

**The 1597 Guale Revolt: A Look at the Political, Religious and Cultural Causes of a
Significant 16th Century Event of Early Spanish Borderland History**

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Introduction

Prior to the founding of the British Jamestown Colony in 1607, the American Southeast had already been long home to earlier European settlements that included missions established amongst many of the Southeast's native peoples of the time. One of those peoples was the now extinct Guale who lived along what is today the Georgia Coast. The first known formal European contact with the Guale was during the 1562 French expedition led by Jean Ribault. During said expedition, the French were left without their leader since he was arrested in Great Britain and so they were left alone to manage their settlement at Charlesfort. The French made an alliance with Chief Guale (who they called Oade) who entertained them in his village and provided them with a supply of corn, beans and tapestry.¹ By the time Pedro Menendez de Aviles and his men arrived in Chief Guale's village in April 1566, Chief Guale and his men still felt themselves to be allies of the former French Huguenots. Through the aid and coercion of a Frenchman from Cordoba they encountered there who came with Ribault but who had stayed living amongst the Guale, Menendez managed to establish an alliance with Chief Guale and even established a needed peace between Chief Guale and one of his adversaries, Chief Orista.² From that point on, Guale became a part of the Spanish mission field and it was first ministered by Jesuit missionaries. The Jesuit missionaries, however were unsuccessful in their efforts amongst the Guale and so were then recalled from the region in the 1570s. They were then replaced by the Franciscans by 1573

¹ Rene Laudonniere, *Three Voyages (Translated by Charles E. Bennett)* (Gainesville: The University Presses of Florida, 1975), 42-45.

² Gonzalo Solis de Meras, *Pedro Menendez de Aviles and the Conquest of Florida: A New Manuscript (Edited, Translated and Annotated by David Arbesu)* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2017), 112-119 & 125-128; Bartolome Barrientos, *Pedro Menendez de Aviles – Founder of Florida (Translated with an introduction, by Anthony Kerrigan)* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1965), 96-100 & 106-108; John H. Hann, "Summary Guide to Spanish Florida Missions and Visitas. With Churches in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries." *The Americas* 46, no. 4 (1990):429.

but nevertheless conflicts and tensions remained between them and the Guale which will be briefly discussed in this paper as well.³ During the 1580s, mission work began to flourish in the missions of Santa Catalina de Guale and Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Tolomato. By 1595, the Franciscan mission field was renewed and was expanding in the Guale region with the establishment of the new missions at (Santa Clara de) Tupiqui and Asao. Little did they know that only 2 years later, conflict was to break out in the region resulting in a devastating tragedy that also served as a setback to Franciscan missionary efforts in the region. Historically, the 1597 Guale revolt has been interpreted in a very narrow and limited manner that largely reflected how the matter was previously interpreted by the Spanish Franciscans themselves. The original view followed the Spanish Franciscan view as described by Fray Luis Jeronimo de Ore in his early 17th Century work, *The Martyrs of Florida* which described the event as being “instigated by the devil who is adverse to all good works” through the Guale natives and that it was caused due to Fray Pedro de Corpa not allowing Juanillo “who was a Christian and heir to the caciquedom, to have more than the one wife to whom he was married”.⁴ As a result of this, the earliest historiography of the revolt has seemed to parrot this view that the Guale revolt was an example of the natives resisting against (what the natives viewed as) the imposition of a foreign religion which forced them to give up many of their pre-Christian customs.⁵ John Tate Lanning in his 1935 work, *The Spanish Missions of Georgia* described the event as being caused (as Ore had

³ John Tate Lanning, *The Spanish Missions of Georgia* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1935), 59; Maynard Geiger, OFM, “BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF THE FRANCISCANS IN SPANISH FLORIDA AND CUBA (1528-1841).” *Franciscan Studies*, no. 21 (1940):8.

⁴ Fray Luis Geronimo de Ore & Maynard Geiger, OFM, “THE MARTYRS OF FLORIDA (1513-1616).” *Franciscan Studies*, no. 18 (1936):73.

⁵ Carolyn Stefanco Schill, “The Gualean Revolt of 1597: Anti-Colonialism in the Old South”, *Southern Exposure* Vol. 12, No. 6 (November 1984), 4-9.

described it) by Juanillo's reaction to Fray Corpa's rebuke.⁶ The historiography completely changed almost a century later with the publication of J. Michael Francis & Kathleen Kole's 2011 work, *Murder and Martyrdom in Spanish Florida* which instead revealed that the matter was actually caused more by political conflicts rather than just simply being a native reaction to the imposition of the Catholic faith.⁷ Through this paper, I will be looking into the political, cultural and religious causes of the said 1597 revolt and given the evolution of this event's historiography, I plan to conduct my own analysis given the evidence, evaluate the political, cultural and religious causes and to evaluate the current scholarly interpretation of the 1597 revolt. The 1597 revolt is an event of great historical significance given that it is part of the earliest history of the State of Georgia and deserves to be given further attention.

The Political Side of the 1597 Revolt

The Spanish and the Guale have had quite the tumultuous history. Prior to the revolt, there were already pre-existing allegiance issues with the Guale. When Menendez first arrived in Chief

⁶ Lanning, *Spanish Missions*, 82-84.

⁷ J. Michael Francis & Kathleen M. Kole, *Murder and Martyrdom in Spanish Florida: Don Juan and the Guale Uprising of 1597* (New York: American Museum of Natural History, 2011), 14; For further detail on the overall historiography of the 1597 revolt, see the following. There are mainly 2 schools of thoughts related to the 1597 Guale revolt and as to what had caused it. The earliest published Spanish perspective on the revolt can be seen in Fray Luis Geronimo de Ore, *The Martyrs of Florida (1513-1616)* (London, 2018) which was originally published around 1619 from a Spanish Franciscan perspective and represents the original Spanish historiographic view. The traditional modern historiographic scholarly treatment of the Guale revolt following Ore's representation highlighting Franciscan interference and the dissenting native religious perspectives on polygamy remains reflected in the foundational work John Tate Lanning, *The Spanish Missions of Georgia* (Chapel Hill, 1935). Some other scholars have also treated the 1597 revolt as yet another example of native resistance to Spanish culturo-religious and political encroachment as seen with Carolyn Stefanco Schill, "The Gualean Revolt of 1597: Anti-Colonialism in the Old South", *Southern Exposure* Vol. 12, No. 6 (November 1984), 4-9. The current and growing historiographic treatment of the Guale revolt originates with the foundational work J. Michael Francis & Kathleen M. Kole, *Murder and Martyrdom in Spanish Florida: Don Juan and the Guale Uprising of 1597* (New York, 2011) and supplemented by additional analysis in Sarah M.S. Pearsall, "The Gualean Revolt of 1597: Anti-Colonialism in the Old South", *The American Historical Review* 118, No. 4 (October 2013), 1001-1028; and archaeological insights in Elliot H. Blair & David Hurst Thomas, *The Guale Uprising of 1597: An Archaeological Perspective From Mission Santa Catalina de Guale (Georgia), Indigenous Landscapes and Spanish Missions: New Perspectives from Archaeology and Ethnohistory* (2014), 25-40.

Guale's village in April 1566, the Chief had already been visited and formed an alliance with the French Protestants who came in 1562 which was only 4 years prior. While Menendez made great strides with forming a new alliance between the Spanish and Chief Guale, we do also see that there continued to be allegiance conflicts between some Guale leaders past Menendez's April 1566 visit. Scholar John Hann pointed out that there continued to be French visits to the coast of the Southeast with one particular incident happening in 1580 where some French ships were passing by the coast of what is today coastal Georgia and during their visit to the region, the Guale chief of Tolomato gave a positive reception to those French ships. While ultimately the French failed to retake Florida from the Spanish, this reveals that some Guale leaders still harbored some loyalty and allegiance to the French Protestants and given that the earlier 1562 expedition was almost 2 decades prior to that, it would have still been very fresh in the minds of some Guale leaders.⁸ Besides French allegiance, there were other native leaders (both Guale and Mocama) who sought to politically control the coastal Spanish Guale region via the position of the region's *Mico Mayor* (Head Chief). During the aftermath of the murders of the Franciscans in Spanish Guale in September 1597, a war band of hostile Guale, which included Don Domingo who was the Chief of Asao (which was one of the villages where its friar, Fray Francisco de Berascola was killed) canoed southwards to the village of San Pedro de Mocama (on what is today Cumberland Island, Georgia) whereby they attempted to launch an attack on the home of an Antonio Lopez, who was one of the vassals of San Pedro's chief, Don Juan. The operation did not go well at all as rather than attacking Lopez as planned, dogs instead woke up his father-in-law Jusepe, and when Jusepe came out to see what was the matter with the dogs, he was shot at

⁸ John H. Hann, *A History of the Timucuan Indians and Missions* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996), 69-70.

with arrows non-fatally by the hostile war band. Don Juan was immediately alerted to the enemy presence and he immediately went after them. A few Guale were killed and a few items were also recovered from the Guale. The vast majority of the war band, noting that their operation was already not going well, decided to retreat.⁹ Not long after the St. Francis Day Raid, Francis & Kole pointed out that Don Juan of San Pedro requested the Spanish authorities for authority to become the *Mico Mayor* of Guale. In a letter dated January 16, 1598, he asked the Spanish Crown to name him Guale's *Mico Mayor* and he even used the murders of the Franciscans as justification for it. He also went so far as to say "Guale do not have a leader they respect, and thus they do not obey their own caciques. It is for that reason they committed this wicked act, among others."¹⁰ This evidently shows that Don Juan was eyeing the title of Guale's *Mico Mayor* and Francis also notes that Don Juan was likely motivated to have that title in order to expand his power as well as have a larger supply of Spanish goods such as axes, hoes, glass beads, clothes, livestock, swords, horses and more.¹¹ Since he was already an ally of the Spanish and the friars, Don Juan obviously had an ambition to have even more power. Unfortunately for him, he would not earn this title despite all of his efforts to obtain it. The events would ultimately take a different trajectory. It would instead ultimately go to a participant in the actual 1597 Revolt – Don Domingo of Asao. In the aftermath of the failed October 1597 St. Francis Day Raid, the

⁹ Alonso Garcia de la Vera, Testimony from Don Juan, Cacique of San Pedro regarding the Guale attack on the town (St. Francis Day Raid), AGI Santo Domingo 224 In John H. Hann Collection at University of Florida, P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History, <https://ufdc.ufl.edu/AA00038901/00001/pdf/0>; Alonso Garcia de la Vera, Testimony from Antonio Lopez, Yndio Principal of San Pedro and Vassal of Cacique Don Juan regarding the Guale attack on the town (St. Francis Day Raid), AGI Santo Domingo 224 In John H. Hann Collection at University of Florida, P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History, <https://ufdc.ufl.edu/AA00038901/00001/pdf/0>.

¹⁰ Don Juan de San Pedro, Letter from Don Juan, Cacique of San Pedro, to the King, January 16, 1598, AGI Santo Domingo 231, fols. 744r-744v In Francis & Kole, *Murder and Martyrdom*, 92-93.

¹¹ Francis & Kole, *Murder and Martyrdom*, 91.

Chief of Asao, Don Domingo, was documented as being amongst those who accompanied the rebels and he even went so far as to hold up (what was reportedly) the hat of Fray Francisco de Berascola and proclaiming the death of the friars.¹² However, there is something quite odd with how the events were recorded. If, as the Spanish Franciscans reported, the Guale were angered by the Franciscans, why did they not target any of the Franciscans at San Pedro? There were priests at San Pedro, so why did they target the home of one of Don Juan's vassals? This suggests that Don Juan, rather than the Franciscans was likely the target of the raid. Francis & Kole also noted that Don Domingo did a completely unexpected maneuver whereby he later made a deal with the Spanish and ultimately led an operation resulting in the murder of Don Francisco (the *Mico Mayor*) and his heir, Don Juanillo. After the murder was done, Don Domingo became the *Mico Mayor* of Guale.¹³ This also reveals that Don Domingo also likely eyed the very same title of *Mico Mayor* of Guale. This also shows that Don Domingo's participation in the raid may not have been largely due to religious causes but rather because he saw potentially gaining more power with the Guale should they have overthrown the Spanish control of the region. When he then saw that the Spanish had the upper hand in the region, he then decided to collaborate with the Spanish instead ultimately earning the micoship of Guale in the end. In the end, Don Domingo gained the power he most likely sought by turning on his own people.

The Cultural Side of the 1597 Revolt

There were also cultural tensions that existed between the Spanish and the Guale as well. Francis & Kole noted that the Spanish mission system was one that was not quite popular with

¹² Fray Pedro Fernandez de Chozas, Letter regarding what happened during the Guale attack on San Pedro, AGI Santo Domingo 224 In John H. Hann Collection at University of Florida, P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History, <https://ufdc.ufl.edu/AA00038901/00001/pdf/0>.

¹³ Francis & Kole, *Murder and Martyrdom*, 95.

the many natives of La Florida with the Guale being no different. These scholars noted that with the Spanish mission system, the Spanish imposed a system on the Guale which required them to send their food surplus and labor several miles away to St. Augustine since the La Florida region lacked valuable gems such as gold or silver which the Spanish were able to find in other parts of the New World.¹⁴ Given that the Franciscans required them to also give up many of their many pre-Christian traditions and customs, adding a component to the Guale requiring them to also provide their labor and food surplus might have been a significant trigger to causing the revolt to take place. This system would have been in place at the time of the revolt. Amongst the customs that the Guale would have been required to give up was polygamy. Fray Ore reports that the heir of the micoship of Guale, Juanillo, had requested to take more than the one wife he was married to and that he clashed with Tolomato's friar, Fray Pedro de Corpa on it.¹⁵ Francis & Koles also noted that Governor Gonzalo Mendez de Canco also claimed that the friars meddled in Juanillo's inheritance as a result of his disobedience to adhering to Christian monogamy.¹⁶ It should be noted however that there is a gap between the immediate primary source evidence and the Governor's later claim (originating in a letter from 1600 which is 3 years later) of the friars meddling in the succession of the Guale micoship. There are other examples within the Spanish Mission Period, however where friars have been killed due to a dispute over polygamy. Almost a century later in what is today the Florida Panhandle area, a similar revolt broke out in 1675 between the Spanish Franciscans and the Chacato natives. The fact pattern is not quite the same but it does have some similarities which does allow for Fray Ore's explanation to have some

¹⁴ Ibid, 9-10.

¹⁵ Ore & Geiger, *Martyrs of Florida*, 73.

¹⁶ Francis & Koles, *Murder and Martyrdom*, 95.

kernel of truth to it. A Chief named Diocsale was rebuked by his village's friar since the Chief had apparently not been going to Mass and that he had also taken 3 wives which goes against the teachings of the Catholic Church. A revolt followed which nearly claimed the life of Fray Rodrigo de la Barreda, the priest.¹⁷ Scholar Sarah M.S. Pearsall also points out how the issue of marriage was particularly sensitive to many Native Americans as they saw having multiple wives as a sign of masculine status, authority and political power.¹⁸ This does seem to suggest that at the very least, such a scenario likely did happen and could have contributed in some way to the revolt.

The Religious Side of the 1597 Revolt

There also were religious tensions between the Spanish and the Guale that were indeed documented in the historical record. Once Pedro Menendez de Aviles established a presence of Jesuit missionaries amongst the Guale in the 1560s, some of his letters suggest that the work was going well. Indeed that is reflected in a letter that Menendez wrote to the King of Spain dated November 24, 1569 regarding the state of the fort of St. Augustine and their new possessions at Guale and Santa Elena, that "*En las provincias de Guale y Sancta Elena, donde yo tengo los labradores, esta muy quieta y pacifica, y los Teatinos (Jesuits) con su doctrina van cundiendo, escrivenme que estan muy contentos de ver los buenos prencipios que llevan y la buena razon que aquellos naturales tienen*" (in English, "In the provinces of Guale and Santa Elena, where I

¹⁷ Juan Hernandez De Florencia, Testimony of First Witness, Juan Ebangelista, 3 October 1675, AGI Escribania de Cámara 156ZZ In John H. Hann, *Visitations and Revolts in Florida, Translated by John H. Hann* (Tallahassee: Florida Bureau of Archaeological Research, 1993), 44-45; Juan Hernandez De Florencia, Testimony of Second Witness, Felipe, Usinulo of San Carlos, 4 October 1675, AGI Escribania de Cámara 156ZZ In Ibid, 46-47; Juan Hernandez De Florencia, Testimony of Third Witness, Nicolas, Fiscal, 4 October 1675, AGI Escribania de Cámara 156ZZ In Ibid, 47-49.

¹⁸ Sarah M.S. Pearsall, "'Having Many Wives' in Two American Rebellions: The Politics of Households and the Radically Conservative." *The American Historical Review*. 118, no. 4 (October 1, 2013):1002.

have the laborers, it is very still and peaceful, and the Jesuits with their doctrine are spreading, they write me that they are very happy to see the good beginnings the natives carry and the good reason that those natives have”).^{19 20} The Jesuits, however did not carry such a positive outlook on the Guale during their short sojourn in their territory and this is reflected in some of their own correspondence from the 1560s and early 1570s. In a letter dated March 5, 1570 from Jesuit friar Francisco Villarreal to Father Francisco Borgia, he wrote from the Guale mission of Tupiqui “*La dispusicion que parece que tienen estos indios para ser cristianos es muy mala, segun lo que muestran, riense de lo que les enseñamos.*” In English, “The willingness that these Indians appear to have to become Christians is very bad, based on what they show, they laugh at what we show them.”²¹ As we see in this correspondence, we see that the Guale showed an early resistance to the Spanish efforts at instructing them in the Catholic faith. That was not the only incident. A few years after the arrival of Franciscans in 1573, an earlier uprising took place in 1576 at the village of Guale where its Chief, who had converted to Catholicism and had become an ally of the Spanish, was reportedly murdered by his brother who was the Chief of the village of Sapala (on what is today Sapelo Island). When the Spanish authorities discovered that,

¹⁹ Pedro Menendez de Aviles, “Pero Menendez da noticias al Rey del estado del Fuerte de San Agustin y de las provincias de Guale y Santa Elena, 24 de Noviembre de 1569” In Eugenio Ruidiaz y Caravia, *La Florida – Su Conquista y Colonizacion por Pedro Menendez de Aviles, Tomo II* (Madrid: Imp. de los hijos de J.A. Garcia, 1893), 190.

²⁰ In this context, “Teatinos” does not mean Catholic friars of the Congregation of Clerics Regular, known as the “Theatines”. According to the glossary of the Spanish Ministerio de Fomento’s 1877 publication, *Cartas de Indias*, “*los jesuitas fueron llamados teatinos, en son menosprecio, por ciertas ordenes religiosas que iniciaron la guerra contra ellos.*” In English, “the Jesuits were called “teatinos” (Theatines) in a contemptuous manner by certain religious orders that began the war against them”. As we can see in 16th Century Spanish texts, the name “Theatines” to refer to the Jesuits had stuck. Ministerio de Fomento, *Cartas de Indias* (Madrid: Impr. de M. G. Hernandez, 1877), 877.

²¹ Francisco Villarreal, “Document 107 - Frater Franciscus Villarreal Patri Francisco Borgiae, Tupiqui (in Florida), 5 Martii 1570”, Cod. Iap. Sin 6 ff. 265-266 In Felix Zubillaga, SJ, *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae (1566-1572)* (Rome: Apud “Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, 1946), 418.

Captain Alonso de Solis retaliated by ordering the hanging of the Chief of Sapala as well as ordering for Sapala's son, Perico to have his ears cut off and another native to be beaten for their participation in the previous Guale chief's murder. These retaliatory actions also caused another violent attack at Santa Elena that same year.²² 2 years later, further political conflicts were noted between the Spanish and the Guale. According to the testimony of Spanish soldier Vicente Gonzalez from 1597, around 1578, the Guale killed 14-15 Spanish soldiers and even roasted an interpreter with the surname Aguilar by roasting him on a spit. He also documented a few other incidents including additional murders of a Captain Otorora and a few other companions in the Guale village of Espogue and another Spaniard named Gaspar Arinas.²³ The historical record also reveals that prior to the revolt, there were also conflicts between some of the Guale and the Franciscans. Francis & Kole noted a letter by Bartolome de Arguelles from February 1600 where it was noted that Fray Miguel de Auñón (the friar killed at Mission Santa Catalina de Guale) had apparently ordered a gag to be placed on a Guale man for taking "certain liberties and had committed blasphemy."²⁴ The testimony of a Guale man named Lucas from the village of Tupiqui also revealed another pre-existing tension. Lucas claimed that Fray Blas Rodriguez (the

²² Francis & Kole, *Murder and Martyrdom*, 23-24.

²³ Alonso Garcia de la Vera, Testimony from Captain Bisente (Vicente) Gonsalves regarding what he knew of incidents that took place between the Spanish and the Guale, AGI Santo Domingo 224 In John H. Hann Collection at University of Florida, P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History, <https://ufdc.ufl.edu/AA00038901/00001/pdf/0>; Alonso Garcia de la Vera, Testimony from Jusepe, a Christian Indian wounded during the St. Francis Day Raid, AGI Santo Domingo 224 in John H. Hann Collection at University of Florida, P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History, <https://ufdc.ufl.edu/AA00038901/00001/pdf/0>; Alonso Garcia de la Vera, Testimony from Andres Lopez de Simancas, a Soldier regarding what he knew of incidents that took place between the Spanish and the Guale, AGI Santo Domingo 224 In John H. Hann Collection at University of Florida, P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History, <https://ufdc.ufl.edu/AA00038901/00001/pdf/0>; Alonso Garcia de la Vera, Testimony from Juan de la Cruz, Squad leader of the fort at St. Augustine regarding what he knew of incidents that took place between the Spanish and the Guale, AGI Santo Domingo 224 In John H. Hann Collection at University of Florida, P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History, <https://ufdc.ufl.edu/AA00038901/00001/pdf/0>.

²⁴ Francis & Koles, *Murder and Martyrdom*, 124.

friar of his village of Tupiqui) was killed for he was “a wicked man who tried to stop their witchcraft (or sorcery) and who had forbidden them from taking more than one wife.”²⁵ These indeed also reflect a pre-existing tension between some Guale and the Franciscans due to the friars requiring them to live under Christian law which would require giving up many of their pre-Christian rituals and customs.

Conclusion

As demonstrated in this paper, there were 3 different motives behind the 1597 Guale revolt – political, cultural and religious, many of which went back 3 decades prior to the revolt itself. Politically, we see that some Guale leaders still harbored some allegiance and loyalty to the French Protestants who were killed and expelled from the region in 1565. We also see that the Guale micoship was eyed by some ambitious native leaders including Guale chief of Asao, Don Domingo and even Don Juan, the Mocama chief of San Pedro. Culturally, we see that the Guale were obviously not happy with the responsibilities of the Spanish mission labor system that was imposed on them by the Spanish and we also see that some leaders clashed with the Franciscan friars over the issue of marriage which was not unique to this particular revolt as it too was also a motive behind the later 1675 Chacato revolt further south. Religiously, we also see that the Spanish missionaries went through some difficulty – going back to the Jesuits in the 1560s in teaching Catholic doctrine to the Guale. When the Jesuits were gone, the Franciscans too had some initial difficulties in the Guale region when a sympathetic Chief of Guale was killed in 1576 by his own relative. We also see that the Guale had killed some Spaniards as well when they encountered them as evidenced by the 1578 murders. Adding to the evidence, we also

²⁵ Ibid, 107.

see that Fray Miguel (of Mission Santa Catalina) and Fray Blas (of Mission Tupiqui) had clashed with their flock over the issues of blasphemy and idolatry respectively. Given the evidence, I am not convinced by the traditional historiographical argument that the revolt was caused as a result of Juanillo becoming upset that his village's friar because that interpretation completely ignores all of the previous conflicts that came before it. It hyper-focuses on the most immediate religious and cultural motives but ignores the political conflicts that are also suggested by the evidence. It also ignores the fact that there were no more friars killed following the initial murders of the friars. After all, if this were truly a largely religious conflict at its core, why did Don Domingo not kill the friars serving at Mission San Pedro de Mocama when he had the chance? If it were truly also an example of native resistance against Catholicism/Christianity, then why did Don Domingo betray his principles and join the enemy in return for the micoship of Guale?

Archaeology also seems to support such a contention that the political motive was much more prominent.²⁶ Instead, J. Michael Francis seems to be correct in suggesting that the matter also had a significant political motive that also needs to be considered. Rather than being a revolt against religion, religion was only 1 trigger and I would argue that it is overshadowed by cultural and political motives which are the more significant of the causes. Ultimately, we see that pre-existing foreign allegiances, shifting loyalties from ambitious native leaders over inheriting the title of Guale's *Mico Mayor* and tensions between the natives and the friars over adapting and conforming to the new tenets of the Spanish Catholic faith were the political, cultural and religious causes of the 1597 Guale Revolt.

²⁶ Blair, Elliot, "The Guale Uprising of 1597: An Archaeological Perspective from Mission Santa Catalina de Guale (Georgia)", *Indigenous Landscapes and Spanish Missions: New Perspectives from Archaeology and Ethnohistory* (2014), 40.

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