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Luis Jerónimo de Oré and his *Relación* (c. 1619): A Peruvian's Account of Spanish Florida

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Abstract: Luis Jerónimo de Oré is one of the most notable *criollo* thinkers from the Viceroyalty of Peru. He joined the Seraphic Order early in life, excelled thanks to his linguistic acumen, and worked as a missionary in the Andes, Spanish Florida, and southern Chile. This study focuses on Oré's little-known work *Relación de los mártires de La Florida* (c. 1619), the product of his experience in North America and the Caribbean. I will indicate propose the ways in which Oré uses his brief treatise to criticize several aspects of imperial policy, describe exploratory trips in North America, comment on life in the borderlands, and praise the Franciscans' work at evangelism. The analysis aims to show why the *Relación* offers an unparalleled account of an early era of globalization while connecting the history of North and South America and demonstrating their indissoluble link with Spain.

Keywords: evangelism, Franciscans, Jesuits, kidnapping, reductions, northern border

¹ [Editors' note: This is an English translation, offered by the Observatorio, of the Spanish original submitted by the author. See study 069-03/2021SP.]

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Preface

As I reread the second part of the *Comentarios reales* (1617), also known as *Historia general del Perú*, my curiosity was piqued by the reference to the *guamanguino* Franciscan Luis Jerónimo de Oré's visit to El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, the Cuzcan intellectual who at that time resided in Córdoba. As Oré was preparing a group of friars from the Seraphic Order to evangelize the Indigenous people of Spanish Florida, he wanted to meet with his countryman to discuss his other book, *La Florida del Inca*. I was eager to learn more about the life and work of this *criollo* Franciscan who was a missionary in the Andes, Spanish Florida, and Cuba, and later named Bishop of Concepción in the Kingdom of Chile, so I began my research. Of particular interest to me were his experiences in Spanish Florida, recounted in his little-known *Relación de los mártires de La Florida* (Account of the Martyrs in the Provinces of La Florida, c. 1619), a colorful narrative in which he criticizes several aspects of imperial policy and describes exploratory trips through North America. He also comments on life in the borderlands, Hispanic-Indigenous relations, and the efforts at evangelism by the Franciscans, all of which are supplemented with allusions to the Viceroyalty of Peru and his own experiences in Spanish Florida. I realized that the *Relación* is a singular work in that it establishes links between distant locations (Peru, Spain, the Caribbean, Spanish Florida) and is written from the perspective of a and well-educated *criollo*, so I began studying both the text as well as the peripatetic life of its author.

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Based on this research, I would like to offer this profile of Oré, which focuses on his training in the Viceroyalty of Peru ² and his subsequent voyage to Europe in order to understand how he viewed the evangelization of the Indigenous populations of North America and his experience in Spanish Florida, as described in the *Relación*. Thus, I am pleased to share my reflections on such a remarkable document and on the circumstances that led Luis Jerónimo de Oré to write it.³

² Modern contributions to Oré's biography include those made by Polo, 1907; Heras, 1966; Richter, 1986 and 1990; Reyes Ramírez, 1989; Tord, 1992; Cook, 1992a, 1992b and 2008; Pello, 2000; Miranda Larco, 2008.

³ Acknowledgements: Thanks to the Reed Foundation and particularly to its president Reed Rubin, its secretary, Jane Gregory Rubin, and its director of programs, David Latham, for generously supporting my research on Luis Jerónimo de Oré; to Sara Weber at University of Notre Dame's Hesburgh Libraries for providing me with a digitized version of the original *Relación* from that institution's holdings; to Marta Mateo, Executive Director of the Observatorio of the Instituto Cervantes at Harvard University, for inviting me to publish this essay and offering valuable suggestions; to Juan Manuel Arias, for reading and commenting on the draft; to Kevin Dunn for

translating the essay into English; to Amy Turner Bushnell, Noble David Cook, Anne Cruz, Gabriella de Beer, Carmen de Mora, Nancy Vogeley, and Viviana Díaz Balsera for accompanying me on virtual tours of Oré's Florida; to the Rosenwald Collection at the Library of Congress, the Hispanic Museum & Library, New York, the Special Collections at the University of Notre Dame's Hesburgh Libraries, and the Special Collections Department at the University of South Florida for providing the maps and illustrations included here.

1. Luis Jerónimo de Oré's Cultural Circles

Originally from Guamanga (present-day Ayacucho), Oré was born into a religious family of *encomienda* holders. His mother, Luisa Díaz de Rojas, inherited a *repartimiento* (distribution of Indians) in the southern Andes; his father, Antonio de Oré, owned an *encomienda* (grant of territory and Indians) and went on to acquire more land and several mines (Miranda Larco, 2008, pp. 29-30). After building the family fortune, the couple helped establish the Convent of Santa Clara in Guamanga, where five of Oré's sisters took vows (Vargas Ugarte, 1949, p. 182). Accounts from the era reveal that Antonio de Oré was well versed in Latin, a language that he taught his children; ⁴ he was also conversant in Quechua, a language he learned from his daily interactions with native speakers in the area (Tord, 1992, pp. 20-21). Thus, Luis Jerónimo spent his childhood in a fervently religious environment, where he learned Gregorian chant and how to play the organ; later, he would suggest using music to complement efforts at converting Indigenous people. As a boy, he grew up in contact with several languages: the Spanish he spoke with his family, the Latin he learned from his father and from attending religious services; and the Quechua and Aymara he acquired in his early exchanges with the Indigenous people from the southern mountains in the Viceroyalty of Peru.⁵ This linguistic acumen marked his ecclesiastical career and his efforts at evangelism. Thanks to his multilingualism, he was able to participate, years later, at the Third Council of Lima (1582-1583) and it is possible, as has been suggested (Cook, 199b, pp. 38-40), that he later collaborated on the drafting of a trilingual catechism (in Spanish, Quechua, and Aymara), *Doctrina cristiana y catecismo para instrucción de los indios* (1584).

⁴ "He taught (his daughters and sons) matters related to virtue, and also how to read, write, sing, play an instrument and the Latin language because he was an expert in these endeavors and so were his children" (Córdoba Salinas, 1957 [1651], pp. 836-837). All English quotes have been translated expressly for this study, except those taken from the Chang-Rodríguez/Vogelely edition *Account of the Martyrs in the Provinces of La Florida* (2017).

⁵ For more on how he learned Aymara at an early age, see Pello (2000, p. 163).

Oré's religious vocation seems to have emerged at an early age. He began his studies at the Franciscan monastery in Cuzco around 1568 and continued them at the community's house in Lima, and also at the Universidad de San Marcos. He was ordained a priest in 1581 at the viceregal capital (Cook, 1992b, p. 39). As Luis Enrique Tord has noted (1992, pp. 22-24), two events played a key role in shaping Oré's personality, as well as his formation during his time in the Andean region. The first was the Indigenous Taki Unquy movement, which emerged around 1564 in the Guamanga area and spread to Lima, Cuzco, Chuquisaca, and La Paz. Followers of Taki Unquy ("dancing sickness") proposed a return to the ancestral religion of the huacas (Andean deities) and the eventual expulsion of Europeans. The second was the execution of Túpac Amaru in the central square of Cuzco in 1572 at the order Viceroy Toledo; Túpac Amaru was the last Incan monarch and final leader of the anti-Spanish resistance following the fall of the Incan stronghold at Vilcabamba. As a seminarian in Cuzco, Oré surely witnessed this execution. These events show the collision of the cultures which shaped the author of the *Relación* formative years. They were undoubtedly cause for reflection for this young man from a comfortable family, whose ordination within the Seraphic Order marked a disregard for earthly things and a concern for the wellbeing of Indigenous neophytes⁶.

As I indicated previously, a year before his ordination, during the Third Council of Lima, Oré worked with other polyglots to draft a trilingual catechism in Spanish, Quechua, and Aymara. Later, he was assigned to the Franciscan doctrinal settlements of Colca Canyon (c. 1586) and Jauja (c. 1595); in the early 17th century, he was sent to Indigenous parishes, first in Potosí and later in Cuzco. By that time, Oré had perfected his knowledge of Quechua and Aymara and completed three lauded manuscripts, *Símbolo católico indiano*, *Sermones del año*, and *Arte y vocabulario en romance y en las lenguas generales deste reyno quechua y aimara*,

⁶ For more context on these and other events in the Guamanga (Ayacucho) area, see Miranda Larco, 2008.

which is confirmed to have been circulated in several regions of the Viceroyalty of Peru (Cook, 1992b, pp. 42-4)⁷. Regarding his mastery of several Indigenous languages and his missionary work, it is worth mentioning Córdoba Salinas's comment that Oré was an "angel of the ministry" who "as a major planet, he ruled over his [Franciscan] brothers with the wonderful gift he had to learn and speak many Indian languages from diverse groups and provinces, in which he preached with great thirst for their spiritual rebirth and well-being." (1957[1651], p. 346). Given their efforts at evangelism, notable clergymen recommended Oré's manuscripts be published quickly. The first to be printed was *Símbolo católico indiano*, which was sent to press in Lima in 1598⁸. It is worth pausing to examine this complex treatise, in which we find ideas that would accompany the illustrious Franciscan throughout his career and ministry in the Andes, Spanish Florida, and Chile.

1.1. *Símbolo católico indiano* (1598), *major work*

In *Símbolo católico indiano*, Oré discusses the origin of Indigenous peoples. In keeping with the prevalent ideas of the time, he views their religion as the result of satanic tyranny; nevertheless, he distinguishes between polytheistic and monotheistic practices and translates a prayer associated with the worship of Pacha Kamaq or the Supreme Creator (Oré, 1992[1598], pp. 157-158[40 r/v])⁹. Igualmente, denuncia la explotación de la población nativa tanto como la falta de buenos "pastores" para catequizarla. Según propone, en cada poblado indio debe haber escuela, maestro y cantores; de este modo, los pueblos se convertirán en

⁷ For example, chronicler Guaman Poma de Ayala read *Símbolo católico indiano* and reproached Oré for not detailing the former Andean ages or the lives of the Incas (1980 [1615], III, p. 998). Córdoba Salinas also writes about the circulation and reception of this work (1957 [1651], p. 346).

⁸ The press began operating in Lima in 1584.

⁹ In citations of this work, I use the modern page numbers indicated by the editor and include the folio number between brackets. In quotes, I have modernized spelling and punctuation. Oré explains that he has kept other prayers, too, but that he will not share them until obtaining permission from the bishops (1992 [1598], 158 [40v]).

centro de irradiación religiosa —y también de aculturación—. En contraste con otros misioneros dudosos de la capacidad nativa para comprender complejos aspectos del dogma, el franciscano guamanguino se mantuvo firme en su convicción de la habilidad indígena para entender la doctrina cristiana y asimilar las herramientas culturales de Occidente (Oré, 1992 [1598], p.189 [56r]). Igualmente promueve el culto mariano, el rezo del rosario y los castigos para quienes no aprendan la doctrina.

Oré has a lofty view of New World missionaries, whose task he compares to the work of the apostles of old, who disseminated the teachings of Christ throughout the pagan world (Oré, 1992[1598], p. 164[43v]). He praises the governance of the Incas, comparing it to “what Solon was to the Athenians” (1992[1598], p. 153[38r]). Regarding the disputed origin of Indigenous peoples, his ideas are extraordinarily clear: “our first beginning was Adam and Eve and later, when God punished the world and all men died, from only four, Noah and his three children, have we proliferated and multiplied” (1992 [1598], p. 294[108v]). He reasons that we all enjoy free will characterized by “man’s own supreme dignity.” In short, Oré asserts the common humanity of all people, regardless of place of origin or ethnic group.

Regarding Andean religious practices, his views are in keeping with the limiting school of thought that attributes them to the influence of the devil (1992 [1598], pp. 161-162[42r/v]). He suggests that many of the problems with Indigenous catechesis stem from the lack of good pastors who are true imitators of Christ, and he goes on to list the qualities that a proper minister ought to possess: “He who has truth of doctrine, sanctity of life and fatherly piety with the Indians, will be a suitable minister of Christ and will be able, with a sure conscience, if obedience entrusts him with some doctrine, take it and love it as a wife” (1992 [1598], p. 165[44r]). From this assertion, we can infer a criticism of those pastors who do not set a good example and are more interested in profit than preaching. In terms of the efficacy of evangelism in the area, Oré praises Viceroy Francisco de Toledo for creating

reductions and forcibly relocating Indigenous people to facilitate catechesis and tax collection (1992 [1598], p. 161[42r]). As we will see later on, in the *Relación*, he will recommend implementing this measure in Spanish Florida.

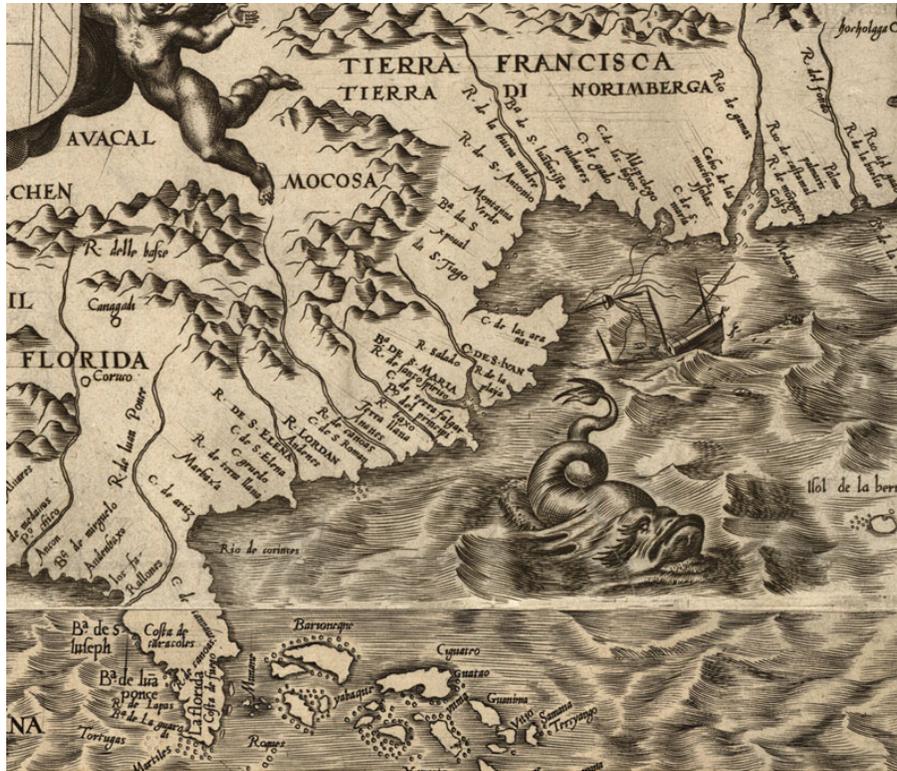
1.2. European travels

Oré's successful missionary work, his intellectual qualities, his interest in publishing manuscripts, and his general status as a figure of admiration were some of the factors that prompted Antonio de la Raya, Bishop of Cuzco, to send him to Spain and Italy. Oré left for Europe with three manuscripts—*Sermonario*, *Manual de administrar los sacramentos*, and *Arte y vocabulario*—and with the hope of publishing a new edition of *Símbolo católico indiano* in Spain, thereby launching his transition into other territories and other cultural worlds. His efforts came to fruition when the Council of the Indies authorized publication of the *Manual* on March 22, 1605; Oré also represented Bishop De la Raya before the Council on two other matters: the boundaries of the Diocese of Cuzco and Charcas and the establishment of the Universidad de San Antonio Abad in the former Incan capital (Cook, 1992b, p. 45). Thus, the *criollo* Franciscan began to move within administrative spheres in matters regarding American territories.

By late 1605, Oré was already in Rome. As he had been unable to publish the *Manual* in Spain, he had the chance to present the manuscript to Pope Paul V and get approval for his publication, which finally took place in Naples, two years after Oré's arrival in Italy. Evidently, Oré felt comfortable 'navigating' various European cultural universes, be they administrative or religious. He was also skilled at sparking interest in both his writing and the Seraphic Order's apostolic mission in the Americas, so the next assignment he was asked to complete (1611) from the Commissioner General of the Indies, his fellow Franciscan Antonio de Trejo,¹⁰ was

¹⁰ Trejo later became a general of the Franciscan Order.

not surprising: training twenty-four missionaries to teach catechism to the Indigenous peoples of Spanish Florida.



1. Close-up map by Diego Gutiérrez (1562). Courtesy of the Rosenwald Collection, Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress, no. 1303.

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1.3. Spanish Florida

It is worth contextualizing the Crown's renewed interest in colonizing Florida, a territory that extended far beyond the boundaries of the modern state of the same name: Spanish Florida bordered Virginia to the north and stretched beyond Kansas to the west, towards the center of the present-day U.S. In 1562, French Huguenots under the command of Jean Ribault explored the coast of present-day Florida, South Carolina and Georgia, founded the settlement of Charlesfort (on Parris Island), and seized the area for France. Although the colony was abandoned a year later, René Goulaine de Laudonnière returned to the region in 1564 and established Fort

Caroline (Fort de la Caroline)¹¹ near present-day Jacksonville. The Spanish sovereign sent Pedro Menéndez de Avilés as *adelantado* of Spanish Florida and governor of Cuba to colonize the area and expel the French intruders.



2. Timucuan Chief Atore showing the column marking the boundary of French territory to Laudonnière and other explorers. Attributed to Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues in Theodore de Bry, *Brevis narratio eorum quae in Florida Americae provincia Gallis acciderunt* (1591). Plate 8. Courtesy of the Special Collections Department, University of South Florida. Digitalized by USF Libraries Digitization Center.

¹¹ Named after King Charles IX of France. The Spaniards called it San Mateo. On a punitive expedition in 1567, Dominique de Gourgues retook the fort with Indigenous assistance, massacring the Spaniards.

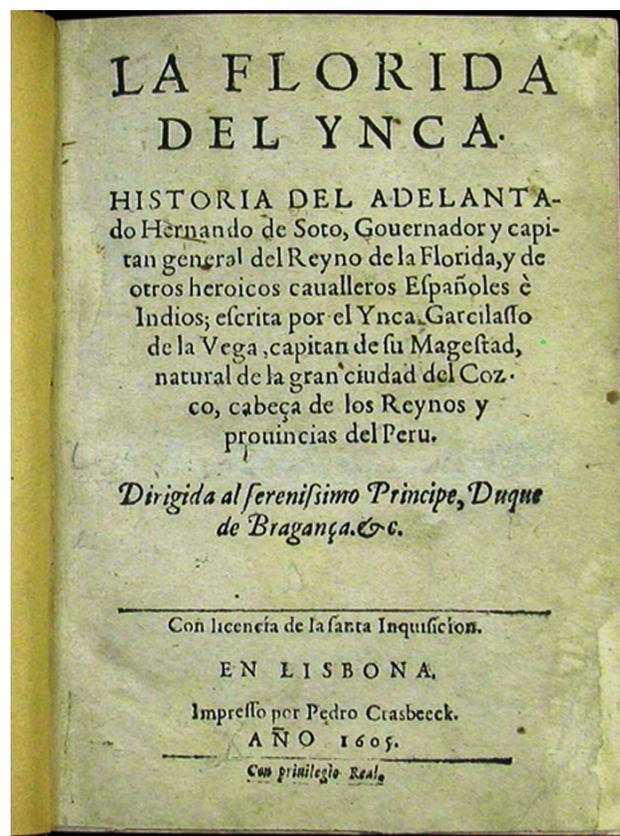


3. Pedro Menéndez de Avilés (1519-1574), *Adelantado* of Spanish Florida and Governor of Cuba. *Retratos de los españoles ilustres*, 1791. Courtesy of the *Hispanic Museum & Library*, New York.

The newly-appointed *adelantado* eliminated the protestants—enemies of Spain and of Catholicism—and founded the fort at St. Augustine (San Agustín) as well as the settlement of Santa Elena (1566). The fort was founded 42 years before the English established their colony in Jamestown (present-day Virginia) in 1607 and 55 years before the pilgrims landed at Plymouth (present-day Massachusetts) in 1620. Santa Elena became the first civil capital in Spanish Florida. At the same time, the *adelantado* entrusted the Jesuits with the task of conducting missionary work in that region. After a group of Jesuits was killed by Indigenous people in the Bahía de Santa

María del Jacán or Ajacán Mission (Chesapeake Bay) in 1572, the order chose to leave Spanish Florida, and Franciscans, charged with continuing the catechetical work, took their place in the region.¹² At first they limited their efforts to Saint Augustine, but later they expanded and created a network of missions.¹³ By 1612 they had established the Franciscan Province of Santa Elena, which spanned throughout Spanish Florida and included convents in Cuba and a novitiate in Havana.

1.4. A meeting in Córdoba: Oré and El Inca Garcilaso



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4. Cover of *La Florida del Inca* (Lisbon, 1605) by Garcilaso de la Vega. Courtesy of the Hispanic Museum & Library, New York.

¹² They had previously been in Spanish Florida on Pánfilo de Narváez's 1528 expedition, and on other occasions (Geiger, 1937, pp. 32-33).

¹³ Groups of Franciscans arrived from Spain in 1583, 1587, 1590, 1595, 1605, 1612 and 1613. For a list, see Worth, Spanish Florida Resources <<http://uwf.edu/jworth/index.htm>>.

It was during this initial growth period for the Seraphic Order in La Florida that Oré received the invitation to train catechists to preach the Gospel in this region. En route to Cádiz, a meeting point for missionaries before they embarked from Seville for the New World,¹⁴ Oré passed through Córdoba, where he met with his compatriot, Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, who at that time enjoyed sizable prestige in intellectual circles in the region and was known for his translation of León Hebreo's *Dialoghi d'amore* (1590) and two major accounts: *La Florida del Inca* (1605) and *Comentarios reales* (Part I, 1609). In fact, in early 1612, Oré visited El Inca, who described him as a "great theologian." Oré wished to discuss *La Florida del Inca* with him, as he was evidently familiar with the work and believed that reading it could prove useful for the inexperienced missionaries who would soon depart for North America.

Inca Garcilaso recorded this visit in the second part of his *Comentarios reales* or *Historia general del Perú* (1617) (HG, 1944 [1617], 3, Book 7, chapter 30, 182), which is how we know that he presented his compatriot with seven books—three copies of *La Florida del Inca* and four of *Comentarios reales*—and that he wished him success in his missionary work: "May the Divine Majesty help you in this endeavor in order for those idolaters to leave behind the abyss of their darkness" (HG, 1944 [1617], 3, Book 7, chapter 30, 182). We also know that both authors looked fondly on the Peruvian past, specifically those matters relating to the rebellion of Gonzalo Pizarro, first against the New Laws of 1542 and later against the Crown. Garcilaso, curious and always interested in the events of his homeland, wanted to know with certainty what had been done with the severed heads of the rebels Gonzalo Pizarro, Francisco de Carvajal, and Francisco Hernández Girón. This does raise the question of whether, besides this dark topic, they also discussed Hernando de Soto and his failed expedition to Spanish Florida, financed with the Inca Atahualpa's ransom, which Hernando de Soto received as compensation for his work in Peru.

¹⁴ In his *Relación* (2014, p. 184), Oré clarifies: "To the satisfaction of the president and oidores [judges] of the Royal Council, I took them to Seville where they embarked for La Florida in 1612. Juan Fernández de Olivera was governor then [. . .]" (2017, p. 149).



5. Image of Hernando de Soto (c.1500-1542), Adelantado of Spanish Florida and Governor of Cuba. *Retratos de los españoles ilustres*, 1791. Courtesy of the *Hispanic Museum & Library*, New York.

In view of his success, Oré was once again charged with training a group of missionaries, who this time were to be sent to Venezuela. He was to set sail with them aboard the vessel *La Esperanza* on June 20, 1613, according to the registry of passengers to the Indies (AGI, Contratación, 5538, L.2, F.125v-126v.). However, another assignment prevented him from traveling to this new geographic and cultural territory: he was to gather material in Andalusia on the life and deeds of Brother Francisco Solano, a missionary among the Calchaquí in Tucumán (now northern Argentina), whose beatification and eventual canonization had been arranged by the

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Seraphic Order.¹⁵ Oré compiled the results of this biographical investigation in his *Relación de la vida y milagros del venerable padre fray Francisco Solano de la Orden de San Francisco*, published in Madrid in 1614.

1.5. Towards Spanish Florida

Luis Jerónimo de Oré traveled to Spanish Florida—a world marked by quarrels between religious authorities and colonial administrators, as well as by conflicts between rival European powers and various Indigenous groups—at the request of the Franciscan Juan de Vivanco, Commissioner General of the Indies, who charged him with inspecting the missions throughout the territory, as well as the order’s convents on the island of Cuba (AGI, Santo Domingo 25).¹⁶ According to the list of passengers to the Indies, on June 27, 1614, Oré joined Brother Francisco de San Buenaventura and an assistant named Juan Tundidor aboard the vessel *Nuestra Señora de los Remedios*, which sailed from Seville to Havana (AGI, Contratación, 5538, L.2, F.128-128v.). That same year he traveled to Spanish Florida, where he made contact with diverse Indigenous peoples, whose differences were striking compared to the Andean groups with whom he had spent his childhood in Guamanga and Cuzco, and with those he had catechized in other mountain regions. Nevertheless, within his broad vision, Oré was certain they were able to receive and absorb the Gospel.

When Oré reached Florida, he immediately conducted a brief inspection and held a meeting of the religious chapter in Saint Augustine, only to later return to Havana and complete the second part of his mission (p. 185). With Juan de Treviño Guillamas as governor, Oré then traveled back to North America in 1616—he describes his mishaps on this journey in the *Relación*—under orders to visit all of the missions in the Franciscan Province of Santa Elena and hold another meeting with

¹⁵ He was beatified in 1675 and canonized in 1726 (Cushner, 1996, V, p. 140).

¹⁶ Approved by the commission on June 12, 1614.

his chapter. After doing so, the Province of Santa Elena chapter, under Oré's leadership, briefly gathered at San Buenaventura de Guadalquini on December 16, 1616 and elected friars Francisco Pareja and Lorenzo Martínez as *definitor* and *custodio*, respectively.

In the Spanish Indies, conflicts between clergy and colonial administrators typified the relationship between church and state, and Spanish Florida was no exception. On the one hand, administrators complained of an excessive number of friars coming to the region, and they reasoned that the royal budget ought to be spent on supporting soldiers to defend the presidio.¹⁷ On the other hand, the clergy objected to the administrators' greed, their calumnies against missionaries, their abuses of the native population, the constant presence of soldiers among the Indigenous peoples, and the prohibition on catechizing in certain regions. This is clear from a petition penned on January 17, 1617 and signed by clergymen Francisco Pareja, Pedro Ruiz, Lorenzo Martínez, Alonso Pesquera, Juan de la Cruz, Bartolomé Romero, and Francisco Alonso de Jesús (AGI, Santo Domingo 235, F.73-76). The *Relación* reflects the conciliatory stance held by Oré, who, on his second visit to Saint Augustine, published an edict attacking "the public vices that might be found among the soldiers in the presidio" (2017, p. 153), prudently and carefully avoiding the problem without causing offense to anyone.

Aware that a governor ought to favor their religious work, Oré and other Franciscans wrote to the king on January 14, 1617, stating, "the most important item is to appoint a person in this government that would not impede, but rather helps [the religious] with his support and encouragement in the mission that with great difficulty and weariness each day they advance" and recommended Juan Menéndez Márquez for the position (AGI, Santo Domingo 235, F.71-72). A petition signed on February 20th of an unstated year (but likely 1618 as it mentions Juan de Salinas

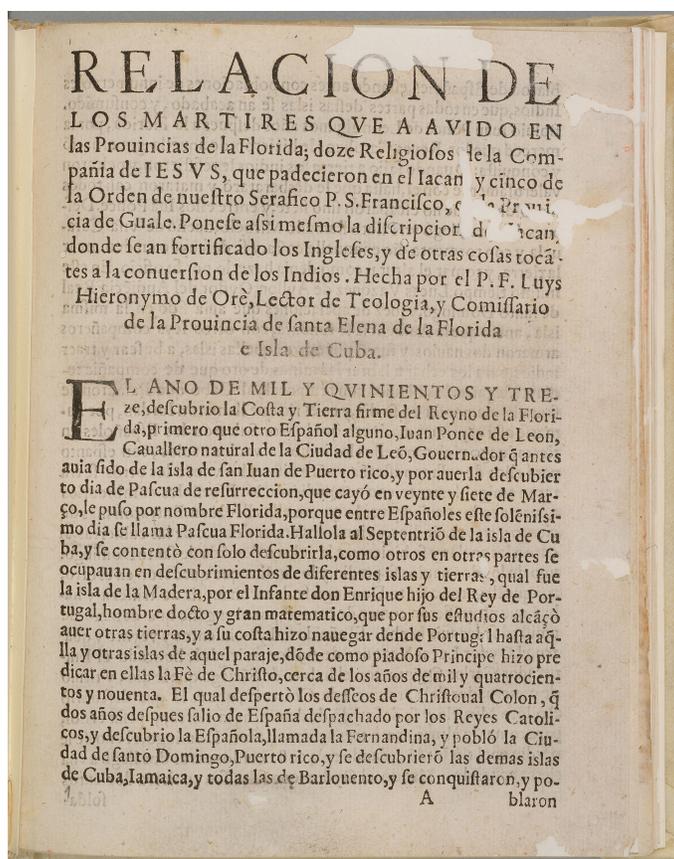
¹⁷ Bear in mind that, for the Crown, the cost of subsidizing a soldier was nearly identical to the cost of supporting a clergyman. For more on financing the cost of military and clerical in Spanish Florida, see Bushnell, 1994.

who governed Spanish Florida from 1618 to 1624¹⁸) again highlights the urgent need for missionaries (AGI, Santo Domingo 25). This request was repeated in another petition in which Oré mentions his return to Spain in the company of the *custodio* Lorenzo Martínez from the Province of Santa Elena, on which trip he would join the General Chapter of the Seraphic Order that would take place in Salamanca in 1618; he also notes that the *custodio* returned to the Americas on the fleet destined for New Spain:

and leaving the province in peace and order, the elected provincial in the chapter celebrated by Oré, the Custodio and he [Oré] traveled to Spain with the mandate to be present in the Salamanca general chapter [of the Franciscans]. When it finished, the Custodio returned, with your license, in the New Spain fleet because there is such a great need of religious. (AGI, Santo Domingo 235, F.235, F.77-78).

Oré's *Relación de los mártires de La Florida* is the product of this experience in the Caribbean and in both North and South America.

¹⁸ For the dates of the governors of Spanish Florida, I am referencing John E. Worth's table, available within the "Spanish Florida Resources" <<http://uwf.edu/jworth/index.htm>>.



6. Cover of the *Relación*, copy of the original at the Department of Special Collections, Hesburgh Libraries, University of Notre Dame.

2. A Rereading of the *Relación*

Likely published in Madrid circa 1619, with no imprint, the *Relación* consists of eleven chapters on diverse topics and of varying scope and style. The first two offer a cursory review of the chief Spanish expeditions in Florida, beginning with its ‘discovery’ by Juan Ponce de León, continuing through the incursions of Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón, Pánfilo de Narváez, and Hernando de Soto, and concluding with Pedro Menéndez de Avilés’s arrival in the region. In this context, he mentions Luis Cáncer de Barbastro’s efforts at evangelism and the territory’s colonization by France.

2.1. Of nobility and betrayals

From the perspective of an omniscient narrator, the first and second chapters show Oré's reading of the *Comentarios reales* and *La Florida del Inca*. This is particularly clear in two instances: 1) Oré's description of Hernando de Soto's involvement in the conquest of Peru, and 2) the favorable picture he paints of the conquistador on account of the way he treated Atahualpa. This positive image is reinforced when De Soto offers to launch and finance the endeavor in Spanish Florida with his spoils from the Andean region. Oré's description of De Soto's second burial also follows the details mentioned in *La Florida del Inca* (Part I, book 5, chap. 7) when, out of a fear that Indigenous people will desecrate his corpse, the members of the expedition decide to dig it up, chop down and carve out the trunk of a tree, and, after placing De Soto's body in this improvised coffin, set it adrift on the Mississippi river.

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The passages on the incursions ordered or commanded by Vázquez de Ayllón are notable for their description of the kidnapping of Indigenous people by the men under the leadership of Ayllón's lieutenants (c. 1521); the book describes how the Indigenous people, humiliated, preferred death to enslavement. Such wrongdoing was fresh in the minds of Floridian Indigenous populations, which in turn led to the failure of the second, larger expedition (over 600 people) captained by Ayllón himself (1526), as the narrator explains when he observes that the Native Americans tricked and killed the Europeans in retaliation. This event demonstrates the explorers' poor and abusive conduct as well as the Indigenous peoples' ingenuity and leadership. With the exception of the killing of Jean Ribault and his companions, French intervention in the territories discovered and reclaimed by Spain is very secondary within these passages; these events are painted with a broad brush and lack detail. Instead, the narrator focuses on Phillip II's interest in the region and highlights the

figure of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, whose name he mistakes¹⁹ and whose violent actions against the French Protestants strengthened Spain's colonial hold in Florida and the expansion of Catholicism (2014, pp. 99-102).²⁰

2.2. On kidnappings, martyrdom, and miracles

The third and fourth chapters, narrated from the same omniscient perspective, describe two of the most tragic episodes within the *Relación*: the kidnapping of a young chief and the martyrdom of the Jesuit missionaries in the Bahía de Santa María del Jacán or Ajacán Mission (Chesapeake Bay). Central to this event is the kidnapping of the Indigenous adolescent baptized with the name Luis²¹ in honor of his godfather, the Viceroy of New Spain, Luis de Velasco y Ruiz de Alarcón (1550-1564), and his subsequent betrayal when he urges the Jesuits to establish themselves in his original home, in the present-day state of Virginia. Oré summarily explains how the young man was transferred to Spain, where the Jesuits endeavored to educate him. Oré's description is most detailed when he chronicles the martyrdom of the missionaries and divine intervention. Even so, he does describe the young man's detention without offering any commentary: some Indigenous people boarded a ship captained by Menéndez de Avilés, from among whom "they seized a young chief and took him to Spain" (2017, p. 83)²². In my view, we can take this comment as Oré's tacit approval of the deed.

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This episode reveals a frequent practice in expeditions to the Americas: the kidnapping of Indigenous people in order to learn the basics of the local language and the region's geography and economy; it is worth remembering, for example, the

¹⁹ He calls him Diego Menéndez Valdés or Pedro Menéndez Valdés.

²⁰ For more details on these Hispanic-French encounters, see Quinn (1990).

²¹ Most likely from the Powatan people and known as Paquiquineo. For more on the significance of this incident, see Brickhouse (2015).

²² Jaime Bartolomé Martínez, an older soldier in Spanish Florida relocated to Potosí, offers a different account of events, according to which the adelantado asked for permission from the young Indigenous man's father to bring him to Spain. In this way, he exonerates Menéndez de Avilés from responsibility for the kidnapping and highlights his generosity (Vargas Ugarte, 1940, pp. 88-89).

anecdote from the first part of the *Comentarios reales* by Inca Garcilaso, in which we learn that Peru received its name due to a misunderstanding of the information provided by an Indigenous man who had been kidnapped (1, Book 1, chap. 4, 17-19).²³ The hostages often died of rage or nostalgia, or killed themselves to avoid the humiliations of captivity and enslavement. Others, the minority, were taken to the Iberian Peninsula. If they were young enough and survived the voyage across the Atlantic, they were given instruction not only in religion, but also in reading and writing, as was the case for this kidnapped young ethnic lord. With this acculturation, they could go on to act as intermediaries. In turn, missionaries traveled with Spanish teenagers who acted as acolytes and learned native languages and customs, thereby beginning a process of acculturation in the opposite direction. This was the case of Alonso de Lara, who accompanied the Jesuits to Jacán and was the only member of the mission who survived. His subsequent rescue by Pedro Menéndez de Avilés highlights the violence of these confrontations and the schemes employed by various parties in the borderlands.

As was common in the Americas to explain setbacks in the evangelization process, the apostasy of young Don Luis, who returned to his land and his old ways of life, is attributed to the devil. In a metaphor appropriated and popularized by Bartolomé de las Casas in his *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* (1552), with which Oré was undoubtedly familiar, these missionaries are characterized as true sheep among wolves: “Don Luis arrived and gave him a heavy blow with the machete, and later he wounded and killed the other missionaries, that, as sheep, were among those carnivorous wolves” (2014, p. 108). By criticizing the young man’s violent behavior, the narrator emphasizes a dear idea for the evangelists: the importance of setting an example, of Christians’ proper behavior

²³ Early in the explorations of Mar del Sur (c.1515), passing the equator, the Spaniards kidnapped an Indigenous man and, using signs, asked him the region’s name. Confused, he answered with his name, Berú, and the generic term for river: Pelú. Garcilaso writes that “the Christians understood according to their desire” and corrupted both names, determining to call the lands of the old Incan Empire ‘Peru’.

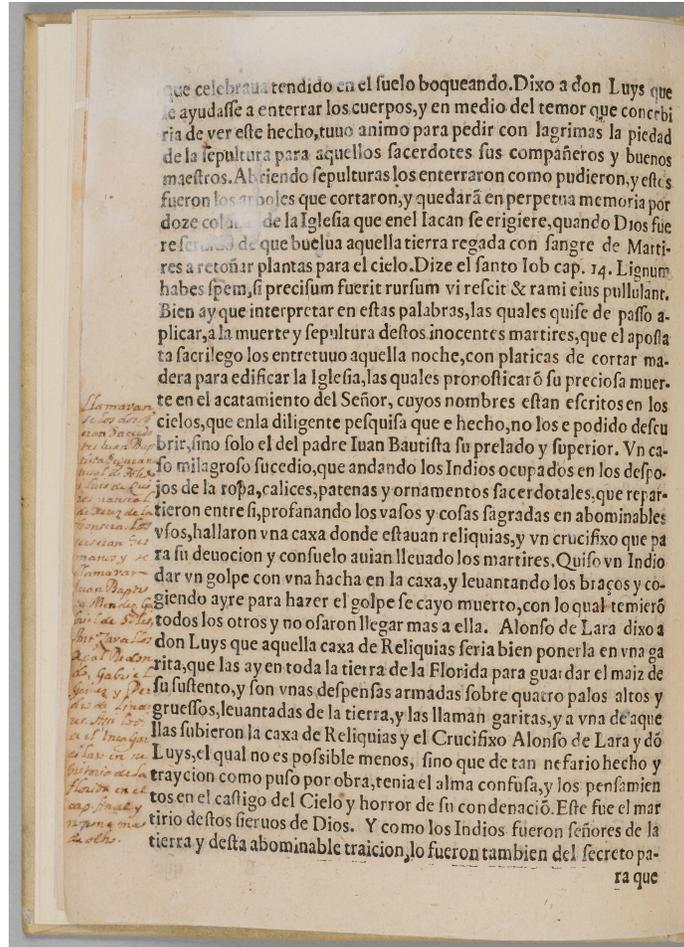
acting as the foundation for their evangelical work, reiterated here in the use of the designation “sheep” to distinguish the consecrated religious group in Santa María del Jacán.

Within this context, we also see divine intervention on behalf of the missionaries. The miracles described in the *Relación* are presented as punishments against those who have opposed Christian practices or as rewards for those who have helped spread Catholicism. In the third chapter, for example, we find an Indigenous character who rummages through a box of relics containing a crucifix belonging to the martyred Jesuits, which he tries to open with an ax. The wrongdoer falls dead when he lifts his arms and takes a breath before striking. Having witnessed this, the other potential looters flee, and the relics are not profaned (2014, p. 109). Curiously, these relics were saved, along with the crucifix, in a storeroom or hut where the Floridians kept their precious sustenance (beans, corn, dried meats) (2014, p. 109). Thus, the European spiritual food and the physical Floridian diet are brought together in an Indigenous hut that, by virtue of its closeness, became a symbolic space of transculturation.

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2.3. Alternating voices

From a literary perspective, it is worth recalling that, in the accounts and reports of the *conquista*, shifts between narrative voices and narrators are frequent. Thus, it should not be surprising that in the fifth chapter of the *Relación*, we encounter an ‘I’ who is curious to learn the names of all the martyrs from Jacán. In a hand-written note from the 17th century, on the left margin of that page, a contemporary reader has responded to this question by referencing *La Florida del Inca* and referring the reader to Garcilaso’s own text (2014, p. 109, n. 174).



7. *Relación*, folio 5v, copy of the original at the Department of Special Collections, Hesburgh Libraries, University of Notre Dame.

Even so, the fifth and sixth chapters are dominated by the perspective of the omniscient narrator. This voice describes complex relationships between the Floridians and the Spaniards, as well as the difficulty both groups experienced in complying with their agreements, as is clear from the early rebellions in Santa Elena and Guale, which were precipitated by clashing cultural perceptions. Within this conflict-prone context we also encounter the Escamucu people, whom the narrator says are among the bravest in the region. We also learn about Spanish Florida's dependency on the *situado*, i.e. the annual payments it received from another region of the empire—in this case New Spain—to defray the cost of war and for protection

against pirates; the tactics Indigenous peoples use to lure in the enemy by offering “chickens and women” (2014, pp. 118-19); the precariousness of Spanish settlements besieged by both Indigenous Floridians and European pirates and corsairs, such as Francis Drake’s attack on Saint Augustine in 1586 (2014, p. 122); the violence employed to subdue insurgencies among the Indigenous populations; plans by Indigenous peoples to kidnap Spanish women; and the arrival of new Franciscan missionaries (1587).

2.4. *Evangelization and exploration*

Given the Guale and Escamacu attacks against Santa Elena, the comical explanation of how Governor Hernando de Miranda escaped and abandoned the fort (1576) is striking: “Then he made use of a stratagem to escape. Pretending to be asleep, he had the women put him on board ship as if he did not know he was being moved, a scribe from the same region in Spain [as Miranda] [...] gave testimony to that effect [...]” (2017, p. 94). He then beseeched the ship to set sail and leave Santa Elena to be sacked by the Indigenous attackers, for which he was punished upon his return to Spain (2014, p.120).

Regarding the arrival of new Franciscan missionaries, the narrator highlights a notable change. Given the zeal for conversion among the friars, by this point there was a sizable number of Indigenous people who had accepted Christianity “willingly” (2014, p. 124), thus confirming persuasion as the favored method of evangelism among the Seraphic Order in Spanish Florida. Nevertheless, that did not mean it was their only method, as we will see later on. In an apparent contradiction, at the same time as these priests elevated themselves as defenders of the infidels or “Hanopiras,” the already-converted Floridians harassed and tormented them (2014, p. 124). This restrained behavior by the religious recognizes the humanity of Christians and non-converts alike.

In this section of the text, the narrator adds a detailed report by Juan Menéndez Márquez (c. 1573) from the Bahía de Santa María del Jacán (Chesapeake Bay) and from the San Pedro river (the Potomac). The document confirms the fluidity of Spanish Florida's northern border, the impunity with which contraband came in from the Caribbean, and the frequency of the exchange between the islands and the continent. It also sheds light on the narrator's opinion of English settlements in the area: he describes them as a "den of thieves" and, with missionary-like zeal, he lobbies for their destruction (2014, pp. 135-36). To achieve this, Oré justifies the inclusion of the nautical report because all of the information it contains will be essential "until his Majesty [...] deems it necessary to cleanse the area of those thieves²⁴ who have occupied the area and fortified it over the last thirty years. (2017, p. 104). He complains bitterly about the intruders, who

arriving from England as if they were coming to secure coasts, without anybody offering any resistance or interference with their designs, the enemies' ships sail from these two ports of the Jacán and Bermuda. They then run along the coasts of the island of Cuba, Puerto Rico, Jamaica, and Santo Domingo and rob what they can without anybody [the Spaniards] punishing them because [...] they quickly seek escape in the Bahama channel in whose navigation their pilots are as familiar as those who have made ten or twelve trips to the Indies. They then return to these safe havens which are really like animal lairs, and from there return to England wealthy as a result of what they have been able to pillage. (2017, p. 108).

These complaints confirm the material loss for the Crown, highlight the frequency of these incursions, and even insinuate dangerous relationships between the English and the residents of these smuggler settlements.

²⁴ That is, the English.

Chapter seven includes several lists, followed by brief commentary on the origin and behavior of the Franciscan missionaries who arrived in Saint Augustine in 1595 and 1587, respectively. Although most of the lists are summaries of the brothers' origins and rank, others offer information on specific situations making it possible for us to sketch out the character and behavior of these persons by giving us a mini portrait of each individual. For example, in a note on Father Francisco Pareja, Oré praises the priest's preparation and service to the order and highlights the conflict between Spanish soldiers and the native population, placing emphasis on Father Francisco's defense of the latter. Here the narrator reiterates the priest's exemplary behavior and his ability to transform the Floridians from wolves into sheep (2014, pp. 142-43), a Biblical image that he alludes to in preceding chapters and now employs to underscore both the transformative power of preaching the Gospel as well as this Franciscan missionary's excellence as a role model.

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In this context, the authorial voice appears from the first-person perspective on at least five occasions. The first time, we learn of Oré's visit to a convent in Bayamo, in eastern Cuba, where he met with Father Pedro Bermejo (2014, p. 139), who had formerly preached the Gospel in Spanish Florida; the second, we learn that on two occasions (in 1614 and in 1616), Oré sailed from Saint Augustine to Havana (2014, p. 140); the third, he references his involvement (1616) in the 'first' chapter of the Santa Elena Province (2014, p. 169); the fourth places Oré in the Franciscan house in Havana in 1617, where he buried the elderly Father Francisco Marrón (2014, p. 152), who was already in Spanish Florida in 1594 as a curate to the Bishop of Cuba (Geiger, 1940, pp. 70-71) and died twenty-two years later; the fifth recounts the ten-month captivity of Father Francisco de Ávila in his own voice—this account was left in its written form to Father Marrón and kept in the Franciscan convent in Havana, where Oré discovered it and read it, to later include it in chapter eight of the *Relación* (2014, p. 152). This testimonial streak lends nuance to the narration with its realist tone while simultaneously bringing events closer to the reader.

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Luis Jerónimo de Oré and his *Relación* (c. 1619): A Peruvian's Account of Spanish Florida

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2.5. Rebellion and punishment; kidnapping and rescue

The Guale rebellion of 1597, the martyrdom of four Franciscans (Pedro de Corpa, Miguel de Auñón, Blas Rodríguez, Francisco de Veráscola)²⁵ and a lay brother (Antonio de Badajoz), as well as the kidnapping and rescue of Francisco de Ávila, all followed by punishment of the rebels by Governor Gonzalo Méndez de Canzo, are the main events narrated in chapters seven and eight. As a consequence of the rebellion, the Franciscan missions in present-day Georgia, with the exception of San Pedro on Cumberland Island, were eliminated (Geiger, 1940, p. 120)²⁶. According to Oré, the uprising arose when Father Corpa forbade Don Juan, one of the heirs to the primary chieftaincy—mentioned above in section 1.2—, from having multiple wives. Access to new documents have enabled J. Michael Francis and Kathleen M. Kole to reconsider the circumstances surrounding the rebellion and the Indigenous perspective of the event (2011). Beyond polygamy and the emphasis on Christian matrimony, their research reveals the complexity of Hispano-Indigenous relations along the Florida border. It offers a nuanced and eye-opening explanation of an event whose resonances were felt in evangelism efforts throughout Europe and the Americas. As a consequence of the rebellion, Spanish authorities increased control of the region, particularly after 1600 (Milanich, 2006, pp. 122-24).

The short autobiographical account of Father Ávila's kidnapping, which Oré includes in the *Relación* (2014, pp. 151-61), warrants a separate study because its contact with hagiographic literature and accounts of captivity, which were common in

²⁵ Juan de Torquemada, in his *Monarquía indiana* (Seville, 1615), book 19, chap. 20, wrote about this much-discussed event. Governor Gonzalo Méndez de Canzo reported this occurrence, and the AGI document can be found in López, 1931, Appendix 2, pp. 12-23.

²⁶ In addition to the convent of the Immaculate Conception in Saint Augustine, there were the following missions: Nombre de Dios (near Saint Augustine), San Juan del Puerto (at the mouth of the San Juan River)—both in the present-day state of Florida; San Pedro (Cumberland Island), Tolomato, the islands of Santa Catalina and Guale, Tupiqui, Ospos, Asao—all in present-day Georgia—Ibi (in Georgia or Florida?) and Timucua (in the interior) (Geiger, 1940, p. 120).

the borderlands of North and South America²⁷. Nevertheless, within this discussion it is worth broaching some of this narrative's themes repeated in other viceregal accounts. One is the attribution of the rebellion and Ávila's temptations to the presence of the devil, who always played an active role on the American stage. By contrast, the priest attributes his resistance to Satan's entreaties to Jesus Christ. The most "diabolical" temptation of all was when he was given a beautiful young native woman as a wife (2014, pp. 158-59). Another difficult test occurred when he was ordered to prepare gunpowder with which his Indigenous captors would fight their enemies. When Ávila responded that he did not know how to do this, his captors replied: "Don't excuse yourself. Yes, you do because your books talk and tell you how to do it" (2017, p. 128). Obviously, the notion of speaking paper, the 'singing letter,' another metaphor frequently used in accounts and tales from the *conquista* to describe how Indigenous people processed the notion of alphabetic writing,²⁸ surfaces in this portion of the *Relación* added by Oré based on conversations he had in Havana with Father Marrón, confidant of the kidnapped Ávila (2014, p. 161)²⁹.

According to the narrator, the Indigenous arrogance and divine punishment converge when the rebel group, whose leaders had formerly killed Franciscan friars, realize that they are surrounded "in the territory of their enemies" without "passage to their homeland"; trapped, "they hanged themselves with the cords of their bows from the oak and laurel trees. Thus was extinguished the pride of those persons who had dared to place their hands on the religious and who were accomplices [to the

²⁷ For more on this topic see Voigt, 2009 and Allen, 2009; the latter briefly discusses the kidnapping of Father Ávila.

²⁸ Remember, again, the *Comentarios reales* (Part II, 1617), particularly the chapter "De la hortaliza y yerbas, y de la grandeza dellas" (vol. 2, book 9, chap. 29), as well as the discussion of the topic in the "tradición" "Carta canta," by Ricardo Palma, on the first crop of melons in Peru.

²⁹ "Father Ávila did not write down this information about the gunpowder and bullets, but it was told to me by a religious who dealt with him, both before and after his time with the Indians. They talked a lot and this religious told me many other things I will omit so as to avoid going on too long" (2017, p. 129).

crime]. They all died horrible deaths” (2017, 130).³⁰ This image of Indigenous people hanging from trees harkens to the Taínos, native inhabitants of the Caribbean, who preferred self-immolation over capture by the Europeans. Suicide as a means of escape, in this case from the enemies of the Indigenous, highlights the disruptions caused by colonization in regions governed by cultural codes very different from those of the Iberians. That is, in Spanish Florida as well as the Caribbean and the Andes, we can confirm the assertion of Andean chronicler Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, who, in *Primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (c. 1615) characterized the initial decades of contact as *pachacuti* or cataclysmic, an image that in turn can be associated with the classical notion of “the world turned upside down,” a well-known literary trope, as Ernst Robert Curtius notes in his classic *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter* [European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages] (1948).

2.6. Franciscan priests and Indigenous converts

30 Chapter nine begins with the omniscient narrator describing the Franciscans’ experiences evangelizing the Floridians. Polygamy is their greatest obstacle; nevertheless, divine intervention is felt in the death of the additional wife, or of the child born out of wedlock; Oré represents these tragedies as holy punishment for diabolical transgressions. As would be expected, conversions increase following such divine chastisement. Still, in an aside, the narrator reflects on the sexual appetites that the natives and the Spaniards share (2014, p. 168), treating both groups as equals in their fragile vulnerability to sin.

As in previous chapters, the first-person ‘I’ sometimes interrupts the discourse. In its first interruption, the first-person narrator presents Francisco Pareja’s report on the ability of the Indigenous to internalize the various aspects of

³⁰ In *Símbolo católico indiano*, Oré notes the arrogance of those who tried and condemned Atahualpa: “and thus the poor King was killed by the conquistadors. However, all from the Marquis Pizarro to the last one of his accomplices on this death, payed with their lives because as they were all stabbed and killed violently. Before God the unjustly shed human blood cries out and cries out,” (Oré, 1992 [1598], 160, 41v).

catechesis proposed by Oré in his role as commissary: “Responding to questions that I [Oré] posed in writing to all the religious, asking if there had been success in their work with the Indians, if the Indians lived as Christians and confessed as such, and if there were any reasons for which they could be denied communion, Father [. . .] Pareja answered the following words” (2017, p. 137). The second time this occurs, the narrator explains why he selected this friar’s response: Father Francisco’s reputation, as well as his knowledge of the reality in Florida, have earned him the admiration of the brothers within the order (2014, p. 174). Therefore, his response attests to the behavior of the converts and the sincerity of their Christian faith: “many Indian men and women who confess and receive communion tearfully and in such a way that they are superior to many Spaniards” (2017, p. 138). Pareja’s speech predicts the Franciscan mission’s success in Spanish Florida and, simultaneously, justifies the request for an increase in the number of religious to attend to the catechized population and expand their efforts at evangelism to other regions, particularly in the populated Appalachian region.³¹

31

Beyond the characterization of the Floridians’ religious devotion, Francisco Pareja’s speech also includes allusions to confrontations between the Seraphic Order and the Spanish authorities, who place greater importance on soldiers and are reluctant to fund the missionaries: “Many times, it seems that these alms are thrown to us as if we were dogs, while the soldiers are thought to be the necessary persons here. However, we religious are the ones who bear the *pondus diei et estus* (daily burden of the heat); we are the ones who really are pacifying and conquering the land” (2017,140). In other words, the priests’ exemplary conduct, their personal sacrifice, and their efforts to preach the Gospel ‘conquer’ the Floridians without weapons or bloodshed, thereby supporting the establishment of Catholicism and Spanish power within the territory.

³¹ Oré raised this request (conserved in the AGI in Seville) together with requests and briefs from the Royal Audience of Santo Domingo (1608-1616) before the Spanish crown on February 20th (year unknown) (AGI, Santo Domingo 25).

2.7. *Evangelism in the Appalachian territory*

The tenth chapter includes commentary from Father Martín Prieto, which Oré extracts from the priest's own statements. Thanks to this commentary, we learn about the extent and number of inhabitants in the Appalachian region and how Prieto attempts to persuade powerful chiefs to submit peacefully to the Spanish Crown, in addition to acquiring information about missionaries' entry into that distant region. It is worth noting that, despite the early incursion into Appalachian territory, the missionaries did not fully enter the territory until at least 1633 (McEwan, 1993, p. 295). The abovementioned conflict between church and state arises once again when Prieto escorts the chief of the Inihayca as the latter offers his vassalage to the king, represented by the governor. On their journey, the soldiers pull Prieto aside "so that the governor would receive him [Lord Inihayca], and thus claim the reward for which he [the governor] had not labored. But we are poor Franciscan friars who only hope for reward in heaven" (2017, p. 146).

32

According to Oré, evangelization in Appalachia was carried out peacefully. Still, despite his purported reputation for persuasion, Prieto describes the burning of idols in one of the squares in the Appalachian region (2014, pp.177-78). Similarly, when he references Hernando de Soto, a notable episode places the impact of his incursion into Floridian territories at the center of the text. Prieto does not succeed in converting the Indigenous peoples of Santa Ana because, as they explain to him: "As a boy [the chief] was a captive of Hernando de Soto and he suffered a great deal at the hands of the Christians. So he warned us never to become Christians and as long as he lives, no one in this village will" (2017, p. 142). Even so, the priest decides to confront the elderly chief, only to be thrown out of his home, at which point a clap of thunder and a strong wind destroy everything but a cross and a church in which masses were previously held. This occurrence—presented as another show of divine intervention—prompts the chief to seek conversion; he dies immediately after being

baptized (2014, p. 177). Another dramatic episode features a recently converted boy in a death trance, whom Prieto equates to an angel who is exhorting his family to accept this new faith: “Do not cry for me, rather sing because I am the first one of this village who is going to see God and find peace. Cry for the unfortunate people who died without seeing this moment and who are now suffering” (2017, p. 144). This warning had a direct effect; those who heard the child’s words immediately accepted Christianity.

As we saw in earlier sections, chapter eleven—the final chapter of the *Relación*—alternates between omniscient narration and individual testimony to render an account of Oré’s difficult travels throughout the Franciscan missions of Spanish Florida; the chapter includes descriptions of the tight bonds between the priests and the native population—on whom the priests depended for food and transportation—and how the Franciscans chose the new authorities in San Buenaventura de Guadalquini. We also learn the year of Oré’s first journey in Spanish Florida (1614, from Seville) and his second (1616, from Havana). The narration recounts Oré’s brief meeting with the Saint Augustine chapter (1614), his return to Guale territory, and the delight that the Franciscans experience when they gather.

33

For the first time in the *Relación*, we see Oré’s reaction to the obstacles of traveling in Spanish Florida, specifically the fear he felt when he was forced to cross fast-flowing rivers:

crossing rushing rivers so deep we could not wade across them; the only bridges were long, thick pine trunks that the Indians who were accompanying me ran over readily as if they had lost their fear when crossing these dangerous passages. In my case, however, I confessed first and then crossed, invoking Our Lord’s name, out of obedience to the prelates who had ordered me to go on this visitation and commission (2017, pp. 155-56).

Although there is certainly no abundance of detail, the subsequent description of the clergymen's entry into San Buenaventura de Guadalquini is dramatic, as it reveals the Franciscans' unbreakable faith and their commitment to missionary work even on inhospitable soil (2014, p. 191). Throughout the *Relación* and especially in the tenth chapter, there are numerous references to the Viceroyalty of Peru, which I will compile and discuss in the next section.

2.8. *The Relación and the Viceroyalty of Peru*

The first and most notable reference revolves around the figure of Hernando de Soto, his involvement in the conquest of Peru, and his later expedition to Spanish Florida, as well as his death and burial in a tree trunk that was set adrift on the Mississippi river. As I remarked earlier, De Soto was a notable figure in several episodes during the conquest of Peru, including the capture of Atahualpa in Cajamarca. For this and other actions, he was handsomely rewarded when it came time to divvy the spoils of Incan treasure; he also received valuable gifts from Atahualpa himself, as he was the first Spaniard the emperor had seen. Regarding this fortune, Oré remarks: "He returned to Spain and to his home, Villanueva de Barcarrota, with 100,000 ducats. He was tremendously wealthy because up to then there had never been in Spain as much gold and silver as the amount he brought" (2017, p. 74). He offered the following summary of De Soto's ambitions: "Not content with his deeds in the conquest of Peru and desirous of undertaking military exploits, De Soto petitioned the emperor Charles V [...] to grant him the right to the conquest of the kingdom of La Florida. He wanted to do it at his own cost and risk, expending in the effort his own property and putting in danger his personal security in order to serve His Majesty" (2017, p. 74).

His efforts were clearly successful: in 1537, the Crown named him *adelantado* of Spanish Florida and governor of Cuba (Lockhart, 1987, I, pp. 198-207). In the second part of the *Comentarios reales* or *Historia general del Perú*, Garcilaso offers a

positive description of the relationship between De Soto, a veteran soldier, and Atahualpa, the captive Incan (*HG* 1944 [1617], I, Book 1, chapter 28, 143-45)³². Oré's representation of the relationship is equally positive: "Because De Soto was the first Spaniard whom he saw and with whom he spoke, Atahualpa, a very powerful King, took a special affection for him. Atahualpa was being held prisoner in his own homeland, the Inca ruler admired the audacity and valor of the few Spaniards, and gave De Soto rich expensive gifts" (2017, p. 74).

In another instance, when talking about Peru, the narrator describes how converted Florida Indians hounded their non-converted counterparts. The Franciscans presented themselves as defenders of the *Hanopira* or 'colored men,' i.e., the Indigenous peoples of Spanish Florida who rejected Christianity and distinguished themselves from converts by painting their bodies red or blackening their skin with coal. While he is on the topic, Oré compares this practice with the customs of the Indigenous people of the Peruvian jungle:

In this the Indians of La Florida are like the barbarous Indians of the highlands of Peru, [as] both are expert in the use of the bow and arrow. But in Peru they go about clothed, or at least less naked than the ones here. The Floridians have the advantage in that they are more warlike and they do not have the vice of drunkenness that is notable in all the Indians, from New Spain to Peru (2017, p. 100).

His comment on lack of attire is notable, as, in that era, nudity was associated with otherness and barbarianism. The narrator stresses that the missionaries recognize the natives' humanity and protect them, regardless of whether they are Christians; no doubt following the lead of Garcilaso in *La Florida del Inca*, he also highlights the Floridians' bravery and exempts them from the vice of alcohol with which he associates other Indigenous groups. Oré also notes Floridian Christians' compliance with religious rites and praises the ease with which they learn to read and write. This

³² For more on this topic, see Lockhart, 1987, I, pp. 198-207.

evidence should convince his superiors—be they Franciscan clerics or servants of the Crown—of the progress being made in catechesis and colonization.

The *Relación* features several other comparisons with Andean customs—for example, it compares the Floridian *macana* or wooden bludgeon with the *chambi* or mace of Incan armies. Two comparisons are particularly important. In the first, Oré expresses his concern over the authorities' treatment of the missionaries of Spanish Florida, and in the second, he attempts to avoid situations in which the natives are punished for doing harm to the missionaries. This is why he discusses the expedition of Juan Álvarez Maldonado (1525-1612),³³ a conquistador living in Cuzco who captained a failed incursion into the jungle region and discovered the Manu or Alto Madre de Dios River.³⁴ Expressing his discomfort, Oré's comment alludes to the royal provision on the treatment owed to evangelists: "The soldiers had to ensure the safety of the priests and other ministers and missionaries, If, however, they were killed by the Indians, the criminals had to be punished" (2017, p. 147). Thus, Oré highlights the Crown's concern for missionaries and their evangelism in the Andes while simultaneously echoing his own anxieties about achieving adequate protection in Spanish Florida for missionaries and avoiding harsh punishment for the natives.

A reading of Oré's text shows the difficulties missionaries faced in Spanish Florida owing to the distribution of the Indigenous peoples there and the torturous trails and canals through which missionaries had to travel in order to reach various communities. To solve this problem, he turned to measures employed in the Viceroyalty of Peru. He suggests imposing a system of *reducciones* or redistribution of the Indigenous population of Spanish Florida, as had been approved by Royal

³³ Under the administration of Lope García de Castro (1563-1569), Álvarez Maldonado was given the title of governor and captain general of these lands in 1567, as he discovered the borders of Los Mojós (Del Busto, 1987, pp. 124-125).

³⁴ This expedition's experiences are collected in the anonymous *Relación de la jornada y descubrimiento del río Manu*. In 1899, in Seville, Luis Ulloa published an account of this venture: *Relación de la jornada y descubrimiento del río Manu (hoy Madre de Dios) por Juan Álvarez Maldonado en 1567*.

Decree for Peru in 1551 and subsequently imposed by Viceroy Francisco de Toledo (1569-1581): “If the governor should wish to consolidate three or four small villages into one, as was done in the *reducciones* of Peru by order of the viceroy Don Francisco de Toledo, the Indians would be better taught and the ministers relieved of the excessive work they have now” (2017, p.148). According to the colonial authorities, neither evangelism nor collection of taxes would be feasible if the Indigenous peoples were geographically dispersed. The *reducciones* concentrated various villages and isolated groups in new towns with larger numbers of inhabitants. This form of integration facilitated political domination, economic exploitation, and catechesis for Indigenous converts. Churches were raised in these new villages and inhabitants received religious instruction; the parish priest was funded with taxes from the ‘reduced’ Indigenous communities. Although Franciscans and Jesuits alike accepted *reducciones*, the system was disastrous for the Andean population and contributed to the destruction of older forms of community life. Many were displaced, increasing the number of *forastero* (outsider) Indians now separated from their communities. As Franciscans supported *reducciones* in Peru to facilitate catechesis, it is no wonder that Oré proposed the establishment of the same in Spanish Florida, nor is it surprising that he praised Francisco de Toledo, the same man who had imposed them in the Viceroyalty of Peru (AGI, Santo Domingo 235, F. 69-70). Thus, in the *Relación*, Oré recommends establishing this measure in Spanish Florida, though it was detested by forward looking clerics and administrators for contributing to the breakup of Andean communities. These allusions show that Peru was very present in the *Relación* and also attest as to how pernicious practices could move from one region to another without first being appraised.

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3. By Way of Conclusion

The narrative of Luis Jerónimo de Oré's experience in Spanish Florida is simultaneously a personal testimony, a geographic account, a political handbook, and a missionary manual on catechesis in border regions. As a text, it offers a singular look at an early period of globalization and at an overlooked period in North American history that urgently needs to be restored and reconstructed in order to thoroughly understand the diversity of that era's political actors. The *Relación* offers all of this from the perspective of a *criollo* polyglot whose birth and education in the Viceroyalty of Peru nuanced his vision of events at the violent 'northern border' of Spain's American empire. In this way, the *Relación de los mártires de La Florida* constitutes a unique testimony through which we can approach the history of North and South America and understand its permanent link to Spain.

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