elena, Juan de la Bandera, had ordered that *caciques* from Escamacu, Orista, and Ahoya should bring canoes of maize to Santa Elena. To oversee this demand, Bandera planned to dispatch forty soldiers to Orista. Father Rogel feared that he would be caught in the middle of a violent clash between the Orista and Spanish soldiers, Father Rogel warned the Orista of the soldiers’ plans and left for Santa Elena on 13 July 1570. When the soldiers arrived, the Orista natives launched a fierce resistance.<sup>178</sup>

It is important to point out that Menéndez began experiencing severe financial difficulties in 1568. In an attempt to provoke the Crown to provide additional funding for Florida, Menéndez lowered the number of Florida soldiers to the 150 that were covered by the royal payroll.<sup>179</sup> That provisions were especially low in 1568 helps to account for the aggressiveness of the Spanish soldiers towards the natives, which eventually resulted

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<sup>175</sup> Kenny, *Romance of the Floridas*, 254-5.

<sup>176</sup> Father Juan Rogel, “Carta del Padre Juan Rogel a Juan de Hinistrosa,” (December 11, 1569), AGI Patronato 179, N.5, R.2.

<sup>177</sup> According to Father Rogel, the Orista practiced monogamy, and abstained from incest and general cruelty. Padre Juan Rogel, “Carta del Padre Juan Rogel al Pedro Menéndez de Avilés,” *MAF*, 471-9.

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>179</sup> Amy Turner Bushnell, *Situado and Sabana: Spain’s Support System for the Presidio and Mission Provinces of Florida* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995), 40-41.

in the military's withdrawal from the south Florida garrisons.<sup>180</sup> Menéndez finally secured an annual subsidy for Florida in 1571, the end of the Jesuit tenure. Since the relationship between the soldiers and natives affected the Jesuit missionary efforts—at least according to the Jesuits—it is possible that the lack of adequate funds for the colony changed the effectiveness of the Jesuits.

Toward the end of Father Rogel's mission to Orista, the third and final group of Jesuits arrived in Florida, having departed from Seville on 7 February 1570. Father Luis Francisco de Quirós and Brothers Gabriel Gómez and Sancho de Ceballos were the three new additions to the Florida enterprise and had prior experience teaching in Jesuit colleges and schools.<sup>181</sup> Gómez and Ceballos had been *maestros* of the school in Cádiz. Father Luis de Quirós was born in Jerez de la Frontera and helped found a college in Huelva, Spain in 1562. Six years later, he was appointed the Superior of Albaicín, a primarily Moorish neighborhood in Granada, where Jesuits had established a school dedicated to teaching and evangelizing the Moorish residents in Arabic. Amid rumors of a Moorish rebellion in the province, the school was closed in 1569, and Father Quirós transferred to the Jesuit college in Granada, where he decided to join the third Jesuit expedition to Florida in 1570.<sup>182</sup>

Not long after the new Jesuits arrived in Florida, they joined Vice-Provincial Baptista's new mission in the Chesapeake at Jacán. The Vice-Provincial arranged the mission to Jacán because of the recent arrival of don Luis, an Indian who had been a

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<sup>180</sup> Eugene Lyon confirms this link between Santa Elena's dearth of food and supplies in 1569 and the Spanish demand for provisions from the Orista. Lyon, "Santa Elena: A Brief History of the Colony, 1566-1587," *Research Manuscript Series*, Book 185 (Columbia: University of South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, 1984), 4-5.

<sup>181</sup> "Letter from Father Diego Avellaneda to Father Francisco de Borja," (February 10, 1570), ARSI Hisp. 113, fol. 151r.

<sup>182</sup> Zubillaga, *La florida*, 392-3; Kenny, *The Romance of the Floridas*, 242-4.

*cacique* in the Chesapeake area before his capture and conversion eight years earlier.<sup>183</sup> Also, Menéndez wanted to spread the Spanish presence north to the Chesapeake and encouraged Vice-Provincial Baptista's decision to establish a mission in the area.<sup>184</sup> The Vice-Provincial had been growing increasingly disillusioned with the Jesuit progress around Guale, blaming the antagonistic presence of Spanish soldiers and the general poverty of the area for preventing the missions' success (though Álamo provided other reasons). Because of these obstacles, Baptista considered focusing the enterprise's missionary efforts in the Chesapeake. Though not all of the opinions of the Florida Jesuits are known, it is clear that at least Rogel, Sedeño, and Carrera were not in favor of abandoning their efforts in Guale for the Chesapeake. In particular, they objected to the Vice-Provincial's insistence that the Chesapeake mission proceed without any Spanish protection; with the Chesapeake over a week's travel by ship from the nearest garrison, the Jesuits would be vulnerable if the Indians turned hostile.<sup>185</sup> However, the Vice-Provincial's enthusiasm and don Luis's assurance solidified the missionary plans for Jacán, and a group of nine Jesuits and aspirants, a young boy, and don Luis prepared to depart for the Chesapeake. In the meantime, the remaining Jesuits in Guale territory,

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<sup>183</sup> Historian Paul Hoffman claims that don Luis, whose original name was Paquiquineo, was captured by Antonio Velázquez, who was separated from the 1561 Angel de Villafañe expedition to establish a Florida colony. Letters from two Jesuits, Father Rogel and Brother Juan de la Carrera, both establish that the *cacique* was taken from the Jacán area and then brought to Mexico in the company of Dominicans. In Mexico, he was baptized don Luis de Velasco, after his godfather the viceroy. Don Luis then traveled to Spain, where he received an education at the behest of King Philip II. By 1566, don Luis had become acquainted with Pedro Menéndez, who sent the *cacique* along with two Dominicans and twenty soldiers to Jacán, where they were to preach the Catholic faith and establish an alliance with the local Indian population. For one reason or another, the expedition does not seem to have reached its destination. By 1570, don Luis was in Havana, where he met Father Juan Bautista de Segura, Paul Hoffman, *Florida's Frontiers*, 42; "Father Juan Rogel Relación de Padre Juan Rogel," ARSI Mexico 19, fol. 76r; "Account of Juan de la Carrera," ARSI, Hist. Soc. 177, fols. 152r-161v. Menéndez de Avilés briefly explains that he sent don Luis, twenty soldiers and two Dominicans to Jacán in "Letter from Pedro Menéndez de Avilés to the King," (October 20, 1566), AGI Santo Domingo 115, fol. 168v.

<sup>184</sup> Eugene Lyon explains why Menéndez de Avilés was interested in the Chesapeake in *The Enterprise of Florida*, 165.

<sup>185</sup> Kenny, *Romance of the Floridas*, 248-51.



including Rogel and Sedeño, were to reside at the Spanish forts to instruct Indian children from Saturiba and Tacatacuru.<sup>186</sup> According to Rogel, the poor condition of the forts and the very real possibility of war with Saturiba and Tacatacuru, convinced the Jesuits and Menéndez Márquez that they should not proceed with their plans. That winter, Rogel returned to Havana and resumed his position as rector of the school, eagerly awaiting news from the new Jacán mission.<sup>187</sup>

Captain Vicente González brought the Jesuits to Jacán on 10 September 1570 after encountering unfavorable weather that extended their voyage from Santa Elena to over a month. In the only known letter from the Jacán mission,<sup>188</sup> Father Quirós described the surprising condition of the land and natives upon their arrival: “Our Lord has chastised [the land] with six years of famine and death, which has brought it about that there is much less population than usual.”<sup>189</sup> According to Quirós, in the past these natives had relied on roots, maize, and wild fruit for sustenance, but a devastating drought had caused most of these to vanish, and many residents had either died from hunger or moved to other regions. Therefore, “the Indians have nothing else to offer us and to those who came on the ship but good will.” Indeed, the Chesapeake natives seemed to have welcomed the Jesuits and Spaniards, especially after the return of don

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<sup>186</sup> Saturiba and Tacatacuru are in the vicinity of present-day Cumberland Island, Georgia.

<sup>187</sup> Father Juan Rogel, “Carta del Padre Juan Rogel a Pedro Menéndez de Avilés,” *MAF*, 471-9

<sup>188</sup> This letters consists of several entries by Fathers Quirós and Baptista, all written on the same day (12 September 1570). The letter consulted in this paper is its transcription and translation found in Lewis and Loomie, *The Spanish Jesuit Mission in Virginia*, 85-94. The original letter seems to have been lost sometime after 1889, when it was last seen by scholar Buckingham Smith, who provides a transcription of the letter in the *Buckingham Smith Papers*, vol. 2. Lewis and Loomie note that “Robertson lists this letter as being in the Archivo de Indias (*List of Documents In Spanish Archives Relating to the History of the United States* 82), but recently Father Zubillaga was unable to discover it in Madrid or Seville (*MAF* 480). While sections of the letter are available in Lowery, *Spanish Settlements, 1562-1574* 361-363, this is the first publication of the complete text,” 93n1.

<sup>189</sup> Father Luis de Quirós, “Letter of Luis de Quirós and Juan Baptista de Segura to Juan de Hinistrosa, from Ajacán, September 12, 1570,” in *The Spanish Jesuit Mission in Virginia*, Lewis and Loomie, 89. Lewis and Loomie provide the original Spanish as well as their own English translation of the document. This paper uses their translation.

Luis, who they had assumed died years prior. Within a week of their arrival, the Jesuits even had the opportunity to baptize one of don Luis's young brothers, who was dangerously ill. However the state of the land and the natives worried Quirós and the Vice-Provincial, who both ardently requested further provisions in their letter to Juan de Hinistrosa, the royal treasurer of Cuba. The expedition had set out poorly supplied, and they had already exhausted half of their provisions. Quirós also asked that seeds be brought before spring so that the natives could sow at planting time.

Father Quirós includes specific instructions in his letter regarding any ship that might return with further provisions. He writes:

from the time it is understood that the frigate is to come with the help requested, one or two Indians will be sent with a letter to the mouth of the arm of the sea, along which any ship coming must sail. Thus, when they see the ship, they will make a large smoke signal by day and a fire at night. Furthermore the people there will have a sealed letter of yours and they will not return it until they receive another like it, which is to be a sign that those who come are friendly and are the ones who bring the message. Take heed of this sign or inform whoever comes about it.<sup>190</sup>

The absence of such a sign the following year upon Captain Vicente González's return to Jacán with supplies immediately made him suspicious. Though Quirós commended don Luis for his obedience to the missionary group at this point in the journey, the brief letter does suggest a future conflict with the natives, which anthropologist Seth Mallios has studied in depth and claims is the key to understanding the motivation behind the massacre of the Jesuits at Jacán.<sup>191</sup>

A supply ship did not arrive to Jacán until early spring the following year in 1571. Captain Vicente González, who had originally took the Jesuits to the Chesapeake,

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<sup>190</sup> Father Quirós, "Letter of Luis de Quirós and Juan Baptista de Segura," 90.

<sup>191</sup> See, Mallios, "The Apotheosis of Ajacan's Jesuit Missionaries." His argument is summarized above on page 9.

brought Jesuit Brother Juan Salcedo with him that spring. When González reached the harbor, he looked along the shore in search of the signals that Father Quirós had told him would indicate a friendly and safe reception for the captain and his crew. Instead, he saw many natives gathered on the beach, all calling out and motioning for him to come ashore. There appeared to be a few of the Jesuits among them, but upon a closer look, Brother Salcedo discerned that they were in fact natives dressed in the Jesuits' clothing. At this point, the captain refused to sail closer, which prompted many of the natives, armed with weapons, to man canoes and paddle towards the ship. The Spaniards fired cannon blasts, sinking several of the canoes, and causing the rest to scatter. However, they managed to pull two of the native warriors from the water into the ship, after which González sailed for Havana.

The two captured natives refused to answer the Spaniards regarding the circumstances of Baptista's Jesuits, and one of the captives managed to escape into the water before the ship reached Havana. They decided to keep the remaining native captive in the Jesuit house in Havana. Rogel, whom Baptista appointed Rector in Havana, learned of the news from Jacán after Captain González and Brother Salcedo arrived to the Havana harbor. Rogel arranged for a ship supplied with provisions to sail back to Jacán to check on the missionaries. The ship, with Father Rogel and Brother Carrera aboard, arrived to Santa Elena in September 1571 where they met Menéndez, Father Sedeño and Brother Villareal. Though the Jesuits were eager to continue on to Jacán, Menéndez insisted that they stay. September was at the height of dangerous weather for taking a ship of provisions along the coast. Father Sedeño also suspected that

Menéndez insisted on delaying the rescue expedition to Jacán because Santa Elena was in desperate need of provisions after a recent fire had damaged the settlement.

Sometime after the failed rescue mission to Jacán, the Indian whom the Spanish had captured in Jacán and were holding in the Jesuit house in Havana, revealed that the young boy, who accompanied the missionaries to the Chesapeake, was still alive.

Menéndez led a fleet in July 1572 to Jacán to rescue the boy and learn the fate of the missionaries. He brought with him Rogel, Carrera, and Villareal, and on 30 July 1572, they departed from St. Augustine and proceeded to the Chesapeake.<sup>192</sup>

The Spaniards anchored their ship upon arrival at Jacán and waited for natives to approach, which they did, even coming aboard. The Spaniards treated them well, exchanging gifts with them and hoping their leaders would soon arrive. In less than an hour, a *cacique* and five prominent Indians arrived to Menéndez's ship and came aboard to make exchanges. According to Father Rogel, one of these natives wore a silver paten that Vice-Provincial Baptista had brought for the mission. The Spaniards recognized it immediately as having belonged to the missionaries and seized the Indian. Quickly, they raised anchor and sailed to the mouth of the river, a safe distance from shore, and waited with their Indian captive. Canoes of Indians soon paddled out to their ship and told them that a *cacique* some distance away had Alonso and that they would bring the boy to the Spaniards in exchange for the captured Indian. Menéndez agreed to the terms and waited with his crew at the mouth of the river. However, they never brought the boy, and instead the Indians attempted to ambush the Spanish ship, launching canoes filled with archers. The Spaniards discovered the plot and forced the Indians to retreat. In the

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<sup>192</sup> Father Juan Rogel, "Pater Ioannes Rogel Patri Franc. Borgiae, e sinu Matris Dei 28 Augusti," *MAF*, doc. 135, p. 525.

meantime, Captain Vicente González, who had gone inland with a large group of soldiers in search of the *cacique* who had Alonso, had successfully negotiated the boy's release. The following day, the Captain, soldiers, and Alonso rejoined Menéndez at the mouth of the river, and the Spanish set sail for Havana.<sup>193</sup>

The tale of the Jacán massacre comes only from the boy Alonso, who Father Rogel claimed had forgotten much of his Spanish, having become fluent in the native language during the two years of his captivity. According to Alonso, in February 1571, don Luis turned against the missionaries and led an attack that resulted in the massacre of all eight Jesuits at the Chesapeake mission.<sup>194</sup>

By far the most detailed description of the Jesuit withdrawal from Florida comes from Zubillaga. The only other secondary source that addresses the events surrounding their departure comes from Kenny, who briefly states that the Jesuits were moved from Florida and Havana to New Spain. According to Zubillaga, on 13 June 1572, a Jesuit expedition of eight fathers, three students (*estudiantes*) and four brothers left Seville for New Spain to begin a mission. General Borja had given the superior, Father Pedro Sánchez, the title of Provincial of New Spain and instructions for Sánchez to consult with the Florida missionaries and decide if it was better for them to continue the Florida mission or to consolidate in Havana. The decision would be based on who would benefit most from the Jesuits' efforts, the people of Havana or Florida. Sánchez was supposed to take into consideration the views of all the Florida missioners, but Father Sedeño who met Sánchez in Havana, claimed that bringing all of the Jesuits who were scattered in Florida to Havana to make the decision would be a difficult task, so he sent word to the

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<sup>193</sup> Ibid, 525-7.

<sup>194</sup> Ibid., 529-31.

Florida Jesuits to send their opinions to him in Havana. However, before their responses arrived, Father Sánchez asked Father Sedeño to accompany him to New Spain in order to help him prepare the new Jesuit mission. Together in New Spain, the two fathers agreed that the missionaries should neither continue their work in Florida nor be moved to Havana. Instead, all of the Jesuits should be brought to the mission in New Spain.<sup>195</sup>

Upon hearing that Father Sedeño had decided to relocate the Florida Jesuits to New Spain without considering his opinion, Father Rogel wrote to Father Jerónimo Nadal,<sup>196</sup> calling the decision a scandal because Sánchez had not consulted with all of the Jesuits, particularly, Rogel himself. However, Nadal responded that since Sedeño had been appointed Vice-Provincial after Segura's death, he had the authority to decide the fate of his missions. Kenny claims that the options Borja gave to Father Sánchez were “to make a general visitation and to examine the prospects for a college in Havana, and if the outlook were not hopeful gradually to remove the subjects to New Spain.”<sup>197</sup> In fact, the instructions provided an option to stay in Florida.<sup>198</sup>

It is not entirely clear why Havana residents were not willing to support a Jesuit college, though a letter from Antón Recio offers one perspective. Recio, a “member of one of the most important families in colonial Havana” who had recently acquired the office of *depositario general*,<sup>199</sup> wrote a letter to Philip II in 1569 regarding the Jesuit plans for a college. He wrote in complete disapproval of Menéndez, claiming that since

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<sup>195</sup> Zubillaga, *La florida*, 422-3.

<sup>196</sup> Nadal was temporarily filling the role of Superior General until an election could be held to replace Borja after his death.

<sup>197</sup> Kenny, *Romance of the Floridas*, 267.

<sup>198</sup> Padre Francisco Borja, “Instructionibus die 26 octobris 1571 a P. Generali Patri Sánchez,” *MAF*, p. 516-17n6.

<sup>199</sup> *Depositario general* was “the public trustee who administered the funds overseen by the courts.” Fuente, *Havana and the Atlantic in the Sixteenth Century*, quote on page 191, definition of *depositario general* on page 193.

becoming governor of Cuba, Menéndez only took their supplies and brought them to Florida without proper compensation. Similarly, Menéndez had seized three plots (*solares*) of Recio's land for the proposed Jesuit college. Menéndez had also taken land from other residents for the same purpose. Only after launching a complaint did Menéndez offer to compensate Recio for his land with eighty *ducados*. Not only did Recio still prefer his land over the *ducados*, he also doubted that the Jesuits would even return to Havana, claiming that they had all said "farewell" to the town in favor of the Florida missions.<sup>200</sup> However, a letter from Havana resident Francisco de Briceño reveals that the Jesuits had at least some local support for establishing a college. Writing to Philip II shortly before the departure of the Jesuits for Mexico, Briceño wrote that since the main reason for the withdrawal of the Jesuits was due to a lack of funding, he and some others had procured 2,000 *ducados*, which they would receive annually for the college. He praised the Jesuits' work in Havana and claimed that the residents did not want the Jesuits to leave. At the end of his letter, he begged the king to help with the cost of the college and to insist that the Jesuits remain in Cuba. While the Havana residents waited for a reply from Spain, the Jesuits followed Vice-Provincials Sánchez and Sedeño to Mexico, and the Florida enterprise came to a close.<sup>201</sup>

Though the arrival of two additional Jesuit groups to Florida and Cuba certainly strengthened their presence in the region, it did little to help the missions in South Florida. The Calusa and Tequesta rebuffed most of the Jesuit attempts at conversion, and violence between Spanish soldiers and Indians caused the Jesuits to evacuate their missions. As Vice-Provincial Baptista shifted the missionaries north of St. Augustine,

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<sup>200</sup> Antón Recio, "Carta de Antón Recio, depositario de la Habana, al Rey," (June 24, 1569), AGI Santo Domingo 115, fol. 235r.

<sup>201</sup> Zubillaga, *La florida*, 422-3. Briceño's letter is dated 12 December 1572, AGI Santo Domingo 99.

other Jesuits remained in Havana where they ran a school for the residents and Florida Indians and waited on funding for a college. By 1571, General Borja sensed that local support for a college would not be forthcoming and directed Provincial Sánchez to consult with the Florida Jesuits before arriving in Mexico. Together, Provincial Sánchez and Father Sedeño determined that they did not have enough support for a Havana college and decided to remove all of the Jesuits from Florida and Cuba to Mexico.



## CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

Based on General Borja's instructions to Provincial Sánchez, the failure to secure funding for a college in Havana had the greatest impact on the Society's decision to withdraw from Florida. However, this is not to say that there are not benefits in looking closely at the Florida missions themselves. The Jesuits did struggle to convert the Florida Indians, and examining the events that occurred in the missions is still beneficial in understanding why the Society withdrew from the region. The explanation exists not just on the ground in Florida, but more importantly within a regional framework that ties Florida missions to a Havana college, and a view of the Society as an order overburdened by its dual obligation of evangelization and education. Both Menéndez and Superior General Borja emphasized the importance of the Havana college and did not see it as an endeavor separate from the enterprise in Florida. Rather the school was to partly aid in the conversion of Florida Indians. The prospect of a Jesuit college in Havana garnered support from Jesuit administrators in Europe, who had previously seen Florida missions as a misuse of the Society's limited manpower. Superior General Borja's instructions to Provincial Sánchez reaffirm the importance of the Havana college in maintaining a Jesuit presence in Florida. However, in keeping with the Society's vow of poverty, it could not fund its own college and relied on outside benefactors. Letters from Havana residents Antón Recio and Francisco de Briceño provide hints as to why the Society did not establish a college. There appears to have been a dispute over its location, as Recio

insisted that Menéndez return the property that he seized for the grounds of the college. Recio also doubted the Jesuits' and Menéndez's level of interest in Havana. Briceño's letter revealed that even when faced with the Jesuit departure from Cuba, Havana residents still could not raise enough money to fund the college without aid from the crown.

The Florida Jesuits gave reasons for the Society's poor progress based on their own experiences. Father Rogel, regarding his evangelization of Orista, claimed that any attempt to convert natives who were not sedentary would ultimately fail. They must be convinced to cultivate the land to the extent that they were not required to roam for food. Father Rogel and other Jesuits pointed to the hindrance of the Spanish military presence, which always seemed to cause friction between the Indians and Spaniards either through excessive demands or violence.

The *adelantado*, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, offered his own opinion, insisting time and again that if Florida were allowed more Jesuits, they would certainly have greater efficacy. He also pointed out that the Jesuits themselves moved around too much. If they would only stay in a given area, they would be more effective.

Menéndez's complaint about having too few Jesuits in Florida points to problems within the Society itself, which affected the enterprise from its beginning and contributed to its ultimate abandonment. Correspondence between Superior General Borja, Menéndez and other provincials in both Europe and the Americas reveals that the Society constantly faced demands for more Jesuits that it simply could not meet. The Society's dual obligation of evangelization and education overwhelmed its limited members.<sup>202</sup> As has

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<sup>202</sup> Another factor contributing to their small pool of Jesuits was the Order's selectivity regarding who they sent to missions. For example, Brother Sancho Zeballos's requests to be sent to the Americas was turned

already been addressed, Father Carrillo's letter to Borja highlights this shortage when he wrote, "I am worried about removing Jesuits [from the colleges] for the Indies because I see Onate and Burgos depopulated, and Logrono nearly so. And all of the colleges cry out for Jesuits, and I do not know how to fulfill those demands."<sup>203</sup>

In fact, provincials debated over which objective they should privilege: the important teaching taking place in the ever-expanding and highly esteemed Jesuit schools or evangelization. These debates influenced the character of the Jesuit Florida enterprise. While in Spain in 1568, Menéndez met with Father Bartolomé Bustamante and convinced him of the importance of evangelization in Florida. Bustamante later wrote to Borja, urging him to send as many Jesuits as possible to Florida at the expense of the colleges in Europe.<sup>204</sup> After meeting with Menéndez in Madrid, Bustamante was now one of his biggest supporters for sending Jesuits to Florida. He wrote that he is no longer interested in Brazil, Peru or New Spain, but now in Florida. Menéndez had completely convinced Bustamante that he had pacified Florida and that now "this conquest of Florida is completely evangelical."<sup>205</sup> Bustamante was so eager to send Jesuits to Florida that he begged Borja to help him convince the Pope to let him go to Florida himself even though he was elderly. Moreover, Bustamante boldly claimed that the Society should pour its

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down repeatedly because he was deemed unfit. Zeballos only managed to go to Florida by writing directly to Menéndez de Avilés, who was in Spain, asking to accompany him to Florida. Menéndez, who had not received the amount of Jesuits he had originally requested, accepted Zeballos's offer, much to the irritation of Borja. Father Francisco de Borja, "Carta del Padre Francisco de Borja al Padre Juan de Cañas," (1570) ARSI Hisp. 69, fols. 66v-67r.

<sup>203</sup> Father Carrillo, "Carta del Padre Diego Carrillo al Padre Francisco Borja," (January 30, 1566), ARSI Hisp. 103, fol. 46r.

<sup>204</sup> Kenny, *Romance of the Floridas*, 213.

<sup>205</sup> Padre Bartolomé Bustamante, "Carta del Padre Bartolomé Bustamante al Padre Francisco Borja," (February 17, 1568) ARSI Hisp. 108, fols 81r-83v.

manpower into the Florida mission “even if it were to undo all of the colleges.”<sup>206</sup>

Menéndez continued to petition for more Jesuits, and by late 1570, Borja could do very little to aid the *adelantado*. In December of that year, Borja regretfully wrote:

Regarding the four individuals whom you have recently asked to be sent to Florida: the hardship is so great for all, including those sent to Peru and those in the colleges of all parts, that everyone is indispensably occupied due to there being so many projects and this small Company being such a new program. We give thanks to our Lord who has provided us with so much. But now all are so occupied that even last year when the king asked for twenty members to be sent to Peru, we could send only twelve. And even later when they insisted that I fulfill the original request of twenty, with great difficulty I sent them only four more. So for now I do not see from where I can remove some Jesuits without creating a serious shortage therefrom.<sup>207</sup>

The plans for a Jesuit college in Havana seem to highlight this tension between evangelization and education. Menéndez had convinced Borja of the important role a Jesuit college at Havana could play in the evangelization of the Americas, particularly Florida. As Menéndez explained in a letter dated 18 January 1568, shortly after receiving the governorship of Cuba, the college would not only teach sons of *caciques*, but would be a kind of training ground for missionaries destined for Florida. At Havana, the missionaries could rest from their transatlantic journey and learn the native languages of Florida before departing for their posts. The sons of *caciques* would return to Florida after learning Spanish and Christianity, and would aid the Jesuits at the missions.<sup>208</sup> This ambition for a college combines the dual objectives of the Society; teaching and evangelization did not have to be mutually exclusive or in tension with one another, as it

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<sup>206</sup> Ibid. Because Menéndez was constantly travelling back and forth between Florida, Havana, and Spain, he rarely was up to date on the situation in Florida. In fact, only shortly after his meeting with Bustamante, the Calusa and Tequesta missions were abandoned due to the hostility of the Indians; Menéndez had greatly exaggerated Spanish hegemony over the natives.

<sup>207</sup> Padre Francisco de Borja, “Carta del Padre Francisco Borja a Pedro Menéndez de Avilés,” (December 8 1570), ARSI Hisp. 69, fol. 182r.

<sup>208</sup> Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, “Carta de Pedro Menéndez de Avilés al Padre Francisco Borja,” (January 18, 1568), ARSI Epis. Selectas, n. 388, s/f.

was so often portrayed by Jesuit administrators. Rather, teaching could aid evangelization and vice versa.

There were also arguments about where the Jesuits should be placed in the Americas. The vice-provincial of Peru made the point that his province deserved to have more missionaries because, unlike Florida, the Indians of Peru proved to be very receptive to Christianity, thus justifying his requests for more Jesuits. Superior General Borja however, was not always inclined to agree. He believed that one of the great things about the Jesuit Order was that they did not shy away from adversity. That Florida natives proved difficult to convert meant the greater need for a Jesuit presence.

After word had gotten back to the provincials about the death of Vice-Provincial Pedro Martinez, some administrators started again to doubt the viability of the Society's presence in Florida. In 1567, before Father Bustamante had a change of heart, he wrote to Borja that he and Father Araoz had been discussing the missions to Peru and Florida. Bustamante explained that he and Araoz agreed that the conquistadors of Peru had already pacified a great deal of the land; whereas Florida was still very much in the process of being conquered. He wrote that Jesuits should not, at the moment, be sent to Florida "because it is better that they go to evangelize and win souls than to conquer the towns because then the Jesuits would be used for just taking the confessions of the conquistadors. Florida is so little pacified that those who enter it do so to conduct war. Until now Pedro Menéndez has some forts from which he will conquer the land." Once Menéndez had settled more of Florida, then they would feel more comfortable in sending out Jesuits. They did not want a repeat of the death of Martinez. He continued, "it seems

to the Father doctor Araoz and me that the Fathers Portillo and Baptista de Segura, with the rest of the fathers and brothers be directed to go to Peru.”<sup>209</sup>

The Florida missionaries obviously encountered difficulties, and the native murder of Martínez upon his arrival in the province did not help to convince the Jesuit authorities to send more members to Florida. The Spanish soldiers’ violence so discouraged Álamo that he insisted on returning to Spain. Rogel, the Jesuit Father with the longest tenure in Florida, wanted to continue the missionary effort in the province, as did Carrera. Sedeño made the decision to transfer the Jesuits to New Spain instead of staying in Florida and/or Havana. Though he was supposed to consider the opinions of all the Florida Jesuits, he made his decision in consultation with Father Sánchez only. Sánchez, as the newly-appointed Provincial of New Spain, no doubt had significant influence over Sedeño’s decision. Though a Florida Jesuit ultimately decided to abandon Florida, his authority to choose came from Superior General Borja, who, faced with the demands of an expanding missionary and educational system and the knowledge that a college in Havana would not be forthcoming, intended for the experiences and opinions of the Florida Jesuits to inform the focus of the Society’s efforts.

With tensions high over the direction of the expanding Society, the controversy surrounding the Florida enterprise is not surprising. Especially after the murder of Vice-Provincial Martínez, provincials such as Father González strongly opposed sending missionaries to Florida, claiming that it was too dangerous and unsettled to receive Jesuits. Indeed, the Society had typically favored urban areas. Historian Luke Clossey claims that “the urban focus was exactly what the Constitutions considered ‘universal’—

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<sup>209</sup>Father Bartolomé Bustamante, “Pater Bartholomaeus Bustamante Patri Franc. Borgiae,” 31 May 1567. *MAF*, doc. 50, p. 168; Kenny comments that even though the death of Father Martinez worried the Order, it had also “multiplied volunteers from all the provinces,” *Romance of the Floridas*, 203.

a concentration of efforts to reach the greatest number of people.” Schools and colleges, especially in urban areas, granted access to many people, and this influenced the Society’s entrance into Mexico. Havana, by far the most urban setting of the Florida enterprise, was considered the Jesuit base in the region and the potential site of a college. When funding was not forthcoming for the Havana college, the Society withdrew from the perilous Florida missions and relocated to Mexico. The Society had learned a lesson. After entering Mexico City, the Jesuits limited themselves to “minister[ing] to the urban Spaniards and American-born white creoles and to attend[ing] to the education of the children of converted Indians.” One year after the Jesuit arrival in Mexico City, they opened the college of San Pedro y San Pablo, followed by colleges in Puebla, Oaxaca, and Valladolid. The Society spent seventeen years in settled, Mexican urban areas before venturing into unpacified territories.<sup>210</sup> The stark contrast between the Jesuit enterprise in Mexico and in Florida reveals the Florida missions’ importance in the Society’s approach to the Spanish Americas.

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<sup>210</sup> Luke Clossey, *Salvation and Globalization in the Early Jesuit Missions*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 38.

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AGI	Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain
ARSI	Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu, Rome
<i>MAF</i>	<i>Monumenta antiquae floridae (1566-1572)</i> . Edited by Félix Zubillaga, S.J. Rome: Monumenta Histórica Societatis Iesu, 1946.

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