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* * * To explore the field of Florida history, to seek and gather up the ancient chronicles in which its annals are contained, to retain the legendary lore which may yet throw light upon the past, to trace its monuments and remains, to elucidate what has been written to disprove the false and support the true, to do justice to the men who have figured in the olden time, to keep and preserve all that is known in trust for those who are to come after us, to increase and extend the knowledge of our history, and to teach our children that first essential knowledge, the history of our State, are objects well worthy of our best efforts. To accomplish these ends, we have organized the Historical Society of Florida.

GEORGE R. FAIRBANKS

Saint Augustine, April, 1857.

THE FLORIDA
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THE EXPLORATION OF FLORIDA AND SOURCES ON THE FOUNDING OF ST. AUGUSTINE

by LUIS RAFAEL ARANA

I

FOUR HUNDRED YEARS AGO, Europeans made the first permanent settlement within the present limits of the United States. These were Spaniards who under Pedro Menendez de Aviles established St. Augustine in 1565, upon land discovered fifty-two years earlier. In the interval between discovery and colonization, the coast of Florida had been gradually charted and portions of the interior explored. Though all attempts at planting the civilization of Spain in the new land failed until Menendez appeared on the scene, the discoveries of Juan Ponce de Leon, Alonso Alvarez de Pineda, Panfilo de Narvaez, and Hernando de Soto gradually outlined the contour of the peninsula, brought it within the known lands of the world, and contributed to the eventual success of Menendez. This paper summarizes the accomplishments of those explorers and furnishes translations of the four contemporary accounts of the founding of St. Augustine.

PONCE DE LEÓN

In seeking new lands, Juan Ponce de Leon wanted compensation for the loss of the Puerto Rico governorship. His appointment by King Fernando had violated the prerogatives of the Colon family, as the Council of Castilla so ruled in 1511. The king, however, hoped that Ponce would discover and settle one of several islands rumored to be near Puerto Rico. Because of the stories told by the Indians, the former governor chose Bimini and remitted a proposal for colonization.¹ King Fernando drafted a patent,

1. Vicente Murga Sanz, *Juan Ponce de Leon* (San Juan, 1959), 73, 77-78, 99.

[1]

February 23, 1512, for the discovery and settlement which he hoped thirty-eight year old Ponce would accept.² According to his patent, Ponce would pay for the expenses of the expedition, be the governor and *adelantado* of Bimini and of any other lands he might discover, and exploit the wealth of the island. The king reserved for himself the construction and control of fortifications and the distribution of Indians. To spur Ponce on, Fernando remarked that Bartolome Colon would surely accept that task with less advantageous terms.³

Ponce de Leon would not have discovered Florida had he not accepted the Bimini patent promptly and arranged for the voyage. On December 10 the king informed the royal officials of La Espanola that Ponce was really needed in Puerto Rico, and he ordered them to cease negotiations with him and to bestow the patent on some one less interested in profit, Ponce, however, had already gone to La Espanola, had accepted the royal terms, and had fitted out two vessels, *Santa Maria de la Consolacion* and *Santiago*, for the voyage. He registered his ships on January 29, 1513, and quickly sailed for Puerto Rico where he added the *San Cristobal* to the expedition.⁴ The *Santa Maria* carried forty-one passengers including Ponce, and the *Santiago* had twenty-six persons aboard.⁵ Ponce was ready to sail before the king's change of mind became generally known.

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2. Ponce de Leon stated in September 1514, during the proceedings held in Valladolid to make him formally the *adelantado* of Florida, that he was forty years old. *Ibid.*, 118. If so, he was thirty-eight at the time of the drafting of the patent to discover and settle Bimini, and thirty-nine when he discovered Florida.
 3. *Ibid.*, 100-02; transcript from the original manuscript in *Coleccion de documentos ineditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y colonizacion de las antiguas posesiones espanolas en America y Oceania*, 42 vols. (Madrid, 1864-1884), XXII, 26-32, and Aurelio Tio, *Nuevas fuentes para la historia de Puerto Rico* (San German, Puerto Rico, 1961), 476-80; English translation in Woodbury Lowery, *The Spanish Settlements within the Present Limits of the United States, 1513-1561* (New York, 1959), 437-41. Lowery (p. 135) as well as Herbert E. Bolton, *The Spanish Borderlands* (New Haven, 1921), 6, erroneously state that the 1512 patent was granted by Charles V. Charles did not become king of Aragon until January 1516, and of Castilla until April 1516. Rafael Altamira, *Manual de historia de Espana*, 2d ed. (Buenos Aires, 1946), 311-12, 315, 341-43.
 4. Murga, *Juan Ponce de Leon*, 103-106.
 5. *Ibid.*, photographs of the registers covering the *Santiago* and the *Santa Maria de la Consolacion*, facing 102, 104, 106, 108, 110, 112.

The search for Bimini resulted in the discovery of Florida. Ponce departed from the Puerto Rican coast the night of March 4, and on Easter Sunday, March 27, he sighted an island (Abaco) which he did not recognize. A few days later, on April 2, the ships approached the Florida coast, sighting land at 30° 8' north latitude. Coasting northward, he anchored at nightfall. Within the next five days, Ponce landed and took possession of the territory in the name of his king. He named it Florida since it provided a very beautiful view of many cool woodlands, it was level and uniform, and it had been discovered on *Pascua Florida*, the feast of the flowers.⁶

On April 8 Ponce ordered the ships north again, but the following day he reversed his course and moved in a southeasterly direction down the coast of Florida. Passing the Cabo de los Arrecifes (Cape Kennedy), he met, on April 21, the full force of the Gulf Stream; then he put into Rio de la Cruz (Jupiter Inlet), where he made a stone cross and inscribed it. On May 8 he sailed past Cabo de Las Corrientes (Lake Worth Inlet), the easternmost bend of the coast, and until May 16 followed a course parallel to Los Martires, Ponce's name for the Florida Keys. The expedition then turned north northeast reaching a point on the lower Gulf coast above Charlotte Harbor on May 23. Then, coasting southward, Ponce stopped at two islands which stood out to sea (Sanibel and Captiva). Remaining in the area until June 14, he explored a harbor (Charlotte), watered his vessels, and traded and fought with the Indians. Many natives were killed on Matanza Island (Pine Island). On June 15 Ponce sailed southwestward and six days later reached Tortugas which he named.⁷

Unlike Florida, Bimini was discovered by someone other than

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6. *Ibid.*, 107-08; Tio, *Nuevas fuentes*, 333, 552-53, 558, 559-62, 564-66, 579; T. Frederick Davis, "History of Juan Ponce de Leon's Voyages to Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XIV (July 1935), 16-17, 38-39.
 7. Murga, *Juan Ponce de Leon*, 108-12; Tio, *Nuevas fuentes*, 333-34, 553; Davis, "Ponce de Leon's Voyages to Florida," 17-21. Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, 141, and Bolton, *Spanish Borderlands*, 8, confuse Cabo de las Corrientes with Cape Kennedy. Edward W. Lawson, *The Discovery of Florida and its Discoverer Juan Ponce de Leon* (St. Augustine, 1946), feels that the cabo is Jupiter Light, north of Lake Worth Inlet (p. 38); that the vicinity of Sanibel was the northern limit of Ponce's exploration on the southwest coast (p. 40), and thus the harbor explored is San Carlos Bay rather than Charlotte; and that Matanza is Estero, rather than Pine Island (p. 41).

Ponce de Leon. From the Tortugas, his ships coasted along north-west Cuba, searching for Bimini, but the journey among the Bahama Islands became so protracted that Ponce probably worried that others might report and lay claims to his own discoveries. Consequently, on September 17, he detached Captain Juan Perez Ortubia with the *San Cristobal* and ordered him to keep searching. The next day he set his own course for Puerto Rico, arriving there twenty-one days later. On February 20, 1514, Captain Perez appeared, announcing the discovery of Bimini which he described as a large cool island with many springs and woodlands, but no gold or silver was found.⁸

The legend about a fountain of youth seemed to have been connected with Ponce de Leon in Spain rather than in America. He and Perez reported in person their finds and discoveries to King Fernando in April 1514, but they could display no treasure or rare and valuable finds such as had come from the West Indian islands. Perhaps it was Perez who talked about the Indian legend, and in jest the Court said that Ponce had indeed gone searching for a fountain that guaranteed perpetual youth rather than mundane things like gold or precious gems. Whoever was the author of the report, it is true that as early as December 1514, Peter Martyr, the historian, was writing the Pope about the rumored existence in the New World of a spring whose water rejuvenated old men. Martyr, however, did not attempt to link or connect this story to Ponce de Leon.⁹ It was the historian Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo, who in 1535, originated the story that Ponce had wasted time searching for the fountain of youth during his voyage.¹⁰ Escalante de Fontaneda,¹¹ survivor of the Florida shipwreck, exaggerated the legend so much in his report in 1575, that the historian Antonio de Herrera, in 1601, regarded

8. Murga, *Juan Ponce de Leon*, 112-14; Davis, "Ponce de Leon's Voyages to Florida," 22-23.

9. Murga, *Juan Ponce de Leon*, 114-15, 118-20.

10. *Historia general y natural de las Indias, islas y tierra firme del Mar Oceano* (Sevilla, 1535), libro XVI, cap. II, in *ibid.*, 119.

11. Memoria de las cosas y costa y indios de la Florida, que ninguno de cuantos la han costeado, no lo han sabido declarar, "Coleccion Munoz" (Real Academia de la Historia), LXXXIX; *Coleccion de documentos ineditos*, V, 532-46; translated into French as "Memoire sur la Floride," H. Ternaux-Compans, *Recueil de pieces sur la Floride* (Paris, 1841), 9-37; English translations in Buckingham Smith, *Letter of Hernando de Soto and Memoir of Hernando de Escalante Fontaneda* (Washington, 1854), 11-26; B. F.

the search for the fabulous spring as important as the true objective of Ponce's expedition.¹² Contemporary manuscripts so far uncovered do not mention the fountain of youth nor indicate that Ponce de Leon was even aware of the fantasy.¹³ Certainly if he had believed the Indian legend, he would hardly have delegated the search for Bimini, reputedly the location of the fountain, to another captain. He would certainly have saved such a great prize for himself.

ALVAREZ DE PINEDA

It was impossible to tell from Ponce de Leon's discovery very much about the geography of Florida. The next exploration there charted the rest of the Gulf coast and determined that the land was not an island but a peninsula. Anton de Alaminos, Ponce's former pilot, had first suggested the need to search for a passage dividing the mainland, and in 1519, Alonso Alvarez de Pineda, commanding four vessels belonging to Francisco de Garay, governor of Jamaica, took up the quest. Pineda first struck the north shore of the Gulf of Mexico at a yet unknown location, and then coasted east and southward along the west shore of Florida. He found he could not maneuver the south end of Florida because of adverse winds and the power of the Gulf Stream. He was forced to retrace his course, noting rivers and bays along the bay. From time to time he landed and took possession at various points, marking the limits of his discovery as he traveled. Alvarez coasted all the way to Panuco (Tampico) and then circled back. While Alvarez discovered the mouth of a large river, supposedly the Mississippi, he found no strait during his nearly nine-month cruise, indicating that Florida was part of a large land mass.¹⁴

PANFILO DE NARVAEZ

With the general shape of Florida's shore line thus delineated, penetration into the interior became the special achievement of

French, *Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida*, 2d series (New York, 1875), 235-65; and David O True, *Memoir of D^o d'Escalante Fontaneda respecting Florida* (Coral Gables, 1945).

12. *Historia general de los hechos de los castellanos en las islas y tierra firme del Mar Oceano* (Madrid, 1601), decada 1^a, libro IX, cap. XII, in Murga, *Juan Ponce de Leon*, 127, note 37.

13. Murga, *Juan Ponce de Leon*, 119.

14. Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, 149-51.

still another Spanish explorer, Panfilo de Narvaez. On December 11, 1526, he obtained a patent authorizing him to conquer, settle, and govern the mainland between Rio de las Palmas (near Tampico) and the Cape of Florida.¹⁵ Narvaez sailed from Jagua (Cuba) on February 20, 1528, and nearly two months later, on April 16, he reached Bahia de la Cruz (the mouth of Johns Pass, west of Pinellas peninsula) on the Gulf coast of Florida. Taking possession of the area two days later, he then probed northeast from his landing point and discovered a large bay (Old Tampa Bay) which swept inland and two Indian villages (Safety Harbor and Tampa).¹⁶

On a twentieth century Florida map, Narvaez explored the area from Tampa Bay to Wakulla County. The Spanish moved out on May 2, and quickly reached the Withlacoochee River, which they explored to the sea and found its mouth to be a shallow inlet with no harbor. Striking out northward on May 23, Narvaez and his men traversed the uninhabited country west of what is now Gainesville, apparently missing the Indians living in that section. North of the Santa Fe River, Narvaez turned toward the west, and on June 18 he crossed the Suwannee River between present-day Dowling Park and Ellaville. Moving across the Aucilla River between Lamont and Aucilla, he reached Ivitachuco village on June 25. Narvaez resumed the march on July 20 and eight days later, having traveled in a southwesterly direction, he arrived at the mound near Wakulla Springs. On August 3 Narvaez turned south, reaching the Gulf coast, perhaps near Piney Island.¹⁷

This first venture into Florida's interior ended with tragedy at sea. In the seven long weeks spent on the coast, the dispirited men having despaired of being rescued, used the crude tools at hand to construct five makeshift boats. On September 22 the party pushed out into the Gulf; their plan was to sail west until they reached Panuco, a fairly short distance away, they believed. One after the other the boats were lost and men died from drowning and exposure. Narvaez was himself blown out to sea and

15. *Ibid.*, 173.

16. *Final Report of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission* (Washington, 1939), 109-13. Cited hereafter as *Final Report*.

17. *Ibid.*, 113-16.

never seen again. Only four survivors, including Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca, eventually struggled back to civilization to report on their harrowing experiences.¹⁸

Narvaez' vessels had been moving up and down the Gulf coast of Florida while he was exploring the interior. The ships first sailed northward from Bahia de la Cruz. Then, reversing course, they moved south about five leagues and discovered Tampa Bay, which had already been seen by land reconnaissance. Then, for many months the fleet tried unsuccessfully to find Narvaez and ultimately the vessels proceeded to Mexico.¹⁹

HERNANDO DE SOTO

A patent was bestowed on Hernando de Soto, April 20, 1537, permitting him to conquer, pacify, and settle all the lands that had been under the jurisdiction of Panfilo de Narvaez and Lucas Vazquez de Ayllon. He would finance the enterprise and lead it in person. As governor and captain general, *adelantado*, and high constable over 200 leagues of coast designated by him within the territorial concession, he would have power to "distribute Indians." The patent permitted de Soto to select for himself twelve leagues square of land, provided the tract included neither seaport nor principal town. He controlled the fortifications which he would build at his expense. To secure the necessary logistical support for his enterprise, de Soto was also made governor of Cuba.²⁰ Thus began a new expedition to Florida, the most extended exploration of the vast area that now makes up the southeastern part of the United States.

De Soto departed from Havana on May 18, 1539, and several days later he anchored outside Bahia del Espiritu Santo on the west coast of Florida. Having completed a hazardous passage through the channel into port, the army landed on a beach. Then, concentrating his men in a village on a nearby island, de Soto took possession in the name of his country on June 3. Later, he moved the camp to another village and sent an advance party inland. The *bahia* today is the south shore of Tampa Bay, and the

18. Bolton, *Spanish Borderlands*, 23-25, 36-37.

19. *Final Report*, 112.

20. *Ibid.*, 76-79.

channel is either Passage Key Inlet or Southwest Channel. Terra Ceia Bay is the port that he reached, and Shaw's Point was the landing beach. The island where the army first grouped was Terra Ceia.²¹

De Soto began the first phase of his exploration on July 15, after leaving a base and the small vessels at Terra Ceia Bay. De Soto reached Luca (between Dade City and Istachatta), where the advance party joined him on July 21. He then followed the west side of a league-wide swamp (Tsala Apopka Lake), and after crossing the Withlacoochee River in the vicinity of Stokes Ferry, veered northeastward. On July 29 de Soto entered the deserted capital of Ocale Province, located on the stream below present-day Silver Springs.²²

Departing from Ocale on August 11, de Soto moved out to the northwest, passing west of Orange Lake and through the narrow land between Levy and Alachua lakes. He then veered north at Alachua village, crossed the Santa Fe River between the mouths of Olustee Creek and New River, and reached Caliquen village (between the creek and the Santa Fe) on August 18. Moving out again on September 9, he took a northwest course, crossed Olustee Creek, and turned west after passing near present day Lake City. He reached Napiuca village (near either Houston or Live Oak) on September 15. Eight days later, the Spanish continued their trek, crossing the Suwanee near Dowling Park, then on through the Lake Sampala area and Agile village, until they reached the Aucilla River which they crossed at a point between Lamont and Aucilla on October 3. Ivitachuco, the first Apalachee village they reached, was deserted, but de Soto ordered his force forward. They passed close to Mill Creek, and on October 6 they reached

21. *Ibid.*, 118-39. The location of de Soto's campsite at the village on Terra Ceia Island has been challenged by Ripley P. Bullen, *The Terra Ceia Site, Manatee County, Florida*, Florida Anthropological Society Publications, No. 3 (Gainesville, 1951), and "De Soto's Ucita and the Terra Ceia Site," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXX (April 1952), 317-23. The identification of the bay as Tampa Bay, and the entire de Soto route through Florida, has been challenged by Warren H. Wilkinson, *Opening the Case Against the U. S. De Soto Commission's Report* (Jacksonville Beach, 1960). At least two points raised by Wilkinson, the distances travelled daily and the meaning of the terms *ancon* and *decaidos*, indicate that de Soto's travel through Florida should be reinvestigated.

22. *Final Report*, 141-44, 148-52.

the empty Tallahassee area. Here de Soto decided to establish camp and spend the winter.²³

There was some minor exploration in Apalachee due to the change of base from Tampa Bay to Apalachee Bay: to the south of the camp, Wakulla Spring, and the coast back of Piney Island where Narvaez had built the boats a few years before. From the new Apalachee base site, Francisco Maldonado, during December and January, explored the Gulf coast to the west and discovered Bahia de Ochuse (probably Pensacola). De Soto closed the new base by dispatching the vessels to Havana, and was then ready to embark upon his travels through Georgia, South and North Carolina, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas. This part of the exploring journey began on March 3, 1540, when de Soto broke camp and ordered his force northward from Tallahassee.²⁴

The Florida exploration between 1513 and 1565 had many results. The east and southwest coasts and keys of Florida were first discovered by Ponce de Leon. Then in 1519, Alvarez de Pineda located and established the fact that this was a peninsula of the mainland. Thus, within six years after discovery, Florida was fully charted on the maps of the world. The interior remained *terra incognita* until 1528, when Narvaez opened the region between Pinellas peninsula and Wakulla County and his vessels moved into Tampa Bay. The interior frontier of this region was extensively enlarged when de Soto entered Florida in 1539. No less important, de Soto's vessels followed a portion of Alvarez de Pineda's twenty-year old track and discovered Pensacola Bay. While Ponce, Narvaez, and de Soto failed in the colonizing required by their patents, in little more than twenty-five years their explorations expanded geographical knowledge of Florida.

II

There are four contemporary Spanish accounts of the founding of St. Augustine by Pedro Menendez de Aviles. These include a letter written by Menendez himself, a narrative of the events in Florida by Francisco Lopez de Mendoza Grajales, an unfinished

23. *Ibid.*, 144-48, 152-60.

24. *Ibid.*, 161-66.

biography of Menendez by Gonzalo Solis de Meras, and another biography by Bartolome Barrientos.²⁵

MENENDEZ'S LETTER

The letter was the first source recorded. Dated September 11, 1565, it was the second communication that Menendez wrote from Florida to the crown. In it, he reported the landfall, the encounter with the French at the mouth of the St. Johns, the establishment of St. Augustine at Matanzas Bay, his prospective plan of operations, the disposition of the galleon unable to enter the bay, the need for logistical support from Puerto Rico, Santo Domingo, and Havana, the organization of his army, and the fact that the Indians living south of St. Augustine had some gold of varying quality.²⁶

The letter, together with six others written by Menendez about the Florida enterprise, became available in the United States through the efforts of Buckingham Smith who furnished copies to Francis Parkman. They were translated into English by Henry Ware in 1870, and were printed by the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1894.²⁷ Meanwhile in Spain, the original letters and a vast amount of other Menendez material, had been published in 1893 by Eugenio Ruidiaz y Caravia.²⁸

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25. A "Relacion del suceso de la Florida," Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Santo Domingo, legajo 231, 7 folios, (cited hereafter as AGI, Santo Domingo), may be regarded as a fifth contemporary source. This is an account compiled from letters written by Menendez to the crown dated September 10, October 15, and December 5 and 12, 1565. It is in draft form, penned by an official for revision by the king, and seemingly intended as a memorandum for the files. The draft bears the notation, "Well done, and clean copy can be made." The "Relacion" talks about Menendez's departure from Havana, the arrival in Florida, the encounter with the French at the mouth of the St. Johns, Ribault's move against St. Augustine, the surprise of Fort Caroline, the first massacre at Matanzas, and the Spanish construction of outposts for protection of the Caroline area. The death of Ribault which was already known, is not mentioned because Menendez had advised that it would be better if that fact became known in France much later. The "Relacion" is confusing in regard to the chronology of the events, and does not add to the data in the other contemporary sources about the founding of St. Augustine. The "Relacion" is on microfilm at Castillo de San Marcos National Monument, St. Augustine.
26. AGI, Santo Domingo, 6 folios.
27. *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 2d series (Boston, 1894), VIII, 415-68.
28. Eugenio Ruidiaz y Caravia, *La Florida: su conquista y colonizacion por Pedro Menendez de Aviles*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1893), II, 74-84.

This writer's English translation of the part of the September 11 letter which deals with the founding of St. Augustine has been made from a microfilm of the original:

... I resolved to come toward the Bahama Channel in search of a port where I could land near them [the French]; and eight leagues by sea from their port, and six by land, I found one, which is scarcely thirty degrees and a half, which I had reconnoitered previously on the day of St. Augustine. On the sixth of this month, I disembarked two hundred soldiers there, and on the seventh, three small ships came in with another three hundred and the married men with their wives and children, and I landed most of the artillery and munitions that I was bringing. On the eighth, the day of Our Lady, as another hundred persons, some artillery and munitions, and many provisions which had to be disembarked, were being landed, the French flagship and the admiral's ship came within half a league of us, showing combat signals and maneuvering about us. Remaining at anchor, we signalled them to board us. At three o'clock in the afternoon, they spread sail and went away to their port; and I went ashore and took possession in the name of Your Majesty, and the captains and the officials swore fealty to me as governor and captain general and adelantado of this land and coast, according to the instructions from Your Majesty. Many Indians were present, and among them, many leaders. They appear to be our friends, and it seems to us that they are hostile toward the French . . .

With the first two hundred soldiers, I sent two captains ashore, who were Juan de San Vicente, brother of Captain San Vicente, and Andres Lopez Patino, veteran soldiers, to dig a trench at the most suitable site, at which place the people who would land could gather together and fortify themselves for defense, should the enemy come upon them. They [the captains] did it so well that when I landed, on the day of Our Lady, to take possession of the land in the name of Your Majesty, it seemed as though they had had a month's time. They could not have done better with shovels, pick mattocks, and iron tools, although we do not have any of these materials, because the ship bringing them has not arrived. I bring blacksmiths and iron to have these tools made in little time, and I shall do so. As I have landed, we will inspect the site which seems to us most suitable to fortify, because where we are is not suitable. It will be well for us to do this as soon as possible before the enemy finds us. If

they give us eight days' time, it seems to us we will accomplish [this objective]. . . ²⁹

NARRATIVE OF FATHER LOPEZ

The narrative written by Father Francisco Lopez de Mendoza Grajales about the events connected with the establishment of Florida covers the period from the Cadiz sailing to the end of the first massacre at Matanzas. Lopez, chaplain of the expedition, penned the account shortly after the latter event. Three copies of the narrative in Spanish are found in different manuscript collections. ³⁰ A French translation by H. Ternaux-Compans was published in Paris in 1841; ³¹ the document was published in Spain in 1865; ³² and an English translation by B. F. French was published in 1875. ³³ Ruidiaz published it in Spanish again, together with other Menendez material, in 1893. ³⁴ The English translation by French has been reprinted singly. ³⁵

My translation of the passage connected with the settlement of Florida was made from the text in Ruidiaz:

. . . we went away on the lookout for the river and port which I mentioned above, where Our Lord and His Blessed Mother were pleased that we find our flagship and another vessel. Between themselves, they [the two commanders] had resolved to do the same thing that we did. Three companies went ashore, one being that of Captain Andres Lopez Patino and the other, that of Captain Juan de San Vicente, who is a very important gentleman. They were well received by the Indians, who gave them a rather large house belonging to a chief, which is near the river shore. Immediately, Captain Patino and Captain San Vicente, with their good industry and diligence, commanded that a moat be dug around this

29. AGI, Santo Domingo, folios 3, 4-5.

30. "Coleccion Munoz" (RAH), LXXXVII: "Coleccion Navarrete" (Deposito Hidrografico), XIV; Buckingham Smith Collection (New York Public Library), vol. for 1561-1593, 233-79.

31. H. Ternaux-Compans, *Voyages, Relations et Memoires Originaux pour Servir a L'Histoire de la Decouverte de L'Amerique* (Paris, 1841), 165-232.

32. *Coleccion de documentos ineditos*. III. 441-79.

33. French, *Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida*, 191-234.

34. Ruidiaz, *La Florida*, II, 431-65.

35. Francisco Lopez de Mendoza Grajales, *The Founding of St. Augustine: Memoir of the Happy Result and Prosperous Voyage of the Fleet Commanded by the Illustrious Captain-General Pedro Menendez de Aviles* (Old South Leaflets, No. 89; Boston, 1896).

house, with adequate terreplein of earth and fascines, which is the material available in this land, because in all of it there is not a sign of a stone. To date, we have inside twenty-four bronze pieces, the smallest exceeding twenty-five hundred-weight. Our fort is about fifteen leagues from that of the enemy. The results accomplished by the industry of these two captains were so great that, with the finger nails of their soldiers, they built a fort to defend themselves, there being no other tools. When the General came ashore, he was astonished at what they had done.

Saturday, the eighth of the said month of September, day of the Nativity of Our Lady, the General landed with many banners waving and many trumpets and other instruments of [military music], and the booming of many artillery pieces. As I had been ashore since the previous day, I took a cross and went to meet them, [singing] the hymn *Te Deum Laudamus*. The General and all the others who accompanied him came directly to the cross, and kneeling on the ground, kissed it. A large number of Indians were looking at all these ceremonies, and they too did everything that they saw the others do. This same day, milord the General took possession of this land for His Majesty, and all the captains gave him their oath [as lord] of all this land, and as this was finished. . . .³⁶

BIOGRAPHY BY SOLIS

The third contemporary source about the settlement of St. Augustine is the unfinished biography of Menendez by Gonzalo Solis de Meras. Solis was Menendez's brother-in-law, came with him to Florida, and was one of the two men who actually killed Jean Ribault. Solis overlooks the latter fact, but Bartolome Barrientos later told it. The biography describes Menendez from his youth until his arrival back in Spain from Florida in July 1567. It was probably at this time that Solis began his writing, only to have it abruptly interrupted.³⁷

From a copy of the Solis manuscript in his possession, Andres Gonzalez Barcia extracted extensively for his *Ensayo cronologico para la historia general de la Florida* (1723),³⁸ which was trans-

36. Ruidiaz, *La Florida*, II, 450-51.

37. Lowery, vii; Jeannette T. Connor, *Pedro Menendez de Aviles: Adelantado, Governor and Captain-General of Florida* (DeLand, 1923), 10-11, 12. See also the facsimile reproduction with introduction by Lyle N. McAlister (Gainesville, 1964).

38. Lowery, *Spanish Borderlands*, ix.

lated into English by B. F. French in 1875.³⁹ Ruidiaz published the complete manuscript for the first time in 1893, using the copy in possession of the Count of Revillagigedo. He supplied the text missing in this torn copy and added four chapters to complete the biography by using information from Barcia.⁴⁰ Following the text furnished by Ruidiaz, Jeannette T. Connor, in 1923, published the first full English translation of the biography by Solis. To amend gaps in the manuscript, however, Connor supplied *verbatim* excerpts from Barcia.⁴¹

My translation of the Solis account of the founding of St. Augustine is from the text in Ruidiaz:

... he [Menendez] resolved without losing time to spread sail with his flagship and to order the others to do the same. He left for the port of St. Augustine, where he arrived on the eve of Our Lady of September. Immediately after arrival, he landed up to three hundred soldiers, and sent 2 captains with them, who would immediately at daybreak next day, reconnoiter the land and the sites which seemed strongest to them, so they might speedily dig a trench [to serve] until it was decided where they could build a fort, so that when the said Adelantado landed on another day, they would show him what they had seen and resolve the most suitable thing on the matter.

And on the following day, the day of Our Lady of September, the said Adelantado landed about noon, and found many Indians who were waiting for him there, because they had heard about him from other Indians with whom he had spoken four days before. He caused a solemn mass to be said for Our Lady, and when it was finished, took possession of the land in the name of His Majesty and received solemn oath from the officials of His Majesty's royal treasury, the Field-master, and the captains, that all of them would serve His Majesty with all fidelity and loyalty. This done, he caused the Indians to be fed, and the said Adelantado dined also. Immediately after finishing, he went to look at the sites which the captains he had sent had chosen for the trench, and leaving it marked out, he returned to the ships, having first held council and resolved that within 3 days everything which could be unloaded, would be taken off the ships . . .⁴²

39. French, *Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida*, 216-22.

40. Ruidiaz, *La Florida*, I (advertencia preliminar), 1-320.

41. Connor, *Pedro Menendez*, 9, 245, note 2.

42. Ruidiaz, *La Florida*, I, 79-80.

BIOGRAPHY BY BARRIENTOS

The biography of Menendez written by Bartolome Barrientos was the last recorded source. Barrientos was a professor of Latin at Salamanca University, and his penchant for mathematics earned him a reputation as a magician. He was born in Granada around 1518, but the date of his death is unknown, despite the deserved fame he enjoyed in life as a humanist. Barrientos finished his biography of Menendez in December 1568. Since he had not been in Florida, he utilized memorials, letters, decrees, and narratives.⁴³

For many years, there was doubt about the existence of a Barrientos manuscript since after its use as a source for a work published in 1613,⁴⁴ it had disappeared. Barcia knew it existed but was unable to locate it when he was writing his history of Florida.⁴⁵ Two historical writers in Mexico, one in 1755 and the other in 1816, expressed doubt of its survival.⁴⁶ Then, unexpectedly in 1885, the biography was offered for sale in Madrid by the reputable bookseller, Gabriel Sanchez, and it was purchased by Don Jose Maria de Agreda Sanchez.⁴⁷

The biography was published for the first time in 1902. Senor Agreda loaned the manuscript to Genaro Garcia, who edited and published it for presentation at the Thirteenth International Congress of Americanists held in New York City, October 20-25, 1902.⁴⁸ The first English translation is by Anthony J. Kerrigan.⁴⁹

This writer's translation of the passage in Barrientos concerned with the establishment of St. Augustine was made from the text furnished by Garcia:

That same day, the eve of Our Lady of September, the adelantado approached his port. Upon landing, he sent three hundred soldiers to reconnoiter the land and see where a

43. Genaro Garcia, *Dos antiguas relaciones de la Florida* (Mexico, 1902), iii, x, xi-xii.

44. Gonzalo de Illescas, *Historia pontifical y catholica* (Madrid, 1613), see Garcia, ix-x.

45. Garcia, *Dos antiguas relaciones de la Florida*, x.

46. Juan Jose de Eguilara y Eguren and Jose Mariano Berastain y Souza respectively, see *ibid.*, iv, note 1, XI.

47. *Ibid.*, xiv.

48. *Ibid.*, dedicatoria, iv, 1-152.

49. Anthony J. Kerrigan, *Pedro Menendez* (Gainesville, publication scheduled for 1965 by the University of Florida Press).

trench could be dug until they resolved where they would locate a fort. The following day he disembarked about noon, and many Indians who knew about him from others who had first seen and spoken to him were waiting. Having heard solemn mass for Our Lady, he took possession for His Majesty, swore in the officials of the Royal treasury, the field-master, and the captains, that they would serve our Catholic king in everything with the great fidelity and loyalty owed to such a lord. He saw the site chosen for the trench. Within three days he caused everything in the ships to be taken off . . .⁵⁰

The availability of the Spanish contemporary sources on the founding of St. Augustine and their English translations has made this event one of the best known in Florida history. This felicitous situation is manifestly the culmination of the work of several generations of students. Excerpts from the Solis biography were printed for the first time in 1723, but 152 years passed before they were translated. The publication of the complete Solis manuscript followed the excerpts 170 years later, and the complete translation, another thirty. Father Lopez's narrative, the source next published, came out 142 years after the excerpts, but fortunately was translated within ten years. Only one year intervened between publication of the Menendez letter in Spanish and in English. The translation, however, had been finished twenty-four years earlier. The source published last, the Barrientos biography, appeared 334 years after its writing and its translation is only just now available. Thus, the Spanish publication and English translation of the sources under consideration have been accomplished over a period of 242 years.

The rest of Spanish Florida history could be as well known as the founding of St. Augustine were it not for the language barrier. The need, interest, and motivation are present, but inadequate linguistic knowledge often prevents direct investigation in the best Spanish sources. The rich vein of data in the University of Florida's Stetson Collection and North Carolina's Spanish Records Collection waits to be tapped. At the same time, English translations are few and far between, and the lapse between availability of source material and workable translation is excessively long. All this retards the growth of reasonably definite knowledge of an earlier phase of history, and it is Florida's pitiful loss.

50. Garcia, *Dos antiguas relaciones de la Florida*, 46.

ALTAR AND HEARTH:
THE COMING OF CHRISTIANITY
1521-1565

by MICHAEL V. GANNON

The Catholic Church in this Country does not begin her history after colonies were formed, and men had looked to their temporal well-being. Her priests were among the explorers of the coast, were the pioneers of the vast interior; with Catholic settlers came the minister of God, and Mass was said to hallow the land and draw down the blessing of heaven before the first step was taken to rear a human habitation. The altar was older than the hearth.

JOHN GILMARY SHEA'S celebrated lines written in 1886 as part of his introduction to a now obsolete history of American Catholicity, ring true as ever in this day of perhaps more sophisticated and discerning journeys into Florida's beginnings.¹ Wherever the historian's eye is cast, there still is the altar, the ancient Christian table of sacrifice, around which gathered, at one date or another, all the great names that make up our early history, when *La Florida* was an outpost of empire and a curve on the Rim of Christendom. Priests and friars, conquistadors and hidalgos, soldiers and statesmen, Indians from the swamps and shoreland, Spaniards and Minorcans, rich and poor, the innocent and the repentant - they are a long line of stout men, and if there was some evil in them, there was also much of good; and if at times they stooped to small and mean things, they also rose to heights of courage and generosity and sacrifice which are the real patents of nobility, and the expected fruits of Christian life.

1. John Gilmary Shea, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, 4 vols. (New York, 1886), I, 10.

To its unfailing credit, Florida's story begins with a positive contribution: the founding of missions for the Indians. If in later English colonies to the north, the only good Indian was a dead Indian, as Herbert E. Bolton concluded, in the Spanish colonies it was thought worthwhile to improve the natives for this life as well as for the next.² Long before the House of Burgesses was meeting at Jamestown and well before the Pilgrims set foot on Plymouth Rock, the Indians of Florida were being taught the elements of Christianity and the arts of reading, writing, and singing. A century and a half before Fray Junipero Serra's friars could count 26,000 settled Christian Indians along the *camino real* of California, an equal number lived within sound of mission bells between St. Augustine and Tallahassee. Their villages bore such names as Name of God, Holy Faith, St. Catherine, St. Joseph, Holy Cross, Ascension, St. Michael, and Our Lady of the Rosary. And this golden age lasted until 1702-1704, when the Spanish Indian system, based upon religion and agriculture, came at last into fatal collision with the English system which was based on trade and aggrandizement. It is the antecedents of this golden age that we relate here.

Ponce de Leon's 1513 voyage of discovery was not a chapter in Catholic history; it was more like a preface. He came here for less noble reasons. Dispossessed of a governor's office in Puerto Rico, Ponce set out to find wealth and power in islands that he thought lay to the northwest. According to the best estimates, Ponce made his landfall on the upper east coast of the present state of Florida; the date was sometime between the second and the eighth of April.

Of the ceremonies of landing there is no record. In any event, there could not have been any offering of Mass, since no priest was with the party. Woodbury Lowery conjectured that on landing, Ponce may have recited the simple prayer said to have been used by Columbus: "Almighty and Eternal Lord God, Who by Thy Sacred Word hast created heaven, earth, and sea, blessed and glorified be Thy Name and praised be Thy Majesty, and grant that through Thy humble servant Thy Sacred Name may

2. Herbert E. Bolton, "The Mission as a Frontier Institution in the Spanish American Colonies," *American Historical Review*, XXXIII (October 1917), 42-61. See also Verner W. Crane, *The Southern Frontier, 1670-1732* (Durham, 1929), 7, 23-27.

be known and preached in this other part of the world. Amen.”³

Taking a southerly course down the coast, Ponce rounded the Florida Keys, which he named The Martyrs, “because the high rocks looked at a distance like men who are suffering.” He sailed up the west coast of the peninsula to what may have been the present site of Pensacola. On May 23, he again turned southward, and anchored at or near Charlotte Bay⁴ which for many years bore his name - Bahia Juan Ponce. Here he had a bloody encounter with Indians and decided to return to Puerto Rico. Ponce’s voyage had not been a missionary adventure. Although a Catholic, there were no specifically religious purposes associated with his enterprise. The first missionary chapter came later, and it was Ponce who wrote it.

On September 27, 1514, Ponce was commissioned by Charles V to secure possession of his new discovery and to settle “the island of Florida.” He was to take with him a number of priests. “Treat them [the Indians] as best you can,” the king admonished, “and . . . seek in every possible way that they be converted to our Holy Catholic Faith.”⁵

Seven years passed before Ponce could get his expedition underway. In the meantime, two events occurred that are worth notice. First, an accident took place at sea which may have brought the first priest to Florida’s shores. His name was Father Alonzo Gonzales, and he accompanied an ill-fated voyage of Francisco Hernandez de Cordova from Cuba to the Bahamas in 1517. Stray winds blew Cordova from his course to Yucatan where fifty-six of his party of 110 were killed by Indians. It is not recorded if Father Gonzales was among those killed. If he was not, presumably he was with Cordova when storms blew Cordova’s fleet

3. Woodbury Lowery, *The Spanish Settlements Within the Present Limits of the United States: 1513-1561* (New York, 1901), 139 and note. Lowery is still the best secondary source for Ponce’s voyage.

4. See map in Buckingham Smith (trans.), *The Narrative of Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca* (Washington, 1851), 153. This chart, in the Royal Archives of the Indies, is attached to theedula granted in 1521 to Fransesco de Garay. Note though, that other authorities believe Ponce sailed north only to the present-day area of Charlotte Harbor. See, for example, T. Frederick Davis, “Juan Ponce de Leon’s Voyages to Florida,” *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XIV (July 1935), 43.

5. Quoted in *ibid.*, 147.

against the west coast of Florida during the return to Cuba.⁶ In 1519, another explorer, Alonzo Alvarez de Pineda, discovered that Florida was not an island, but a peninsula. Pineda himself fixed the western juncture to the mainland at Mobile River and Bay, which he named after the Holy Spirit - Rio de Espiritu Santo.⁷

In 1521, Ponce de Leon at last embarked from Puerto Rico in two ships which carried 200 men, fifty horses, a variety of domestic animals and agricultural implements, gunpowder, cross-bows, and other arms. Secular and regular priests accompanied the expedition to establish mission posts among the Indians. Their landing in Florida is the first positively authenticated instance of the presence of Catholic priests on the mainland of the United States.⁸

Where precisely Ponce came ashore on the Florida coast is not known; probably it was in the vicinity of Charlotte Harbor on the lower Gulf coast. There he was immediately and furiously attacked by Indians. Many of his followers were killed, and Ponce himself was badly wounded by an arrow. He quickly re-embarked for Cuba where he died a few days later of his wound. Noble in conception, this first missionary enterprise had been a conspicuous failure before it could even take root.⁹

Five years later, misfortune again struck another colonizing attempt farther north. Lucas Vazquez de Ayllon, royal judge in Santo Domingo, sailed toward Florida with 600 men and women, including two priests and one lay brother of the Order of St.

6. Antonio Herrera y Tordesillas, *Historia general de los hechos de los Castellanos en las islas y tierra firme del mar oceano*, 6 vols. (Madrid, 1727), I, 47, 49.

7. Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, 151.

8. Secular, or diocesan, priests work in geographically defined parishes under the direct supervision of a bishop. Their mode of life dates from the beginning of Christianity. The term "secular," which was the more common designation in the sixteenth century, refers to the fact that the secular priests work "in the world" - *in saecula*. They are called "diocesan" because their parishes make up a larger geographic unity called a diocese, over which the bishop presides. Regular, or religious, priests are members of religious orders, e. g., Franciscans, Jesuits, Dominicans, committed to special tasks, such as charity, education, or the missions. Regular priests take vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. The older orders, including those that worked in Florida in the early centuries, are exempt in great part from the jurisdiction of the local bishop.

9. Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, 158-59.

Dominic. Following the eastern seaboard of *La Florida* as far north as the Chesapeake Bay, Ayllon's party disembarked on September 29, 1526, and began erecting houses and a modest chapel dedicated to St. Michael. Food supplies soon ran low, however, and widespread sickness followed the coming of winter cold. After Ayllon died in the arms of one of the Dominican priests, the 150 famished and half-frozen survivors returned to Santo Domingo. Thus, another colonizing attempt failed.¹⁰

Panfilo de Narvaez was a tall, commanding man, fair-complexioned, red-bearded, and one-eyed (he had lost an eye trying to discipline Cortes in Mexico). By all accounts he was a brave and resourceful soldier, and when, in 1526, he returned to Spain after twenty-six years of royal service in the New World, Charles V awarded him settlement rights to all Florida.

On June 17, 1527, Narvaez sailed from the Spanish port of San Lucar with 600 colonists and soldiers. He set a course for the same Florida Gulf coast where Ponce de Leon had been repulsed and mortally wounded. Narvaez brought with him a company of priests to minister to the colonists and to evangelize the Indians - an unknown number of secular priests and five Franciscan friars. Of the secular priests only El Asturiano, "the Asturian," is known to us by name. Superior of the Franciscan party was Father Juan Xuarez, named bishop-elect of Florida, although he was never consecrated. For all his talents, Narvaez' expedition was doomed to failure; within seven years' time only four men of those who landed at Florida were still alive.

One of the survivors was Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca, treasurer and high sheriff, who wrote a long account of the expedition.¹¹ From him we learn that enough misfortunes to discourage any but the most hardy of missionaries befell the voyagers at sea before they finally reached the shores of Florida. At last, with many thanksgivings, Narvaez anchored in the vicinity of St. Clement's Point on the peninsula west of Tampa Bay on Holy Thursday, April 14, 1528.

10. Victor Francis O'Daniel, O.P., *Dominicans in Early Florida* (New York, 1930), 6-8.

11. *La Relacion que dio Aluar nunez cabeza de vaca de lo acaescido en las Indias en la armada donde yua por gouernador Pamphilo de narbaez desde el ano de veynte y siete hasta el ano de treynta y seys que boluio a Seuilla con tres de su compania* (Zamora, 1542).

Narvaez and his followers were anxious to meet the Indians of the area before taking formal possession of the land. On landing the next day, therefore, they immediately set out toward an Indian village spotted from aboard ship. When they arrived, the village was empty; the Indians had fled and were hiding in the brush. A gold ornament was found, however, which led the Spanish to think that more of the precious metal would be discovered farther inland.

Narvaez solemnly took possession of Florida on April 16. To the unseen and unhearing Indians, he delivered a formal declaration, in which he explained how the descendants of Adam and Eve had spread abroad across the earth to form many nations, and how God had come to earth to save the nations "wheresoever they might live and be." "Wherefore," he continued, ". . . I entreat and require you to understand this well which I have told you, taking the time for it that is just you should, to comprehend and reflect, and that you recognize the Church as Mistress and Superior of the Universe, and the Supreme Pontiff, called Pope . . . and that you consent and give opportunity that these Fathers and religious men may declare and preach these things to you."¹²

Narvaez and a large party of men marched northward, but unfortunately, they lost contact with the fleet, which, despairing of their return, turned back toward Cuba. Cut off from all supplies, the expedition reached the country of the Apalache Indians near the present site of Tallahassee. Unable to feed themselves off the land, their plight quickly became desperate. The men killed their horses for food and with crude tools constructed five large boats, which they launched in the Gulf, fifty men to a boat. Cabeza de Vaca relates the sad consequences: one after another, the boats foundered in the surf between Pensacola and Matagorda. Nearly all the men, including Narvaez, drowned. Eighty survivors were cast up on the Texas coast, but even this number dwindled through sickness, exposure, and starvation.

After an incredible odyssey of seven years, during which they actually crossed the continent, four lonely survivors finally reached Mexico and safety. Cabeza de Vaca was one of them, a Negro slave was another, and there were two soldiers. All the

12. Herrera, *Historia general*, I, 197, translated by Father Matthew Connolly. See also, Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, 177 and note.

others, the priests included, had given their lives.

Don Hernando de Soto was thirty-eight years of age and already a knight commander of the Order of Santiago. A veteran of the campaigns in central America, having served under Francisco Pizarro in the conquest of the Incas, he decided, in 1538, to "conquer, pacify, and populate" the peninsula of Florida and, the lands extending westward to the Rio Grande. He was undaunted by the failure of the earlier expeditions led by Ponce de Leon and Narvaez, and the desperate tale told by Cabeza de Vaca only spurred him on to succeed where others had failed.

On April 6, 1538, de Soto sailed from San Lucar with ten ships and a company of 620 men.¹³ His cedula, or charter, from King Charles V stipulated that he take "priests who shall be appointed by us for the instruction of the natives of that province in our holy Catholic Faith, to whom you are to give and pay the passage, stores, and other necessary subsistence for them according to our condition." Twelve priests accompanied the expedition, eight secular and four regular. The names of only four of the secular missionaries are known: Fathers Dionisio de Paris, Rodrigo de Gallegos, Francisco del Pozo, and Diego de Banuelos.

After stopping for nearly a year in Cuba on the way, de Soto's fleet reached Florida's west coast on May 25, 1539, and laid anchor in Tampa Bay where Narvaez had also disembarked. De Soto named the bay Espiritu Santo - "Holy Spirit." On June 3, he landed and took formal possession of Florida with all the usual ceremonies.

There were no Indians to be seen. As the Spanish ships ap-

13. The de Soto expedition was related by an anonymous companion, the "Gentlemen of Elvas," *Relacam verdadeira dos trabalhos que ho governador Don Fernando de Souto y certos fidalgos portugueses passaram no descobrimento da provincia de Florida. Agora nouamente feita per hun fidalgo de Eluas* (Evora, Portugal, 1557). Another detailed account was written by Garcilaso de la Vega, "The Inca," *La Florida del Ynca. Historia Adelantado, Hernando de Soto, Governador, y Capitan General del Reyno de la Florida y de Otros Heroicos Caualleros. Espanoles e Indios* (Lisbon, 1601). The Elvas work was published in facsimile with an English translation by James Alexander Robertson, *True Relation of the Hardships Suffered by Governor Fernando de Soto & Certain Portuguese Gentlemen During the Discovery of the Province of Florida. Now newly set forth by a Gentleman of Elvas*. 2 vols. (DeLand, 1933). The most recent and best translation of "The Inca" is John Grier Varner and Jeannette Johnson Varner, *The Florida of The Inca* (Austin, 1951).

proached, the natives lit warning fires along the coast and fled into the brush. When two Indians captured by a Spanish patrol several months earlier for service as interpreters made their escape on the day of the landing, de Soto sent out two reconnoitering parties to capture other natives to serve as interpreters and to make a general exploration of the surrounding country. One patrol was led by Baltazar de Gallegos, a relative of Cabeza de Vaca.

On his arrival, de Soto heard of a Christian who was living with the Indians in a nearby village, and Gallegos was ordered to investigate. According to reports, the white man had come to Florida with Narvaez eleven years before. Gallegos and his eighty-man patrol returned after a severe ten-day march with the "Indian," whose body was painted in livid colors and who was carrying a bow and arrow. Gallegos had found this man some eight leagues [twenty miles] inland. When the "Indian" first saw the Spaniards, he was frightened and called out to the Holy Virgin to be spared. Apparently he was a Spanish Christian. A report on the incident was written by Luis Hernandez de Biedma, the king's representative on the expedition: "The Christian had lived twelve years among those Indians . . . and . . . even after he had been four days with us, he still could not put together a whole sentence in Spanish. . . . He was so little acquainted with the country that he know nothing about it farther than twenty leagues. . . ." ¹⁴ After a time, the Christian, Juan Ortiz, told his story. He had been enticed ashore from one of Narvaez ships by a group of Indians, who captured and enslaved him. The chief set him to work guarding the Indian dead from wild beasts, and on one occasion, Ortiz killed a wolf that had carried off the body of a child. Despite this, he was eventually condemned to die, but before the execution could take place, he escaped to a neighboring tribe where he found refuge. It was in this village that de Soto's patrol found him.

"When we realized that no gold was to be found here, we left the Port of Bahia Honda in order to move inland with all the men who had come, except for twenty-six horsemen and sixty footmen, who remained to guard the port until the Governor [de

14. Luis Hernandez de Biedma, "Relacion de la isla de la Florida," in Buckingham Smith (ed.), *Coleccion de varios Documentos para la Historia de la Florida y Tierras adyacentes* [1516-1794] (London, 1857), 47. Biedman translated by this writer.

Soto] should communicate with them or bid them to join him. . . . ”¹⁵ So wrote Biedma, the king's representative. And so began, on July 15, 1539, an extraordinary exploration. De Soto, his priests and soldiers, and the repatriated “Indian” Juan Ortiz, left their west coast encampment and marched northward into the trackless continent. Only three years later, de Soto would be standing as far away as the Mississippi River.

In the first months, July to October, de Soto explored the center of the peninsula, passing through the regions of present-day Dade City, Ocala, Lake City, and Live Oak. In October, he reached the principal town of the Apalache Indians near the present city of Tallahassee, and there he passed the winter. On March 3, 1540, he broke camp and marched northward into that part of *La Florida* known today as Georgia. Within the next two years, his indomitable procession passed through the central and northern part of Georgia, circled through the western-most portions of the Carolinas, and traversed parts of Alabama, Louisiana, and possibly Texas.

The adventure was not without its casualties. Sickness and marauding Indians decimated de Soto's company. Four of the secular priests died during the first year, and in a fierce battle with Mobilian Indians near the Alabama River on October 15, 1540, all the vestments, chalices, patens, altar furnishings, and wheat and wine needed for Mass were destroyed. The chronicler of de Soto's adventures, Garcilaso de la Vega (“the Inca”), recorded the result: “Thereafter an altar was erected and adorned on Sundays and holy days of obligation. Standing at the altar, a priest, vested in ornaments made of hide, said the Confiteor, the Introit of the Mass, and the Oration, Epistle, and the Gospel, and all the rest up to the end of the Mass without consecrating. The Spaniards call this the *Missa seca* [‘Dry Mass’]; and the one who said the Mass or another priest read the Gospel and delivered a sermon on it. From this they derived consolation in the distress they felt at not being able to adore our Lord and Redeemer Jesus Christ under the sacramental species. This lasted almost for three years, up to the time they left Florida for the land of the Christians [Mexico].”¹⁶

15. *Ibid.*, 48.

16. This translation is by Father Michael Kenny, *The Romance of the*

Although de Soto sometimes used deception in his dealings with the Indians, reduced them to slavery when it served his purposes, and accepted Indian women for his own pleasure, it is also known that he sometimes assisted the priests in instructing Indian chiefs and tribesmen in the basic beliefs of Christianity. On one such occasion—by coincidence the same day, March 26, 1541, when his one-time commander, Francisco Pizarro, was assassinated in his palace in Peru—de Soto fashioned and raised a towering pine-tree cross at the town of Casqui on the western bank of the Mississippi, and proclaimed to the Indians of the place: “This was He who had created the sky and the earth and man in His own image. Upon the tree of the cross He had suffered to save the human race, and had risen from the grave on the third day . . . and, having ascended into heaven, was there with open arms to receive all that would be converted to Him.”¹⁷

At another west-bank Indian town named Tamaliseu, which de Soto reached three years after the start of his extraordinary overland journey, the explorer fell gravely ill, and appointed a successor, Luis de Moscoso, to lead the remainder of his men to safety. On May 21, 1542, he “confessed his sins with sorrow and compunction for having offended God,” and died. A group of soldiers wrapped the corpse in a mantle and bore it by canoe to the middle of the Mississippi. There, with the deepest reverence, they consigned the remains of their commander to the bed of the great river that he had discovered. A brave soldier, a man of invincible spirit and high resolve, he wrote one of the early chapters in Florida’s Catholic history.

On September 10, 1543, after a perilous journey by foot and on roughhewn brigantines, the 300 survivors reached Mexico and safety. Two secular priests, Rodrigo de Gallegos and Francisco del Pozo, two Dominicans, Juan de Gallegos and Luis de Soto, and one Franciscan, Juan de Torres, remained of the original band of twelve priests. Juan Ortiz, the Spanish Christian who had lived the life of the Florida Indian for eleven years, rested forever in the strange land of his captors. With the end of the de Soto expedition, Spain’s fourth great effort in *La Flor-*

Floridas (Milwaukee, 1934), 48. See also Varner and Varner, *Florida of The Inca*, 383.

17. Theodore Maynard, *De Soto and the Conquistadores* (New York, 1930), 236.

ida, there were still no permanent missions, and the mass of savages remained unconverted worshippers of sun and sky.

Luis Cancer de Barbastro was a priest of the Dominican Order, a native of Saragossa, Spain. In 1547, when he conceived the idea of going to Florida, he was already a veteran New World missionary and a proven success with the fierce savages of Guatemala, where he had spent the last four years. He was called "Alferez de la Fe" - Standard bearer of the Faith, and Guatemala, which Spaniards described as the "War Province" because of the warlike character of the natives, was known at the close of Father Cancer's short apostolate as "The Province of True Peace."

Cancer read the stories of earlier expeditions to the unconquered and unconverted land of Florida. He talked with survivors of those expeditions, and he began to wonder why could he not win over the Indians of Florida by the same means he had used in Guatemala? It seemed to him that the earlier missionaries to that northern province had been hampered rather than helped by the soldiers and armaments that accompanied them. He determined to try, by peaceable means alone, to convert the ignorant and seemingly untractable savages. In 1547, he asked for permission to form an expedition.

On December 28, 1547, a royal cedula addressed to Don Antonio de Mendoza, viceroy of Mexico, commanded him to provide Father Cancer with passage to his destination and all necessary supplies, including "whatsoever was needful for celebrating Mass." Early in 1549, the missionary set out from Vera Cruz, Mexico, on an unarmed vessel, the *Santa Maria de la Encina*.¹⁸ Three other Dominican priests, Fathers Gregorio de Beteta, Diego de Tolosa, and Juan Garcia, accompanied him. All were seasoned New World missionaries. Father Gregorio had labored for many years in Mexico and apparently had been the first Dominican to think seriously about the conversion of the Florida Indians. Once, with another Dominican, he had set out to walk from Miva, Mexico to the part of *La Florida* that lay north of Mexico, but was forced to turn back for want of supplies.

Cancer was convinced that his efforts would be fruitful only if he could work among natives who had not earlier been antag-

18. O'Daniel, *Dominicans in Early Florida*, 30-70, is the best account of the Cancer expedition.

onized by the use of armed force. He had therefore prevailed upon the viceroy of Mexico to issue the strictest orders to the pilot, Juan de Arana, to avoid all ports where Spaniards had previously landed. Arana, however, paid little heed to his orders or to the wishes of the friars. When on May 29, the shout of "land ahoy!" sounded from the topmast, the priests did not know it, but Arana had brought them to a point near Tampa Bay! - almost exactly where, not many years before, Narvaez and de Soto had landed and spread the terror of their arms.

Father Cancer and his companions leaned over the gunwales of their ship and searched the coastline for signs of Indians. Seeing none, Cancer decided to go ashore in a small landing boat. With him went Father Diego, a Spanish lay brother named Fuentes, an Indian woman interpreter named Magdalena, and Juan de Arana. Father Diego was the first to step ashore, and following Cancer's instructions, he climbed a tree to survey the surrounding country. As he did so, a band of fifteen to twenty Indians came out of the woods and approached the shoreline cautiously.

As soon as he saw the Indians, Cancer gathered up his habit, sprang into the sea, and ran ashore in water up to his cincture. "And Our Lord knows what haste I made," he wrote later, "lest they [the Indians] should slay the monk before hearing what we were about. Reaching the beach, I fall on my knees and prayed for grace and divine help; I ascend to the plain where I found them [the Indians] gathered and before reaching them repeated my actions on the beach, and rising from my knees begin to draw out of my [s]leeves some articles of Flanders, which though of small account and of little value to Christians were much prized by them and highly appreciated."

Cancer explained later: "I had read in the Doctors, particularly in St. Thomas, Victoria, Gaetano, that it is approved of and commended . . . to take to the unbelievers . . . little presents, such as these." He went on to describe what happened: "Then they [the Indians] approach me, and having given away part of what I brought with me, I go to the friar [Father Diego], who was coming toward me, and embrace him with much joy; we both kneel down with the Spaniard [Fuentes] and the Indian woman, and drawing out my book we recite the litanies, commending ourselves to Our Lord and to His Saints. The Indians kneeled,

others squatted, which greatly pleased me, and as they rose up I leave the litanies half said and sit down with them in a hut and I shortly learned where was the harbor we were in search of, which was about a day and a half's distance from there by land." ¹⁹

Father Cancer returned alone to the ship for more presents, but when he came ashore again he could not find his three companions. They had disappeared, and a sailor who had helped row the priest ashore was afterwards lured into the bush by Indians and was spirited away. Cancer spent the remainder of the day on shore trying to unravel the mystery, but at sunset, with no further word of their whereabouts, the priest sadly returned to his ship. The next day Cancer and Father Juan went ashore again, only to find that not only were their friends still missing, but the Indians of the area had disappeared as well.

Once again despairing of any word from the priests, Cancer returned with Father Juan to the ship. The sailors weighed anchor and set a northerly course for the harbor of which the natives had spoken. After eight days sailing along the coast and several more days of negotiating the entrance, Father Cancer's ship sailed into a bay where it seemed suitable to establish a permanent settlement and mission. On the feast of Corpus Christi, Fathers Cancer and Juan Garcia offered Mass on shore. The next day, Cancer with Father Gregorio searched diligently throughout the surrounding area for their lost companions, but with no success. Then, just as they were about to leave, they spotted Indians approaching, and heard one shout in broken Spanish: "Friends, friends! Good, good!"

The two priests cautiously approached the Indian emissaries, and responded to their overture. Father Cancer shouted: "We are good men!" and he indicated by signs that he wished the three Spaniards and Magdalena to be returned. The Indians agreed - but it was treachery. Father Diego and the lay brother Fuentes had been massacred, and the sailor had been made a slave.

19. "Relacion de la Florida para el Ilmo. Senor Visorrei de la Nueva Espana la qual trajo Fr. Gregorio de Beteta," in Smith (ed.), *Collecion de varios Documentos*, 199. On the authorship of this passage by Cancer, see note by O'Daniel, *Dominicans in Early Florida*, 62. This writer has used the translation of Lowrey, *Spanish Settlements*, 420.

Father Cancer learned this agonizing news after being deceived again, this time by Magdalena. The Indian girl appeared suddenly on the shore among a crowd of natives. She had shorn herself of her Christian clothing and had taken on the old habits of her Indian upbringing. Deceitfully, she told Father Cancer that the remainder of her "lost" party was enjoying the hospitality of the nearby chieftain, that she had convinced the Indians that the friars were on a peaceful mission, and that there were some fifty or sixty Indians gathered together to hear what the missionaries had to say.

Father Cancer returned to his ship, full of expectation for the morrow. On board, however, he met an incredible stranger—a white man - who carried a report that the priest's friends were dead. The man called himself Juan Munoz, and said that he was one of de Soto's soldiers, captured here ten years before. While Father Cancer was ashore, Munoz had escaped from his Indian master and had paddled out to the Spanish ship in a canoe. He reported that the Indians had slain Father Diego and the lay brother—he had seen the scalp of the priest himself - and held the sailor in bondage. Now came more bad news: the ship began to leak and it was far from shore, meat and fish were spoiling, water was running low, many of the crew were down with fever, and Juan de Arana, the pilot, had become increasingly fractious. Cancer found it hard to prevent Arana from withdrawing immediately from the area.

Cancer spent Monday, June 24, on board ship writing letters to his superiors, arranging the things he wanted to take ashore with him, and setting down his adventures to date in a journal. Much of our information about the expedition is from this journal. On Tuesday, he attempted to go ashore with a party of sailors, but the sea was too rough. The following day, the waters were still choppy, but by hard rowing Cancer and his party, including Father Gregorio and the de Soto campaigner, Juan Munoz, reached shore.

Before actually stepping on the beach, the priests saw Indians in the trees and a sizeable group on a nearby hillock, brandishing bows and arrows, clubs, and darts. Munoz shouted out a warning to the Indians to stop the hostile demonstration, but Cancer cautioned: "Be silent, Brother; do not provoke them." Father

Gregorio urged his superior: "For the love of God wait a little; do not land."²⁰

Father Cance, however, leaped from the boat into the water and waded onto the beach. He called to the sailors to bring him a small crucifix that he had forgotten, and then walked toward the Indians on the hillock. Before reaching them, he fell on his knees for a moment in prayer. As he arose, several Indians rushed forward and pushed him down the hill. A crowd of savages gathered around him. One took away his hat, and another, with the vicious swipe of a club, killed him. And thus died a missionary and a martyr. Father Gregorio could not persuade Juan de Arana to remain any longer and the ship sailed to Mexico.

The year was now 1549, and still neither Spain nor the Church had a foothold in Florida. Although it seemed to some the essence of foolishness, Spanish priests and sea captains insisted on dreaming of a colony. True, every effort to build permanently had been repulsed by the Indians, and priests who had tried heaping charity on the heads of the recalcitrant savages had been cruelly slaughtered for their pains. Florida was too important, however, to write off. Not only did the state of the Indians demand continued missionary efforts, but Florida still loomed large as ever on navigators' maps as the strategic key to the Gulf and Caribbean trade routes.

Other reasons, too, caused the Spaniards to yearn after the elusive peninsula. Certain authorities in Cuba saw Florida as possessing unusual utilitarian value. So many native Cuban women had married Spanish soldiers, one of the bishops on the island reported, a Cuban male "is lucky if he can get a wife 80 years old." The suggestion was therefore made by some that Florida would be an excellent source of Indian wives. A permanent mission and outpost were essential, insisted the bishops and admirals in appeals to the king.

Faced with a growing number of persistent and authoritative appeals, Philip II decided to promote yet another voyage to Florida. To head the expedition the viceroy of Mexico chose Don Tristan de Luna y Arellano, son of the governor of Yucatan. Five priests and one lay brother, all members of the Order of St. Dominic, were appointed to accompany the expedition. The

20. *Ibid.*, 425.

colonists were instructed not to antagonize the Indians but "to settle, and by good example, with good works and with presents, to bring them to a knowledge of Our Holy Faith and Catholic Truth." The viceroy wrote to Philip in Spain, assuring him that the Dominicans named to the enterprise were chosen "because of their tried lives, learning, and doctrine," and because they were "of an age to be able to work among the Indians and learn their languages." Their names were Pedro de Feria, the superior, who resigned the priorship of the prospering house of St. Dominic in Mexico to undertake the Florida mission; Domingo de la Anunciacion, a scholar said to have mastered all the Mexican dialects; Domingo de Salazar, later bishop of the Philippines; Juan Mazuelas and Diego de San Domingo, both veterans of the Mexican missions; and Bartolome Mateos, the lay brother who had served as an artillery officer with Pizarro in Peru.²¹

Accounts differ regarding the size of de Luna's expedition that set sail from Vera Cruz, Mexico, on June 11, 1559. One account lists eleven ships carrying 500 soldiers, 1,000 settlers, and 248 horses; another lists fifteen ships carrying 1,500 soldiers and settlers, including women and children. The chronicles agree, however, on the main events. Favored by winds and weather, the expedition reached Florida's Gulf coast after a month of sailing and on the eve of the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, August 14, the party landed at Pensacola Bay. De Luna wrote to King Philip: "I set sail on June 11, and until the day of our Lady of August, when it pleased God that the entire fleet should enter the port of Ichuse. As we entered on the day I say, I named the bay in your honor as Bahia Filipina del Puerto de Santa Maria."

So pleased was de Luna with the land he saw that he sent a shipload of settlers immediately to Spain in order to persuade others to come join his colony. The rest of the settlers were divided into two groups. De Luna sent the first group to reconnoiter the countryside by land; the second went up a nearby river by small boats. Dominican priests accompanied both groups. De

21. See Herbert Ingram Priestly (ed.), *The Luna Papers, Documents Relating to the Expedition of Don Tristan de Luna y Arellano for the Conquest of La Florida in 1559-1561*, 2 vols. (DeLand, 1928). The Dominican priests on the expedition are treated in O'Daniel, *Dominicans in Early Florida*, 130-81, 189-201.

Luna instructed the reconnaissance parties to return to the harbor within three or four days, with the consequence that the men took with them only enough food for that length of time. The reconnaissance lasted longer than expected but produced nothing of importance; the Spaniards saw only marshes and barren land. Food gave out after several days, and many fell sick from eating roots and inedible leaves. As the parties made their way back toward shore, they saw churning black clouds piling up on the horizon.

A fierce tropical storm, likely a hurricane, bore down on the harbor. Towering waves snapped anchor cables and battered the planks of all but two of the ships into debris. Driving waves struck the beach and those on shore fled inland for their lives. Many died, including the Dominican lay brother, Mateos. For the survivors, almost nothing remained of their store of provisions - enough food for a year had sailed in those ships - nor of their pieces of gold and other articles of value that they intended to use in trading with the Indians.

De Luna gathered the survivors and urged them to continue the colony at all costs. He left a captain with fifty men to guard the port and the two remaining ships and set out in search of food. The story of the colony for the next year and a half was a story of successive expeditions for this purpose, and of intermittent periods of raw hunger when priests and soldiers were reduced to eating their horses and chewing the leather of their harnesses.

De Luna sent his ships for help. In the meantime, dissension broke out among de Luna, the master of the camp, and the captains of the destroyed vessels. At issue was the question of whether another reconnaissance force should be sent into the interior. Fathers Domingo de la Anunciacion and Domingo de Salazar were troubled by the outburst of argument and anger, and they attempted to restore peace to the settlement by leading the soldiers and settlers each day in recitation of a litany. It was the Easter season, and the two priests were afraid that many of the people, with anger and hatred in their hearts, would not be able to receive the sacraments of penance and Holy Communion worthily. Father Domingo de la Anunciacion decided to risk a prophecy. During the offering of Mass at the beachhead at Ichuse (Ochuse) on Palm Sunday of 1561, he turned suddenly toward the people, with the sacred host in his hand and addressed de Luna, ques-

tioning the governor about his faith. The governor stepped forward, knelt before the altar, and answered the priest's questions humbly. Father Domingo told de Luna that if he would become reconciled with the captains and repent his sin in causing dissension and suffering among the people, before three days a ship would arrive in port with help to relieve the hunger of the colony. The governor was so struck by the confidence in the priest's voice, he turned to the congregation and announced his belief in the prophecy. While Father Domingo finished the Mass, the governor confessed aloud before all the people that he had been wrong. He asked the captains, the master of the camp, the soldiers, and the settlers to forgive him, and a reconciliation among everyone present followed before the altar.

And lo, on the following day a ship appeared on the horizon. It was from New Spain and was laden with supplies for the settlement. To the Spaniards it seemed that Father Domingo's prayer - and prophecy - had been answered. The vessel was commanded by Angel de Villafane appointed by the viceroy to replace de Luna. With Villafane, was Father Gregorio de Beteta, who had accompanied the ill-fated expedition of Father Cancer eleven years before. Villafane stayed only a short time in Florida. Then, leaving a garrison of fifty men at Ichuse, he left for Mexico by way of Havana carrying the remainder of de Luna's colony, numbering less than 300 persons. Father Domingo remained in Florida for six or seven months until it was determined that the settlement was definitely not capable of surviving. He and the soldiers then returned to Mexico. Thus, another attempt to settle and Christianize Florida reached an inglorious end.

In Spain, consternation greeted the news of the failure of Tristan de Luna's colony. The crown was miffed because, despite six well-planned attempts to do so, the banner of Castile and Leon had still not been permanently planted in the elusive sands of Florida. Military and naval leaders were frustrated and embarrassed by the failure to secure and hold a beachhead. That the arrows of primitive Indians had succeeded in driving off Spanish warriors on several notable occasions was humble pie that proud conquistadors were not prepared to eat. The gold that the hidalgos hunted in the El Dorado of dreams never seemed less real than it did among the bogs and swamps of Florida, and those Spaniards

who disguised their greed for precious metal under the mantle of religion found that evil indeed was its own punishment.

No one was more disappointed, however, than the bishops and priests of Spain - mission-minded men who saw in Florida a field of souls ripe for the harvest. Every attempted mission to the Indians in this far-off country had proved to be as unstable and as impermanent as the tides that lapped the shores. Indeed, the historian of the abortive de Luna mission, Agustin Davila y Padilla, recorded that there was only one convert, an Indian woman of the Coosa nation baptized at the point of death.²² Despite the best efforts of the gallant, devoted, and self-sacrificing priests who endured great privations in the American wild, and set up their crosses and preached their faith as best they could during temporary halts along the overland treks, the Florida Indians remained plunged in idolatry and ignorance. When would the priest have another chance? Not for some time, decided Philip II.

On September 23, 1561, the king expressed doubt that the province of Florida was any longer worth the effort or the expense of colonization. Unless some crisis of state demanded it, there would be no further attempts to settle the peninsula. In this decision the king was largely influenced by an admiral named Pedro Menendez de Aviles, captain-general of the Spanish fleet, who argued that Florida's shoreline was too low and sandy, her countryside too poor in resources, and her harbors too shallow to permit practicable settlement.²³ A permanent settlement and mission should wait until the right man and the right moment came-when there was sufficient zeal on the one hand and sufficient

22. Agustin Davila y Padilla, O.P., *Historia de la Fundacion y Discurso de la Provincia de Santiago de Mexico* (Mexico, 1596), 275.

23. See the transcript, "Parecer que da a S.M. el Consejo de la Neuva Espana, en virtud de su Real Cedula [fecha en Madrid a 23 de Septiembre de 1561] que sigue, sobre la forma en que estava la costa de la Florida, y que no convenia aumentar la Poblacion," in Buckingham Smith Collection (New York Public Library) vol. 1561-1593, 11. The royal cedula was addressed to the viceroy of New Spain, Don Luis de Velasco. It advised him of the opinion of Menendez, and stated, ". . . querido antes de tomar resolucion alguna, tener relacion y parecer vuestro de ello. . . ." Velasco called a meeting of navigators, who agreed that, ". . . que hasta que se sepa y entienda lo que es aquella costa y tierra, no convendria que S.M. gastare mucho en ella. . . ." The navigators went on to recommend that if any future settlement efforts be deemed necessary, they be limited to the Florida coastline north of 35°, the region of Cape Hatteras.

urgency on the other. The right moment would come, for example, if suddenly some new factor endangered Spanish shipping in the Bahama Channel along Florida's east coast.

The Spanish treasure fleets sailed twice each year from Havana, where the gold-laden galleons and caravels joined together for mutual protection. The fleets passed northward through the Bahama Channel, or Straits of Florida as it was also called, until they reached the area of Bermuda, when they set course for the Azores. From there to Seville the fleets were heavily guarded by men of war to prevent their capture by French pirates. The greatest danger on the voyage, however, came from navigating the Bahama Channel. This passage, discovered by Ponce de Leon on his first expedition, was only thirty-nine miles wide at its narrowest part; its waters were uncommonly rough, reefs at its entrance threatened the keels of heavily laden ships, and violent storms sometimes whipped the channel into cauldrons. Various wrecks along the coast attested the channel's terrors to Spanish navigators.²⁴ What then, if in addition to these natural hazards, French pirates should also infest this channel? And what if Menendez de Aviles should change his mind?

What was only a worry in the mind of the Spanish king in 1561 became a reality in the summer of 1564, when French adventurers under Rene Goulaine de Laudonniere preempted the northeast coastline of peninsular Florida and began construction of a military stockade, Fort Caroline. The outpost was situated near the mouth of the River of May (St. Johns) where it commanded the northern discharge of the Bahama Channel and enabled French warships to sally forth against the treasure fleets with dangerous ease.²⁵ Laudonniere's force consisted of soldiers, sailors, and artisans. No clergy or farmers were included. The presence of this force constituted a direct challenge to the claims of Spain in Florida, which had been recognized at least implicitly by France in the Treaty of Cateau-Cambresis in 1559. Here, no doubt, was a crisis of state capable of changing the decision of a king and the mind of an admiral. When Philip learned in the

24. Ernesto Schafer, "Comunicaciones maritimas y terrestres de las Indias espanolas," *Anuario de Estudios Americanos*, III (Seville, 1946), 969-83.

25. The story of this fort has been told recently by Charles E. Bennett, *Laudonniere & Fort Caroline: History and Documents* (Gainesville, 1964).

spring of 1565, that Jean Ribault, the great French sea captain, was assembling a fleet to reinforce Fort Caroline, he reacted angrily to what he considered a foreign encroachment on the Spanish domain, and ordered a fleet to be assembled at once to repel Ribault, destroy Fort Caroline, secure Florida for Spain, and establish there, at long last, a permanent Catholic community.²⁶ He sent again for Pedro Menendez.

Admiral Menendez had served long and faithfully in the arduous campaigns of the Low Country and with the fleets that sailed regularly to and from New Spain. He knew the ports of the West Indies, the currents of the Caribbean, and the inviting shoreline of Florida. He also knew that Florida was populated with Indians whom no missionaries had yet been able to convert and hold, for lack of a permanent mission base. He thought of Spain's economic dependancy upon the treasure fleets, of the spiritual dangers to Florida's Indians that would come from "heretical" Frenchmen (most of the colonists were Huguenots), and of the good that he himself could do as special viceroy of the church in that as yet unconquered and savage province. He told the king that he would go and accepted the office of *Adelantado de la Florida*.²⁷

The royal patent given Menendez on March 20, 1565, plainly charged him with a missionary as well as a military responsibility: "As we have in mind the good and the salvation of those [Indian] souls, we have decided to give the order to send religious persons to instruct the said Indians, and those other people who are good Christians and our subjects, so that they may live among and talk to the natives there may be in those lands and provinces of Florida, and that [the Indians] by intercourse and conversation with them may more easily be taught our Holy Catholic Faith and be

26. "Real Cedula original de S.M. por la que hace cierta capitulacion y asiento con Pedro Menendez de Aviles, sobre la Poblacion de la Provincia de la Florida; su fha. 20 de Marzo de 1565, rubricada de los Sres. del Consejo y refrendada de Franc^o. de Eraso Secret^o. de S.M.," Revillagigedo Papers, Archivo del Conde de Revillagigedo, Casa de Canalejas, legajo 2, document no. 5. Cited hereafter as Revillagigedo Papers; all documents cited Revillagigedo Papers are on microfilm in the Archives of the Diocese of St. Augustine.

27. The nature of the title, *adelantado*, and the difference between it and *gobernador*, are discussed in C. H. Haring, *The Spanish Empire in America* (New York, 1963), 20-21.

brought to good usages and customs, and perfect polity brought to good usages and customs, and perfect polity.”²⁸

On June 29, 1565, Menendez sailed from Cadiz with nineteen ships and 1,100 men, bound for Puerto Rico, Cuba, and the east coast of Florida. Almost at once his fleet encountered severe storms which forced its return. Several days later when the storms had abated he set sail again, this time with an enlarged company of 1,504 soldiers, sailors, locksmiths, millers, silver-smiths, tanners, sheepshearers, and farmers, some with their wives and children. An additional 1,000 soldiers and settlers were to follow later from Asturias and Biscay. Menendez had the good sense to recruit men skilled in tilling the soil, animal husbandry, and the hunting of game. It was for lack of these skills that earlier expeditions had shown such lamentable inability to live off the land.

Chief among the passengers were “four secular priests with faculties to hear confessions.” In these four lay the Church’s hope of planting the Cross permanently in Florida’s sands. The names of only three are known: Francisco Lopez de Mendoza Grajales, Rodrigo Garcia de Trujillo, and Pedro de Rueda. As the Spanish vessels plowed westward across the Atlantic, Father Lopez, fleet chaplain, made notes of the voyage,²⁹ and recorded their arrival at the Canary Islands on Wednesday, July 5, where the ships took on wood and water. The following Sunday the fleet raised sail again for the island of Dominica in the Caribbean.

Gonzalo Solis de Meras, brother-in-law of Menendez, also made notes of the voyage: “Having set sail from the Canaries, within a short time a fierce tempest arose, and the flagship with

28. “Real Cedula. . .,” Revillagigedo Papers, legajo 2, document no. 5. The translation is by Connor, *Menendez de Aviles*, 259, altered by this author.

29. “Memoria del buen suceso y buen Viaje que dios nro señor fue servido de dar a la armada que salio de la ciudad de caliz para la provincia y costa de la florida de la qual fue por general el Illustre señor pero menendez de auiles comendador de la orden de santiago, Archivo General de Indias, Seville (cited hereafter as AGI), estante 1, cajon 1, legajo 1-19. The memorial has been translated into French and several times into English. This writer follows the translation of B. F. French (ed.), *Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida*, Second Series (New York, 1875), 191-234, which compares favorably with the Spanish transcription published by Eugenio Ruidiaz y Caravia, *La Florida: su conquista colonizacion por Pedro Menendez de Aviles*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1893), II, 74-84.

a patache broke away from the armada, without being seen any more; and the next day a shallop turned back to land, for she was leaking badly and could not be succored.”³⁰ Only five vessels remained together. Lopez was on one of these ships and he noted that: “the five vessels which remained of our fleet had a prosperous voyage the rest of the way, thanks to Our Lord and His Blessed mother. Up to Friday, the 20th we had very fine weather, but at ten o’clock that day a violent wind arose, which by two in the afternoon had become the most frightful hurricane one could imagine. The sea, which rose to the very clouds, seemed about to swallow us up alive, and such was the fear and apprehension of the pilot and other sailors, that I exerted myself to exhort my brethren and companions to repentance. I represented to them the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, His justice and His mercy, and with so much success that I passed the night in confessing them.”³¹

On August 5 the ships sighted the island of Dominica and put ashore for water. Three days later the crew weighed anchor and set a compass heading for San Juan de Puerto Rico, which they reached on August 9. In the harbor they sighted four other ships of their scattered fleet, including the flagship, *San Pelayo*. “Loud cries of joy resounded on all sides,” Lopez wrote, “and we

30. The Solis notes were incorporated into a biography of Menendez. This biography, “El proceso adjunto es relativo a las jornadas y sucesos del Adelantado D. Pedro Menendez de Aviles, de la conquista de la Florida, como fueron ganados los fuertes, la armada Francesa y degollado Juan Ribao General del Rey de Francia con todo su gente, allanado y sugetado los Yndios y Caciques de aquellas provincias plantando en ellas la fe catolica, escrito por el Dr. Solis de Meras, cunado de dicho Adelantado,” is part of the Revillagigedo Papers, legajo 2, document no. 2. This writer follows the translation of Jeannette Thurber Connor (ed.), *Pedro Menendez de Avile's, Adelantado, Governor and Captain-General of Florida. Memorial by Gonzalo Solis de Meras* (DeLand, 1923), 77. There are two other sources for the voyage of Menendez and the subsequent foundation of St. Augustine: a letter from Menendez to Philip II, St. Augustine, September 11, 1565, the original of which is in the AGI, 54-5-16, and a biography of Menendez completed in 1567 by Bartolome Barrientos, professor in the University of Salamanca, “Vida y hechos de Pero Menendez de Auiles, Cauallero de la Hordem de Sanctiango, Adelantado de la Florida: Do largamente se tratan las Conquistas y Poblaciones de la Prouincia de la Florida, y como fueron libradas de los Luteranos que dellas se auian apoderado.” The Barrientos account was published by Genaro Garcia (ed.), *Dos antiguas relaciones de la Florida* (Mexico, 1902).

31. French, *Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida*, 193.

thanked the Lord that he had permitted us to find each other again, but it would be impossible for me to tell how it all happened.”³²

The voyagers paused several days in Puerto Rico to replenish their store of provisions and to take on board additional men that the king had agreed to furnish from the island garrison. Father Lopez was asked to remain by Puerto Rican settlers. They offered him an attractive pastorate, but he refused: “I wanted to see if by refusing a personal benefit for the love of Jesus, He would not grant me a greater, since it is my desire to serve Our Lord and His blessed mother.”³³

With approval from all hands, Menendez weighed anchor and led his few ships to sea again, northward toward the Bahama Channel. On Monday, August 27, Father Lopez noted: While we were near the entrance to the *Bahama Channel*, God showed to us a miracle from heaven. About nine o'clock in the evening, a comet appeared, which showed itself directly above us, a little eastward, giving so much light that it might have been taken for the sun. It went towards the west - that is, towards Florida, and its brightness lasted long enough to repeat two *Credos*.”³⁴

The next day the voyagers sighted land. It was Cabo de Cavernaval, present-day Cape Kennedy, the thin finger of land that projects out from the center of Florida's east coast. It was “August 28, St. Augustine's Day,” wrote Solis de Meras, “on which they sighted the land of Florida; all of them kneeling, saying the *Te Deum Laudamus*, they praised Our Lord, all the people repeating their prayers, entreating Our Lord to give them victory in all things.” According to Father Lopez, “thanks to God and the prayers of the Blessed Virgin, we soon had the pleasure of seeing land . . . and found ourselves actually in Florida. . . .”³⁵

Coasting along northward, the voyagers reached, September 4, the harbor of the River of Dolphins, which had been described by Laudonniere and which the Indians called Seloy. It was, wrote Solis de Meras, “a good harbor, with a good beach, to which he [Menendez] gave the name of San Augustine,”³⁶ because that saint's feast was the day on which he had first sighted land. Men-

32. *Ibid.*, 198.

33. *Ibid.*, 199.

34. *Ibid.*, 208.

35. *Ibid.*

36. Connor, *Menendez de Aviles*, 83.

endez proceeded still farther up the coast, reaching the mouth of the River May (St. Johns) where he sighted four French warships -reinforcements for Fort Caroline. Jean Ribault had won the race from Europe.

Worried that the enemy force was strong enough to prevent the founding of a Spanish settlement, the adelantado's council of advisors urged him to return to the Caribbean to await the balance of his fleet. Menendez, however, decided to engage the French ships at once. A brief and inconsequential battle followed. Father Lopez noted that, "notwithstanding all the guns we fired at them, we did not sink one of their ships."³⁷ The Spaniards, also, withdrew with no losses. Menendez was pleased; he had satisfied his military honor. He decided now to retire, particularly since he knew that the French had five more warships in the river. He turned the bows of his ships southward toward the newly named harbor of St. Augustine, and arrived there, just off the Indian village of Seloy, on September 6.

Father Lopez described the landing: "On Saturday, the 8th, the general landed with many banners spread, to the sound of trumpets and salutes of artillery. As I had gone ashore the evening before, I took a cross and went to meet him, singing the hymn, *Te Deum laudamus*. The general marched up to the cross, followed by all who accompanied him, and there they all kneeled and embraced the cross. A large number of Indians watched these proceedings and imitated all they saw done."³⁸ A solemn Mass was then offered in honor of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Solis de Meras records that after Mass, "the Adelantado had the Indians fed and dined himself.' It was the first community act of religion and thanksgiving in the first permanent settlement in the land. It was also the beginning of the parish of St. Augustine and of the permanent service of the Catholic Church in what is now the United States.

Menendez wrote home to Philip II three days later: "As for myself, Your Majesty may be assured that if I had a million [ducats] more or less, I would spend it all upon this undertaking, because it is of such great service to God Our Lord, for the increase of our Holy Catholic Faith, and for the service of Your

37. French, *Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida*, 212.

38. *Ibid.*, 218-19.

Majesty. And therefore, I have offered to Our Lord all that He may give me in this world, all that I may acquire and possess, in order to plant the Gospel in this land for the enlightenment of its natives; and in like manner I pledge myself to Your Majesty.”³⁹

The Spaniards christened their landing site *Nombre de Dios* - Name of God - by which name it is still known today.⁴⁰ Shortly after the landing, Menendez and his priests erected there the first Christian mission to the American Indian. From that place, for 198 uninterrupted years, priests and laymen would carry Christianity and civilization into the wild interior: first diocesan, then Jesuit, and finally Franciscan missionaries would drop their lamps into the darkness as far as Virginia to the north and Texas in the west, and write their names into one of the least known but heroic chapters of American and Catholic history. The story of their labors must be pieced together from royal decrees, memorials, reports, letters, and fragments of a similar nature. But there is enough information of this kind to support the judgment that the Spanish mission system in Florida, which could count 26,000 Christian Indians by 1655, was one of the most successful efforts for the material amelioration and spiritual development of backward peoples that the American nation has experienced.

Other fruits of the Menendez enterprise are less satisfying in retrospect. Although it startles the naive to learn that men warred mercilessly against each other in the sixteenth century as they do unremittingly in our own, it is a fact that Menendez accomplished with dispatch the military portion of his mission. He destroyed the French on land and on sea. Marching overland in mid-September, Menendez captured Fort Caroline and slew the entire garrison, excepting the women, children, and youths not under

39. Menendez to Philip II, St. Augustine, September 11, 1565, AGI, 54-5-16.

40. See “Plano del Presidio de Sⁿ Agustin de la Florida . . . ,” executed by Juan Joseph Elixio de la Puente, dater February 16, 1769, and preserved in the Museo Naval, Madrid. The key indicates the site and reads in part: “Place called Nombre de Dios, which is the same where the first Mass was said on September 8, 1565, when the Spaniards under the command of the Adelantado Pedro Menendez de Aviles set out to conquer these provinces; and afterward an Indian village was built there, with a chapel in which was placed an image of Maria Santisima de la Leche.” Translated by this writer.

arms. Father Lopez observed that the Spaniards "found many packs of playing cards with the figure of the Host and Chalice on the backs, and many saints with crosses on their shoulders and other playing cards burlesquing things of the Church." Later, capturing Jean Ribault and two groups of shipwrecked soldiers south of St. Augustine, and after exacting their unconditional surrender, Menendez "gave them to the sword" with the same sangfroid of French cruiser captains off the coast of Holland, of Jacques Sorie who had slaughtered the residents of Havana several years before, and of Dominique de Gourges who would wreak French revenge upon the Spanish occupiers of Fort Caroline only three years later.

"Some persons considered him cruel," wrote Solis de Meras, "and others, that he had acted as a very good captain should."⁴¹ Historians of Spanish Florida are still judging him both ways. Discharge of his mandate, military necessity, inability to feed the French captives from his meager stores-over a hundred Spaniards would die from starvation during the coming winter-these appear to have been the reasons which led Menendez to carry out his instructions so completely. Although France and Spain were not formally at war, police actions of this sort were common occurrences where national ambitions collided in foreign lands or on the seas. These were cruel times; to Menendez it seemed necessary in this instance to sacrifice mercy to justice, and if that marked him with "an indelible stain," as the Catholic historian John Gilmary Shea concluded in the last century, it was the sole stain on an otherwise admirable breastplate.

In 1572, Menendez left Florida for Spain to direct the organization of an "invincible armada" with which Spain hoped to clear the Flanders coast of pirates. He had crossed the ocean seven times in the interest of his colony. Now he crossed it for the last time, exhausted and impoverished - St. Augustine and Florida had cost him his health and his entire personal fortune. Apparently, he counted it no special loss. A soldier in his command said of him, "He considered nothing but the service of God and of his Majesty, without looking to human interests." On September 8, 1574, while busy with his fleet at Santander in northern Spain, the adelantado wrote to his nephew in Florida: "After the

41. Connor, *Menendez de Avile's*, 123.

salvation of my soul, there is nothing in this world that I desire more than to see myself in Florida, to end my days saving souls . . . that is all my longing and happiness. May Our Lord do this as he can, and may he see that it is needful.”⁴²

But nine days later the conqueror of Florida was dead. The sunburnt, bearded body was removed from its steel corselets and dressed, according to his wish, in the simple habit of a Franciscan. Only the gentler side of his nature showed to those who viewed his remains. But the epitaph that was placed upon his grave at Aviles had the sound of trumpets. For to such a man, Spaniards insisted, the Nation owed a monument, History a book, and the Muses a poem. He had planted the Cross, and it would perdure.

42. Quoted in *ibid.*, appendix C, 255-56.

NOTE ABOUT THE BIRTHPLACE OF HERNANDO DE SOTO

by EL CONDE DE CANILLEROS
translated and edited by URSULA LAMB

DON MIGUEL MUNOZ DE SAN PEDRO, Conde de Canilleros y de San Miguel, member of the Spanish Royal Academy of History in Madrid, is the foremost authority writing on the lives of men from Extremadura province who linked the old world to the new. He comes to this interest by virtue of descent from an ancient house which has been present in the "American Enterprise" since the time of Columbus. The palace in which the Conde lives was built by his ancestor Diego de Ovando, brother of Spain's first royal governor in America, Frey Nicolas de Ovando, who was sent to Espanola by the Catholic kings in 1502. There are many other illustrious men of the conquest and colonial period in Hispanic America among his forebears, and he possesses a remarkable family archive. A catalogue of one part has recently been published by D. Antonio Rodriguez-Monino: *Catalogo de Memoriales presentados al Real Consejo de Indias, 1626-1630* (Madrid, 1953). See also Lino Gomez Canedo, *Los Archivos de la Historia de America, Periodo Colonial Espanol*. 2 vols. (Mexico D.F., 1961), I, "Archivos Familiares," 245.

A special concern of the Conde has been the promotion of the growing activity in the municipal archives and other deposits of papers and historical treasures in all of Extremadura. His publications are as numerous as they are varied, and he has brought light to many obscure recesses of the American past. A bibliography of his works would overburden this note on de Soto, but for its readers the following items might be of special interest: The biography of *Diego Garcia de Paredes*, Extremadura's classic hero (Espasa Calpe, *Grandes Biografias*, Madrid, 1946 and later eds.); the richly illustrated book called *Extremadura* (Madrid, 1961) which is the portrait of the province through its historic monuments, and his recent edition (the first in Spanish) of the ac-

count of the gentleman of Elvas, the companion of de Soto in Florida: *El Fidalgo de Elvas, Relacion* (Buenos Aires, 1952; Madrid, 1954). The Conde de Canilleros' scholarly assessment of the discrepancies concerning de Soto's birthplace appeared in the *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, Vol. CLI, Cuad. II (1962), 353-58.

* * * *

This note about Hernando de Soto's birthplace is due to the inquiries about him by a group of American visitors from Florida. The following statement is an evaluation of the data on this subject.

That Hernando de Soto might have been born in Villanueva de Barcarrota, as has been said, is an assumption based on the *Historia de la Florida* by the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega. In that work appears a casual note without documentary or bibliographical proof, saying merely that Hernando de Soto brought from Peru the sum of a hundred thousand ducats with which he could buy in his native town, which was Villanueva de Barcarrota, much more land. A similar note appears later in the text.

This is the only mention of Barcarrota as Hernando de Soto's birthplace and it is without a shred of documentary support. It was simply copied by Herrera and Solano de Figueroa. Nevertheless, as this statement remained uncorrected through subsequent centuries, it was finally accepted as correct. One writer copied it from another, and in the past century it received its official confirmation, so to speak, by default.

The main defender of this hypothesis in the past century was D. Luis Villanueva y Canedo, a native of Barcarrota and a Senator. He was a prominent person of great influence and dignity, as well as a serious amateur historian, devoted to the history of his native province. He became a correspondent of the Royal Historical Society and vice-president of the provincial monuments commission of Badajoz.

The first result of his local patriotism was the erection in 1866 in Barcarrota of a statue to Hernando de Soto; his second contribution was the publication of his *Estudio Biografico* about the Florida hero, published in 1892, in which he dedicated his efforts to establishing Barcarrota as the birthplace of de Soto.

An impartial study requires, first of all, an assessment of Garcilaso's statement, the only one which mentions Barcarrota. Garcilaso was, without doubt, a serious and truthful author whose works are of primary importance for his native Peru. As for Florida, although his contribution is valuable, one must remember that he based his book on references to other works, as he himself admitted when he mentioned a mysterious source whose name he does not give. Moreover, he writes at some chronological distance from the facts. Hernando de Soto died in 1541, and the work of the Inca was written in 1587, forty-five years later; it was published in 1605.

Another chronicler who participated in the expedition to Florida and who is therefore a more immediate source, was the Fidalgo de Elvas, whose *Relacion* was published in Portuguese at Evora in the year 1557, during the lifetime of its author. This work, which points elsewhere for the birthplace of the illustrious Adelantado says: "the captain de Soto was the son of a Squire of Jerez de Badajoz" which was the name of the city of Jerez de los Caballeros.

This fact, although known to scholars, did not gain currency in Spain, because the text of the *Relacion* remained untranslated until only recently when I brought out the Spanish text for the first time in Buenos Aires in 1952 (and a second edition in Madrid in 1954). There are therefore two pieces of different data, one an inference and one the report of a personal witness. These form all the extant bibliographical material since all subsequent statements are only copies.

There is, however, further and more explicit documentary material concerning de Soto which has been ignored for centuries until after the appearance of the work of D. Luis Villanueva in 1929, the year in which Solar and Rujula published their book: *El Adelantado Hernando de Soto*. These authors did not hesitate, in view of the documents, to preface their book with the following dedication: "To the very noble and loyal city Jerez de los Caballeros, cradle of the celebrated Adelantado Hernando de Soto."

I expressed the same opinion in my two editions of *El Fidalgo de Elvas* and in my book *Extremadura*, where after a description of the statue to Hernando de Soto I add this commentary: "Due

to an error this monument was erected to a famous man presumed to be a son of the town, but the fact is that the documents do not permit repetition of the statement that this hero, one of the gods of Extremaduran mythology, was born here, but rather that he was born in Jerez de los Caballeros."

Let us see what the documents have to say about this question. The first is the record of the Adelantado's admission to the Order of Santiago, which is preserved in the National Historical Archive, classified as number 7.855. It is dated "Santiago 1538, El Adelantado Hernando de Soto, native of Jerez."

The royal *Cedula* of the Emperor Charles V, given at Valladolid on the 28th of March, 1538, commanding that proof of nobility be given, states that such proof would be found "in the city of Badajoz, where the said Adelantado Hernando de Soto is said to have been born."

His birthplace in Badajoz is vouched for by witnesses who say, that the father was from Jerez de los Caballeros and the mother from Badajoz, and that the couple had residences in both places. I should like to mention in this context that the authentic and complete name of Hernando was Mendez de Soto, although he never used the Mendez.

On the 13th and 14th of April, 1538, before the priest of Colon, in the domain of the *Maestrazgo* of Santiago, Don Juan de Mexia, nine witnesses were heard and their testimony registered. All of them stated that they were personally acquainted with Hernando de Soto and had known his parents before their death. Three deponents, Alvaro Romo, Alonso Gonzalez and Alonso de Medina, said that they knew them well and that they had "seen and met them and conversed with them." (de vista y trata e conversacion). This is therefore valuable testimony given by well informed persons living in the same locality. Suero Vasquez de Moscoso, a regidor of Badajoz makes the following statement: "that he knew the said Adelantado Don Hernando de Soto and that he was born in the town of Jerez."

Another witness, Hernando de Leon, while testifying to his acquaintance with de Soto said: "I knew the father and the mother of the said adelantado whose names were respectively, Francisco Mendez and Leonor Arias, and I knew that they lived in this city of Badajoz and in the city of Jerez," and he added

that he did not know anything about de Soto's paternal grandparents, except that he had heard it said that they came from Jerez. Hernando Romo insisted that "the father was born in the city of Jerez," a fact confirmed by Alonso Gonzalez, Alonso Romo, Alonso de Medina and Ruy Sanchez de Aronja. The last named, who was seventy years old, corroborated this testimony by saying that he knew this "because this witness is himself from Xerez and lives now in the city of Badajoz."

Another document to be considered, which is kept in the Archivo General de Indias (Papeles de Justicia, 750) is the record of a dowry (*dote y arras*) brought by Dona Isabel de Bobadilla in Valladolid Nov. 14th, 1536, before the secretary Domingo de Santa Maria. The said lady was then the widow of the governor of Panama, Pedrarias Davila, and mother of the other Dona Isabel de Bobadilla who contracted marriage with Hernando de Soto, who was a sister of the wife of Vasco Nunez de Balboa, another famous son of Jerez de los Caballeros. For our subject this document is much less important than the previous one but I must not omit the following passage: "you, the captain Hernando de Soto, who are now at this court, born in and resident of the city of Badajoz. . . ." In view of the contents of the document of the Order of Santiago there can be no doubt that in the passage just cited de Soto's origin was simply deduced from his present place of residence.

Finally we have another decisive document, also kept in the Archive of the Indies in the same place: the will given by de Soto in San Cristobal de la Habana before secretary Francisco Cepero on May 13th, 1539. Its opening provision reads as follows:

"First, I order that if God removes me from this present life -if it were by sea - I command that my body should be so kept that it could be carried ashore where our Lord should be served to let them make port, and if there should be a church, or a church were to be built, that there it should be deposited until such time as arrangements could be made to send it to Spain, to the city of Jerez near Badajoz, where it should be buried in the sepulchre where my mother is buried; and I order that in the said church of San Miguel there be bought with funds from my property a site for a chapel to be built, dedicated to our Lady of the Conception."

There follow a number of provisions about the endowment of the chapel, and its chaplaincy, with details concerning the objects to be bought, masses to be said, and the choice of patrons and chaplains. De Soto's interest in this chapel in Jerez resulted in such clauses as:

"Item: I order that the bodies of my father and mother, whether in Badajoz or elsewhere away from this chapel, shall be fetched thence and carried to this said chapel, where they shall be buried where my body has been or is to be laid to rest."

Further he endowed with dowries the orphan girls of his line, and should there be none, orphan girls, the poorest in the town of Jerez near Badajoz, with details which are repeated twice. From this will his predilection for the city of Jerez is perfectly clear.

These are all the bibliographical and documentary data in existence: One chronicler, Garcilaso, mentions the town of Barcarrota; another El Fidalgo de Elvas, mentions Jerez; the documents unanimously refer to the latter city as well as to Badajoz, and do not mention Barcarrota at all.

The conclusion is plain: The birth of Hernando de Soto in Jerez de los Caballeros is beyond doubt.¹ Because of local patriotism someone might - though unsuccessfully - speak up in defense of Badajoz. But, what cannot be said under any circumstances, is that the cradle of de Soto was Barcarrota, a locality with which the Adelantado never had the slightest connection, either by birth or descent, or did any of his family ever live there.

¹ A recently examined document in the *Archivo General de Indias* clinches the argument in favour of Jerez de los Caballeros as the birthplace of Hernando de Soto. In the *informacion* of services given by Lopez Velez at Sevilla in May of 1536, Hernando de Soto in person testifies over his signature and Rubric that he was: born in Jerez, or to quote: "natural de Xerez cerca de Badajoz."

JEAN RIBAUT'S COLONIES IN FLORIDA

by M. ADELE FRANCIS GORMAN

A STORY OFTEN told but still begging for a fuller explanation is the tale of the French settlers in sixteenth century Florida. It is possible to determine to an extent why they came, where they settled and how they fared, what happened to them, and the strong points and weak points in their organization. What is more illusive is the measure of sincerity in their undertaking. A few questions which baffle the historian arise, and there are only partial answers to some of the questions. Was the motive for colonization religious ? Did the English, especially Queen Elizabeth I, collaborate in founding and financing the expeditions? How valid were the French claims to the area of Terra Florida? Could the Spanish really justify the measures taken against the French?

France was relatively free of the impact of Luther's revolt in the early part of the sixteenth century mainly because the "reformer" was a foreigner who offered no orderly plan to the orderly French mind. The appearance of the second edition of the *Institutes of the Christian Religion* in 1539 from the pen of John Calvin appealed to the logical French and offered an organization which even the Catholic Church lacked at that time. Within twenty years, the followers of Calvin had established at least seventy churches and were holding their first national synod. French Protestantism embraced all classes of society, invading even the court of Catholic France. Henry II maintained a kind of balance until his death in 1559, which the Protestants hailed with a sigh of relief. Regent for both Francis II and Charles IX was their vacillating mother, Catherine di Medici, a *politique* to her finger tips, whose duplicity brought about open conflict between the Catholics and Protestants.

The leader of the French Huguenots was Gaspard de Coligny, Admiral of France, who convinced Henry II that colonization would develop the country's industrial resources, and, at the same

time, help ensnare part of the Spanish wealth of the New World. Under the Treaty of Vaucelles of February 5, 1556, Henry had agreed that neither his French subjects nor others at their behest would traffic, navigate, or trade in the Indies without the express permission of the Spanish king. Any violation of this treaty would mean that Philip II might consider France his enemy. In June of 1556, Pope Paul IV was struggling with Philip about the temporalities of the Church in Sicily and Naples, and the pontiff asked Henry to break the treaty. This led to a war which ended in 1559 with the Treaty of Cateau-Cambresis, which among other things restored the right of plunder to Spain. France agreed to respect Spanish rights in the New World and to penalize pirates and privateers as public enemies. Nothing explicit was stated about the Indies, and while France promised to punish pirates and privateers, she insisted upon freedom of the seas. At practically the same time, Admiral Coligny was arranging a convention of French and English privateer captains in London and was issuing letters of marque freely to those who wished to plunder Spanish shipping.

After the Treaty of Cateau-Cambresis, the French Huguenots fell from favor and were replaced by the House of Guise, the group that led the Catholic party after Henry's death. Furthermore, a marriage between Philip and the French Princess of Savoy, sister of Francis II and Charles IX, eased the strain between the two Catholic countries.

Although in John Cabot's charter the English had agreed to respect the Papal Line of Demarcation, neither France nor England in the sixteenth century regarded the Treaty of Tordesillas, marking the second demarcation, as binding. Consequently, when Coligny first suggested American colonization, the French had little difficulty deciding upon a site for the venture. The initial attempt to colonize in Brazil in 1555 proved a disastrous failure. The new venture would take the French into *La Florida* which reached, according to Spanish claim, from the Atlantic to present New Mexico and from the Gulf of Mexico to some undetermined area towards the Arctic Ocean.

Having convinced Catherine di Medici that a new settlement would relieve France of the unwanted Protestants, Coligny chose as leader Jean Ribault, an ardent Huguenot who has been de-

scribed as "the greatest corsair of them all."¹ Ribault had long been in the employ of the English where he had learned much about the arts of war and plundering.² He had returned to France from expeditions in Scotland only a short time before being drafted by Coligny for the Florida settlement. The area chosen for the colony lay along the route used by the Spanish treasure fleets. The French were also aware that Philip had decided against further colonization in Florida since so many Spanish efforts had failed.

On February 20, 1562, two small vessels sailed from Havre de Grace with 150 persons aboard. Ribault published his own account of the first trip, describing the unexpected beauty of the new country.³ As soon as the expedition had explored the lower east coast of *La Florida*, Ribault decided to return to France to make his report. When he asked for volunteers to remain in the New World at Charles Fort, the whole group of men stepped forward. He chose thirty men, according to his account, and with the others he returned to France where he found the religious wars again raging.

Working with the English, Ribault served the Huguenot cause admirably after his arrival back in Europe in July 1562.⁴ In correspondence between diplomats his name appeared frequently, suggesting that he was the person who could intervene with Elizabeth of England and who could also seek some agreement between the French king and the people of Dieppe.⁵ He loaned the English a ship when they had to retreat suddenly from the city,⁶ and he went to England himself when the Catholic forces defeated the Protestants in France. Naturally, Coligny was in no position to listen to Ribault's story of thirty men waiting for reinforcements and supplies in faraway Florida.

1. Menendez to Philip II, October 15, 1565, St. Augustine, Parkman Papers, *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings* (1894), VIII, Second Series, 438. Cited hereafter as Parkman Papers.
2. *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*, 1545, 21 vols. (London, 1907), XX, Pt. 2. Cited hereafter as *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII. Ibid.*, 1546 (1908), XXI, Pt. 1, 706, 707, 1055; *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign: 1518-1559* (London, 1963), I, 586. Cited hereafter as CSP. *Ibid.*, 1561-1526 (London, 1866), 458.
3. Jean Ribault, *The Whole True Discoverye of Terra Florida* (London, 1563).
4. CSP, *Foreign: 1562*, 544.
5. *Ibid.*, 239, 423.
6. *Ibid.*, 614.

These men left behind in *La Florida* had suffered every kind of privation, mutiny, and intrigue. In desperation they built a makeshift pinnacle of wood and caulked moss whose sails were strips of shirts and sheets held in place by vegetable cordage supplied by the Indians. Their voyage across the sea was ghastly. Their water and food supply was quickly exhausted, and they resorted to cannibalism, eating the man who lost when lots were cast. The survivors were eventually picked up by an English vessel which took most of them to England.

Chantone, Spanish ambassador to France, informed Philip that, although the French queen denied it, she knew all about the American colony. In fact, Chantone listed the names of those who had contributed money, including the queen mother, Vendome (Antoine de Bourbon), the Prince of Conde (brother of Vendome), and Madame de Cursot.⁷ A minister had accompanied Ribault, and the expedition included at least one Englishman and a Portuguese pilot.

When Philip received Chantone's report, he transmitted it to the Council of the Indies with orders to collect more information about the French settlement. The governor of Cuba dispatched a force to drive the French out, but when its leader, Don Hernando de Manrique de Rojas, arrived he found only Guillaume Rouffi, a boy of sixteen, who had stayed with the Indians rather than trust the fragile craft used by the men who had left Florida. He was taken to Cuba by the Spanish.

In Europe, meantime, the Peace of Amboise of March 1563, ended the civil war in France and made it possible for Coligny to return to court. Once more he instituted plans for a colony in Florida, but this time he could hardly stress religious motives since the treaty had ended religious strife. With Ribault in England, where he had fled when Dieppe was invaded in October 1562, by the Catholics, Coligny chose Rene de Laudionniere as leader of the new expedition.

The records show that, in December 1562, Ribault had writ-

7. Woodbury Lowery, *The Spanish Settlements within the Present Limits of the United States, Florida: 1562-1576* (New York, 1959), 31. Lowery has possibly the most complete version of the expeditions which are not given in detail in this article. Many writers have covered the story using mainly de same sources; e.g., see Sherwood Harris, "The Tragic Dream of Jean Ribaut," *American Heritage*, XIV (October 1963), 8-15, 88-90.

ten to William Cecil, Elizabeth's chief secretary of state, asking for money to pay his men and to furnish ships.⁸ Whether this money was for back pay and replacement of lost ships or if it was for future use is not clear. In any case, the English considered Ribault to be reliable and capable, one who should be returned to active service.⁹ In an interview with Elizabeth he had told her about Florida, and Bishop Alvarez de Quadra, the Spanish ambassador in London, informed Philip II, in a letter written on April 24, 1563, that Elizabeth apparently did not dislike the French.¹⁰ Two months later, Quadra noted that Thomas Stukeley, an English Catholic, was going to Florida which was three days sail from Cuba. Florida, Quadra said, was "known only to a few French."¹¹

In his audience with Elizabeth, Ribault was told that he would have to act alone. The queen offered him one half of all that he found, a pension of 500 ducats, and a house.¹² He and Stukeley were acting in partnership when suddenly Ribault left England with his pilots and ships. Ribault, according to Quadra, had repented his promises to Elizabeth and had fled for that reason. Ribault and the pilots were quickly apprehended and he was imprisoned in the Tower for nearly a year. The pilots were held until Stukeley would be ready to use them.

In France, in the meantime, preparations for the Florida expedition were continuing, and, on April 22, 1564, Laudonniere set sail with a fleet of three ships bearing 300 men and four women. He arrived at the River May (St. Johns) on the northeast coast of Florida on June 22. This colony seemed doomed from the beginning. Many of the men were more interested in seeking precious metals than in making Fort Caroline a strong settlement. Laudonniere was ill much of the time and there were several plots made against his life. Through desertions and treachery, the colony soon found itself without a ship, and Laudonniere ordered his men to build two new ones.

Winter brought new hardships including a serious food shortage. Mutineers had taken the two newly constructed vessels, and

8. *CSP, 1562*, 423.

9. *CSP, 1563* (London, 1869), 242.

10. *CSP Relating to English Affairs: 1558-1567* (London, n.d.), I, 332.

11. *Ibid.*, 335.

12. *Ibid.* Also in Woodbury Lowery, "Jean Ribault and Queen Elizabeth," *American Historical Review* (April 1904), IX, 456-59.

Laudonniere ordered a third ship built. Elated at the prospect of abandoning Fort Caroline, the colonists demolished their houses and started dismantling the fort for wood.

On August 5, 1565, Laudonniere happily noted four vessels flying English colors approaching. This was the fleet of Sir John Hawkins, the noted privateer, approaching, and he offered to take the French back to Europe. While Laudonniere refused the invitation, because he did not know how matters then stood between the French and English, he did arrange to purchase one of the English ships. He paid for it with guns and ammunition so that the English could lay no claim to the fort.¹³

The English left on August 7, and the French prepared to abandon Fort Caroline as soon as the wind and tide were right. Just as they were hoisting sail, seven ships were sighted approaching shore. Not recognizing the vessels at first, Laudonniere lined his men in battle formation on shore and waited for a small boat to land. Ribault's fleet had come quietly because rumors had reached France by way of some of the deserters that Laudonniere was acting against the crown. Ribault quickly landed, and was greeted warmly by Laudonniere to whom he handed a letter from Coligny relieving him of his command and citing the charges against him.

Ribault's expedition included 500 soldiers and artisans and seventy women. The Spanish knew about Ribault's activities, his leaving England and gathering a crew and fleet for his second trip to Florida. The Spanish ambassador to France had kept Philip well informed.

France and Spain were at peace, and Philip did not want to provoke a war with the French; particularly not over the Florida settlement. He and the Council of the Indies agreed to try to settle the matter through diplomacy while at the same time sending Pedro Menendez de Aviles to Florida to drive out the French. Menendez, at forty-seven, had proved his loyalty to his king and was willing to finance the expedition himself in order to rid the New World of Lutherans. All Protestants were "Lutherans" to the Spanish.

Menendez was ordered to drive out any who were not Span-

13. Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques & Discoveries of the English Nation*, 12 vols. (Glasgow, 1904), IX, 78-80.

ish, especially any corsairs.¹⁴ He had hoped to reach Florida before Ribault, but storms delayed him. Even though Ribault had cruised slowly along the Florida coast, he arrived a few days before Menendez landed at St. Augustine.

Four of Ribault's ships were too large to enter the river, and it was these that were first sighted by Menendez, who asked whether they were French and part of Ribault's force. Demanding to know whether those aboard were Catholic or Lutheran, he announced that he would rid Florida of Lutherans by order of his king. Menendez likely would have attacked immediately but his cable fouled, and the French moved out to sea.

The French believed that the Spanish would attack Fort Caroline from the river and probably soon, since the storm season would shortly set in. Left in charge of the partially demolished fort, Laudonniere ordered it repaired as quickly as possible. No one took too seriously, however, the need to repair every breach in the fort because no one believed there would be a land attack. Meanwhile, Ribault, waiting for the return of the Spanish, took 400 soldiers and 200 sailors and most of the ammunition and put out to sea.

A severe hurricane struck the Florida east coast, and Ribault's fleet was scattered before he could carry out his plan to attack St. Augustine. The defenders of Fort Caroline relaxed a little during the worst of the storm, believing that no one could possibly threaten them in such weather. But the French underestimated the Spanish, and Menendez led a force of 500 soldiers overland to attack the fort.

His battalion found the fort unguarded and, within an hour, 132 men were dead and the Spanish flag was flying over the bastion. Women and children under fifteen were saved because Menendez feared that God would chastise him if he dealt cruelly with them.¹⁵ He mentioned that eight or ten of the babies had been born at the fort. Menendez captured six drummers and trumpeters and fifty women.

Outside the fort, anchored in the stream, were two ships, one, the *Pearl*, was captained by Jacques Ribault, son of the com-

14. Francis Parkman, "Pedro Menendez de Aviles," *Dictionary of American Biography*, 22 vols. (New York, 1933), XII, 533, citing Jeanette T. Connor, *Pedro Menendez de Aviles*, 261.

15. Menendez to Philip II, Parkman Papers, 427.

mander. Menendez sent an envoy to Ribault asking for his surrender on the promise that he would be allowed to return to France with the women and children. Jacques Ribault refused to surrender, and the Spanish, using cannon from the captured fort, fired on the two ships, sinking one. Ribault rescued the men from that vessel and went down stream to meet the larger ships anchored there. A council of war was held, and the final decision was that they sink the smaller boats and return immediately to France. Two ships set sail on September 25 with all the exhausted, half-naked fugitives they had picked out of the woods and all the supplies they could carry. Jacques Ribault's vessel made it directly to France where he was severely criticized for not having fired a shot. The other ship bearing Laudonniere, who had fled through the woods in Florida, arrived in England because it had been blown off course by bad weather.

After five days, the Spanish at St. Augustine became uneasy when Menendez had not returned. The small group at St. Augustine heard of a French vessel stuck on the rocks, and the Spanish found it and floated it, returning with it to St. Augustine. Later Menendez returned with sixty of his retainers to report the successful capture of Fort Caroline. Then an Indian reported Frenchmen stranded on an inlet. Going to the spot, Menendez found 250 men waiting for some sort of transportation to Fort Caroline. After proving to them that the Spanish had taken the fort, Menendez said he could offer no ship to the French Lutherans. When the unhappy French asked if he would spare their lives, he answered, "Surrender your arms and place yourselves at my mercy, that I may do as Our Lord may command me."¹⁶

The Lord did not command Menedez differently. As the starving French were brought in groups of ten to Menendez, they were promptly massacred. Only sixteen of the first group found in the inlet were spared—twelve Breton seamen who said they were Catholics and claimed that they had been kidnapped, and four caulkers and carpenters whose services Menendez needed. A second band of Frenchmen, some 200 with Jean Ribault, had been driven ashore by the hurricane. According to reports reaching Menendez in St. Augustine, they had lost their provisions in the storm and were living on roots and grass and impure

16. *Ibid.*, 438-39.

water. Using the same tactics as he had earlier, Menendez dispatched a force which captured the French and killed them. Ribault was murdered by Menendez' brother-in-law, Solis de Meras, and an officer named San Vicente. Sixteen Catholics were spared, including the drummers and fifers and four German youths. The Spanish leader thought himself fortunate to have rid the world of Jean Ribault because "he would do more in one year than any other in ten."¹⁷ French refugees later captured by the Spanish were saved; the inhabitants at St. Augustine had had a surfeit of killing.

News of the fall of Fort Caroline arrived in France with Jacques Ribault. Information of the massacres came by a sailor who had been left on the beach as dead by the Spanish, but who had eventually returned to France. The queen mother was incensed, but the interests of France were so involved with those of Spain that there was little that could be done. Catherine complained to Philip and pressed him to punish Menendez, but she was really helpless to avenge the massacre of her subjects. Spanish Ambassador Francisco de Alava listed five reasons why Menendez was justified in putting the French to death: there was not enough food for both French and Spanish in Florida; the French were not regular soldiers, therefore they met pirates' deaths; they were preaching evil doctrines to the natives; they outnumbered the Spanish, therefore, it was a matter of survival; and, there were not enough ships to send them home. The ambassador also complained that Coligny was wrong in encouraging the French to colonize in Florida; the area was too important a locality to the navigation of Spanish vessels to permit foreigners there. Matters remained chaotic between the French and Spanish for some time.

Fort Caroline should have succeeded. Ribault and Laudonniere were able leaders and both were fine seamen. In Florida they found an abundance of food and water and the Indians were friendly. The Laudonniere voyage in 1564 and Ribault's the following year were strides in the right direction, at first including women, then whole families, in addition to artisans. The failure of the colonists to plan for the future and to keep their minds on improving the colony instead of seeking gold doomed the expedi-

17. *Ibid.*, 438.

tions, Ribault in 1565 had only a short while to rebuild Fort Caroline before Menendez arrived.

When potentially successful ventures fail, the question of motive arises. That piracy was involved was rather clear; the French had been making incursions into Spanish shipping since 1504. Ten years before the massacres in Florida, Jacques de Soria had sacked and burned Havana, killing fifty-four in cold blood. Elizabeth of England had made many promises to Ribault to encourage him to go to Florida, promising him half of what he would take. Undoubtedly, she expected him "to take" some of the treasure from the Spanish galleons. When Thomas Stukeley sailed toward Florida, while Ribault was still in the Tower, the Spaniards must have captured part of the English fleet. A Spaniard, Cuerton, wrote: "All the country cry out upon the English men-of-war, for they have done great hurt to Spaniards." Some of the captured vessels were French carrying Spanish goods worth 49,000 ducats.¹⁸

Religious motives are not too difficult to ascertain. Ribault is consistently described as an ardent Huguenot as well as a loyal and patriotic citizen of Dieppe. He had supported the Protestant cause during the religious wars in France and had been an able ally of Anglican England. A Protestant minister accompanied him on his first trip to Florida in 1562, and there were several with him on the 1565 expedition. The name of the first minister did not appear in the list of those returning with Ribault; he may have remained in Florida to work among the Indians. Coligny rebuked Laudonniere for not taking a clergyman with him, but the colonial leader made certain that prayers were always conducted.

To a Spanish spy, historians are indebted for the knowledge that Ribault took on the second trip "todos luteranos, y por no olvidar su mala secta, llevan 7 o ocho ministros."¹⁹ There can be little doubt that the religious motive was an integral part of Ribault's expeditions, even though it might not have been the primary cause. That Menendez considered the religious aspect of utmost importance is seen when he wrote:

These Frenchmen had many Indians for friends who have shown such feeling for their loss; and especially for two or

18. *CSP*, 1563, 619.

19. Antonine Tibesar (ed.), "A Spy's Report on the Expedition of Jean Ribault to Florida, 1565," *Americas* (April 1955) XI, 590.

three Masters of their bad sect, who were teaching the caciques and Indians, who followed round after them as the Apostles followed Our Lord, so that it is a wonderful thing to see how these Lutherans have bewitched this poor savage people. I shall do everything possible to gain the good will of these Indians.²⁰

Since Menendez had made his main reason for going to Florida the expulsion of the Protestants, he would naturally highlight his letters with the theme.

Throughout the story of this unhappy undertaking there runs the suggestion of possible English collaboration. Ribault had served the English under Henry VIII,²¹ and while fighting against the Scots in 1546, he kept the French informed of English progress.²² At the time, France was aiding the Scots, and when French spies were captured and sentenced to death, clemency was asked for Ribault.²³ He remained in English service until after the death of Henry II of France when the regency began. According to both English and Spanish state papers, Elizabeth kept herself informed of Ribault's actions rather constantly.

A second indication that France and England were closely connected was found in Coligny's formation of the corsairs' union. In a day when spying was a finished art, it would have been impossible for him to make progress with this project without Elizabeth's knowledge. It is this kind of chicanery which lends itself to suggestion but offers little proof to the reader. At the same time, from documents which are available, one infers that Coligny acted with questionable loyalty when his country was at war with the English.²⁴ On the other hand, at times when the Huguenots were in favor, both Coligny and Ribault were seen at the French court. Still further, when Sir John Hawkins arrived at Fort Caroline, the French were overjoyed to see him, giving the impression that relations between English and French raiders were somewhat cordial.

One chain of events involving Thomas Stukeley seems to

20. Menendez to Philip II, Parkman Papers, 427.

21. *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, 1546* (London, 1908), 268, 274.

22. A. F. Pollard (ed.), *Tudor Tracts 1532-1558* (New York, 1903), xix.

23. *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, 1546*, 434

24. *CSP, Rome, 1558-1571* (London, 1916), 123, 131, 142, 143.

point rather definitely to English participation in Ribault's second trip to Florida. Ribault had been imprisoned in June 1563, and he was released from the Tower in the spring of 1564, shortly after Laudonniere had started for Florida.²⁵ Apparently Stukeley had already made one trip to Florida, as Bishop Quadra had noted in 1563, and was anticipating another. A letter from Seville noted that the queen had delivered some ships to Mr. Stukeley and that he was on his way to Florida.²⁶ Elizabeth had told Stukeley that Florida was very rich. "Ribault assured her that Florida was a rich and important country," wrote Guzman de Silva, Spain's ambassador to England, in October 1565, "and since he has ships and means he could undertake the voyage thither, although she would not help him with money, or in any other way for the present."²⁷

Two questions arise: where did Stukeley get the ships? and who was providing the means? It would seem that he secured both the vessels and the means from Coligny as part of the plan to colonize Florida. It must be remembered that four of Stukeley's French vessels had been captured by the Spanish while Ribault was in prison, and at least one of these ships must have been Ribault's.²⁸ In giving ships to Ribault, Admiral Coligny had the backing of the queen mother who based her claim to Florida on a map seen thirty years earlier by Fourquevaulx, French foreign minister and ambassador to Spain.²⁹ Consequently, since this was evidently a French undertaking, Elizabeth's continued interest might indicate that she had a share in the venture.

Some writers have tried to assume that the French king was ignorant of the colonization plans of Coligny and Catherine de Medici. The queen made it clear that so large a number of sub-

25. *CSP, Foreign, 1564-1565* (London, 1870), VII, 155.

26. *Ibid.*, 192; *CSP Relating to English Affairs*, 644.

27. *Ibid.*

28. *Supra*, 55.

29. H. de la Ferriere and G. Bogueuault de le Puchesse (eds.), *Lettres de Catherine De Medici*, 10 vols. (Paris, 1885), II, 337n. Much of the claim refers to the Cote des Bretons shown in Justian Winsor (ed.), *Narrative and Critical History of America*, 8 vols. (Boston, 1884), IV, Verrazano's map (1529), 37; Ribero's (1529), 38; Maiollo Map (1527), 39; Baptista Agnese, Terra de los bertoms extends from 45 to 60 degrees; Munster's of 1545 puts Florida at 30 to 55 degrees.

jects could not leave the country without her son's knowledge.³⁰ According to the Spanish spy's account, the number of subjects was between 700 and 1,000. The king had given their leader Ribault the title lieutenant general in Florida for two years and to Jacques Ribault, Jean's son, went the title lieutenant.³¹ When Philip of Spain questioned the right of the French to intrude upon his territory, Catherine wrote to Fourquevaulx that she thought commerce on the seas was free among friends, and since the sea is closed to no one, all should be able to come and go in good faith.³² The queen mother did not approve, at least on paper, of any actions which jeopardized the friendship of the two countries because she had promised Philip, through her daughter the queen of Spain, that France had no desire to harm Spanish holdings.³³

When reading such statements by Catherine, one must be cautious because, like Elizabeth, she was not likely to let the left hand know what the right was doing. While it was said that "there is misliking of the French King's answer concerning the taking of Terra Florida, which is that Villegaignon [*sic*] is a rebel and pirate, and against his will is there; yet the French King does not stay ten ships in Normandy which are preparing for that place."³⁴ Furthermore, Catherine refused to disavow and to punish the promoters of the expeditions.³⁵

If the French were trespassing in Florida, their removal by Menendez would be justified. While it is not the duty of the historian to determine the morality of acts, in this case there are facts which nullify what Ambassador Alava called the necessity of Menendez's brutality. For the Spanish there was food sufficient to last, with rationing, until January 1566, and Menendez had already sent to Spain for more supplies. In addition, the rich supplies brought by Ribault to Fort Caroline were still in the fort until after the first massacre when Menendez ordered the burning of the fort. That Menendez thought the French to be pirates

30. *Lettres de Catherine De Medici*, II, 354.

31. Tibesar, "A Spy's Report," 590, 591.

32. *Lettres de Catherine De Medici*, II, 342.

33. *Ibid.*, 332.

34. *CSP*, 1564-1565, VII, 364.

35. J. H. Mariejol, *La Reforme et la ligue L'edit de Nantes*, Tome VI, Partie I, of Ernest Lavisse (ed.), *Histoire de France Illustre's depuis les Origines jusqu'a la Revolution*, 9 vols. (Paris, 1911), 92.

cannot be denied; and, of course, pirates could claim no protection under any flag. The presence of ministers also seemed to verify Menendez's belief that the intruders were preaching evil doctrines.

The minimum number of French saved from Fort Caroline and from shipwrecks south of St. Augustine was 500, including about 440 men. Menendez gave the number for those who traveled with him from Spain to St. Augustine as 800. Of these, 500 were soldiers, 300 of whom were at San Mateo (the new name for Fort Caroline), and 200 were sailors who had remained with the fleet. Therefore, he had approximately 200 men to care for twice as many French captives. Finally, Menendez claimed that he had not enough ships to send all the French prisoners back to their country. Two of the Spanish ships had already returned to Europe for more supplies, and two had gone to San Mateo to take the French women and children to Santo Domingo. None of the French ships had been captured. Reducing the number of captives by the number at San Mateo, and placing a full load of French on the one French ship would have diminished the unevenness in ratio of French to Spanish.³⁶

The sources for this story are eyewitness accounts of French and Spanish survivors, Ribault's written summary of the first expedition, Richard Hakluyt's version of early discoveries, and state papers and related documents. It is almost impossible to find an unbiased recounting by eyewitnesses; one can only try to adhere to a middle course. Both Ribault and Hakluyt were making observations, and neither discussed the massacres. A study of the state papers from the various embassies and other sources uncovers a number of discrepancies which might easily alter what appear to be valid conclusions.

One error which crept frequently into the correspondence of the time was the identification of Villegagnon with either Ribault or Laudonniere. Apparently it was Ribault to whom the writer referred when he called Villegagnon a rebel who was preparing ten ships to leave from Normandy to Florida.³⁷ When William Phayre wrote to William Cecil, Elizabeth's secretary of state, that Menendez was going to Florida, he said it was "to rid

36. Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, II, 429-31.

37. *CSP, 1564-1565*, VII, 364.

Florida of Villegaignon [*sic*]." ³⁸ A report as early as June 30, 1565, stated that it was rumored that "Villegaignon [*sic*] has been eaten in Florida." ³⁹ This, of course, could have referred either to Ribault or to Laudonniere. In July of 1565, Phayre told Cecil, "Villegaignon [*sic*] has finished his fort in Florida and has been joined by John Ribault [*sic*]." ⁴⁰ As late as 1630 reference was made to "Port Royal and the whole of Canada. . . . Colonies planted by M. M. Villegaignon [*sic*] and Rene Laudonniere, from which they were expelled by the Spaniards." ⁴¹

From the diplomatic mails it would seem that Ribault had made two separate agreements with Elizabeth of England. When he apparently changed his mind about the first offer in 1563, a certain Smith wrote to William Cecil, "The French can quickly dispense themselves with their oaths." Smith was sorry "that John Ribaude [*sic*] should at the last declare himself so much 'oversent'; but the French will always be French." ⁴² This would seem to refer to the promises Ribault had made in exchange for the house, money, and booty Elizabeth had offered him. ⁴³ Two years later, Silva mentioned that Ribault and Elizabeth had come to an agreement about the disposition of the wealth found in Florida, mentioning only that Ribault was to have half of what he could take. ⁴⁴

In the same letter to Philip of Spain, Silva reported that Elizabeth wanted to be able to swear that she had nothing to do with the French expedition to Florida. Quadra had made a similar observation. On March 38, 1566, it was reported that Elizabeth congratulated Philip on his conquest of Florida, adding that she had herself thought of conquering it and that she apologized for even harboring the thought. Then with wily innocence, she mentioned that she thought the French had conquered Florida. ⁴⁵ The next year, she is reported to have contradicted herself by

38. *Ibid.*, 380.

39. *Ibid.*, 399.

40. *Ibid.*, 418.

41. *CSP Colonial Series, 1574-1660* (London, 1860), 119.

42. *CSP, 1563*, 440.

43. *Supra*, 57.

44. *Supra*, 61-2.

45. *CSP Relating to English Affairs*, 536.

telling Philip that she did not know that Spain had discovered and taken Florida.⁴⁶ Such was the mind of a cunning woman.

Spying was a polished art in the Europe of Philip, Catherine, and Elizabeth. What went on in any large capital was known throughout Europe via diplomatic courier almost immediately. Naturally, the collection and dissemination of information gave rise to rumors, grounded and ungrounded, but consistent reports turning up in Rome, Milan, Madrid, Paris, London, and other centers help to verify facts. Consequently, it is possible to arrive at partial answers to the questions posed at the beginning of this article. One of the motives prompting Ribault to make the trips to Florida was religious, to some extent. It seems more likely than not that the English, especially Elizabeth, had a share, or hoped to have a share, in the profits of the undertakings. As for the French claim to Florida - since both France and Spain claimed all the land from the Atlantic to the Gulf and north to some undetermined point, both claims were rather nebulous. By reasons of more exploration, possibly Spain could lay a firmer claim than France. In that case, Menendez was justified in trying to oust the intruders, but he did not seem thoroughly convinced that the French were all pirates. Hence, he was not justified in putting so many to death without separating the pirates from the innocent. And Menendez's other reasons for massacring so many French, as outlined by Alava, were easily refuted.

46. Lowery, "Ribaut and Elizabeth," 458.

THE MAN WHO WAS PEDRO MENENDEZ

by ALBERT MANUCY

Four sixteenth century sources are the basis for most of the knowledge that we have about Pedro Menendez de Aviles.¹ They include archival manuscripts, biographies by two of his contemporaries, and a priest's journal of the voyage to Florida. Titian painted him by order of Philip II, and the portrait engraving so often reproduced is based on the painting. He is not a handsome man; his head is small, held quite erect; dark hair, half curly despite a rather close cut, frames a high, round forehead. The beard is also trimmed short. His nose is overlong and the mouth too small; between widespread dark eyes are habitual creases, and the eyes under the straight brows look at you directly. His build is compact and muscular. He was a man of action and good to be with, the records indicate; for though he had a ready tongue, he would also listen. The record also says he was a great friend of his own opinion.

There is a story about Menendez which, despite obvious apocryphal qualities, is not improbable, and it epitomizes certain traits of character: He was the young captain of a coast guard vessel. One pleasant morning off the coast of Galicia, he and his crew of fifty watched a trio of freighters making slow passage to the next port. On the hindmost vessel was a bridal party, happily escorting a young woman to her betrothed. Suddenly out of nowhere came four French corsairs—a ship and three swift *zabras*, which overtook and captured the bride's crowded transport.

Menendez and his men bore down on the action with drum-

1. This paper is based mainly upon the two-volume sourcebook comprising the contemporary Solis de Meras manuscript and numerous other documents and letters, collected by Eugenio Ruidiaz y Caravia under the title *La Florida, su conquista y colonizacion por Pedro Menendez de Aviles*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1893). In order to animate the characterization of Menendez, I have occasionally "quoted" his utterances in free translation, sometimes with ellipsis to sharpen the point. In such cases, the Spanish text is supplied as a footnote for comparison.

beating, fife shrilling, and pennants hoisted aloft. "Yield this prize," he shouted to the pirates, "else I will hang you all!"²

Of course they laughed, and two of the *zabras* moved to grapple with the Spaniards. Menendez ran, the *zabras* in pursuit, until his pursuers were widely separated from each other. Then, he turned fiercely upon the foremost and took her. Next Menendez put half his fighting men aboard this captive, and used both her and his own vessel to capture the second *zabra*. The crew of the third, still guarding the bride, saw him coming back, and realized he intended to carry out his threat of the hangman. In quick council they decided to yield the prize and leave, which they did.

The chivalrous courage shining forth in this little tale was something to be expected in a Spaniard of the sixteenth century. For the Spanish heritage was a heritage of bravery, displayed often during 800 years of holy warfare. Now Spain was fired anew by the challenge of discovery and conquest of a New World, with boundless opportunity for brave deeds in serving God and the king, and for fabulous rewards to boot. As for Menendez, physical courage highlights his entire career. Storming the tower at Dartmouth harbor; striding boldly into the midst of an Indian horde; these and many other acts document his courage. This is personal bravery, bred from self-knowledge, married to faith in one's destiny, consummated in physical action. At times it borders upon bravado, bolstered either by pride or by the need to impress an enemy, or a potential friend. Most generally, however, it is tempered by common sense.

The 1566 exploration of the St. Johns River reveals this common-sense variety of valor in action. The expedition consisted of 100 men in three *bergantines*. These were small, fast galleys, well suited for probing the rivers and inlets of an unfamiliar coast. The penetration was fairly successful until they reached the lands of the Cacique Macoya, about fifty leagues upstream. Though the day was growing late, Menendez was determined to push on. For a league farther they rowed, the river becoming more and more narrow. Along the shore they could see armed warriors. Ahead, the river banks came together at a narrow pass, which was obstructed

2. "[Menendez] les dixo que dexasen la presa que llevaban; si no, que a todos los ahorcaria. . . ." Meras manuscript, Ruidiaz, *La Florida*, v. I, 3.

by a row of stakes. The current, up to now barely noticeable, became stronger.

The rowers reached the line of stakes and broke through. The men strained at the sweeps and the craft inched ahead against the hurrying water. Now the river was so narrow that two pikes would reach across. The oarsmen were perfect targets for Indian bowmen.

Two warriors showed themselves on the bank. They brought an ultimatum: "Cacique Macoya tells you to go no farther. You must turn back. If not, we begin war with you."

It was a moment of extreme peril. If they continued, the deadly arrow flights were certain. If they retreated, the Indians would believe they were afraid and might attack anyway. Assuming a nonchalance he did not really feel, Menendez spoke to the interpreter: "Tell them they can start war whenever they wish. While I did not come here to harm them, *I must go up this river*. Yet say also that now it is night, and I will stay here until morning."³

Perhaps the boldness of the reply saved the white men. The vessels anchored. Night descended and there was no attack. It began to rain, and the arquebusiers cursed as the wetness got to the matchcords and powder and rendered their guns useless. But now that the rain had neutralized the weapons, there was no dishonor in retreat. Menendez ordered a quiet withdrawal. Under cover of darkness the rowers found the break in the line of stakes, and the *bergantines* slipped through it. Providential rainfall had saved the pride and saved the hides of men on both sides.

Personal bravery is one thing; moral courage may be quite another. Menendez, it is said, was an honest man, but honesty is a commodity that is not always easy to prove. Menendez' biographers present an excellent case, simply by pointing out that he died poor. Charges preferred against him by the bureaucrats of the *Casa de Contratacion*, to whom he was responsible as captain general of the treasure fleet, were merely vengeful attempts (say his advocates) to repay him for his too-honest methods of doing business.

Once, during a fleet inspection by officers of the *Casa*, Menendez noticed that their boat flag was of crimson damask and bore

3. "Dixeronte [Menendez] de parte del cacique Macoya que no pasase adelante e se volviese; si no, que le empezarian a hacer la guerra. Respondioles el Adelantado que el no iba a hacerles mal, e que viniesen a hacer la guerra cuando quisiesen; que tenia necesidad de pasar por aquel rio adelante, e por ser noche, queria quedar alli hasta la mañana . . ." *Ibid.*, I, 253.

the royal arms. This banner was only for the king - or by special privilege, for the captain general. Menendez quietly hauled it down and stowed it away. The men from the *Casa* were furious and when the opportunity came, years later, they threw him into prison, and charged him with exceeding orders, breaking rules, and permissive smuggling. As if Menendez could close his eyes to smugglers! "He who serves God and he King must not lose even one short hour," he had once informed a merchant who had proffered a fat bribe to hold up sailing time.⁴

The other accusations, breaking rules and exceeding orders, are more credible. His intelligent inconsistency in following orders, though demonstrated many times, was never understood by Menendez' enemies. Yet the explanation was simple: he chose whatever course of action seemed in the best interest of his king and country. Thus, on one assignment he shocked conventional captains by taking a quartet of freighters through corsair-infested French waters without waiting for armed convoy. The wind was right for him and wrong for the French; he saw no reason to wait. But another time he followed orders to the letter. He was assigned to meet a convoy coming through the English Channel. Rather than chance missing them, he stayed at sea through a terrific storm while more prudent men ran for port.

It took moral courage to make the decisions which exterminated over 300 Frenchmen in Florida. Menendez permitted the carnage after the surprise of Ribault's castaways-men who had surrendered hoping for mercy. On the basis of those decisions, he has been often condemned as a hard and unfeeling fanatic. Yet, for his day and time, the course he chose was possibly the only one. It was a harsh age. True, a few of his own people thought him cruel, but others praised him as a good captain. In the mind of Philip II, there was no question. "We believe you have done this with full justification and prudence," he wrote, "and hold ourselves well served thereby."⁵

Naturally the French court professed outrage, choosing to overlook Ribault's strike at St. Augustine, a maneuver which had

4. [Menendez] diciendo publicamente que no saua nadie lo que era perder vna ora de tiempo y seruir a Dios y a su Rey. . . ." Testimony of Graviel Justiano, *ibid.*, II, 621.

5. Philip wrote: "creemos que lo habreis echo con toda justificacion y prudencia, y Nos tenemos dello por muy servido." Crown to Menendez, May 12, 1566, *ibid.*, II, 363.

almost reversed the roles of Frenchman and Spaniard. France was, of course, Spain's traditional rival. French corsairs had taught Menendez how to fight on the sea, using bitter experience as the textbook. He came to surpass his teachers, and in those early years made his living by hunting the sea ruffians and smugglers. There was no closed season on them, and the crown supplied the hunting license. The license was valid in Florida, too. Philip had said: *If there be settlers or corsairs of other nations not subject to us, drive them out the best way you can.*⁶ The military objective was to destroy French capability in Florida. Since the storm had deprived the French of transportation, the only way to drive them out of Florida was to send them into eternity.

The morality of fanaticism was not a major influence in the decision Menendez made. The French Protestants were killed not for their religion, but because they were an overwhelming physical threat, not alone to Menendez and the settlers at St. Augustine, but to Spain's commerce and sovereignty. True, the captives at Matanzas were given a chance to disavow their "new religion." But this was hardly more than a gesture, made at the behest of the Spanish chaplain. The women and children at Fort Caroline had been spared without regard to their religion, as were also the men at the wreck of Ribault's *Trinite*. Menendez took them in, despite the risk of spiritual contamination to his own people - a risk that, as a sort of public welfare officer, he was bound to abhor.

On the other hand, he showed deep concern for the spiritual welfare of those around him. Such concern was no mere matter of lip service to the Church. Neither was it a burning fanaticism which sought the death of all infidels and heretics. It was (as best we can judge) a simple, direct faith in God; and with it, certainty that Menendez was God's instrument. This faith, alive and strong, was a tremendous factor in Menendez' plans and decisions and actions. In his master plan for the settlement and development of Florida, pastoral care was of course provided for the colonists and soldiers, and it was deemed no less needful to take Christianity to others.

6. The contract with Menendez read: "si ay en la dicha costa o tierra algunos pobladores cossarios o otras qualesquier naciones no sujetos a Nos . . . procurareis de los hechar por las mejores vias que pudieredes . . ." Agreement with Menendez for conquest and colonization of Florida, *ibid.*, II, 417.

This was a responsibility Menendez accepted - nay, welcomed - not in lukewarm fashion, but as a personal matter to be handled with zeal. For instance: he set out for Havana to deliver some of the French captives. A gale almost foundered them, and when at last they set foot ashore, the whole company knelt in prayers of thanksgiving.

Menendez brought the French Protestants together, repeated his pledge to send them back to France, and then exhorted them to return to the Catholic faith. "I say this to you," he told them earnestly, "because I want your souls to be saved."⁷ His words caused some to weep and to beat their breasts, the records indicate; others held steadfastly to their Huguenot doctrine.

Again, we find him discoursing with the Calusa Indians at some length on Christian belief. He told them about God, whom all creatures must worship and obey, and of heaven and the joyful life therein. He also described a warlike, unprincipled cacique called the Devil and of his abode, with its extremes of heat and cold, where the disobedient endured eternal torment. The Indian cacique seemed rather to enjoy his harangue. "I have noticed," he said, "from your customs, music, and victuals, that your precepts are better than mine, and I wish to embrace them myself."⁸

This was a scene repeated many times. Menendez believed that relations with the Indians must be founded upon the principle of a militant Church bringing the Gospel to people who, without it, were condemned. In his view, communication between Christian and potential Christian had to be kept open, regardless of obstacles. Being sure that man is God's agent for the spread of the Faith, he could accept the Princess Antonia in an Indian marriage, despite his existing marriage to Ana Maria de Solis, because the arrangement promised eventually to save many Indian souls. He agreed to the marriage, believing at the same time he must endure punishment for this sin; yet if in God's plan one man's suffering in eternity was necessary for the salvation of so many, then he was willing to be that man.⁹

7. "[Menendez] aquello les decia por desear que se salvarsen." Meras manuscript, *ibid.*, I, 138.

8. "[Carlos] respondio que por que habia conocido en el modo de los espanoles, en su musica y en sus manjares, ser mejor su ley, la queria abrazar. . . ." *Ibid.*, I, 165.

9. This very Spanish (and therefore credible) view was set forth by James Branch Cabell in *The First Gentleman of America* (New York, 1942).

In contrast to his harsh judgment upon the French at Fort Caroline, these things suggest Menendez' warm regard for humanity, which is a common mark of leadership. The strong leadership qualities which evidenced throughout his life were based to a surprising degree on action-physical action. Consider the vast distances of the sixteenth century, and his mobility is amazing. With such celerity does he move from place to place that it is difficult to keep the narrative straight. There was not, however, any confusion in his mind; his travels invariably had purpose.

In that age of derring-do, when a show of courage was to be expected from one's leader, Menendez went far beyond this to set high standards of physical prowess and stamina. His exhausting four-day march through the storm to Fort Caroline at the head of his men, and his readiness to return to St. Augustine the day after the victory, is an example. Another is the pace he set for his comrades on the long trek to the Ays country. They would start at two in the morning and walk until daylight, rest two hours, walk until eleven, rest two more hours, then walk until sunset, covering about twenty-five miles a day. As usual, Menendez headed the troop. When beaches narrowed and the sand deepened, the column stretched longer and longer. Two of the young men, it was said, died of exhaustion rather than confess they could not keep up with their forty-six-year-old leader. A day's rations were a half-pound of hardtack and water where you could find it. During the rest periods, men foraged through dunes and brush, harvesting the heart-leaves of the cabbage palm and searching for anything else that was edible. (How strange, at the end of the long journey, to be greeted by a kiss upon the lips from an Indian cacique!)

Crossing the Florida Straits to Havana in an open boat, Menendez demonstrated prowess of still another sort. A gale wind made up huge following seas that raced from poop to prow and threatened every moment to swamp them. If the craft yawed, she would be buried under tons of water from the next roller. It took an expert steersman to keep her stern to the wind, and none of the crewmen had the skill for it. Menendez shouldered aside the frightened man at the tiller and stayed at the post all night. Toward morning he called over one of the French prisoners-a man with the manner of a born sailor-and let him prove himself. Between the two of them, they outlasted the gale.

In general, he was a good judge of men. The records make it

clear that dozens of stalwarts gave him their fealty and stood ready to die in his service. Others were less than loyal, in spite of his best efforts to win them. An example is the Florida mutiny of 1566. Menendez, having returned from Havana to St. Augustine, learned that a shipload of deserters was about to sail from the St. Johns River. At once he sent a conciliatory note: "If I had been with you we would have left this country before now. I don't blame you for deciding to leave when you had no food. However, now there is plenty, and it would be treasonous to abandon the King's forts."¹⁰ Thirty-five of the rebels decided to go back, but the others argued that they did not know how to plow, and Florida was good for nothing else. They stripped the thirty-five and set them ashore. Indian arrows killed the poor naked creatures before they could reach the fort.

Mutiny was a fact of life amid the grinding hardships and hazards of the frontier. Menendez was realistic about it. "We do not know these new captains and their men very well," he said to his lieutenant. "Since so many of them refused to obey orders, it's necessary to overlook what can't be helped. We are faced with doing what *can* be done, rather than what *should* be done."¹¹

People, unable to perceive the vision of their leader, were his great failures. But people were also his triumph. "You've shown good judgment," or "You acted like a good captain," he would say, and it was an accolade eagerly received.¹² There were those who followed him unto death, kinsmen and friends such as Juan Menendez and Martin Ochoa. Menendez felt the losses keenly. Yet a leader must look forward, not back. "I am very sorry," he said. "But in this work, death and hardship and danger cannot be avoided. May God forgive these brave soldiers."¹³

10. Menendez wrote: "si con ellos estuviera, se hubiera antes salido de la tierra . . . e que ninguna culpa les daba en haberse amotinado para se salir de la tierra, cuando no tenian comida; mas entonces que habia harta, que era gran traicion la que harian a S. M., desamparandole sus dos fuertes. . . ." Meras manuscript, Ruidiaz. La *Florida*, I, 179.

11. "[Menendez] dixole que, pues no noscician aquellos capitanes ni soldados, e que muchos dellos venian desobedientes, que era menester pasar por cosas, e hacer lo que pudiesen, e no lo que quidiesen. . . ." *Ibid.*, 264.

12. "[Menendez] agradecio mucho al Maestre de Campo lo bien con que se habia gobernado e que lo habia hecho como muy buen capitán . . ." *Ibid.*, 243.

13. "En semejantes empresas no se pueden excusar estas muertes, trabaxos e peligros: Nuestro Señor los perdone, que cierto mucho lo siento." *Ibid.*, 239-40.

Menendez letters demonstrate his talent to express thoughts clearly and well. Perhaps, since they were dictated to a secretary, they also give a hint of the way he talked. Despite the interminable sentences common to prose writing of the period, this excerpt from his report of September 11, 1565, is a straightforward account, with complete mastery of detail: "We sailed along the coast, looking for the French harbor, as far as the 29th degree (for such was the story I had, that the Frenchmen were between the 28th and 29th degrees). Not finding them, we went on as far as 29¹/₂ degrees; and then, seeing fires on the coast, on September 2, I sent a captain ashore with 20 soldiers to try to talk with the Indians, so they might give us news of this harbor. And so this captain came up with them and spoke to them; and by signs they told him the harbor was farther on, in higher latitude, towards the north. Since he returned the same day with this answer, I decided to go ashore myself the next morning to see these Indians (for they seemed a noble race), and I took some things to barter. They were well pleased with me, assuring me that the harbor was farther on; and so we went to seek it. . . ." ¹⁴

Menendez was a persuasive leader. In the black hour just before dawn, near the end of the long march on Fort Caroline, he told his captains, "All this night I have prayed for favor and for guidance in what we must do. I believe you have done the same. We have no food nor ammunition. Our men are dog-tired and discouraged. What shall we do?" Some spoke what was in the minds of the most: Why talk about anything except going back to St. Augustine? "Yes," said Menendez, "but for the love of God listen to my plan. Up to now you have followed my advice. Now I want to follow yours."

14. Menendez wrote: "fuymos navegando al luengo de la costa, buscando este Puerto, hasta los veintinueve grados, que era la relacion que tenia, que los franceses estavan de veintiocho para veintinueve grados; y no los hallando, corrimos hasta los veintinueve grados y medio, y abiendo visto fuegos en tierra de la costa de la mar a dos de Septiembre, mande a un Capitan saltar en tierra con veynte soldados a procurar tomar lengua de los yndios para que nos diesen noticia deste puerto; y ansi el Capitan que fue se junto con ellos y les hablo, y por senas le dixeron que el puerto estava adelante en mas altura a la parte del Norte; y abiendo buuelto el mismo dia con esta respuesta, acorde, otro dia de manana, de yr en tierra a verme con estos yndios porque parecia ser gente noble, y lleveles algunas cosas de rescate. Holgaronse mucho conmigo, y certifique me dellos estar el puerto adelante; y ansi lo fuymos a buscar. . . ." Menendez to the Crown, Sept. 11, 1565, *ibid.*, II, 75-76.

He started with a question: "And are you sure these woods are close to the French fort?" "Certainly," they assured him. "Well then," said he, "it seems to me we ought to go and try our luck, the way we agreed on it. Even if we can't take the fort, we can send the trumpeter to demand surrender. For this we don't need dry powder. And what if the French learn you've gone without paying them a visit? They'll call us cowards!"¹⁵ Of course the Spaniards decided to go on; and an hour later Menendez found the words for the battle cry that sent these bone-weary men plunging into an irresistible attack on the fort.

In great measure, leadership consists of that collection of intangibles called personality. Physical appearance is part of it, and so are the mannerisms and attitudes one acquires in the process of maturing. As rough and ready as he was on a campaign, it is certain that Menendez knew the ways of a gentleman. The chivalry that impelled him to rescue the bride from the rough hands of the French pirates was learned, perhaps, in the courts of Spain and England, where he was no stranger; and certain of the graces common to court life had great appeal for him. Fond of music, he kept a permanent staff of musicians who traveled with him; he spared the lives of French musicians who fell into his hands.

The records describe a concert Menendez put on for the Calusa Indians, with nine instrumentalists (two each of fifers, drummers, and trumpeters, and a psalterist, harpist, and fiddler), a singing and dancing dwarf, and a half dozen gentlemen who sang in ensemble. In turn, Menendez was intrigued by the aborigi-

15. The adelantado told them: "toda esta noche he suplicado a Nuestro Senor . . . nos favorezca y encamine en lo que hubieremos de hacer, y así creo lo habreis vosotros . . . tratemos que sera bueno que hagamos, conforme al punto en que estamos y sin municiones ni comida, y la gente muy cansada, perdida y desmayada.

Respondieronle algunos que . . . volviesen a San Agustin . . . y que tratar otra cosa parescia temeridad.

El Adelantado aprobo esto y les dixo: Senores, por amor de Dios, que me oigais una razon . . . hasta aqui siempre habeis tomado mi parecer y consejo, y agora . . . quiero tomar el vuestro. . . .

Entonces les dixo: Señores, ¿estais satisfechos que el bosque está muy cerca del fuerte?

Respondieron que si.

Dixoles: Pues pareceme que debemos de ir a probar nuestra ventura, como esta acordado; . . . cuando el fuerte no podamos ganar . . . les invitamos la trompeta . . . e para esto poca falta nos a de hacer la polvora . . . cuando por la manana nos retiremos, si somos descubiertos, los enemigos . . . nos ternan por cobardes. . . . "

Meras manuscript, *ibid.*, I, 91-2.

nal entertainers-an antiphonal-like chorus of young girls and the gyratory dancers inspired by their music. The affair took place in the large and crowded communal house where Menendez was seated on a central dais beside Cacique Carlos and a female whom the Spaniards thought was the chief's wife. This exchange of culture is one of the most entertaining anecdotes in the Menendez biography.

Menendez, who had an ear for speech as well as music, had provided himself with a written list of polite words and phrases in the native tongue, to be used in presenting gifts to Carlos' wife and sister. Turning to the woman on the dais, who was naked as Eve with the figleaf (for this one too had a little covering in front), he spoke in her own language the speech he had composed for the edification of the cacique's wife. The Indian audience, at first amazed, began to show amusement. The lady lowered her eyes modestly. He was quite pleased with his little conceit, until the interpreter said, "That's *not* Carlos' wife, but his sister. She is the one he gives you for a wife."¹⁶

Momentarily chagrined, Menendez quickly recovered. He rose and took Antonia by the hand, and led her to a seat between Carlos and himself. Then he began all over again, this time using the proper speech, which pleased the whole assemblage. Menendez then asked Carlos to send for his wife. The entrance of this young woman made an unforgettable impression on the Spaniards, for indeed she was very beautiful, walking slowly into the great house, looking as a queen should at the people around her. She wore a handsome collar of pearls and stones - and little else, except a necklace of golden beads over her breasts.

Menendez rose to take her hand, and seated her between Carlos and Antonia. Again he referred to his paper, which gave him the words to tell her that she was very beautiful. At this, she looked at her husband and blushed very prettily. Carlos frowned and ordered her to go, but Menendez resorted to the interpreter and persuaded Carlos to let her stay, and sent at once for the gifts he had brought. First, there was a chemise for each of the two women. When these white garments covered the dark-skinned ladies, green gowns were produced and draped upon them. Then came beads, and gifts of scissors, knives, bells, and last of all,

16. Dixo "que aquella no era su mujer, que era su hermana, la que le habia dado por mujer al Adelantado." *Ibid.*, 160-61.

mirrors. The audience was enchanted with the display and the demonstration; and the look on the faces of the two as they peered into the shiny metal of the mirrors brought a roar of laughter.

The gift-making was not over. Carlos received a garment, as well as a pair of hatchets and a machete, and little presents were given to the head men and women in the gathering. Carlos was unhappy no longer. He ordered the food brought in-varieties of roasted or boiled fish, and oysters, raw, boiled or roasted. To this simple fare, the Spaniards added the touch of another civilization, a quantity of hardtack which was divided among the head Indians. For the four people on the dais, a table was set up, spread with a cloth, and furnished with napkins. Bottles of wine and honey were put on the table, together with sweetmeats and quince preserves. Menendez turned host. He asked for several small pottery bowls, and in these the honey and sweets were served. Carlos and his wife ate from a single bowl, but if Antonia expected Menendez to share hers, she was mistaken; he chose to eat from his own.

This gay occasion throws considerable light on the personality of the Spanish leader. He had no qualms about tackling a new language. (He seems also to have been proficient in French, for once he traveled across France disguised as a Frenchman; and the easy friendship he enjoyed with the English indicates some facility in their language.) More important, in the embarrassing case of mistaken identity, he could laugh at himself and make a bold, quick recovery.

With the ladies, Menendez chose the role of courtly knight-in-armor (rather than "knight-in-arms"). Yet the courtesy he wore as a mantle seems more substantial than graceful mannerisms learned at court. Otherwise he might have ignored the arrival of the fourteen female colonists at St. Augustine in 1566. The women gathered to meet him and were pleased with his words of welcome. To Indian headmen he was no less courteous, although he could instantly cast off the mantle and match their crudities with threats. "If you harm my hostages," he told the cacique of Guale, "you and all your people shall have your heads cut off."¹⁷

17. "[El Adelantado] dixo luego al cacique que tratase bien a sus cristianos, e que si les hacia mal, que a el e a toda su gente los mandaria cortar la cabeza. . . ." *Ibid.*, 199.

Ordinarily, however, he was much more subtle, even guileful. In reply to Ribault's offer of ransom, he said: *I would hate to lose such a large ransom. I need it to help colonize this country and spread the Holy Gospel.*¹⁸ This was not an acceptance of the offer, yet Ribault would interpret it so, and Menendez knew it. What man (except himself) would refuse 200,000 ducats! Possibly he considered this indirection necessary to bring the matter to a conclusion, inasmuch as the French were having a painful time of it, debating whether to surrender or turn back to the wilderness. In warfare, the word is no less a weapon than the sword; and he and Ribault were at war, whether or not it was openly sanctioned by their sovereigns at home. Whatever the reason, this is one of several recorded instances where Menendez used guile to gain the objective. Some months later, he deceived a French sodomite (who had formed an attachment with the cacique's son) into leaving Guale, by having him told that Captain De las Alas up the coast would pay well for an interpreter. The man made the trip posthaste, only to find his neck in the garrote.

Menendez sometimes bent the truth to his own ends. The Panuco River, he informed the king, was really part of Florida—probably only eighty leagues from the coast of South Carolina. Officials in Mexico pointed out that the distance was at least 450 leagues as the crow flies, but Philip's cedula brushed aside the facts and extended Menendez' Florida grant "eighty leagues" west to the Panuco. Such was his regard for this loyal vassal.

Unfortunately, we do not have the records that depict Menendez as husband and father. He was a sailor, and home but seldom. The fruits of marriage to Ana Maria de Solis were a son and two daughters. The son, a rising young naval officer, was lost in a hurricane, and Menendez' painstaking search of the Florida coast in the hope of finding him shows a father's grief and concern. Likewise, correspondence relating to his elder daughter suggests an affectionate relationship as well as confident reliance upon her, as she matured, to handle family affairs.

Pedro Menendez was fifty-five when he died in September 1574. From lowly naval apprentice, he had risen to captain-gen-

18. "Respondiolo el Adelantado: - Mucho me pesa si perdiese tan buena talla e presa, que harta necesidad tengo dese socorro, para ayuda de la conquista e poblacion desta tierra: en nombre de mi Rey, es a mi cargo plantar en ella el Santo Evangelio." *Ibid.*, 124.

eral of Spain's mightiest fleet. Among numerous honors, he bore the title of *Adelantado* of Florida; and after others had failed, he succeeded in planting the first permanent colony in 1565, in the land which has since become the United States. Zeal in the crown's service seems to have been his driving ambition. And perhaps because he was certain that serving his king and serving God were one and the same thing, he saw his star more clearly than most men see theirs.

DRAKE DESTROYS ST. AUGUSTINE: 1586

by JAMES W. COVINGTON

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE, scourge of the Spanish Main, came to Florida and destroyed St. Augustine in 1586. Judging from other battles that took place during Drake's swing through Spain's Caribbean empire, the Florida episode was a relatively minor affair. St. Augustine at the time was a small out-of-the-way village of about 300 persons with its only defense the small outpost, San Juan de los Pinillos. In contrast to the splendid buildings, numerous soldiers, and excellent defenses of Santo Domingo and Cartagena, St. Augustine was not very important. But in defensive tactics and in its use of manpower, the Florida town showed to good advantage; in some ways it utilized its limited defensive power more effectively than the two larger and more strongly fortified places.

In order to place Drake's attack on St. Augustine in proper perspective, one must examine the motives that prompted the English excursion against Spain's Caribbean bastions. During the later years of the reign of Britain's Elizabeth I, Her Majesty challenged Spain's powers with a series of hardhitting thrusts in both Europe and the New World. Perhaps these moves were never part of a general policy, but were only intended to harass Philip. Elizabeth's subjects, however, were well pleased with the blows administered against the haughty Hapsburg who wished to rule both them and their country.¹

John Hawkins was one of the first Englishmen to know the West Indies. He sold African slaves to the Spanish planters on the Caribbean islands and profited from the trade which the Spanish sought to monopolize. After two highly successful voyages, disaster struck when a Spaniard in the harbor of San Juan de Ulua [Vera Cruz] betrayed Hawkins, and caused him to lose one hundred men, 70,000 ducats, and all but one of his ships.²

1. Garrett Mattingly, *The Armada* (New York, 1959), 24.

2. The story of the San Juan episode is in Rayner Unwin, *The Defeat of John Hawkins: A Biography of His Third Slaving Voyage* (New York, 1960).

Young Francis Drake was serving as captain of the bark *Judith* on this voyage and developed a deepseated hatred for the Spaniards. As one historian declared: "This experience was never forgotten or forgiven by the English seamen. . . . Drake himself followed Laudionnere's example and embarked on his own private war of reprisals, and certainly made the Spaniards pay for it."³ Drake began his revenge in 1572, when he waylaid a mule train, 109 animals carrying gold and silver, near Nombre de Dios, Panama.

Drake circumnavigated the globe between 1577 and 1580 and became the most famous Englishman of his time. The queen appreciated his value even more when he presented her with loot valued at one-half million pounds sterling. She deposited the bullion in the Tower and rewarded Drake with ten thousand pounds. Those who had invested in this legalized piracy received a handsome hundred per cent profit. Such a successful venture was bound to lead to another raid.

In the summer of 1585, Elizabeth ordered Sir Francis to "revenge the wrongs offered her," and he set sail on a voyage which would carry him first to the Spanish coast and then across the Atlantic to the Caribbean.⁴ The fleet, which carried 2,300 men aboard, included two men of war, nineteen merchant ships from London and the West country, pinnaces, and an assortment of captured vessels.⁵ A joint-stock company financed the venture. Leaving Plymouth, England, in September 1585, the fleet moved

3. A. L. Rowse, *The Elizabethans and America* (New York, 1959), 10-11.

4. Two primary accounts of Drake's voyage are "Papers Relating to Drake's 'Indies Voyage', 1585-6" in Julian S. Corbett (ed.), *Papers relating to the Navy during the Spanish War: 1585-1587* (London, 1898). Cited hereafter as "*Primrose Log*," and a narrative begun by Captain Walter Bigges and completed by Lieutenant Croftes, "A Summarie and True Discourse of Sir Francis Drake's West Indian Voyage" in Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, 8 vols. (New York, 1927), VII. Cited hereafter as "Summarie." The Spanish primary accounts of Drake's raid have been translated and edited by Irene A. Wright in *Further English Voyages to Spanish America 1583-1594: Documents from the Archives of the Indies at Seville Illustrating English Voyages to the Caribbean, the Spanish Main, Florida, and Virginia* (London, 1951). Cited hereafter as *Further Voyages*. The Spanish style of dating has been followed in this narrative; it was not until 1751 that the English replaced the Julian with the Gregorian calendar.

5. John K. Laughton, "Sir Francis Drake," *Dictionary of National Biography*, 22 vols. (London, 1959), V, 1339-40.

against the port of Vigo in northern Spain and carried away loot worth more than 30,000 ducats. Other stops were made in the Cape Verde Islands, and in the West Indies at Dominica and at Saint Christopher.

It was on January 11, 1586, that the English met and overcame at Santo Domingo their first major opposition in the New World. This venture did not call for too much effort. Two ships had been sunk at the mouth of the harbor, and Drake was advised by a captured Greek pilot to land nine or ten miles to the west and march to the city gates. A limited amount of opposition was encountered before a wild charge by the English under Captain Christopher Carleill cleared the way. The invaders knew from past experience that once the square of a Spanish town was captured, the defenders hesitated to continue the struggle and the city would become easy prey. Consequently, after breaching the city walls, English fighters rapidly moved to the main plaza, bringing an end to the fighting.

The capture of Santo Domingo, the oldest Spanish city in the New World, proved to be most lucrative. The English carried away as spoils of war, wine, vinegar, olives, furniture, clothing, a little silver plate, and two or three tons of copper money. Twenty-five thousand ducats ransom for the city was obtained by laying waste each day one section of the city and threatening to continue the destruction until the ransom was paid. It was quickly realized that the English meant business and the golden ducats were turned over. Drake also captured five galleons filled with olive oil, wines, rice, and brass artillery, and he released from galley service many English, French, Flemings, and even some Spaniards.⁶

Cartagena, the most heavily fortified city in the Indies, was next on the Caribbean treasure circuit. Men aboard the small vessels engaged in inter-island trade knew of the attack upon Santo Domingo and warned Cartagena de Indias of approaching danger. Consequently, the governor rapidly assembled a force of 700 Spaniards and 500 Indians to defend the city from the English raiders. Yet despite the fact that Cartagena harbor was "one of the most convenient and easily defended in the world,"⁷

6. Nicholas Clevar to Nicholas Turner, May 26, 1586. Public Record Office: State Papers, Elizabeth I, 12, 42.

7. William McFee, *The Life of Sir Martin Frobisher* (London, 1928), 159.

the English encountered only token opposition. While Vice-Admiral Martin Frobisher led an assault by sea against the blockhouse and against the chain stretched across the bay, 1,000 men under Captain Carleill landed at Hicacos Point at night and advanced toward the city. Two captured Negroes had warned of "booby traps," so they kept near the shoreline and waded in the water to avoid the poisoned stakes set in the path.⁸

Approaching the city, the English fought their way through a wine cask barricade and the artillery fire of two galleys anchored off-shore. Having captured the outer defenses, they easily took possession of the plaza and nearby houses. The English possessed better armor and longer pikes, and most of the twenty-nine deaths they suffered took place inside the city when Indian archers scored with their poisoned arrows.⁹ Blame for the Spanish defeat was mainly due to the great confusion which existed almost everywhere, from commander to the lowest enlisted man. Whenever orders were in doubt, the defenders seized their opportunity to flee from the scene. Only seven or eight Spaniards were killed.¹⁰

Negotiations for the ransom of Cartagena were instituted by private citizen Tristan de Orive several days following the capture.¹¹ When at first terms could not be agreed upon, Drake applied pressure by destroying part of the city. After some six weeks, and with more than half of Cartagena wrecked, a sum of 107,000 ducats was agreed upon.¹² Probably the English could have obtained more ransom but, by this time, at least 150 men were incapacitated, suffering from their wounds or from the effects of yellow fever.¹³ Only 700 men were able to perform their duties, and the loss in manpower was so great that Drake was forced to abandon his plan to attack Nombre de Dios. Drake's men were so fatigued that at Cartagena some officers presented Drake with a resolution which stated among other things that it might be advantageous to return to England. Drake, seeing the effects of the fever and aware of the serious morale problem,

8. *Further Voyages*, 1.

9. "Summarie," 95.

10. *Further Voyages*, liv.

11. Francisco de Alba *et al*, depositions made at Cartagena, April 20-May 5, 1586, *ibid.*, 67. Wright states negotiations were begun as early as the day after the capture. *Further Voyages*, liv.

12. *Ibid.*, lvi.

13. "Summarie," 97.

agreed with his officers, and the armada set sail on her return voyage.¹⁴ However, four days later the English were forced to return to Cartagena when a commandeered vessel proved to be unseaworthy. The inhabitants of the city were greatly disturbed when they saw the returning fleet and helped speed the English on their way by turning over all the ovens in town to supply fresh bread for the voyage.¹⁵ Also, according to one Creole witness, when the English wanted meat, the Spanish promised that a considerable amount would be available shortly. Some of the Spaniards, however, hoped that their galleons would arrive and trap the English.

It seemed most obvious to the Spaniards that Drake was planning to attack Havana, and they prepared to resist the invasion. Defenses were hurriedly made ready, including the digging of trenches, erecting barricades in the plaza, and mounting a thirty-piece battery. Cuban authorities had been planning for the defense of Havana for some time; soldiers had come to the capital from remote parts of the island and from Mexico, and shipments of powder and arms had been rushed from Seville. Havana was prepared for an attack but it did not come.¹⁶

Drake caused some alarm in the city. English pinnaces chased one Mexican ship into Havana harbor but the guns of Morro and Punta forced the pursuers away.¹⁷ Perhaps Drake had planned to attack Havana, but he was forced by circumstances to by-pass the city, and he set sail for England by way of the east coast of North America and the English colony at Roanoke.¹⁸

Leaving Cartagena, the English fleet stopped at Cape San Antonio to secure drinking water but none could be found. Drake's fleet then set sail for Matanzas intending to capture that place and secure water, but adverse winds interfered and, after a voyage of fourteen days, the ships returned to Antonio. It had rained during their absence, and sufficient water had collected

14. *Ibid.*, 97-100.

15. Don Diego de Guzman and Alonso de Tapia to the Crown, Cartagena, June 1, 1586, *ibid.*, 159-60.

16. Irene A. Wright, *Early History of Cuba: 1492-1586* (New York, 1916), 351-57.

17. Alonso Suarez de Toledo to the Crown, Havana, June 27, 1586, in *Further Voyages*, 171-72.

18. For an account of the Roanoke settlement and the visit of Sir Francis Drake to the place, see Ralph Lane's report in Stefan Lorant (ed.), *The New World*, (New York, 1946), 135-49.

in the natural hollows and in the pits dug by the English.¹⁹ Morale was very low and Spanish prisoners testified later that Sir Francis did his best to cheer up his men by making a show of his own good spirits and resolution. At a specially called council meeting of ship pilots and captains, it was decided to head homeward. Most of the artillery was placed below decks, the gun ports were closed, and, after three days' stay at San Antonio, the fleet sailed in a northeast direction.²⁰

Some historians believe that Drake's next target was likely Santa Elena on the present-day coast of South Carolina, but as the ships were sailing up the coast of Florida, a crude look-out tower was noted and an investigation seemed necessary. On Friday, June 6, at about two or three o'clock in the afternoon, the English fleet appeared near the bar which guards the approach to St. Augustine harbor. At first, the guards stationed at the look-out tower on Anastasia Island believed the ships to be launches from Santa Elena, but such a multitude of sails indicated that this was really Drake who had arrived. The guards had at first signalled the fort of the approach of one friendly vessel, but upon seeing more ships they sent a hasty warning signal to Pedro Menendez at San Juan de los Pinillos. They then hurriedly paddled for the fort in a small canoe.²¹

Pedro Menendez Marques, nephew of the famed founder of St. Augustine and governor of *La Florida*, had prepared as well as he could for the English invaders.²² To defend the northern approaches to the town, a fort-San Juan de los Pinillos-was ordered constructed by some fifty Negro slaves. This, the sixth fort to be constructed at or near St. Augustine, was situated a short distance from the village and was its only defense; the town was not even enclosed by a palisade. An Englishman described the partially-completed fortification: "We found it built all of timber; the walls being none but whole Mastes or bodies of trees set up right and close together in manner of a pale, without any ditch as yet

19. "Summarie," 103.

20. Gabriel de Luxan and Diego Fernandez de Quinones to the Crown, Havana, June 26, 1586, in *Further Voyages*, 169.

21. For general information, see Alonso Sancho Saez and Miguel de Valdes, depositions made at St. Augustine, August 12, 1586, *ibid.*, 199.

22. Pedro Menendez Marques served as governor of Florida from 1578 to 1589.

made, but wholly intended with some more time; for they had not yet as yet finished al their worke, having begunne the same some three or foure moneths before; so as, to say the trueth, they had no reason to keepe it, being subject both to fire and easie assault. The platform whereon the ordinance lay, was whole bodies of long pine trees, whereof there is great plentie, layd acrossse one on another, and some litle [*sic*] earth amongst.”²³

Learning of the English attacks on Santo Domingo and Cartagena, Menendez had a plan ready for execution in case Drake appeared. After the enemy ships were sighted, the women and children were loaded into two barks, and Juan de Lepe and Bartolome Cordoriel carried them “into the bush” where they would be safe among friendly Indians. Barrels of flour were also carried along to provide some sustenance during the retreat.²⁴ It was Lepe and Cordoriel who had come to Florida from Cuba carrying the news that Drake was then near the coast of that island.

Pedro Menendez Marques had proved himself to be a capable administrator. In 1580, when French corsairs had infested the Georgia coast, he hastened there and captured fourteen of the pirates. He visited San Mateo on the St. Johns River that same year and destroyed a French vessel intent on capturing the place. When he was notified on May 4, 1586, that Drake might threaten the Florida coast, he worked out the plans for evacuating civilians, and for the defense of St. Augustine. Work on the wooden fort was hastened and the colony was completely mobilized.

Since the entrance to the harbor was approximately eight feet in depth and somewhat too shallow for the larger vessels, the English fleet anchored off-shore and made plans for the assault upon *La Florida*. Early on the morning of June 7, 1586, pinnaces approached the bar at the entrance and soundings were made to determine the depth of the harbor. When the vessels approached the fort, Spanish artillerymen opened fire, forcing them to retreat to the ocean safety. Drake then decided to land his men on Anastasia Island and try to outflank the Spanish, as was done at Cartagena and Santo Domingo. Pinnaces, frigates, and barges set up a ferry service and a large landing force assembled on the is-

23. “Summarie,” 105.

24. Testimony of Juan de Lepe and Bartolome Cordoriel, June 30, 1586, in *Further Voyages*, 181.

land.²⁵ Assisted by pinnaces moving into the harbor, the English made their way along the shoreline towards the Matanzas River side of the island, but Spanish gunfire forced a retreat to the beach. One pinnacle may have been sunk by fire from the fort at this time.

Their repulse at Anastasia Island was the first time that Drake had been forced to retreat, and he decided to survey the enemy front in person. Strolling about a mile along the shore of the Matanzas River, he observed the small fort on the opposite bank and the unpainted wooden houses of the little village of St. Augustine. It did not seem to be a formidable obstacle but additional pressure would be needed to insure success. Heavy reinforcements were landed and artillery support, including four brass cannon, was brought ashore. The experienced and successful Carleill took charge of the assault force. Ranks were formed, and then, to the sound of music and the display of six red flags, the English again moved towards the Matanzas River. The display of red flags meant that there could be no talk of ransom; "no quarter" would be the only order of the day.

Two artillery pieces were brought into action but the gunners concealed themselves in a grove of trees located behind a sand dune.²⁶ The first shot went through the Spanish flag flying above San Juan; the second hit at the foot of the stout wooden barricade about the fort. Arquebus and cannon fire were exchanged in the afternoon duel. No Spaniards were killed but several Englishmen were said to have been casualties.

Both sides planned sallies under cover of darkness. Menendez ordered Juan de Contreras to lead a raiding party against the force entrenched on Anastasia Island. A large number of Indians were supposed to support the attack but, when the time for departure came, only ten were available. As the Spaniards crossed the Matanzas River in canoes, they inflicted some casualties with a steady fire of arrows and occasional blasts of Contreras' arquebus. During the English counter-attack, a ship's lieutenant named Waterhouse

25. The Brazio map, made by a person who accompanied Sir Francis Drake, shows Anastasia Island possessing some orange groves and cultivated fields but no houses can be distinguished.

26. The number of artillery pieces used is disputed. The Spanish claimed four were in action, but the English said only two were used.

was killed. Contreras waged psychological warfare by firing his weapon the entire night, keeping the English awake.²⁷

In preparation for the fighting the next day, Carleill wanted to survey the river front personally and to determine, if possible, the strength of the enemy. He planned to bring up some artillery and four companies of men to the Spanish side of the river, to open fire first with muskets and then use artillery from an entrenched position, and finally to assail the defensive work. Originally, Carleill had planned to begin landing operations the first night, but when he was unable to secure sufficient men to dig trenches, he postponed operations until evening. Carleill, accompanied by Captains Morgan and Sampson and a few other well-armed persons, made a scouting foray in a small skiff during the night. When they returned to camp, they found Nicholas Borgoignon, a French fifer who had lived in St. Augustine since the capture of Fort Caroline in 1565. Borgoignon had rowed across the river and, to protect himself from overzealous English sentries, he played on his fife "William of Nassau," the tune of the Protestant Prince of Orange.²⁸ It was fortunate that he was not injured since he was bringing the news that the Spanish had abandoned the fort and that it could be taken without any difficulty.

Estimating the strength of the enemy and knowing the size of his own inferior force, Menendez had decided to abandon the fort. A council, which included all the important men in the outpost, agreed that the place was untenable. Accordingly, the garrison retreated through the lowlands at the rear of the fort and then through the woods to the Indian village where the women and children were gathered. The Spanish took the flag and personal arms with them, but two bronze falcons were thrown into the partially completed moat and fourteen bronze cannon were buried in a vain attempt to save them.

27. James W. Covington (ed.) and A. F. Falcones (trans.), *Pirates, Indians and Spaniards: Father Escobedo's "La Florida"* (St. Petersburg, 1963), 108. There are wide discrepancies in the estimate of the number of men involved. Menendez stated that he had as many as eighty men but other witnesses place the figure as low as sixty. The English believed 150 men were present. According to Menendez, the English landed 500 men and increased the number to 2,000.
28. "Summarie," 104. The tune, "Wilhelmus van Nassouwe, is the royal anthem of the Netherlands and is considered the oldest of all national anthems. At least two other deserters, including a Dutchman, joined the English forces.

The news brought by the French fifer pleased everyone in the English camp and plans were made to cross the Matanzas River immediately. Protected by soldiers in two or three pinnaces, Drake, Carleill, and several captains in one skiff, the vice-admiral and other officers in another, were rowed toward the abandoned fort.²⁹ As the flotilla approached, several shots were fired by persons concealed in the underbrush, but there were no casualties.

With daylight, Drake and his men explored the fortification and made a remarkable discovery. In their haste to evacuate the place, the Spaniards had left behind the most valuable item in the fort - the pay chest. Although sums given in the accounts concerning the seizure of the chest vary from a small sum to as much as 5,000 ducats and 2,000 pounds sterling, the loss was very serious. The sole means of support for Florida was the annual subsidy, the *situado*, which came from Mexico City. The amount of the *situado* was determined at a bargaining conference held in Mexico with the viceroy and a representative from *La Florida* present. After an amount was settled upon, the *situado* was supposed to be sent to Florida to be divided among the military personnel. Sometimes the award was delayed for as long as eight years and a large debt accumulated.³⁰

Spanish deserters who appeared revealed the whereabouts of the buried cannon and they were quickly dug up. With the discovery of the gold, Sergeant-major Anthony Powell, third in command of the armada, concluded that more valuable objects had probably been carried away by the garrison and ordered an active pursuit. Finding a handsome horse, he mounted the beast and galloped along the faint track left by the Spaniards.³¹ Powell should have been more cautious, for the neighborhood was not completely deserted and a dangerous opponent, as it turned out, was ready to strike. Contreras, exhausted by his activities during the previous night, was asleep in a nearby house. When he awoke, he found that his horse was missing and he set out to find the animal. Seeing Powell, the Spaniard quickly concealed himself in the undergrowth and when the Englishman rode up, he aimed his

29. *Ibid.*, 104-05.

30. John J. TePaske, "Economic Problems of Florida Governors, 1700-1763," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXVII (July 1958), 42-43.

31. Article by Buckingham Smith in Jacksonville *Florida Republican*, May 1, 1851.

arquebus and killed him with a shot in the head.³² Although several of the Englishmen in Powell's party witnessed the shooting, Contreras managed to escape into a nearby thicket.

The brass cannon were uncovered and with other loot were loaded aboard the pinnaces for transportation to the fleet. Included in the spoils was a small caravel with letters from the king of Spain and a young child. In some manner, the youngster was returned to the Spanish citizens who were hiding out in the Indian village.

St. Augustine at this time possessed all the characteristics of a frontier colonial town. It contained a council house, a church, several stores, and buildings and houses for a population of several hundred. Between the town and the forest, a sizeable orange grove had been planted and some of the houses were surrounded by groves. In other places, the land had been cleared and corn, squashes, and melons were growing.

Wide streams and a heavy rainfall made walking in the area difficult, so the English boarded the pinnaces and sailed along the river into the village. Drake, Frobisher, Mathew Morgan, John Sampson and their men swarmed into the place but found it completely deserted.³³ Searching the houses, the English discovered that other looters had preceded them; Indians had carried away everything that seemed to have some value.³⁴ Friendly relations were established between looters and would-be looters, and English copper items were exchanged for articles desired by the whites.³⁵

The invaders remained at St. Augustine for two days and then moved to San Juan for three more days. They traded with the Indians, rested, refilled their casks, obtained a supply of fire wood, and repaired a boat. St. Augustine must have seemed a very pleasant place to these men who had spent so much time at sea, and they lavishly praised the meadows, trees, corn fields, fish,

32. For the Spanish version of this duel see Covington and Falcones, *Pirates, Indians and Spaniards*, 109. According to the "Primrose Log," Powell wanted to capture a prisoner to obtain information.

33. Smith, Jacksonville *Florida Republican*, May 1, 1851.

34. Testimony of Alonso Sancho Saez, St. Augustine, August 12, 1586, in *Further Voyages*, 200. The Indians placed a peace sign two miles from the village. The English found the sign and set up one of their own.

35. "Primrose Log," 26. Relations with the Indians were not entirely satisfactory for the English, and they were forced to kill the leader of one town when he planned to murder them.

oysters, and clams that they found. Apparently the Indians had taken everything; only some spoiled corn meal was discovered, and the looters searched in vain for wine, olive oil, and food. Before leaving St. Augustine, the English burned the houses, cut down the fruit trees, destroyed the maize fields, and, after the stay at the fort, set fire to San Juan.³⁶ It was said Drake ordered the town and the fort burned and the fields destroyed because Sergeant-major Powell had been slain, but it was also believed that this Spanish outpost constituted a possible threat to the English settlement at Roanoke and was ravaged in order to restrict possible raids. St. Augustine was almost completely devastated, more so than any other place visited by Drake on this expedition. Only the Indian village situated two miles from St. Augustine was not bothered by the English marauders.

After Drake left St. Augustine, he sailed northward to Santa Elena but, after sounding the dangerous entrance to the place, did not approach it in force. The Spanish garrison there had been ordered not to fire any cannon and arquebus or show any light, and apparently such precautions were successful.³⁷ The fleet stopped at Oristan for food and attempted a bit of public relations by informing the Indians that the English would return and that they had a colony close by. Drake next sailed to Roanoke Island where he offered the settlers a chance to return to England and many accepted his offer.

Meanwhile, Governor Menendez and his followers had retired to San Mateo to regroup and examine their plight. More than 400 persons gathered at San Mateo and prepared for another attack by the English. Menendez, however, decided to investigate the situation at St. Augustine. Drake and his marauders were gone, and it was apparently safe now to begin the work of rebuilding St. Augustine.

Conditions in the ravaged town were most critical. Menendez dispatched an urgent communication to Havana, stating that he had only six barrels of flour to feed 340 persons. He desperately needed olive oil, flour, wine, meat, and carpentry and farm

36. Testimony of Juan de Lepe, June 30, 1586, Havana, in *Further Voyages*, 181.

37. Diego Fernandez de Quinones to the Crown, September, 1586, Havana, *ibid.*, 204.

tools.³⁸ Within a short time, supplies of beans, garbanzos, lead, powder, olive oil, hard tack, and vinegar were shipped to Florida.³⁹ Before the situation was alleviated, however, an expedition of thirty hungry men set out by land to Mexico. Most of the soldiers died in the long trek; only eight reached their destination.⁴⁰

It took many years for St. Augustine to recover from the effects of Drake's raid. Eventually, however, the town and fort were rebuilt, larger and more formidable than ever. Perhaps this raid caused the Spanish to examine the value of *La Florida* more closely. If so, then the good fight of the inhabitants of St. Augustine was not in vain.

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38. Marques to governor and other officials of Havana, June 17, 1586 in Edith A. Luther, "Sir Francis Drake's Raid on St. Augustine, 1586: Transcription, Modernization and Translation of Certain Documents of the Stetson Collection" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Florida, 1957), 152; Pedro Menendez Marques to the Crown, June 17, 1586, St. Augustine, in *Further Voyages*, 164.
39. Statement of Captain Vicente Gonzalez, Havana, June 30, 1586, in Luther, "Drake's Raid on St. Augustine," 155-56.
40. Covington and Falcones, *Pirates, Indians and Spaniards*, 110-11.

THE ARCHITECTURE OF HISTORIC ST. AUGUSTINE: A PHOTOGRAPHIC ESSAY

by F. BLAIR REEVES

HISTORIC ST. AUGUSTINE, its limits precisely defined by Matanzas Bay, San Sebastian River, and Macaris Creek, occupies a site unsurpassed in East Florida. The generous plaza, narrow streets, and public spaces establish a comfortable pedestrian scale, an attribute produced by age and isolation. Dominating the city's historic character is its architecture, a curious indigenous blend of foreign and domestic styles, eclectic designs both careless and academic, and restorations by fact and by fancy.

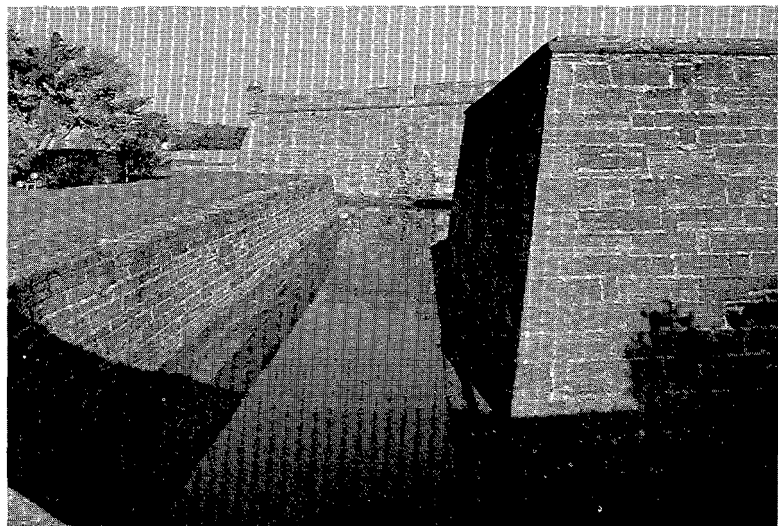
This photographic essay presents the finest examples of historic architecture of St. Augustine. Each structure is the product of careful preservation by responsible groups dedicated to this purpose. The photographs, beautifully documenting the physical features of each subject, were selected from the expanding archives of the Historic American Buildings Survey.

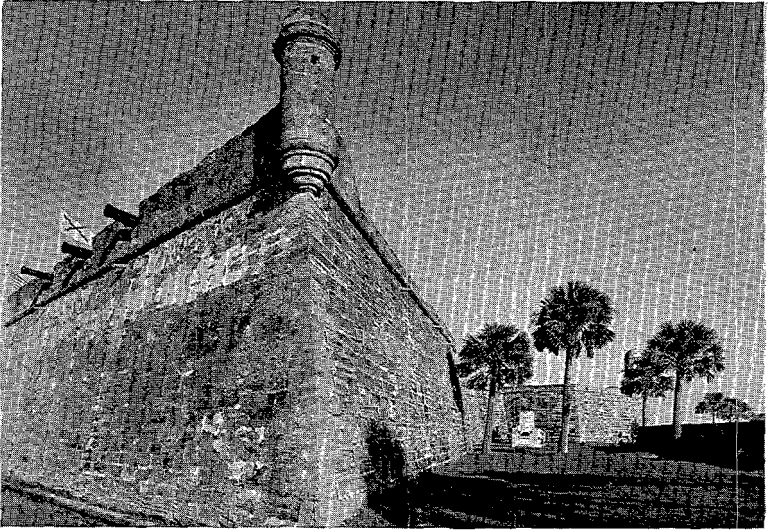
Even among those knowledgeable in history and architecture, the Historic American Buildings Survey requires some explanation. HABS, as it is often called, is a long-range program for assembling a national archive of American architecture. This library, one of the world's largest, consists of 30,000 measured drawings, 40,000 photographs, and 6,000 pages of architectural and historic data recording 10,000 buildings throughout the United States. It provides unrestricted information for architects, scholars, editors, and publishers available at moderate cost from the Division of Prints and Photographs, Library of Congress, Washington. There are two geographically arranged guides, an illustrated *Catalogue* (1941), and a *Supplement* (1959). Both references, now out of print, are available in public and college libraries as well as in the collections of many historical societies.



1A Castillo de San Marcos and its Outerworks

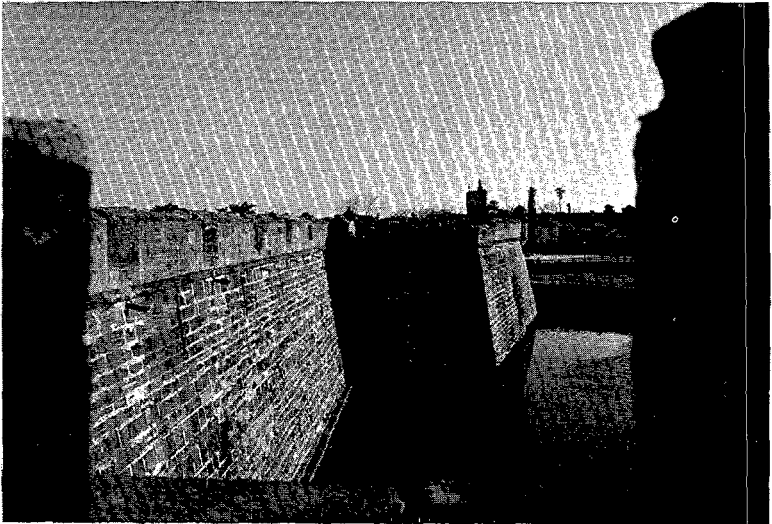
1B Moat, Castillo de San Marcos

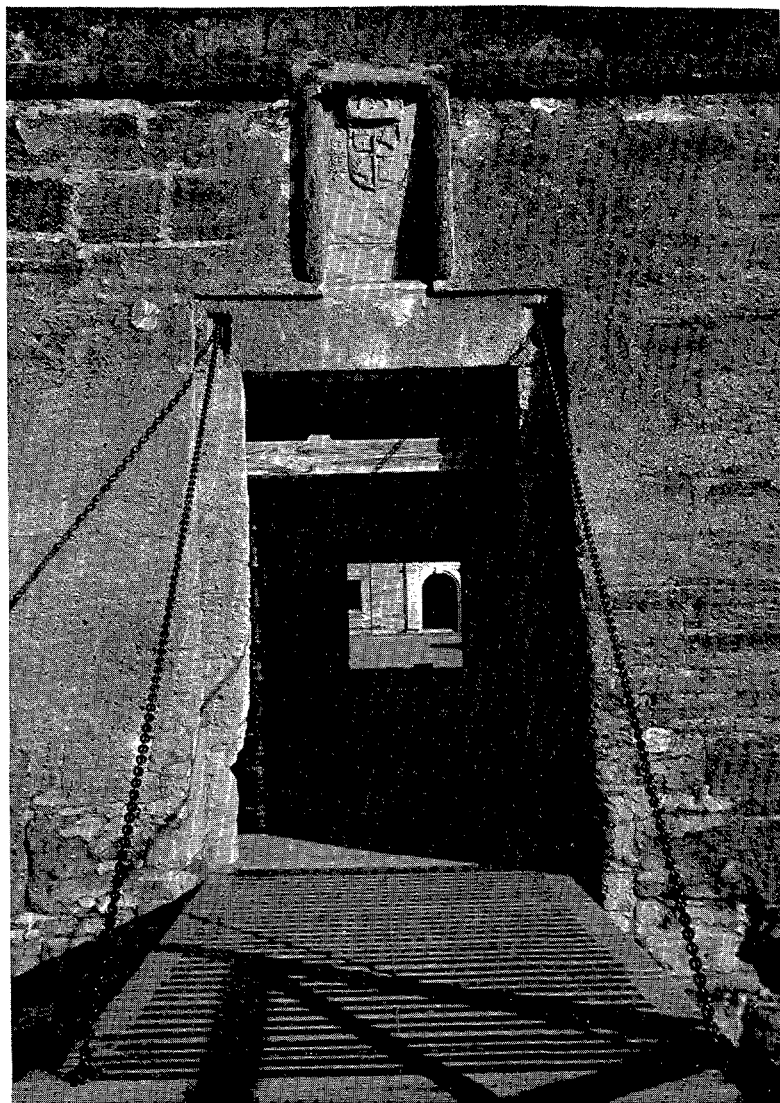




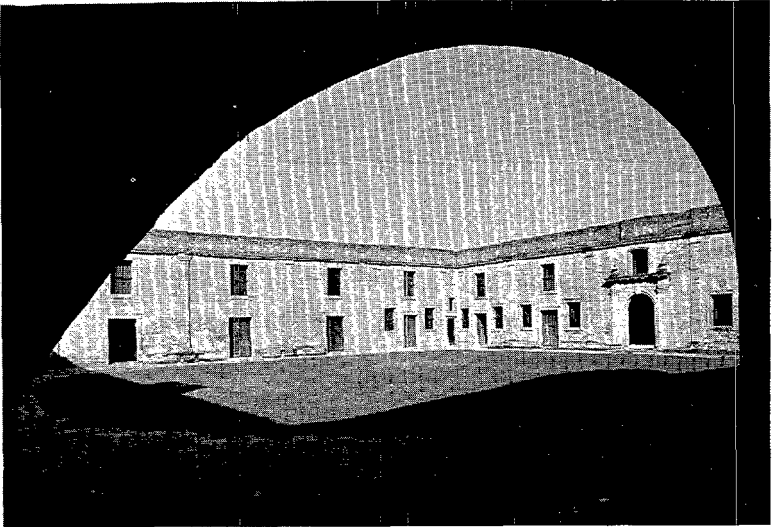
2A *St. Augustine Bastion, Sentry Box, and Covered Way, Castillo de San Marcos*

2B *Parapet and Gun Embrasures, Castillo de San Marcos*



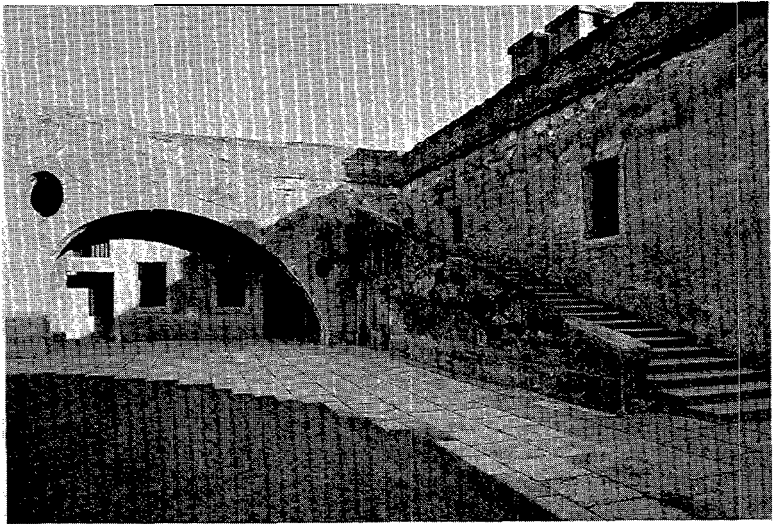


3 *Drawbridge and Sally-port, Castillo de San Marcos*



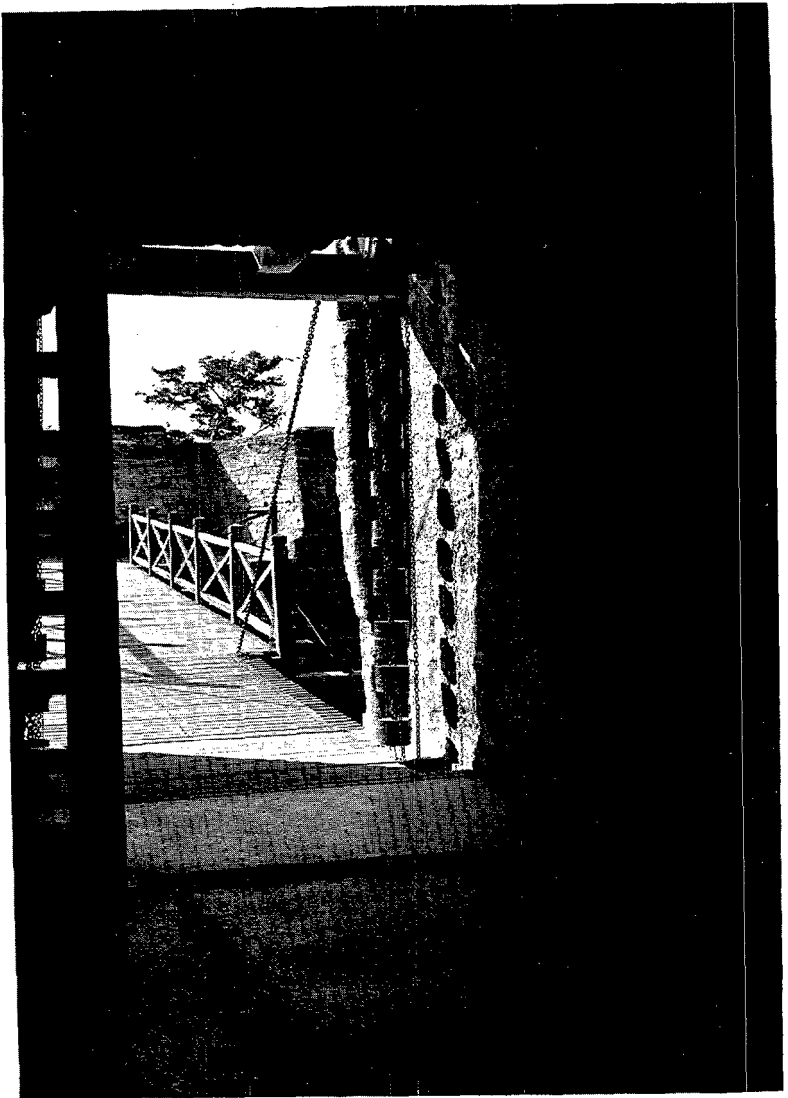
4A *General View of the Parade, Castillo de San Marcos*

4B *Parade and Stairs to the Parapet, Castillo de San Marcos*





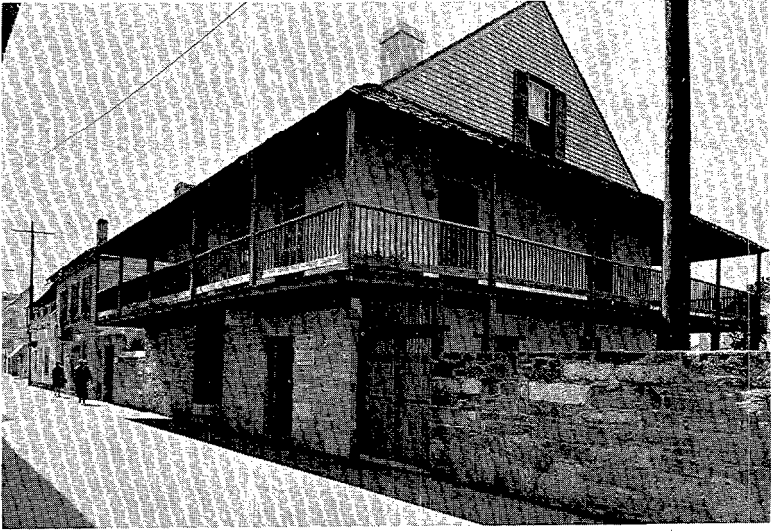
5 *Chapel Doorway, Castillo de San Marcos*



6 *Details of Drawbridge, Castillo de San Marcos*

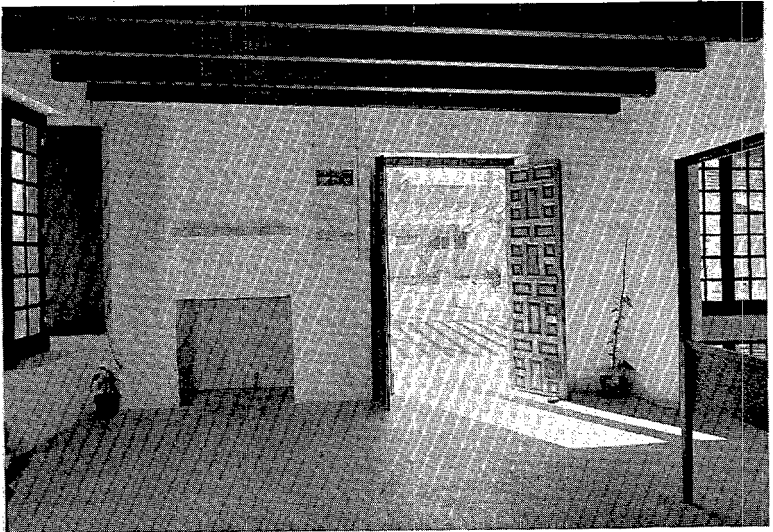


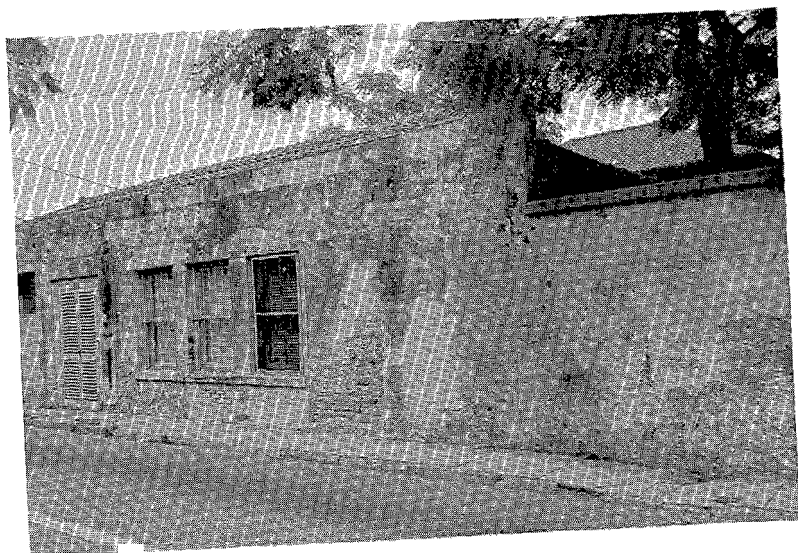
7 *Reconstructed Cabo Line, Castillo de San Marcos.*



8A *Street Facade, Don Raimundo Arrivas House, St. George Street*

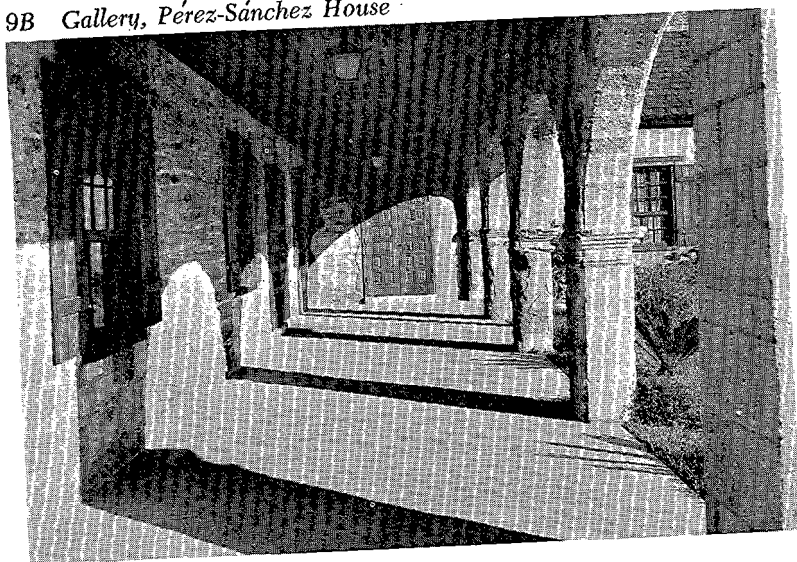
8B *Interior Details, Don Raimundo Arrivas House*





9A Pérez-Sánchez House, Charlotte Street

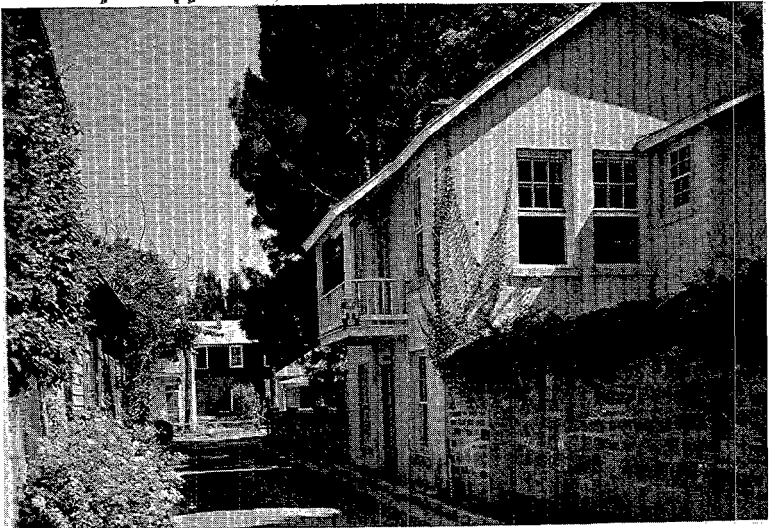
9B Gallery, Pérez-Sánchez House





10A Wall Fragment, Perez-Sanchez House

10B Gaspar Papy House, Aviles Street





11 *Street Facade, Oldest House, St. Francis Street*



12A Garden Facade, Oldest House

12B Gallery, Oldest House

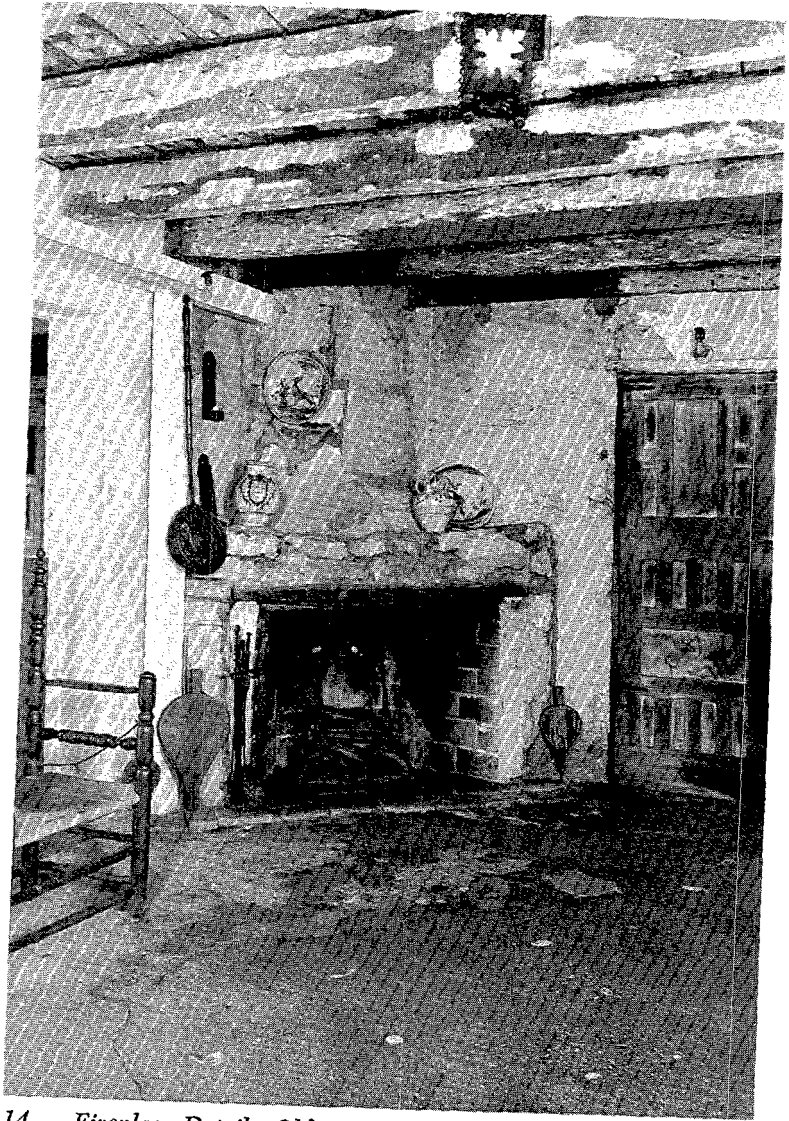




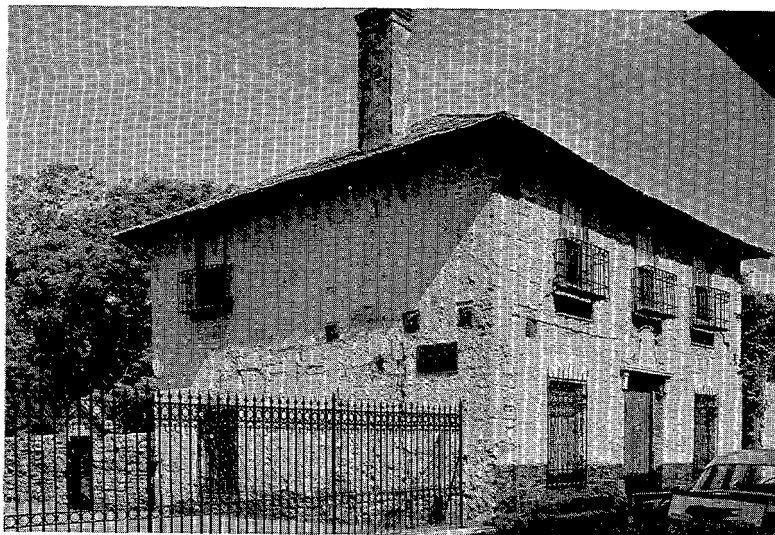
13A Dining Room, Oldest House

13B Parlor, Oldest House



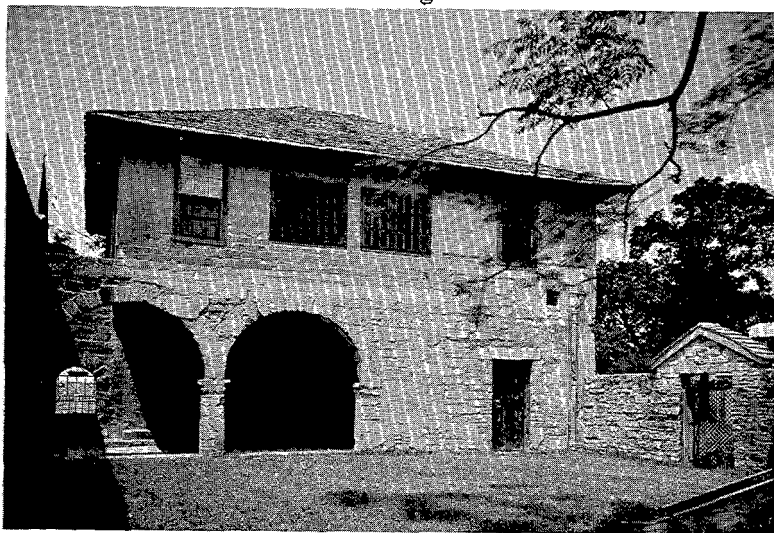


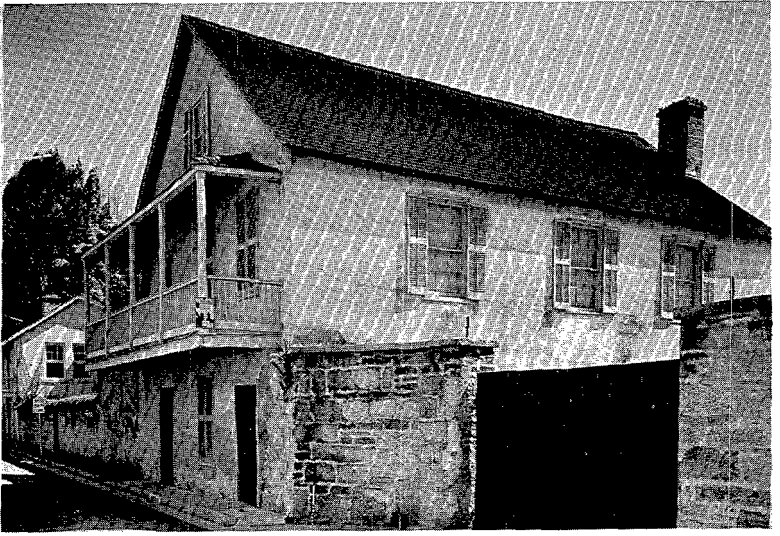
14 *Fireplace Details, Oldest House*



15A *Street Facade, No. 39 St. George Street*

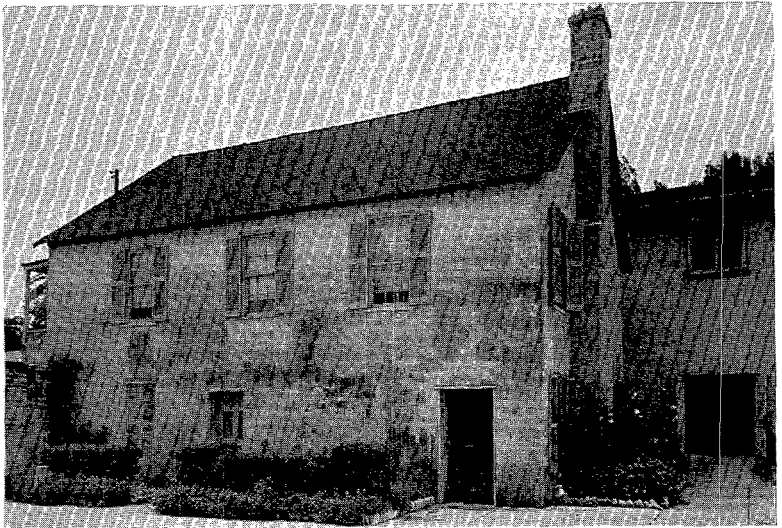
15B *Garden Facade, No. 39 St. George Street*

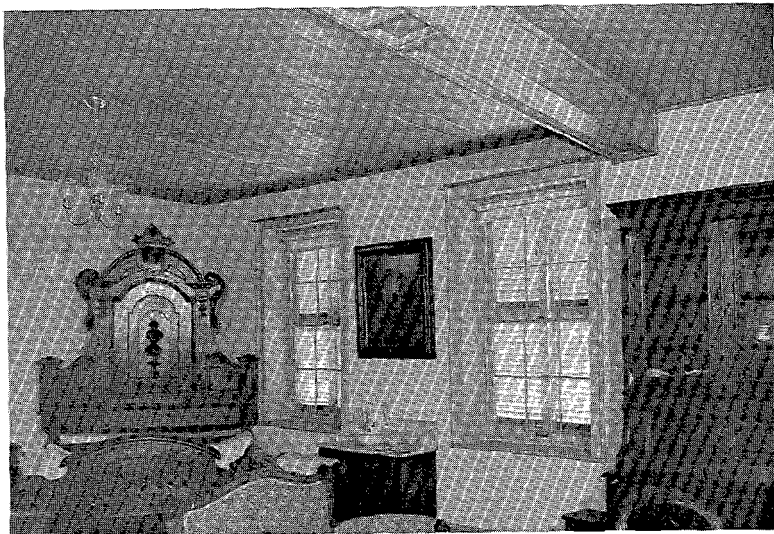




16A Street Facade, Don Miguel de O'Reilly House, Aviles Street

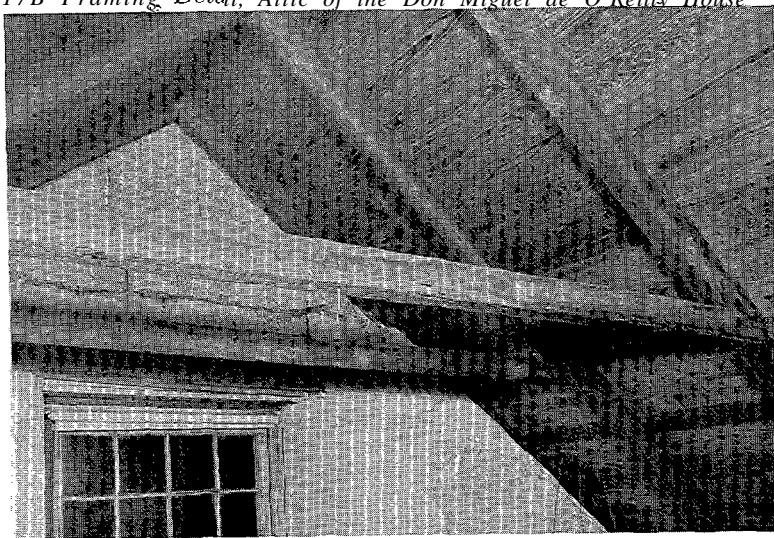
16B North and West Elevations, Don Miguel de O'Reilly House





17A Interior, Don Miguel de O'Reilly House

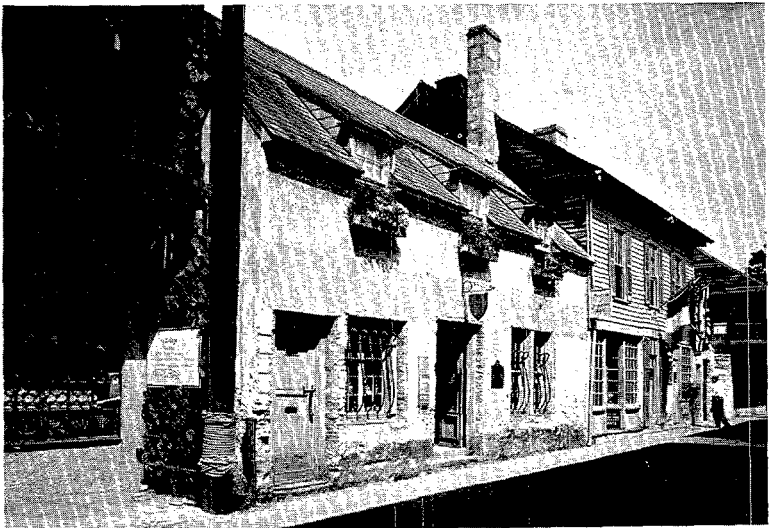
17B Framing Detail, Attic of the Don Miguel de O'Reilly House





18A St. Francis Inn, Corner of St. Francis and St. George Streets.

18B Dodge House, St. George Street

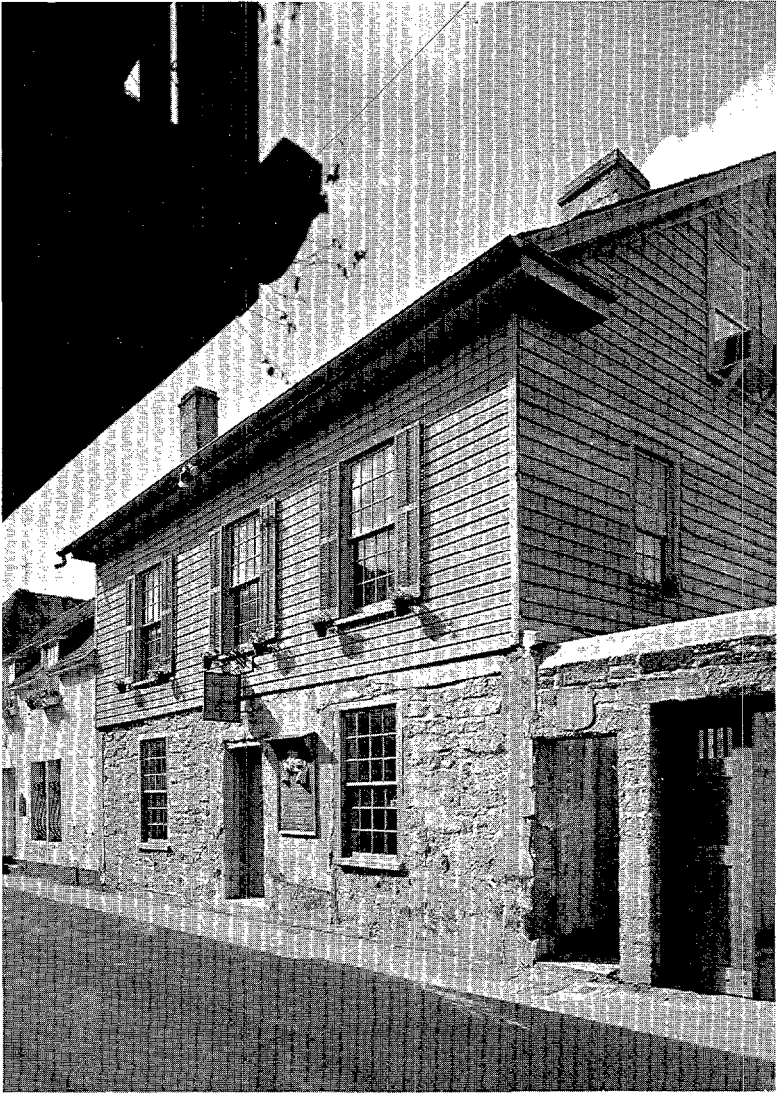




19A Street Facade, Long-Sánchez House, Corner of Bridge and Marine Streets

19B Garden Facade, Long-Sánchez House





20 *Rodriguez House, St. George Street*



21A *Garden Facade, Rodriguez House*

21B *Interior Details, Rodriguez House*

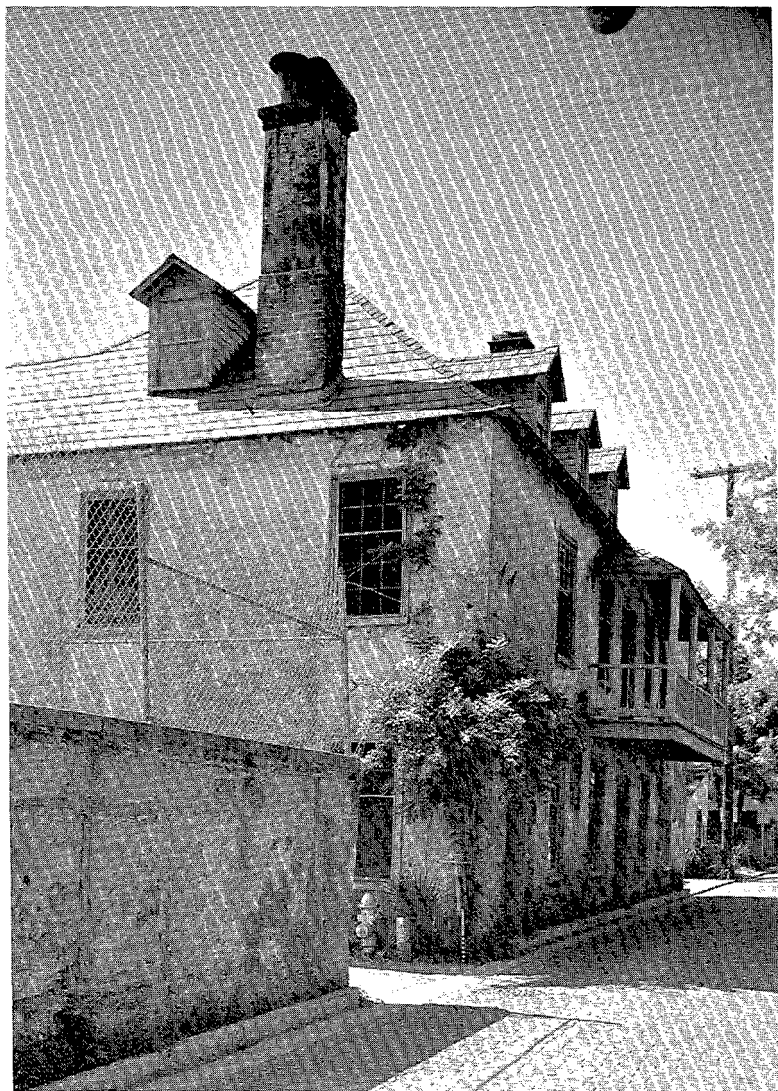




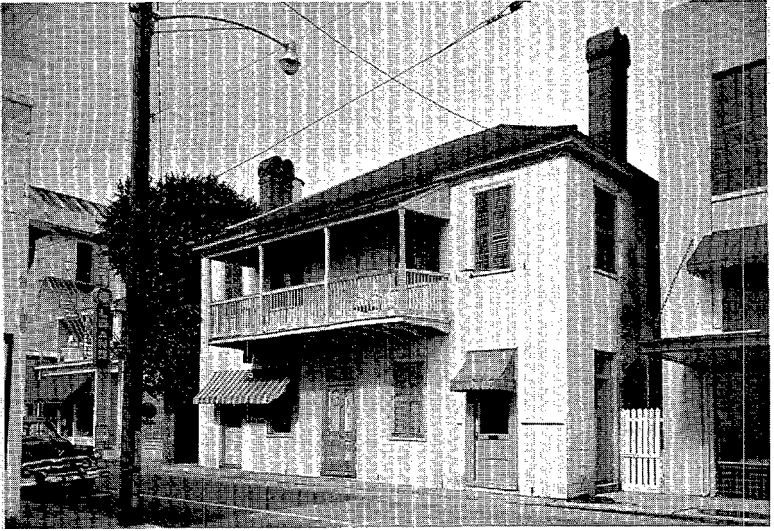
22A *Fernandez-Llambrias House, St. Francis Street*

22B *Public Market, the Plaza.*





23 *Ximehez-Fatio House, Aviles Street*



24A *Street Facade, Poujoud-Slater House, St. George Street*

24B *Garden Facade, Poujoud-Slater House*





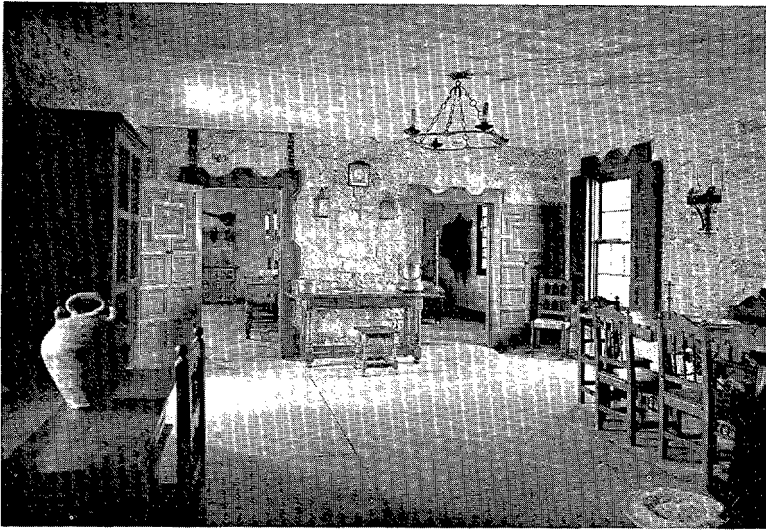
25 Casa Monica (Cordova Hotel), King Street



26A *Street Facade, de Mesa-Sánchez House, St. George Street*

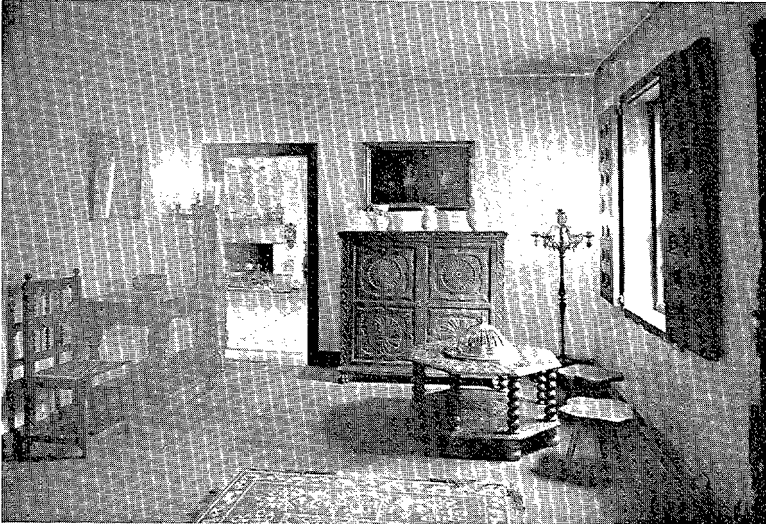
26B *Garden Facade, de Mesa-Sánchez House*

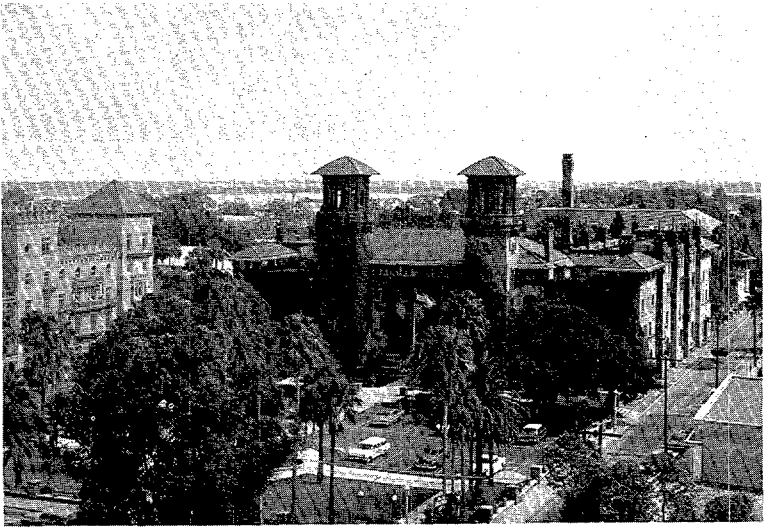




27A Interior Details, de Mesa-Sanchez House

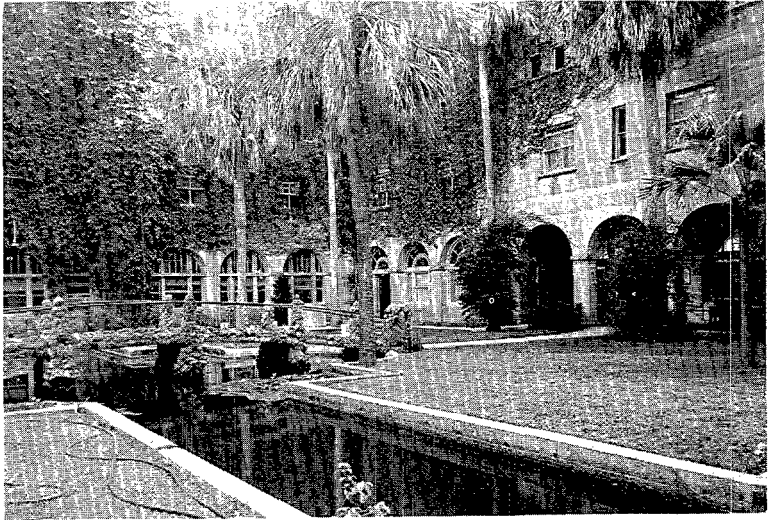
27B Interior Details, de Mesa-Sanchez House

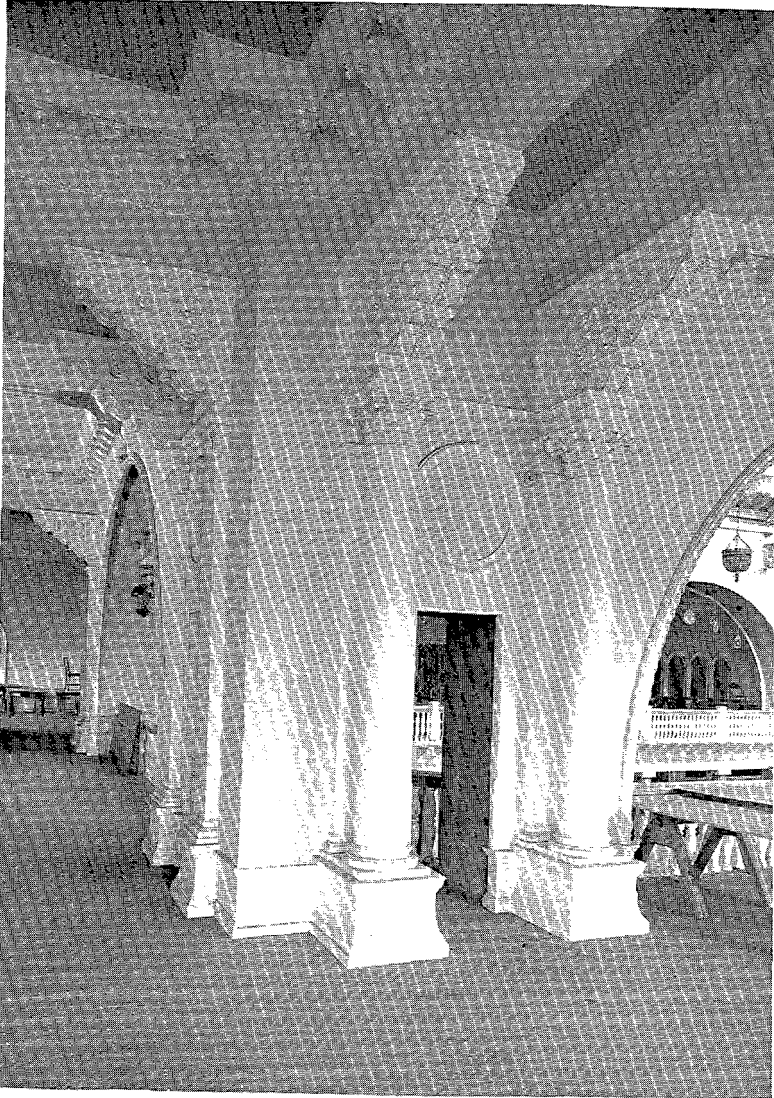




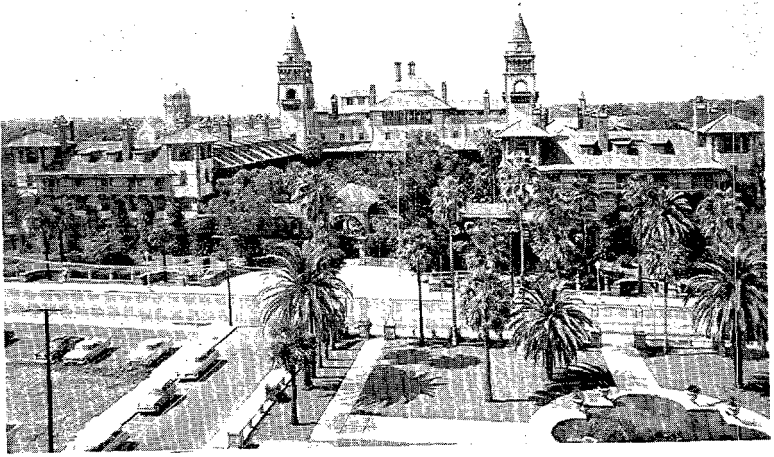
28A Alcazar Hotel, King Street

28B Courtyard, Alcazar Hotel



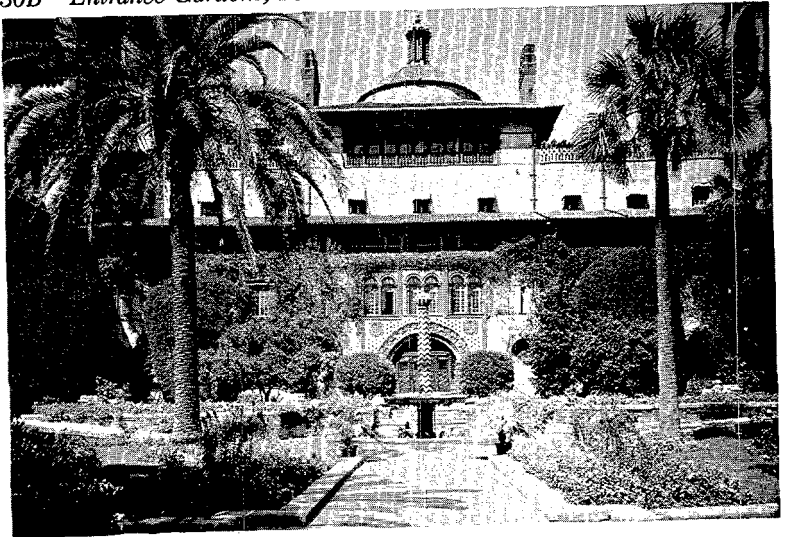


29 *Details, Alcazar Hotel*



30A *Ponce de León Hotel, King Street*

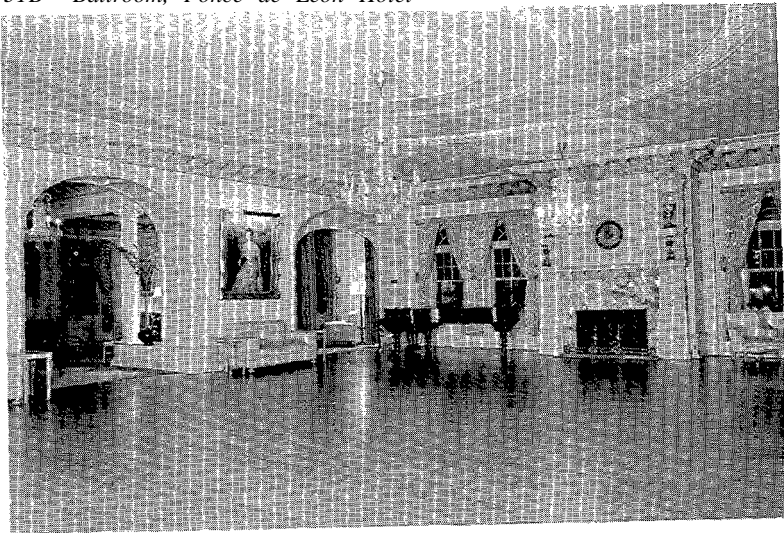
30B *Entrance Gardens, Ponce de León Hotel*

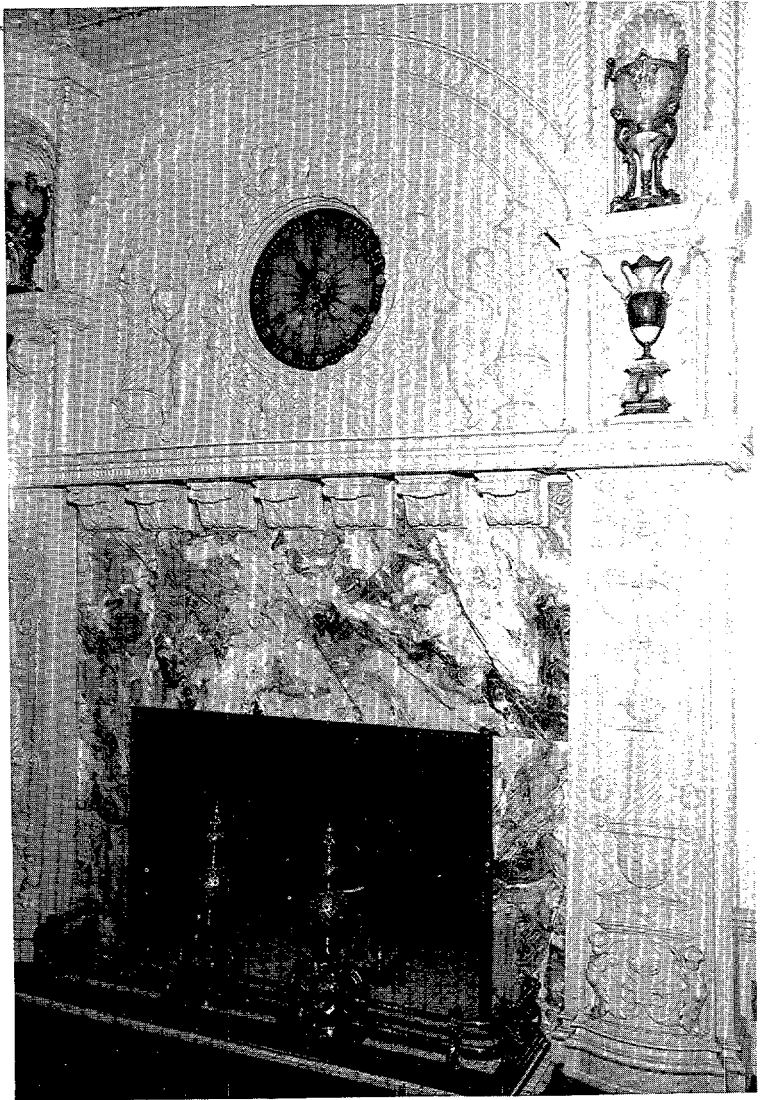




31A *Dining Room Rotunda, Ponce de León Hotel*

31B *Ballroom, Ponce de Leon Hotel*





32 *Fireplace, Ballroom, Ponce de Leon Hotel*

THE ARCHITECTURE OF HISTORIC ST. AUGUSTINE 95

HABS is a child of the Great Depression of the 1930's, founded for both cultural and economic purposes. Though the desirability of such a survey in this country had long been appreciated, it probably would not have been realized except for the needs of the unemployed. Responsibilities for the survey were divided between three cooperating agencies: National Park Service, to administer the survey and to conduct the field work; American Institute of Architects, to provide personnel and advise as to the selection of structures; and the Library of Congress, to receive the records and arrange the collection for public use. Through funds from the Civil Works Administration, Works Progress Administration, and other governmental agencies, over 6,000 buildings were recorded prior to 1941.

Since World War II, HABS has been revived through summer programs for college students. Measuring teams of three or six carefully selected architectural students, under the supervision of a professor of architecture, are stationed at historic places where they prepare field notes, precise drawings, and written descriptions accurately recording appropriate structures. At each place a professional advisor or local sponsor assists the team's supervisor in selecting the structures to be recorded and in obtaining permission to photograph and measure private buildings. During the past four years, records of 1,500 buildings have been added to the collection.

Subjects to be included in the survey are determined by considerations of architectural merit and historical significance. HABS has recorded a wide variety of building types, public and private, large and small, to insure a thorough record of our varied architectural heritage. During the early history of the survey, most subjects selected for recording were of eighteenth century origin, or built at least before the Civil War. Since 1945, the scope of the survey has been widened to include all of the nineteenth century. In some parts of the United States, where rapid development of highway programs and extensive urban growth have caused a staggering destruction of significant architecture, the limits of the survey now stretch to about 1940. Priority is given to buildings likely to be demolished or extensively altered. Rapid change, characteristic of our society, increases the value of the survey and further intensifies its purpose.

HABS coverage in Florida is concentrated in the St. Augustine-Jacksonville areas, with spotty documentation throughout northwest Florida. Most of the recorded subjects are nineteenth century, leaving recent, but sometimes more significant, work undocumented. It seems almost unbelievable that there are no permanent or available records of the Tampa Bay Hotel, Thomas Edison's house in Fort Myers, mansions designed by Addison Mizner, most of the early subjects in Key West, and many other isolated but important buildings reflecting various eras in Florida history.

The Historic American Building Survey, willing to operate in close collaboration with universities, historic and preservation societies, state and local governments, depends on these groups for initiating programs of inventory and recording. While there seems to be little or no general interest in documenting significant Florida architecture, recognition should be given to isolated but effective projects. The University Foundation of the University of Florida recently donated drawings and photographs of the Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings house at Cross Creek to HABS. The Old Island Restoration Foundation of Key West has prepared records of the Convent of Mary Immaculate, using abbreviated HABS forms and added them to the survey. This project was prompted by the certain destruction of this important structure. The Florida Association of Architects, attempting to stimulate public interest and to forestall thoughtless destruction, is preparing an inventory of the architecture of Florida, listing buildings recorded by HABS and recommending additional subjects appropriate to the survey. These buildings will be recorded with abbreviated HABS forms to provide the basis for further study.

The following photographic essay - a collection of HABS photographs by Prime A. Beaudion and Jack E. Baucher illustrating the architecture of St. Augustine - is not only beautiful but is also unique in that it represents an isolated effort to thoroughly document Florida architecture. It will be a regretful indictment of our cultural apathy if it remains a unique collection.

FUNERALS AND FIESTAS IN EARLY EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ST. AUGUSTINE

by JOHN J. TEPASKE

THE DRAB SOCIAL LIFE of early eighteenth-century St. Augustine contrasted sharply with the glitter and pomp of life in the viceregal centers of New Spain and Peru.¹ Amusements, which gave pleasure to the people of Mexico City and Lima, were unknown in this fringe outpost of the Spanish Empire in America. The soldiers of the Castillo de San Marcos and their wives and children had little opportunity to enjoy plays, operas, tournaments of poetasters, bull fights, cock fights, horse racing, parades, mock jousts, or the joyous *recibimiento*.² Even the dubious pleasures to be obtained from the inquisitorial *auto de fe* were denied them. Floridians had to be content with the common amusements and pleasures. St. Augustine was a harsh, out-of-the way frontier area, where life was seldom lightened by the amenities or diversions common in the more populous centers of the empire.

Social activities for the Floridians of the early eighteenth century had a crude simplicity. Soldiers tiddled wine, drank smuggled English rum, played cards, or cavorted with the local trollops. Wives found their outlet in the church, in gossip, and an infrequent public festival or dance, all of which helped to relieve the monotony of an existence characterized by grinding poverty. Florida was not like other areas of the Spanish Empire where social life found its focus in the local parish or convent church. In St. Augustine, both the secular and regular clergy were impoverished. Unable to provide adequately even for the

1. For a picture of cultural and social life in New Spain in the seventeenth century, see Irving A. Leonard, *Baroque Times in Old Mexico: Seventeenth-Century Persons, Places and Practices* (Ann Arbor, 1959).

2. The *recibimiento* was the reception held for the incoming viceroy in Mexico City and Lima and later in Bogota and Buenos Aires. For the people of the viceregal capitals, it meant a gay round of tournaments, banquets, plays, bull fights, parades, dancing, and the like every time a new viceroy was installed in office. Sometimes these *recibimientos* lasted up to six months.

religious welfare of the colony, the priests and friars found it difficult to sponsor the religious fiestas, which had become the emotional catharsis for so many of Spain's imperial subjects, from the remotest hamlet in the high Andes to the wilds of northern Mexico. The principal holidays in the Roman Catholic calendar, so scrupulously and riotously observed elsewhere, passed virtually unnoticed or received only token recognition. Even Saint Augustine's Day, August 28, which should have been a time for feasting and gaiety, passed by year after year without a suitable celebration on the part of the people of the Florida capital.³

The moribund social and cultural life in Florida had its roots in two factors—poverty and the military nature of the colony. Without productive enterprises or a self-sustaining economy, the province depended almost entirely upon outside aid for its existence. The *situado*, a yearly subsidy of specie and supplies, shipped into the colony from Mexico by way of Havana, maintained the residents. The total amount of the *situado* was approximately 100,000 pesos in 1736.⁴ The colonists might have been able to live comfortably or at least provide for their needs with such support, but they encountered many difficulties. Sometimes the subsidy was delayed by the viceroy in New Spain, who did not wish to release the goods and money for Florida; by the bishop of Puebla de Los Angeles, who provided the subsidy from his sales taxes (*alcabalas*); or by the governor of Cuba, who often took for his own the goods and specie intended for St. Augustine. Occasionally *situado* ships were seized by English or Dutch pirates, who found it easy to prey on Spanish vessels as they sailed through the narrow, dangerous Bahama Channel. Frequently, delays in Vera Cruz or Havana caused shipments of flour and corn to mold or rot and meat to spoil, putting new strains upon the colonial economy. Forced to lead virtually a hand-to-mouth

3. I make my statements about the lack of festivities on holy days very hesitantly, for *fiestas* may well have occurred on religious occasions. In my research on early eighteenth-century Florida, however, I have found no documentary evidence of special celebrations on holy days outside a special Mass. In Peru, where I have also carried on research for the same period, there is a great deal of evidence that holy days were a time of feasting, drinking, and revelry.

4. A ship containing 97,000 pesos of the *situado* was seized by the English in the Bahama Channel in 1736. Letter of the governor of Florida to the viceroy of New Spain, March 26, 1743, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain, Audiencia of Santo Domingo, legajo 845. Cited hereafter as AGI, Santo Domingo.

FUNERALS AND FIESTAS IN EARLY ST. AUGUSTINE 99

existence, soldiers and their families had few extra pesos to spend on frivolous amusements.⁵ The poor soldier needed what little money he obtained to feed his family and to provide himself with a little rum to forget his hard lot and his bad luck in getting an assignment in Florida.

A second reason for the drab character of social life was the nature of this wilderness colony. Florida was purely a military outpost, untempered either by the civilian populace or by the regular or secular clergy. St. Augustine was governed by trained soldiers; residents were soldiers or the wives and children of military personnel; and shopkeepers, clergy, and civil officials catered mainly to the needs of the soldiers. Life had a military texture, and it is not surprising that Floridians did not taste the more pleasurable amenities enjoyed by those in the viceregal capitals, whose backgrounds and environment better fitted them for a variety of amusements.

In the eighteenth century there were at least a few occasions on which the colonial populace could let go, on which it could break its routine. These were celebrations of significant events in the lives of the royal house in Spain. The accession of a new king, birth of an heir, death of one of the royal family, pregnancy of the queen, a great military victory, or the marriage of one of the royal children were all occasions that demanded a suitable expression of joy or grief on the part of the king's colonial subjects. The monarch hoped, too, that his subjects in the New World would reinforce their expressions of loyalty with offerings of money as a tangible symbol of their love and respect.

In St. Augustine two events especially stirred the Floridians to a show of pomp and panoply. These were memorial funeral rites for a deceased monarch and the celebrations on the accession of a new king. The governor bore the responsibility for commemorating these occasions in the proper fashion, and it was he who insured that his colonists made the appropriate demonstrations of loyalty to the monarch. He was always careful to give official recognition in his correspondence to other significant events in the life of the royal family, such as the marriage of a prince or princess or the pregnancy of the queen, but formal

5. For a more detailed description of the economic tribulations of the Florida colony, see John J. TePaske, *The Governorship of Spanish Florida, 1700-1763* (Durham, 1964), 77-107.

celebrations occurred only upon the death or accession of the monarch.

Despite their somber character, funerals brought a change-of-pace to the Florida colony. Although hardly in the tradition of an Irish wake, burial rites forced a variation in the tempo of life in St. Augustine and helped break the terrible monotony. For funerals the governor set aside two days to celebrate the obsequies for a monarch and one day for the death of one of the royal family. The governor also prescribed the conduct of the residents of the town for the mourning period. Houses and public buildings in St. Augustine were draped with black crepe and everyone wore appropriate mourning dress. Women donned black gowns and head dresses. Soldiers and civil officials wore dress uniforms or their best clothes, suitably adorned with black symbols of mourning. Flags flew at half mast. On each day of the formal ceremonies the sacristan tolled the bells of the parish church continuously from five in the morning until ten in the evening. Both the curate of the parish church and the guardian of the convent recited a funeral Mass for the deceased, burning votive candles at their respective altars. The governor and the important civil and military leaders marched together to the parish church for the service, where they gave funeral orations, eulogizing the king or the deceased person of the royal family.⁶

During the first half of the eighteenth century the most lavish memorial services in Florida were celebrated for the death of three monarchs. The best known are the rites on March 28, 1702, commemorating the death of Charles II in 1700; on February 9 and 10, 1747, for the death of Philip V which occurred the year before; and, on March 27, 1760, for the passing of Ferdinand VI in 1759. Generally the death of a royal personage received little notice in St. Augustine. The governor and his soldiers were too preoccupied with other more immediate tasks, and there was little time, energy, or money to devote to a eulogy of a Spanish prince or princess three thousand miles away. While the people may have sympathized with the king's grief, most of St. Augus-

6. "Testimonio en relacion de haberse hecho las honras para su magestad," March 28, 1702, AGI, Santo Domingo, legajo 840. This document describes the funeral rites in Florida for Charles II on March 28, 1702. In this case the obsequies for Charles followed the celebration of the accession of Philip V to the throne of Spain.

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tine's residents in the early eighteenth century were Creoles with little attachment either to the mother country or to the royal house, outside the king himself. Their world was narrow, their outlook limited, and their pocketbooks empty. While the death caused little consternation, the funeral services were highly significant.

Like obsequies in the Middle Ages, funeral rites in Florida for a dead monarch assumed the character of a spectacle. There was a tendency both to exaggerate expressions of sorrow and to formalize the emotions. This might be explained in two ways: the funeral was both an honest expression of grief and an emotional outlet. Johan Huizinga has pointed out in his study of the Middle Ages that, "The manifestations of sorrow at the death of a prince, if at times purposely exaggerated, undoubtedly often enfolded a deep and unfeigned grief. The general instability of the soul, the extreme horror of death, the fervour of family attachment and loyalty, all contributed to make the decease of a king or a prince an afflicting event."⁷ He also points out that "the nobler the deceased the more heroic will be the mourning."⁸ The Floridians demonstrated much of the medieval tendency toward exaggeration, but this was only part of it. The obsequies, eulogies, mournful processions, tolling of bells, crepe-bedecked buildings, and black-clad spectators all helped to relieve the colonists' humdrum existence and to furnish them with an emotional outlet.

In sharp contrast to the somber atmosphere pervading royal funeral rites, public festivals were joyous events in St. Augustine. Although no more frequent than funeral obsequies, the fiestas occurring upon the accession of a new monarch or on the occasion of a royal wedding were eagerly anticipated by the residents of St. Augustine. These celebrations were times of approved license in which they could feast freely on the food provided by the governor and drink deeply of his liquor. If they were fortunate enough to have some enterprising impresario to put together a drama, they enjoyed a play - extremely amateurish, to be sure - but a theatrical, nonetheless. They enjoyed the music of the trumpeters, drummers, and pipers of the presidio, who gladly turned their talents away from martial music and joined guitarists of the town to play for dancing and singing. Candles lighted St.

7. Johan Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (Garden City, 1954), 51-52.

8. *Ibid.*, 53.

Augustine's narrow streets, doorways, and the windows of her houses and put the town in a festive mood. Church and convent bells were rung joyously in contrast to the sonorous tolling on funeral days. Soldiers in dress uniforms, civil officials in their best clothes, and women in their most elegant finery promenaded along the gaily decorated streets and attended Mass at the parish or convent church.

To honor a new monarch's assumption of the throne, formal ceremonies usually preceded informal celebrations in the colonies. The governor opened the formal rites with an official proclamation, stating that the new king had come to the throne, and followed this with a short eulogy. The residents then gave their own voluble demonstration of love and loyalty. On January 7, 1702, for example, His Majesty's Florida subjects assembled in St. Augustine's public square to hear Governor Joseph de Zuniga y Cerda honor the newly crowned Philip V. After his speech extolling the virtues of the new Bourbon monarch, soldiers and residents shouted their tribute to Philip, and cries of "*Castilla Florida, Castilla Florida, por el rey catolico, Don Felipe Quinto*" rang out from those standing along one side of the square. Those on the other side joyously replied, "*Viva, viva, viva.*" Three times the enthusiastic crowd repeated these cries. At the close of the formal ceremony, the governor announced that he was freeing prisoners from the St. Augustine jail in honor of the happy occasion.

The informal celebration then followed. There were chocolates and sweet meats to delight the children, and barrels of rum and wine to please the adults, and then there was dancing. Festivities continued throughout the afternoon, and often it was early morning, before the revelers, exhausted from feasting and carousing, returned to their homes and beds. One of the *fiesta's* unsavory features was a request for donations for a royal gift, and while rum and wine generally loosened the pursestrings and made for more cheerful givers, unfortunately for the king, the soldiers of Florida had little to offer.⁹

Perhaps the most festive occasion in Florida during the first half of the eighteenth century occurred in the spring of 1747 during the tenure of Governor Manuel de Montiano, when a gala

9. "Testimonio sobre las reales fiestas que se hicieron en la ciudad de la Florida," March 4, 1702, AGI, Santo Domingo, legajo 840.

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festival was held honoring the accession of Ferdinand VI to the throne of Spain the year before. Having held the obsequies for Philip V in February, the governor declared April 30 and May 1 as the time to honor the newly crowned king. The first morning soldiers of the Castillo de San Marcos raised the banner of the new monarch high atop the fort and the town. In the plaza on a stage constructed especially for the festival, the officials of St. Augustine including Treasurer Juan Esteban de Pena, proclaimed their great love and devotion for Ferdinand VI and solicited donations from the crowd. Afterwards, the citizens dispersed to spend the rest of the day in their own private merry making.¹⁰

The following morning, the entire town attended a high Mass at the Church of San Francisco and heard another panegyric for the king delivered by the parish priest. After Mass, Governor Montiano announced in accordance with custom that he was pardoning several criminals held in the St. Augustine jail. After the formal ceremonies, the populace turned to the public festivities. For the informal celebrations there was some class distinction. Montiano entertained the principal military, civil, and religious officials, and a "few notable residents" at a resplendent banquet in his residence. The rank-and-file, not important or fortunate enough to enjoy the governor's well-laden table or fine wines and brandy, feasted on a liberal supply of free food and imbibed a prodigious amount of free liquor in the public square and in the surrounding streets of the town. As they celebrated, the residents shouted continually, "Long live our king, Ferdinand VI." Plays, masquerades, and dancing on the newly constructed stage entertained the residents throughout the afternoon and gave local people a chance to display their talents. Improvised horse races satisfied those with gambling blood.¹¹

Montiano also arranged a bull fight for the afternoon of May

10. The Floridians never seemed willing or able to make large contributions to the king upon such occasions. Letter of the governor of Florida to the king, November 28, 1708, *ibid.*, legajo 841. In this letter Corcoles points out that he could not get contributions from his men upon the birth of a new prince because of the poverty and misery of the colonists. Letter of the governor of Florida to the Marquis of Ensenada, February 1, 1749, *ibid.*, legajo 2541. Montiano explains in this letter that his soldiers are able to contribute only a meager sum for the celebration of Ferdinand's accession to the throne.

11. Letter of the governor of Florida to the Marquis of Ensenada, June 6, 1747, *ibid.*

1. Using all his ingenuity, the governor ordered six bulls from an English cattle raiser in Georgia. (One can only speculate on Montiano's fervent hope that the *toros* be of the same quality as the brave bulls of Jerez in southern Spain.) As it turned out the Englishman could only furnish five animals and while they were being put into fighting trim, three wandered off and could not be found anywhere on the appointed day of the spectacle. Left with only two bulls whose fighting prowess was suspect, Montiano called off the *corrida*, which disappointed an eager crowd and several erstwhile matadors.¹²

The liquor continued to flow far into the night, and some of the soldiers, emboldened by the heady draughts, left the public square to intrude on the governor's private, more sedate gathering. Entering the courtyard of the governor's residence, the soldiers began shouting loudly to get Montiano's attention. When he appeared, they pointed out boisterously that no festival in Havana had ever compared with the one now taking place in St. Augustine. Admitting their discontent with conditions in Florida and their own penchant for complaint about the poverty and isolation of the colony, they now saw the advantages of service in this rough, frontier province. Montiano listened politely, and then urged them to leave, personally accompanying them to the door of the courtyard where they finally made a noisy exit. Later, the governor wrote that he was proud of the loyalty of his men, despite the fact that an excess of drink may have clouded their judgment.¹³

Fiestas and celebrations enlivened the colony, adding zest and color to its otherwise drab existence. Festivities were de high point of social life in early eighteenth-century St. Augustine and were eagerly anticipated by the residents. But these events occurred all too seldom. The accession of Philip V, Ferdinand VI, and Charles III were times for rejoicing, but they took place only three times in sixty years, an average of once every twenty years. It is no wonder that they took on the aspects of a bacchanalian revelry. The fact that they occurred so infrequently, however, is testimony to the nature of the colony. It was a struggling, military outpost on the fringe of empire with few of the amenities of civilization.

12. *Ibid.*

13. *Ibid.*

THE EAST FLORIDA INDIANS UNDER SPANISH AND ENGLISH CONTROL: 1763-1765

by ROBERT L. GOLD

FLORIDA was smoothly transferred from Spanish to British control following ratification of the 1763 Treaty of Paris. Spain regretfully traded her St. Augustine province in North America to Great Britain for Cuba, which had surrendered to an English onslaught during the Seven Years' War. Despite the illegal property transactions of England and Spain, the two nations generally observed most of the international provisions of the Paris pact during the transfer of eighteenth-century Florida. The exchange of colonial rule in the province was therefore marred by surprisingly few moments of discord. The entire transfer process, of course, was accommodated by the Spanish crown's determination to evacuate and resettle the total population of colonial Florida. Actually, the Spanish Floridians and their possessions were removed to New Spain and Cuba before any significant British movement to Florida was inaugurated.

Perhaps the eighteenth-century Catholic Church enjoyed its most rewarding experience in Florida when the Christianized Indians of the colony voluntarily joined the mass migration of 1763. Many of the Catholic Indians actually petitioned the crown for permission to evacuate with Spanish citizens and soldiers. Non-Christian Indians were reported to have displayed dismay upon learning of the Spanish exodus, and the frequently hostile tribes of the Apalache hinterlands surprisingly requested the privilege of continuing under the protection of His Catholic Majesty. Amid such an appreciative atmosphere of Hispanic rule, the Spanish Floridians departed from East and West Florida with their remaining native allies. After the disastrous decline of the Florida missionary system in the sixty years before 1763, the Church undoubtedly found some satisfaction in the decision of the proselytized population to accompany the Spaniards from the St. Augustine and Pensacola presidios. Indigenous people thus

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departed from the environs of St. Augustine, Apalache, and Pensacola to Spanish havens in the Caribbean.

Prior to 1763, the Florida Indians had continually beleaguered the Spaniards. Vacillating between English and Spanish alliances, the Indians frustrated Spain's endeavors to obstruct Britain's southern advances, and they interfered with the crown's efforts to control central Florida, the Gulf coast, and the ever-changing Anglo-Spanish borders. Disconcerted Hispanic officials knew that unless the opportunistic Indians were constantly deluged with feasts and gifts of rum, weapons, powder, and trinkets, Spain's tribal leagues would soon be sundered. Even alliances based upon presents could be wrecked if the other European states offered the natives more or better gifts. The cost of such undependable unions often approached as much as 9,000 pesos annually. Spanish authority over Apalache (the Tallahassee area), Guale (southeastern Georgia), and Timucua (central and northeast Florida and Southern Georgia) was therefore seriously debilitated as the British and French competed with the Spaniards for Indian friendship. By 1763, only Apalache was under Spain's dominion, and the Creek tribes of the area were never totally subject to Spanish control.¹

1. The title Creek is a short name for Ochese or Ocheese Creek Indians. Those Indians residing in the vicinity of the Flint and Chattahoochee rivers were called Lower Creeks, while the natives of the Coosa, Tallapoosa, and Alabama rivers were called Upper Creeks. The Lower Creeks of British East Florida inhabited the St. Johns River valley west of Picolata. Verner W. Crane, "The Origin of the Name of the Creek Indians," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, V (December 1918), 339-42; Wilbur R. Jacobs (ed.), *Indians of the Southern Colonial Frontier: The Edmond Atkin Report and Plan of 1755* (Columbia, 1954), 56-62. For a careful history and description of the Creeks see John R. Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors*, Bulletin Number 73, Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution (Washington, 1922); Governor Juan de Ayala Escobar to the crown, St. Augustine, November 19, 1717, Archivo General de Indias (cited hereafter as AGI) estante 58, cajon 1, legajo 35/folio 74; the visit of the chief of Cavetas to St. Augustine, St. Augustine, December 15, 1717, AGI 58-1-30/68; Governor Juan de Ayala Escobar to the crown, St. Augustine, December 22, 1717, and February 28, 1718, AGI 58-1-30/68/73/75; Governor Antonio de Benavides to the crown, St. Augustine, September 30, 1718, AGI 58-1-30/84; Benavides to the crown, St. Augustine, October 15, 1723, AGI 58-1-29/59; Royal Cedula to the governor of Florida, Ildefonso, June 16, 1725, AGI 58-1-24/169; Benavides to the crown, St. Augustine, October 15, 1728, AGI 58-1-29/100; John Jay TePaske, *The Governorship of Spanish Florida, 1700-1763* (Durham, 1964), 193-226. All documents cited as AGI were obtained from the Stetson Collection of Spanish Records located in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, Gainesville, Florida.

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When Melchor Feliu assumed the St. Augustine governorship in 1762, he swiftly arranged treaties with the Lower Creek Indians of Florida. Faithfully believing that a policy of kindness would insure peaceful relations with Spain's indigenous subjects, Feliu concluded agreements with the frequently troublesome Tallapoosas and the Uchizes. Throughout most of the eighteenth century, Spanish Florida continued to enjoy cordial relations with the Yamasees. Governor Feliu hoped that the Creek treaties would enable his government to settle Canary Islanders in the exposed Tolomato locality (north St. Augustine) and offer the unprotected residents of La Chua and Santa Fe ² security from Indian attack. While involved in treaty negotiations, however, Feliu was also busy strengthening the defenses of St. Augustine and the surrounding area. ³

Feliu soon learned that his precautions were neither superfluous nor inopportune. As the Spanish Floridians commenced their evacuation from the *presidio* in 1763-1764, the local Indians reacted ferociously to news of the imperial exchange. Although they were notified that their landed rights would not be altered with the advent of British administration, the skeptical Indians brutally assaulted outposts and plantations on the Anglo-Spanish frontier. Indian barbarities continued to occur in Georgia and South Carolina even after presents were distributed. The Indians were credited with killing more than 4,000 persons and scattering approximately 1,000 families. Accounts from the north also disclosed that Indian warriors fought regular soldiers in formation and seized their forts. ⁴

Regardless of these aggressive activities, the Spaniards continued their preparations to leave Florida. The Yamasees were not adversely affected by the Indian uprising since the Spanish authorities proceeded with plans to evacuate their native friends.

2. Those areas were in proximity to today's city of Gainesville.

3. Governor Feliu to Minister Julian de Arriaga, St. Augustine, February 20, 1763, AGI 86-6-6/88, Santo Domingo, legajo 2542; Feliu to Arriaga, St. Augustine, February 20, and May 28, 1763, AGI 87-3-13/30-31.

4. Feliu to Arriaga, St. Augustine, April 16, 1764, AGI 86-6-6/43, Santo Domingo, legajo 2543; Major Ogilvie to the board of trade, St. Augustine, January 26, 1764, Public Record Office: Colonial Office 5/540. Cited hereafter as PRO:CO; all documents cited as PRO:CO are located in the microfilm collection of the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, Gainesville, Florida.

Pensacola's Yamasees Apalachinos were carried to Vera Cruz, and a few Apalache Indians accompanied the Spanish soldiers to Havana. Catholic Indians from St. Augustine were also transported to Havana for resettlement. More than 150 Indians left Florida during the evacuation of 1763-1764.⁵

Nineteen Indian families were conveyed from St. Augustine to Havana. Previously, they lived in the nearby villages of Nuestra Senora de la Leche and Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe de Tolomato, where they planted maize and vegetables while serving the Spaniards as guides, scouts, and couriers. The migrating Indians totaled eighty-nine persons: twenty men, thirty-two women, and thirty-seven children (eighteen boys and nineteen girls).⁶ Arriving in Havana they first received one and one-half reales per diem from September 1763 to April 1764. Later, they received weekly payments of three and one-half reales. By 1766, it was obvious that the Cuban environment was not particularly salutary for the Florida natives. Of the total number of emigres, only fifty-three remained alive, eleven Indian males had perished during the first two years in Cuba.⁷ The Indian settlement in Cuba proved catastrophic for the Florida Yamasees.

Some Apalache Indians also joined the Spanish exodus. Promising to become Catholics, five Indians from the towns of Sabacolo and Tamasca traveled with Captain Don Bentura Diaz and his command to Havana. The Apalache garrison and its Indian wards planned to leave San Marcos in the fall of 1763,

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5. Acts establishing the Pensacola Indians near Vera Cruz, 1764-1766, Archivo General de la Nacion, Mexico 911, Ramo de Tierras, legajo 466; Governor Feliu and Don Juan Elixio de la Puente to the governor of Cuba, St. Augustine and Havana, January 22, 1764, and January 27, 1770, AGI 87-1-5/4, Santo Domingo, legajo 2595; Puente to the governor of Cuba, Havana, September 22, 1766, AGI 87-1-5/3, Santo Domingo, legajo 2595.
 6. One statistical account shows twenty Indian men as emigres of St. Augustine, while another report mentions a total of only fourteen male exiles. Feliu and Puente to the governor of Cuba, St. Augustine and Havana, January 22, 1764, and January 27, 1770, AGI 87-1-5/4, Santo Domingo, legajo 2595; Puente to the governor of Cuba, Havana, September 22, 1766, AGI 87-1-5/3, Santo Domingo, legajo 2595.
 7. Feliu and Puente to the governor of Cuba, St. Augustine and Havana, January 22, 1764, and January 27, 1770, AGI 87-1-5/4, Santo Domingo, legajo 2595; Puente to the governor of Cuba, Havana, September 22, 1766, AGI 87-1-5/3, Santo Domingo, legajo 2595; Mark F. Boyd, "History of Eighteenth-century Florida and Don Juan Elixio de la Puente" (unpublished manuscript).

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but the misfortunes of Captain John Harries delayed their departure until February 1764.⁸

While Captain Diaz was planning his departure and awaiting the appearance of his English replacements, the little Apalache outpost was visited by a large number of non-Christian Carolina Indians. Fearing their intentions, Diaz quickly wrote to Conde de Riela requesting such desirable gifts as rum, syrup, tobacco, vermilion, mirrors, knives, glass beads, colored ribbons, colored silk and wool, muskets, shot, and gun powder for the Indians. In his letter to the Cuban governor, Diaz complained that he had been forced to give the menacing visitors seventy pesos worth of rum which his son purchased in Pensacola; rum was one of the Indians' preferred bartering commodities. Some of the tribesmen who descended upon San Marcos appeared at the fort to talk with three Indians recently returned from Havana who discoursed freely on their experiences and lavishly praised Spanish generosity. Nevertheless, Diaz continued to encounter difficulties with the Indians who, he claimed, were unresponsive to kindness, compulsion, or obligations, and whose friendship was only negotiable upon the distribution of gifts. When the Spanish soldiers of Apalache were finally relieved in February 1764, the succeeding British occupants of Fort St. Marks encountered many of the same problems reported by Captain Diaz.⁹

On September 3, 1763, forty-seven Yamasee Apalachinos sailed with Governor Don Diego Ortiz Parilla and the members of the *presidio* of San Miguel de Pensacola to Vera Cruz. They

8. Captain Diaz to Conde de Riela, Apalache, November 6, 1763, AGI 86-7-11/16; Diaz to Conde de Riela, Apalache, January 19 and 21, 1764, AGI 86-7-11/20. Captain John Harries was ordered by the British Army command to relieve the Spanish garrison at Apalache. For a thorough account of Harries' odyssey to Apalache, see the following letters: Captain Harries to Lord Amherst, Pensacola, December 11 and 14, 1763; Captain Harries to General Gage, Pensacola, February 7, 1764; General Gage to Captain Harries, New York, March 31, 1764; Captain Harries to General Gage, Apalache, February 25, 1764, Mark F. Boyd, "From a Remote Frontier: Letters and Documents Pertaining to San Marcos de Apalache, 1763-1769, during the British occupation of Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XIX (April 1941), 402-12; *ibid.*, XX (July 1941), 82-6.

9. Captain Diaz to Conde de Riela, Apalache, November 6, 1763, AGI 86-7-11/16; Diaz to Conde de Riela, Apalache, January 19 and 21, 1764, AGI 86-7-11/20; Captain Harries to General Gage, Apalache, May 11, 1764, Boyd, "From a Remote Frontier," XX, 89; *ibid.*, XIX, 193, 206, 208.

then journeyed by land to Tempoala, where a village called San Carlos was established near the Chacalacas River. Land and farm implements were distributed to the Indians so that they could support themselves.¹⁰ The colony was directed by Lieutenant Don Pedro de Amoscotigue, under the informal protection of the former Governor Parilla of Pensacola. Amoscotigue took command of the Indian affairs after his predecessor, Don Joseph de Rivera, was accused of mismanaging their finances.¹¹

Spain, then, attempted to guarantee the Christianized Indians of Florida social and economic advantages in Cuba and New Spain. Regardless of nationality, many Florida natives were allowed to migrate to other areas of the Spanish Indies as long as they were of the Catholic faith or professed intentions to convert to Catholicism. Apparently the Yamasees of Pensacola enjoyed better fortune in New Spain than the Yamasees of St. Augustine discovered in Cuba, but the royal Spanish officials considered the unfortunate fate of the St. Augustine Indians simply a circumstantial accident which paralleled the unexpected calamities that beset the Spanish emigres in Cuba following the evacuation of 1753-1764.¹² They therefore pretended to maintain both groups of Indians safely and comfortably outside of Florida.

While the Spaniards of Cuba and New Spain were occupied with resettling Florida soldiers, citizens, and Indians, the British were concerned with the settlement of East and West Florida and the pacification of the remaining Indian population. England's colonial ministers realized that their inherited Indian problems would have to be solved quickly if plans to populate the Floridas were to be executed without war and bloodshed. An Indian agreement was thus a colonial priority after Florida's transfer to Great Britain.

Before the last Spaniards abandoned Florida, Britain's George III issued a detailed proclamation, October 7, 1763, for the management of the colonies. He divided Florida into two ad-

10. Acts establishing the Pensacola Indians near Vera Cruz, 1764-1766, Archivo General de la Nacion, Mexico 911, Ramo de Tierras, legajo 466.

11. *Ibid.*

12. The suffering of the Spanish Floridians in Cuba is described by Robert L. Gold, "The Settlement of the East Florida Spaniards in Cuba, 1763-1766," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XLII (January 1964), 216-31.

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ministrative provinces: East Florida and West Florida.¹³ While this defined the new provinces' administrative and geographic status and encouraged colonial settlement, the document was primarily issued to propitiate the incensed Indian population.¹⁴ The Indian uprising of 1763, usually known as "the conspiracy of Pontiac," made the necessity of an Indian accommodation particularly urgent. Since the board of trade was aware that Indian discontent resulted from the American settlers' trading abuses and their unwelcome infiltrations into the Indians' hunting grounds, the king was urged to publish alleviating answers to the Indians' complaints in his 1763 proclamation.¹⁵

The proclamation promoted several new colonial policies. Indian domains and trade henceforth would be under imperial control. Extension of governmental power over such significant realms of Indian life demonstrated a willingness to accept the Indians as state wards. Their protection was to be maintained even as the British colonies expanded westward beyond the "temporary" boundaries into Indian territory; western expansion, of course, was to be controlled through government purchase of the Indians' lands. The recently acquired Floridas were immediately opened for settlement so that land speculators and frontiersmen could be directed away from the Indian environs in the north and

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13. Great Britain, *By the King: A Proclamation, October 7, 1763* (Printed by Mark Baskett, 1763). A copy of this proclamation is located in the manuscript collection of the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, Gainesville, Florida.
 14. Clarence W. Alvord, *The Mississippi Valley in British Politics*, 2 vols. (Cleveland, 1917), I, 182-84; Charles L. Mowat, *East Florida as a British Province, 1763-1784* (Berkeley, 1943), 10; Mowat, "The Land Policy in British East Florida," *Agricultural History*, XIV (April 1940), 75-77; Clarence W. Alvord, "The Genesis of the Proclamation of 1763," *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society*, XXXVI (1908), 20-52; Helen L. Shaw, *British Administration of the Southern Indians, 1756-1783* (Lancaster, 1931), 26-31.
 15. Jacobs (ed.), *Indians of the Southern Colonial Frontier*, *passim*; Alvord, "Genesis of the Proclamation of 1763," 22; Clarence E. Carter, "Some Aspects of British Administration in West Florida," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, I (December 1914), 365; Albert T. Volwiler, *George Croghan and the Westward Movement, 1741-1782* (Cleveland, 1926), 171; Oliver M. Dickerson, *American Colonial Government, 1696-1765* (New York, 1962), 253; John Richard Alden, "The Albany Congress and the Creation of the Indian Superintendencies," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXVII (September 1940), 193-210.

west. Imperial management of western migration and Indian affairs was thus established by the proclamation.¹⁶

Britain's newly proclaimed Indian policies were put into operation in Florida by John Stuart, Indian superintendent of the Southern Department from 1761 to 1779. Recognizing the conciliatory value of Indian conferences, Stuart organized three meetings at Mobile, Pensacola, and Picolata, where initial problems were settled and where a peaceful precedent for British occupancy of the Floridas was arranged. Stuart's efforts contributed significantly to the organization of the Southern Department and the maintenance of peace in the southern colonies from 1763 to 1775.¹⁷

The Creek Congress of East Florida convened approximately five and one-half months after the Pensacola meetings were concluded on June 4, 1765. Prior to John Stuart's Picolata negotiations, the government of East Florida established very cautious contacts with the neighboring tribes. Governor James Grant hoped to avoid meeting the Indians en masse until the arrival of Stuart and the organization of local conferences. In a letter to the board of trade he remarked that he would "avoid having any Intercourse with them 'till that time (Stuart's arrival)." ¹⁸ Grant also wanted more troops in his colony: "We have not 200 men to do Duty, which are by no means sufficient to protect this Country against a numerous Nation of Indians consisting of near

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16. Arthur Herbert Basye, *The Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations: Commonly Known as the Board of Trade, 1748-1782* (New Haven, 1925), 128; John Richard Alden, *John Stuart and the Southern Colonial Frontier: A Study of Indian Relations, war, trade, and Land Problems in the Southern Wilderness, 1754-1755* (Ann Arbor, 1944), 240-42, and 265; Dickerson, *American Colonial Government*, 348-49, and 356; Alvord, *Mississippi Valley in British Politics*, I, 175-76, and 188-89; Alvord, "Genesis of the Proclamation of 1763," 51-2; Volwiler, *George Croghan and the Westward Movement*, 171.
 17. Creek Congress at Picolata, Picolata, November 15-18, 1765, PRO:CC 5/548; Creek Congress at Pensacola, Pensacola, May 26-June 4, 1765; Chickasaws and Chactaws Congress at Mobile, Mobile, March 20-April 4, 1765, Dunbar Rowland (ed.), *Mississippi Provincial Archives, English Dominion: 1763-1766* (Nashville, 1921), 188-255; Alden, *John Stuart and the Southern Colonial Frontier*, 192-214, and 334-36; Shaw, *British Administration of the Southern Indians*, 31-2, and 37-48.
 18. Governor James Grant to the board of trade, East Florida, November 22, 1764, PRO:CO 5/540; *ibid.*, March 1, 1765, PRO:CO 5/540.

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four thousand Men.”¹⁹ When Indians visited both St. Augustine and Apalache, however, they were received with courtesy, provisions, and presents. At Apalache, Captain Harries on May 11, 1764, glumly reported:

Major Ogilvie has great plenty of rum at St. Augustine but has sent me only one puncheon for the use of the Indians and that not full. they are insatiable in the two articles of rum and tobacco; I wish I had three more puncheons of tolerable good rum wch might be multiplied into five good enough for the Indians, one hogshead of good tobacco, one hundred weight of rice, twenty bushels of Indian corn, twenty or thirty blankets for the winter might enable one to weather one year, and without presents there is no satisfying them. Don Bentura Diaz the officer whom I relieved, assured me that the donations here every year by his Catholic Majesty exceeded two hundred pounds sterling, but I am convinced that less than half that sum will conciliate them to the English government. . . .²⁰

Governor Grant's government practiced the same "gift" policies to appease the natives in East Florida as Governor George Johnstone's administration in West Florida; the Spaniards, of course, had been forced to follow similar procedures to purchase Indian cordiality.²¹ Grant obviously recognized that peaceful Indian relations, even though purchased by presents, were essential to the development of his province:

Peace and Harmony with the neighbouring Indians, will be very material to the Colonists, the least Disturbance with them, would effectually prevent the Country's being settled, the Indians have been accustomed to be at War with the Spaniards, & as the Ideas of those Savages, are in a great measure local, it will no doubt be expedient, to give them

19. *Ibid.*, September 2, 1764, PRO:CO 5/540.

20. Mark F. Boyd, "From a Remote Frontier," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XX (July 1941), 89.

21. Grant to John Pownall, London, July 30, 1763, PRO:CO 5/540; Grant to the board of trade, East Florida, September 2, 1764, PRO:CO 5/540; *ibid.*, November 22, 1764, PRO:CO 5/540; *ibid.*, March 1, 1765, PRO:CO 5/540; the June 1765 report of Governor George Johnstone and Superintendent John Stuart, Pensacola, June 12, 1765, Rowland, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, I, 186-87; Captain Harries to Lord Amherst, Pensacola, December 11, 1763, Boyd, "From a Remote Frontier," XIX, 403; General Gage to Captain Harries, New York, March 31, 1764, *ibid.*, 410; Harries to Gage, Apalache, May 11, 1764, *ibid.*, XX, 89; Lieutenant Pampellonne to General Gage, Apalache, October 18, 1764, *ibid.*, XX, 296.

a favorable Impression . . . by making Presents to them, which will keep them in good Humor, and will induce them to relinquish any Claim, which they may pretend to have to the new Country, in which they never would permit the Spaniards to establish a single plantation.²²

Even after Superintendent Stuart's diplomatic work was completed in 1765, the distribution of presents continued in Florida.

Following the publication of the proclamation of 1763, regular yearly subsidies were given to the governments of Georgia and East and West Florida for Indian expenses. East Florida was initially assigned 1,500 pounds in 1764, but thereafter received 1,000 pounds annually. West Florida was granted 2,000 pounds annually until 1780. British money provided the Indians with such supplies as scissors, combs, knives, razors, hoes, hatchets, pots, calico, shirts, blankets, "gartering," tobacco, rice, corn, and rum.²³ The costs of provisioning the demanding natives were obviously high, but much less than the price of war which might have resulted if the Indians remained dissatisfied.

Although Florida authorities attempted to meet the needs of those tribesmen who visited St. Augustine and Apalache in the months before the Picolata conference, the English continued to be apprehensive of Indian aggression. General Thomas Gage, commander-in-chief of England's armed forces in America, was also alarmed about the future Anglo-Indian relations in the southern provinces:

. . . we are now in the happy Situation to the Southward, to be courted by all the Nations, from the Quarrells they have with one another. Their Education and the whole Business of their Lives is War and Hunting, and it is not possible for us to divert that Active Spirit, Inherent in Them, as well as the rest of Mankind, to Occupations which are more innocent and more Industrious. The Savage Nations therefore can

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22. Grant to Pownall and the board of trade, London, July 30, 1763, PRO:CO 5/540.
23. Assorted presents for a proposed meeting with East Florida Indians in 1766, East Florida, January 13, 1766, PRO:CO 5/540; Johnstone to the board of trade, West Florida, January 29, 1764, PRO:CO 5/547; General account of the receipt and expenditures of the civil establishment of East Florida, East Florida, March 11, 1765, PRO:CO 5/540; Harries to Gage, Apalache, May 11, 1764, Boyd, "From a Remote Frontier," XX, 89; Mowat, *East Florida as a British Province*, 35, 38; Clinton N. Howard, *The British Development of West Florida, 1763-1769* (Berkeley, 1947), 119-23.

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never be a long Time at Peace, and if we have not Dexterity enough to turn their Rage for war from Ourselves, and direct it to other Objects; I fear we shall often feel the ill Effects of it.²⁴

The second visitation of John Stuart was therefore anxiously awaited; the Indian superintendent initially visited Apalache in September 1764. Governor Grant was especially eager to welcome the superintendent because he wanted to arrange the boundaries of his province and proceed with property settlement.²⁵

During his first trip to Apalache, Superintendent Stuart sought to calm the chiefs of five Creek villages when he discovered "that their Uneasiness and that of their Nation proceeds principally from Jealousy on Account of their lands."²⁶ Recognizing the Creeks' concern for their property, the superintendent temporarily assuaged the anxiety of the Indian leaders with a short conciliatory speech. In order to appease his audience, he stated:

I likewise recommend to you in particular, who reside in the neighborhood of this Fort, to behave like Friends & Brothers to the English who have succeeded the Spaniards in the possession of it and who are more able and willing to assist you in every respect, and you will upon all occasions find them when well used, kind & Obliging as Brothers ought to be.

I sent your Nation a copy of the King's Royal Instructions to his Governor concerning your Lands, which you may be assured will be strictly observed, nor shall they anywhere be settled beyond the limits established at the late Congress without your consent. I have no more to add but to wish you plenty of Game, Peace & Prosperity, that you may multiply, and your Children grow up to be men & Women.²⁷

Apparently satisfied with Stuart's statements, one of the chiefs

24. Gage to Lord Halifax, New York, January 21, 1764, Clarence E. Garter (ed.), *The Correspondence of General Thomas Gage with the Secretaries of State and with the War Office and the Treasury, 1763-1775*, 2 vols. (New Haven, 1933), I, 13.

25. Grant to the board of trade, East Florida, September 2, 1764, PRO:CO 5/540; Grant to the board of trade, St. Augustine, December 9, 1765, PRO:CO 5/540; Journal of Picolata Congress, Picolata, November 15-18, 1765, PRO:CO 5/548; The Picolata Treaty, Picolata, November 18, 1765, PRO:CO 5/548; Boyd, "From a Remote Frontier," XX, 203-07; Mowat, *East Florida as a British Province*, 21-3; Alden, *John Stuart and the Southern Colonial Frontier*, 229-33.

26. Boyd, "From a Remote Frontier," XX, 204.

27. *Ibid.*, 206-07.

replied, "I now see you are the Great Kings beloved man come to smoke with us, we have shaken hands together and my heart is glad. The Spaniards are gone and you are now on the ground which we lent them, we approve of it, and shall always hold you fast as Brothers."²⁸ After the departure of the superintendent, the Apalache outpost experienced peace and tranquillity, although the commanders of that station were frequently suspicious of their native neighbors.²⁹

Stuart arrived in East Florida for his second visit in the fall of 1765, and on November 15, 1765, Governor Grant, Superintendent Stuart, and his deputy superintendent commenced the Picolata conferences with the Upper and Lower Creek chiefs. Picolata, rather than St. Augustine, was chosen as the site of the congress because the natives declined to cross the St. Johns River with their horses. The Indians were represented by Tallechea, Estime, Captain Aleck, Sempoyaffe, Latchige, Wioffke, Chayhage, Tellegeia, and several other important warriors. The Cow-keeper, chief of Latchaway (Alachua) did not attend the gathering because of "the Sickness of his Family."³⁰ When the British commissioners discerned that the Indians were "disposed to be Refractory" concerning territorial cessions, a postponement of the talks was considered. But the younger chiefs of the assembled tribes, anxious to acquire the available rum and presents, convinced their elders to grant the English "a little Land, of which they had such Plenty."³¹

28. *Ibid.*, 207.

29. Great Britain occupied San Marcos de Apalache only until the autumn of 1769. Boyd, "From a Remote Frontier," XX, 203-09, 293-310, 382-97; *ibid.*, XXI, 44-52, 135-46.

30. The Cow-keeper later visited St. Augustine on December 23, 1765. Hearing about the magnanimous reception given to the other Creek chiefs, Cow-keeper and an entourage of sixty persons traveled to the East Florida capital for an eight-day sojourn. After receiving a great medal, Cow-keeper departed for Alachua with many gifts and provisions. Governor Grant was quite impressed with him: "The Cow-keeper is One of the most intelligent Indians I have met with, 'til his Business was settled he kept perfectly Sobor, he told me He had no Objection to the Limits which had been fixed, & expressed great Satisfaction at having a Line drawn, as that would prevent Disputes: I made him a great Medal Chief . . . & We parted upon the best Terms." Grant to the board of trade, St. Augustine, January 13, 1766, PRO:CO 5/540.

31. Journal of the Picolata Congress, Picolata, November 18, 1765, PRO:CO 5/548; Grant to the board of trade, St. Augustine, December 9, 1765, PRO:CO 5/540; Alden, *John Stuart and the Southern Colonial Frontier*, 229-31.

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The Leading Men appeared Averse to Our Measures, expressed the greatest Indignation at the Interpreters, for daring to make such proposals, And upon One of the young Ones saying that he did not see why they came to the Meeting, if they intended to differ with the white People about a little Land, of which they had such Plenty, that he could see no good reason for their Conduct, & therefore thought that the Land should be given up - Our other Friends immediately altered their Sentiments, and agreed in Opinion with him, the rest of their Council did not oppose the Measure, and when they were in this Disposition We sent for them to agree about the Terms for Limits, And the Treaty was signed the 18th of November, by which they have Ceded a very extensive Territory to His Majesty, which in all probability will be sufficient for the Settlement of this Province for many Years.³²

Negotiations were concluded on Sunday, November 17, 1765, but the East Florida delegation presided over ceremonies honoring the chiefs on the following day. Festivities were highlighted by the award of medals to the chiefs. Tallechea, Estime, and Captain Aleck received large medals, while smaller medallions were given to Sempoyaffe, Latchige, Wioffke, and Chayhage. "The Superintendent presented the Chiefs to the Govr who hung the Medals about their Necks the Superintendent afterwards gave them a Charge Explaining to them the dutys of their Office which ceremony was performed under the discharge of the Fort Guns repeated by those on board the East Florida Schooner."³³ The Picolata session cost 500 pounds; 1,200 pounds less than the Pensacola conference.³⁴

The five-article treaty of Picolata contained basically the same terms as the West Florida treaties. East Florida's Indian arrangements, however, did not include trade or commissary stipulations since Stuart's trade regulations were only established in West Florida. The first article pledged both peoples to "a Perfect Sincere & Perpetual Peace and Lasting friendship;" according to this article the Creek nations were bound and obliged not to permit or com-

32. Grant to the board of trade, St. Augustine, December 9, 1765, PRO:CO 5/540.

33. Journal of the Picolata Congress, Picolata, November 18, 1765, PRO:CO 5/548.

34. Grant to the board of trade, East Florida, September 2, 1764, PRO:CO 5/540; Grant to the board of trade, St. Augustine, December 9, 1765, PRO:CO 5/540; Journal of the Picolata Congress, Picolata, November 15-18, 1765, PRO:CO 5/548; The Picolata Treaty, Picolata, November 18, 1765, PRO:CO 5/548.

mit any hostility, injury, or damage against English settlers. In the second section, the British promised to "encourage" proper persons to provide the Creeks with sufficient supplies to "Answer all their wants." The third and fourth articles established a "Blood for Blood" judgment policy:

And that if any Indian or Indians whatever shall hereafter Murder or Kill a White man, the Offender or Offenders shall without any delay, Excuse, or Pretence whatever be immediately put to Death in a publick manner in the presence of at least Two of the English, who shall happen to be nearest to the place where the Offence is committed.

And if any White man shall Murder or Kill an Indian such white man shall be tried for the Office in the same manner as if he had Murder'd a Whiteman & if found guilty shall be Executed accordingly in the presence of some of the Relations of the Indian who has been kill'd, if they, the Relations, shall chuse to attend the Execution.³⁵

Article V concerned the boundaries of East Florida. Great Britain was ceded all properties east of the St. Johns River as well as a sizeable section of territory on the west bank of the waterway. Governor Grant and John Stuart signed the treaty for England and thirty-one chiefs of thirteen Creek nations placed their seals or marks on the agreement.³⁶

Other Indian conferences were held during the British era in both East and West Florida. Since the 1765 meetings could not settle all problems, further negotiations were required, especially in West Florida where war erupted between the Creeks and the English. In East Florida, Governor Grant pressed the board of trade to permit new Indian congresses: "A Measure of that kind, when we have nothing to ask, would be very pleasing to them. It would remove the Suspicion they have of our Intention to get possession of their whole Country, & would gain their Affections at no great Expense. The Superintendent is of the same way of thinking."³⁷

East Florida enjoyed peaceful relations with the Creeks following the Picolata meeting, although reports both from Apalache

35. The Picolata Treaty, Picolata, November 18, 1765, PRO:CO 5/548.

36. *Ibid.*

37. Grant to the board of trade, St. Augustine, December 9, 1765, PRO:CO 5/540; *ibid.*, January 13, 1766, PRO:CO 5/540.

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and from Don Juan Elixio de la Puente³⁸ indicated that many native Floridians preferred Spanish rather than British control of Florida. Puente, who relished every rumor suggesting that England's possession of his former homeland was in jeopardy, claimed that the disgruntled Indians wanted the Spaniards to return as rulers of Florida. Regardless of their reservations concerning British dominion, the tribes of East Florida generally cooperated with the new residents of St. Augustine and Apalache, despite Puente's hopes to the contrary. In November 1767, Lord Shelburne, president of the board of trade, congratulated Governor Grant for the peaceful state of affairs: "Your Manner of treating the Indians has been very judicious, and the perfect Tranquility in which the Colony under your Command has remained while they have been exposed to several Insults in the neighboring Province, bears ample Testimony in your Favour."³⁹ Both Floridas continued to offer gifts and supplies in conjunction with occasional conferences, but the West Florida Indians appeared to be less receptive to the overtures than the Creeks of East Florida.⁴⁰

Spain's departure from Florida in 1763 did not significantly affect Indian affairs in the new British provinces. The Spanish Floridians carried away their few Christianized allies and willed the remaining Indians and the unpleasant indigenous problems to

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38. According to Mark F. Boyd, Don Juan Elixio de la Puente was the most prominent Floridian of the eighteenth century. His distinguished career included thirty years of military and civil service under the Spanish crown. After his voluntary exile from Florida in 1763, the patriotic Puente deluged his superiors with plans and projects to regain La Florida. Personal conversations with Mark F. Boyd; Boyd, "History of Eighteenth-century Florida and Don Juan Elixio de la Puente."
39. Lord Shelburne to Grant, Whitehall, November 14, 1767, PRO:CO 5/548.
40. Grant to the board of trade, East Florida, April 26, 1766, PRO:CO 5/541; Grant to the board of trade, St. Augustine, August 5, 1766, PRO:CO 5/541; State of Indian affairs in the southern provinces of America from 1765-1766, Florida, August 30, 1766, PRO:CO 5/541; Shelburne to Grant, Whitehall, November 14 and February 19, 1767, PRO:CO 5/548; the Second Picolata Congress, Picolata, November 21, 1767, PRO:CO 5/549; Grant to Shelburne, St. Augustine, December 10, 1767, PRO:CO 5/549; Memorial of Governor James Grant, London, January 1772, PRO:CO 5/545; Report of Governor George Johnstone, Pensacola, June 23, 1766, Rowland, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, I, 511-15; Johnson, *British West Florida*, 76-82.

the future occupants of the peninsular colony.⁴¹ Faced with the spreading Pontiac rebellion in the north, Great Britain quickly sought to stabilize Anglo-Indian relations and establish peace in the Floridas through the distribution of gifts and the prudent management of native congresses. Initially, England's colonial program for East and West Florida seemed successful, but Indian affairs in the years after 1765 were often fraught with difficulty and disappointment.

41. English colonial correspondence revealed, however, that the Spaniards continued to trade with the East Florida Indians from Havana during the British Period, 1763-1784. The Cubans, who were accused of "tampering" with the Lower Creeks, apparently arranged Indian meetings in their capital city. The Spanish fishing fleets conveyed the Creek chiefs to Cuba, and also served the Spaniards as trading vessels in the Bay of Tampa and elsewhere in the Florida coastal waters, Gage to Shelburne, New York, April 28, 1768; Gage to Lord Hillsborough, New York, April 1, 1769; Gage to Hillsborough, New York, July 7, 1770, Carter, *The Correspondence of General Thomas Gage, I*, 138, 170, 210, 222, and 262; James W. Covington, "Trade Relations Between Southwestern Florida and Cuba, 1600-1840," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXVIII (October 1959), 116-17.

JANAS* IN BRITISH EAST FLORIDA

by Kenneth H. Beeson, Jr.

THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR in Europe officially ended in Paris on February 10, 1763, with England actively solving the Anglo-French contest for colonial and commercial supremacy in North America. France was in a state of bankruptcy. Spain, a long standing opponent of England, suffered defeat and consequent loss of colonial territory. Spain had entered the war at a rather late hour, and England quickly captured Havana and Manila. At Paris, Spain suffered the loss of Florida, fishing rights in Newfoundland waters, and lumber rights in Honduras. England became the undisputed mistress of the seas; George III became the leading monarch in Europe; and for the first time the English flag flew from Canada to the Florida Keys.¹

England took possession of Florida early in 1763, and the Spaniards withdrew to Cuba and to their new lands in Louisiana. In East Florida only eight Spanish subjects remained, and by early 1764 they had departed. All that remained in the Spanish *presidio* of St. Augustine reminiscent of two hundred years of military activities were a number of small, crude buildings and the Castillo de San Marcos. On August 29, 1764, the military government of East Florida ended, and James Grant, first governor of the new British province, arrived in St. Augustine aboard the sloop *Ferret*. Almost immediately, life in the province assumed a complexion of "business" and experimentation designed to augment business, and St. Augustine was transformed from a Spanish military post into a British endeavor.

Posed with a problem of settling East Florida, Governor Grant, with the aid of his government, launched an advertising

*The word Janas (d₃ ae n ae) among descendants of the Minorcans of New Smyrna, Florida, means "strangers" in present-day usage.

1. The military campaigns and diplomatic arrangements of the Seven Years' War are in R. R. Palmer, *A History of the Modern World* (New York, 1960), 251-58. See also Robert L. Gold, "The Transfer of Florida from Spanish to British Control, 1762-1765" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Iowa, 1963).

program. He placed notices in all the English colonies and provinces, painting a beautiful picture of East Florida, describing the many advantages of settling in this "tropical paradise," and recounting the liberal British land grant policies.² While settlers were slow in coming, there were many speculators with aspirations of obtaining large tracts of land which were surveyed by William Gerrard De Brahm, a Dutch emigrant from Georgia, the controversial surveyor general of East Florida. With several assistants, including Bernard Romans, he completed a survey of the coast of East Florida and divided the land into tracts.³

By the end of 1767, several gentlemen of rank, importance, and wealth had acquired grants in East Florida. By 1766, sixteen of these grants, totaling 222,000 acres were settled;⁴ but only two—the settlement at Rollestown, and the colony of Dr. Andrew Turnbull at Mosquito Inlet — were of major importance.

Andrew Turnbull, in 1776, was a Scottish physician practicing in London.⁵ Earlier he had served as British Consul in Smyrna (Izmir), Turkey, and had traveled extensively throughout the Middle East and the Mediterranean islands.⁶ About 1751, Turnbull married Maria Gracia Dura Bin, daughter of a wealthy merchant of Smyrna,⁷ and their son, Nicholas, was born in Smyrna.⁸

Dr. Turnbull caught the fever of English land speculation early in 1766 and decided to abandon his medical practice in

2. Savannah *Georgia Gazette*, December 27, 1764.

3. Charles L. Mowat, "That Odd Being, De Brahm," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XX (April 1942), 323-45. For the unpublished part of De Brahm's Report, see Carita Doggett Corse, "De Brahm's Report on East Florida, 1773," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XVII (January 1939), 219-26.

4. See enclosure in the letter of Governor Tonyn to Lord Germain, St. Augustine, November 1776, Public Record Office: Colonial Office 5/557. Cited hereafter as PRO:CO. Documents cited are in the microfilm collection of the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, Gainesville. The most complete study of the land grant policies of Great Britain pertinent to East Florida is Charles L. Mowat, *East Florida as a British Province, 1763-1784* (Berkeley, 1943). For Grant's program of advertising East Florida, see 53.

5. Carita Doggett Corse, *Dr. Andrew Turnbull and the New Smyrna Colony of Florida* (Jacksonville, 1919) 16.

6. Edward W. Lawson, "Minorcans of Saint Augustine," a paper read before the St. Augustine Historical Society, St. Augustine, Florida, December 14, 1948.

7. Corse, *Dr. Andrew Turnbull*, 16.

8. William H. Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida, 1774 to 1785*, 2 vols. (DeLand, 1929), II, 56.

London. He wanted to establish a colony of Greeks in East Florida; he knew the Greeks well and considered them to be ideal workers.⁹ Turnbull envisaged a profitable colonial enterprise producing raw materials, silk, indigo, and cotton for the factories of England.

In 1767, three township grants of land, consisting of 20,000 acres, were awarded to Dr. Turnbull and two associates. The grants were to be operated jointly for seven years, and the annual expenses of operation were to be kept at a maximum of 9,000 pounds sterling; the British government stipulated that the grants would be awarded "if a certain number of Protestant families" occupied the land.¹⁰

In 1767, the doctor traveled to East Florida, surveyed and claimed his land, and was appointed secretary of the East Florida council, clerk of the crown, and clerk of the court of common plans. After two months, he returned to England to begin the search for colonists.¹¹

Turnbull's first port of call was Leghorn, Italy. In June 1767, he received permission from the governor to enlist volunteer citizens for his colonial scheme. The governor stipulated that no silk manufacturers could join up. Turnbull signed contracts with 110 people who were then shipped to the collecting point at Mahon, Minorca, part of the Balearic Islands, then a British possession. In July, Turnbull left Mahon for the Aegean in search of Greek settlers.¹²

The Ottoman Turks proved troublesome to the doctor in his

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9. E. P. Panagopoulos, "The Background of the Greek Settlers in the New Smyrna Colony," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXV (October 1956), 95-8.
 10. An extract from "Return of Grants of land passed in His Majesty's Province of East Florida, from June 20, 1765 to June 22, 1767," PRO:CO 5/541; indenture describing agreement of April 2, 1767 between William Duncan and Turnbull, PRO: Treasury 77/9, March 9, 1781.
 11. Turnbull to the Earl of Shelburne, Leghorn, June 15, 1767, Shelburne Papers, LXXXVIII, folio 141. Cited hereafter as Shelburne Papers. The Shelburne Papers are on deposit in the William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan; copies of the manuscripts are located in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, Gainesville, Florida, and in the library of the St. Augustine Historical Society; A. J. Morrison (ed.), *Travels in the Confederation, 1783-1784*, (Philadelphia, 1911), 223-37.
 12. Turnbull to Shelburne, Port Mahon, July 10, 1767, Shelburne Papers, folio 135; Turnbull to Shelburne, Minorca, February 27, 1768, *ibid.*, folio 147.

search for settlers. The British Levant Company supported Turkish dissidence against Turnbull's scheme of removing their subjects. Some settlers from the Levant did join forces with Turnbull, however, and they were transported to the assembly area in Mahon. Meanwhile, some of the single male enlistees from Leghorn married Minorcan women, and many Minorcans themselves joined the colony, swelling the ranks to some 1,400 persons.¹³

Turnbull, on his return from the Aegean, set the new colonists to work preparing grape cuttings, olives, mulberries, various seeds, agricultural equipment, and silk worms for shipment. Turnbull decided against shipping perishable plants, and instead sent seeds in bottles filled with oil. Roots, vines, and suckers were packed in strong, iron-clasped casks and filled with oil. Silk worm eggs were prepared in a manner similar to the plant seeds, but not quite so much oil was put in the bottles.¹⁴

In the early spring of 1768, Turnbull's colony, aboard eight vessels, sailed from Mahon for St. Augustine. The first four vessels, carrying about seven hundred colonists, reached their destination on June 26, 1768. The other four ships arrived in early August.¹⁵ By August 10, 1768, the largest colony ever transported *en masse* to the North American continent was settled at the plantation site of New Smyrna.

The large size of the colony and poor logistical planning quickly depleted the food stocks. The 80,000 acres of land at New Smyrna had not been cleared for planting, and this created a problem that neither Turnbull nor the colonists had expected. Work began immediately, however. First the seeds were prepared for planting. The wooden shipping casks were drained, and the oil was poured into an empty storage vessel for further use. The seeds and plants were wiped dry of oil and sprinkled with dry ashes until the latter came off freely and easily. Casks were sawed in half and used as buckets, pails, and tubs. Tender care was

13. *Ibid.*; Grant to Shelburne, St. Augustine, March 12, 1768, PRO:CO 5/549.

14. Grant to Lord Hillsborough, St. Augustine, July 2, 1768, PRO:CO 5/549.

15. Turnbull to Shelburne, Minorca, February 27, 1768, Shelburne Papers, folio 147; William De Brahm, *History of the Three Provinces, South Carolina, Georgia and East Florida, 1773*, Kings 211, British Museum. A copy of the portion of this work dealing with East Florida is in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, Gainesville, Florida.

given the silk worm eggs. After being removed from their oil containers, the eggs were mixed with dry ashes and moved about very carefully on a piece of blotting paper until all the ashes and oil mixture were removed. This process was repeated over and over again until no trace of oil remained in the ashes or on the blotting paper.¹⁶

To satisfy the basic need for food, the colonists depended initially on hominy grits, fish, shell fish, and oysters found in abundance in the lagoon.¹⁷ Their provisions at the best of times were only a quart of corn a day and two ounces of salted pork a week. There was plenty of fish, but settlers were denied the liberty of fishing as often as they pleased. Instead of allowing each family to do with its meager fare as it wanted, they were forced to join others in a common mess. At the beat of a drum, all would gather at a community kettle.¹⁸ By the end of 1768, 300 men and women and 150 children had died from hunger and gangrenous scurvy at New Smyrna.¹⁹

Work began promptly on the building of shelters. The spacious church of San Pedro was soon under construction, as was a brick residence for the two Catholic priests that accompanied the colony.²⁰ Each family lived in a separate hut or temporary shelter awaiting better accommodations. The unmarried members of the colony lived in three individual huts.²¹ Hunger and toil prevailed at New Smyrna during the early months of its existence, and by December 1768, the situation there was grave. While Governor Grant "cried for their [the colonists] poor hungry souls," he was afraid that if the plight of the colonists became known, it could jeopardize plans of inducing more settlers to East Florida.²²

By March 1769, most of the colonists seemed to have regained their health and strength. They had cleared seven miles of riverfront property and planted crops. The governor, still un-

16. Grant to Hillsborough, St. Augustine, December 1, 1768, PRO:CO 5/550.

17. *Ibid.*

18. Bernard Romans, *A Concise Natural History of East and West Florida* (New York, 1775), 269.

19. Tonym to Lord George Germain, St. Augustine, January 15, 1778, PRO:CO 5/550.

20. Grant to Hillsborough, St. Augustine, December 1, 1768, *ibid.*

21. Grant to Hillsborough, St. Augustine, March 4, 1769, *ibid.*

22. *Ibid.*

easy about the sustenance of the colony, insisted that Turnbull keep on hand at least four month's supply of provisions. But none of the supplies had arrived at New Smyrna on time, and there was only a month's supply of corn in stock. Grant privately dispatched the schooner *East Florida* to Charleston, instructing his agent there to load the vessel with corn. The captain was told to proceed from Charleston directly to New Smyrna. Grant's subterfuge was hidden from his administrative subordinates by an official statement that the vessel was being sent to Savannah to procure lumber and other supplies needed for the province.²³

Monetary aid was granted in March 1769; Thomas Bradshaw, provincial treasurer, presented an affidavit authorizing 2,000 pounds sterling. Instructions from Lord Hillsborough, secretary of state for colonial affairs, indicated that the appropriation was an emergency fund. Governor Grant, after negotiating with Turnbull, was authorized to purchase any supplies he thought necessary and accompany his draft with vouchers and accounts as required by parliamente.²⁴ In a letter to Lord Hillsborough, Grant stressed the fact that he would not spend anything until it was absolutely necessary. The colony had already cost Turnbull and his associates more than 20,000 pounds sterling, and the governor was certain that they were now without funds. Grant also asked for an annual subsidy of 500 pounds sterling for the colony; the government had given Turnbull that amount when he arrived in East Florida.²⁵

By September 1769, the settlement was transformed from an uncleared wilderness into a symmetrical cluster of farms extending along the banks of the lagoon. Each farm was about 44,100 square feet in area, and was surveyed 210 feet from each other. The physical lay-out of the farms and the proximity of one to the other gave the settlement the appearance of an eighteenth-century Chinese plantation. Grapes, olives, mulberries, rice, corn, indigo, and vegetables were the main crops. Dr. Turnbull was particularly interested in indigo which grew well in East Florida where there was an abundance of water.²⁶ The blue dye

23. *Ibid.*

24. Hillsborough to Grant, London, April 3, 1769, *ibid.*

25. Grant to Hillsborough, St. Augustine, July 20, 1769, *ibid.*

26. Grant to Hillsborough, St. Augustine, December 14, 1770, PRO:CO 5/552; Turnbull to Shelburne, New Smyrna, October 3, 1774, Shelburne Papers, folio 157.

was an important commodity in England where the textile industry was growing in importance and where technology was increasing its production.²⁷ Demands for indigo were so large that the government offered subsidies to East Florida planters who marketed their crop.²⁸

Although 155 adults and twenty-two children died in 1769,²⁹ the first half of the following year found a great improvement in the physical and economic status of New Smyrna. The settlers, according to Turnbull, were in much better health and spirits. More land had been cleared, and the productions of Indian corn, peas, potatoes, and greens of all kinds almost doubled over the preceding year. The indigo crop was bountiful, and the settler's first shipment to England was being prepared.³⁰

But while there was no hunger at New Smyrna in 1770, the settlers were vapid and destitute, and they had no hopes for improving their situation. They were ill-clothed, many nearly naked, and they were still living in small, palmetto huts. Dr. Turnbull did not have the finances nor the credit to buy cloth or construction materials, and when the governor asked for a subsidy in the amount of the previous year's emergency relief fund, his request was refused by the lords of the treasury.³¹

Even though production of food crops almost doubled in 1770, victuals continued to be shipped to New Smyrna. The schooner *Live Oak* carried 2,100 bushels of Indian corn when it sailed from Savannah on July 17. The same day the schooner *Sally* cleared Charleston harbor, and her cargo manifest listed 454 bushels of red peas, 332¹/₂ bushels of black-eyed peas, ninety bushels of peas, and twenty barrels of rice for the colony. The schooner *Active* left Charleston on November 10 with 125 barrels

27. For an account of the English textile industry in the eighteenth century, see T. S. Ashton, *The Industrial Revolution, 1760-1830* (London, 1958).

28. Turnbull to the Crown, Memorial of Turnbull, London, and endorsement of the Lords of Trade, April 9, 1767, PRO:CO 5/548; Grant to Hillsborough, St. Augustine, December 14, 1770, *ibid.*; Romans, *Natural History of East and West Florida*, 134-39; Wilbur H. Siebert, "Slavery and White Servitude in East Florida, 1726-1776," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, X (July 1931), 21.

29. See enclosure in Tonyn to Germain, St. Augustine, January 15, 1778, PRO:CO 5/549.

30. Grant to Hillsborough, St. Augustine, December 14, 1770, PRO:CO 5/552.

31. John Robinson to Mr. Pownall, London, March 8, 1771, *ibid.*

of flour, twenty-seven barrels of rice, and seven barrels of rum for New Smyrna.³²

By 1771, the settlement seemed to be on solid footing. Both agricultural production and monetary returns were increasing. Business was so good that Turnbull resigned his seat on the East Florida council, claiming that the settlement now required all his time and efforts. His enterprise seemed to be paying off.³³ Governor Grant left the province in 1771, and Lieutenant Governor John Moultrie became acting governor.³⁴ Pleas from New Smyrna for government financial aid ended about the time that Grant returned to England.

There were 175 families, approximately 500 people, living in New Smyrna in 1772. Most of these were Roman Catholics, parishoners of Father Pedro Campos. Most of the single settlers had married by this time. The Catholic faith was devoutly practiced, and the church of San Pedro, likely the first building completed in its entirety, was the center of activity for the settlers. It was modestly adorned and contained a high altar, a central figure of Christ, and statues of St. John and St. Anthony. The children of the settlement received religious training and processions were held openly and frequently. Fathers Campos and Casanovas were very well respected, even by the English, and Mrs. Turnbull herself was counted as one of the faithful of the parish.³⁵

Crop production continued to flourish and an abundance of sugar, cotton, rice, corn, and manufactured indigo were shipped to England. Cochineal insects for making scarlet dye were also exported.³⁶ A drought severely damaged the crops in East Florida in 1773 and to combat the dry spell, Turnbull utilized an irrigation system then unique in the American colonies. He made his system permanent by constructing irrigation canals and lining the walls with coquina blocks.³⁷ In 1774, Turnbull agreed to fur-

32. See enclosure (duplicate of accounts and vouchers), in Grant to Hillsborough, St. Augustine, February 15, 1771, *ibid.*

33. Lt. Governor Moultrie to Hillsborough, St. Augustine, December 28, 1771, *ibid.*

34. Mowat, *East Florida as a British Province*, 16.

35. Michael J. Curley, *Church and State in the Spanish Floridas, 1783-1822* (Washington, 1940), 34.

36. Moultrie to Earl of Dartmouth, St. Augustine, February 19, 1773, PRO:CO 5/553.

37. Turnbull to Shelburne, New Smyrna, October 3, 1774, Shelburne Papers, folio 157.

nish labor, material, and transportation for a sixteen-oar boat, a pilot vessel to guide ships across the St. Augustine bar for the East Florida government. He received 56/10 pounds for the vessel.³⁸

The death rate at New Smyrna since 1770 had remained nearly constant. In 1771, ten adults and six children died; in 1772, eight adults and three children; in 1773, eleven adults and thirteen children; in 1774, five adults and nineteen children.³⁹ The dissatisfaction of the colonists, particularly the Minorcan elements, increased. The overseer system was still in effect, and the supervisors created problems. Even though crop production was high, hunger still prevailed, and many settlers thought of escape to Havana. When their plans became known to the English, the colonists' every move came under constant surveillance.⁴⁰ Suspicion was rife in all the English colonies in America and revolt against the government was feared.

Father Casanovas sided with the Minorcans in their struggle with the overseers. The priest spoke out openly against the commandant and his subordinates and was subsequently deported to Minorca. Father Campos was left to administer the parish alone, and he was warned not to criticize the officials. He asked for another priest to assist him, but his requests were refused. He then attempted to recruit aid through his former assistant, Father Casanovas, but received no answers to his letters. The English refused to allow a priest from Havana to come to New Smyrna.⁴¹

1775 marks the beginning of the American Revolution. Revolutionary activities to the north of Florida caused Patrick Tonyn, who had taken over as governor of East Florida the previous year, to consider the possibility of using Minorcans to assist in the defense of the province. There were then some 200 males between the ages of sixteen and forty at New Smyrna. Military service, however, did not appeal either to the Minorcans or to Dr. Turnbull. His settlers were loyal enough to Britain, but he wanted them to fulfill their contracts with him. The doctor asked

38. See enclosure-General Account of Contingent Expenses incurred for the Service of His Majesty's Province of East Florida from the 25th June 1774 to 24th June 1775-in Tonyn to Germain, St. Augustine, July 19, 1775, PRO:CO 5/555.

39. Tonyn to Germain, St. Augustine, January 15, 1778, *ibid.*

40. See testimony of Nichola Demalache, Giosefa Marcatto, Rafael Hernandez, and Pompey Possi, May 7, 1777, enclosures in Tonyn to Germain, St. Augustine, May 8, 1777, PRO:CO 5/557.

41. Curley, *Church and State in the Spanish Floridas*, 35.

that his colonists be allowed to remain at the settlement and to be protected in their activities.

Relief from their misery was now in sight for the settlers, particularly for those nearing the end of their periods of contract. No longer concerned with the culture of indigo or sugar cane, freedom was their only desire. The population of East Florida was increasing daily through the flight of loyalists from the north. Prices soared and placed an additional burden on the province. More crops were needed, and many of the bare necessities of life were again taken away from the Minorcans. In addition, Turnbull left the colony for London to bring complaints against the English authorities in East Florida. He was involved in a heated argument with Governor Tonyn over the handling of a case against Turnbull's friend, Chief Justice Willia mDrayton.⁴² The doctor left his nephew in charge of the settlement, but the young lad could not cope with the settlers or with their grievances against the overseers.⁴³ While the brutality of the overseers continued, agricultural production was maintained, and, in 1777, New Smyrna provided the St. Augustine-St. Johns River area with over 5,000 bushels of corn.⁴⁴

Death claimed thirty adults and twenty-one children in 1775,⁴⁵ and forty-five adults and eight children in 1776.⁴⁶ The settlers were still destitute and despite the economic progress of the colony, most of the people were still living in the same huts they had built on their arrival. The time was approaching, however, when some could look forward to termination of their contracts. Many were under the impression that they would be released at the end of a six-year period,⁴⁷ although seven years had passed since they had harvested their first crops.

Meanwhile, the American Revolution continued. English officials knew Spain wanted to regain Florida, and they had come to fear that the Minorcans from New Smyrna might support the

42. Turnbull to Tonyn, New Smyrna, March 7, 1776, PRO:CO 5/556.

43. Corse, *Dr. Andrew Turnbull*, 142.

44. Turnbull to Germain, St. Augustine, December 8, 1777, Sackville Papers, 1775-57, no. 100. A typed copy of the letter is in the Turnbull Papers, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, Gainesville, Fla.

45. Tonyn to Germain, St. Augustine, January 15, 1778, PRO:CO 5/549.

46. *Ibid.*

47. See second enclosure, testimony of Anthony Stephonopoli, in letter of Tonyn to Germain, St. Augustine, May 8, 1777, POR:CO 5/557.

Spanish cause if given the chance and thus endanger the East Florida province. Governor Tonyn also wondered if the Minorcans in their present state of unrest and distress, might not turn to the Americans for aid. Information reached his office that the Minorcans had requested Americans in Georgia to come to their "relief and deliverance" and had offered their own services to the Georgians. Plantation owners near New Smyrna advised the governor to take the Minorcans into custody in the event of invasion by Spaniards or rebels.⁴⁸

The death rate increased in 1777; by the end of the year, seventy-two adults and twelve children had died.⁴⁹ Suspicion and fear grew, and the overseers wondered if tempting offers made the settlers by English army officers in a recruiting effort might not cause them to revolt. Some settlers also believed that Dr. Turnbull was trying to cheat them out of their land because they were not Protestant.⁵⁰

In March 1777, a group of New Smyrna settlers came to St. Augustine to complain to Governor Tonyn of the cruelty imposed on them, their extreme hunger, and their miserable living conditions. Their period of service had expired and they were demanding justice. After hearing their pleas, the governor persuaded them to return to New Smyrna.⁵¹

Sometime in April 1777, ninety New Smyrna inhabitants returned to St. Augustine to voice pleas again for aid; they particularly wanted the crops that they had planted and harvested at the colony that year. Most of the group hoped to remain in St. Augustine, but the governor agreed that only a few could stay. He promised, however, that the settlers would receive a greater allowance of provisions in the future and would be guaranteed justice under British law. When the colonists returned to New Smyrna, Anthony Stephonopoli, Nichola Demalache, Giosefa Lurance, Juan Partella, Rafel Hernandes, Michael Alamon, Lewis Cappelli, Juan Serra, Rafaiel Simines, Babpina Patchedebourga, Pietro Musquetto, Christopher Flimming, and Lewis Sauche remained in St. Augustine.⁵²

48. Tonyn to Germain, St. Augustine, May 8, 1777, *ibid.*

49. Tonyn to Germain, St. Augustine, January 15, 1778, PRO:CO 5/549.

50. Corse, *Dr. Andrew Turnbull*, 147, and Mowat, *East Florida as a British Province*, 54.

51. Tonyn to Germain, St. Augustine, May 8, 1777, PRO:CO 5/557.

52. *Ibid.*, see also enclosures nos. 1-21.

In the meantime, Tonym had sent for Arthur Gordon, attorney general of the province and Turnbull's attorney, and ordered him to settle the entire affair quickly. An aide advised the governor to take the colonists' complaints to the chief magistrate,⁵³ and on May 7, 1777, Tonym directed the settlers' delegation to present testimony before Justice Henry Yonge. Since there were so many deponents, Yonge thought that a complete examination would be both long and troublesome, and so he ordered the Minorcans to write out their complaints for Spencer Man, clerk of the pleas and justice of the peace. When Yonge read the report of the cruelties and murders allegedly committed by Turnbull's overseers, he turned the testimonies over to Tonym.⁵⁴

The governor was already gravely concerned with the conduct of Turnbull's overseers at New Smyrna. He was also aware that Americans in Georgia had made offers to support the settlers. Moreover, the governor and Turnbull were unfriendly towards one another; the doctor was in London at that very moment lodging personal grievances against Tonym. When the courts ordered the settlers released from their contracts, Turnbull's attorneys immediately set the white population of New Smyrna free. Officials prepared for a Minorcan migration to St. Augustine where the governor made small lots of land available to each family. By July 26, 1777, the settlement of New Smyrna had come to an end.⁵⁵ Over 40,000 pounds sterling⁵⁶ and 964 human lives⁵⁷ had been expended on the settlement in its ten years of existence.

A few remnants of Dr. Turnbull's colony still exist. Some of his irrigation canals remain but most of them have been filled in. Parts of the coquina wharf are still visible, and bits of decaying indigo vats are occasionally found. Indigo continues to grow wild in the environs, though indigo itself has become a casualty of the scientific revolution. The descendants of the Minorcans live in St. Augustine today and play an important role in the political, economic, and social life of the community.

53. *Ibid.*

54. Henry Yonge to Tonym St. Augustine, May 8, 1777, PRO:CO 5/557.

55. Tonym to Germain, St. Augustine, July, 25, 1777, PRO:CO 5/557.

56. Tonym to Germain, St. Augustine, December 29, 1777, PRO:CO 5/558.

57. Tonym to Germain, St. Augustine, January 15, 1778, PRO:CO 5/549.

A FRENCH REPORT ON ST. AUGUSTINE IN THE 1770's

Edited and Translated by LEE KENNETT

THE ORIGINAL OF this unsigned undated report is preserved in the French War Archives at Vincennes in the *Memoires Historiques* series, carton 1681, document 6. It is most probably the work of a French officer who arrived in Charleston late in 1777 and was subsequently captured by the British and held prisoner at St. Augustine. The importance which the author assigns to St. Augustine as a blockading base would indicate that neither Charleston nor Savannah had fallen to the British at the time the report was written. A report on Charleston in the same handwriting (document 7) can be dated as late 1778 or 1779, and it is possible that both of these reports were originally solicited by the French government when it was considering openly supporting the American colonies.

* * *

St. Augustine is situated on very poor soil, a loose white sand which produces no crops, having for fruit trees only oranges and a few peaches; however, for a part of the year European vegetables do fairly well.

St. Augustine is half deserted, mostly inhabited by some five hundred Minorcans sent over at the peace of [1763] who are steadily succumbing to misery. The fort which defends the entrance to its port is fairly good, a square built of masonry with a moat filled with water and a sheltered access also of masonry. It has fifty pieces of heavy cannon.

The entrance to the port is very difficult for any vessel because of a very dangerous bar. Its channel is sometimes no more than five or six feet deep, and shifts with the direction which the currents and tides give to the accumulating sand. ¹ In a

1. Maximum depth at high tide was nine feet. Charles L. Mowat, "St. Augustine Under the British Flag, 1763-1775," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XX (October 1941), 134.

few years this port will be absolutely useless to its owners through impossibility of access; already this has caused the loss of numerous ships of all sizes which have broken up in attempting to enter.

Nevertheless, in present circumstances it is very useful to the English; otherwise they would be unable to maintain ships before the ports of Georgia and Carolina for lack of water and supplies.

It would not be difficult, however, to seize the fort at St. Augustine with troops debarking on the island which has the signal tower, and which is opposite the fort and the city at about the distance of a cannon shot.² One could even land here without being seen and seize the town which is only separated from the island by a narrow stretch of water; this would facilitate the attack on the fort.

St. Augustine could also be attacked by land by debarking without much opposition on the St. John's River twelve leagues to the north,³ which is the port where ships cannot enter St. Augustine use the channel of twelve and one-half feet.

Five leagues further to the north is the St. Mary's River which separates Florida from Georgia. Here the English have desired to create a town while abandoning St. Augustine; which it appears the owners of this territory will be obliged to do sooner or later; for in addition to this land being much better, the entrance to this port is at least fourteen feet in depth.

As the course of the rivers is parallel to the coast, it is possible by ascending them to come quite close to St. Augustine. From the St. John's River to St. Augustine by land the way is not too bad, and with a little difficulty artillery could be moved over it. The fort of St. Augustine has no fresh water well. There was one, but through an accident salt water has been mixed with the fresh water and it has been impossible to separate them.

The English have at present a garrison of a thousand regular troops in the fort and town of St. Augustine. In addition,

2. Anastasia Island. The signal tower or "lookout" is shown on the map in William Roberts, *An Account of the First Discovery and Natural History of Florida With a Particular Detail of the Several Expeditions and Descents Made on that Coast* (London, 1763).
3. The French *lieue* or league was approximately two and one-half miles.

there are in the province about 900 men, militia, Indians and light mounted troops.

The Indians of Florida are few in number, at the most there are some 400 in this region capable of bearing arms. At the present time the English are humoring them and lavishing attention on them. From time to time they make joint forays into Georgia, principally in the hopes of procuring cattle. This always occasions skirmishes in which first the one party and then the other has the advantage, but presently there is a corps of observation of three to four thousand Americans camped on the St. Mary's River.

The English frigates and corsairs stationed before the port of Charleston have taken seventeen French ships from last November up until March, and some four hundred sailors from these ships have been taken to St. Augustine.⁴ At first, when there were not so many of them, they were confined in the tower which adjoins the signal tower, situated on a deserted island. It is true that they gave them a little rice and salt meat for food, but they were so closely confined that several went over to the English, joining either the navy or the land troops. Since the prisoners have become more numerous the English have found it better to give them their liberty, but to provide them with neither shelter nor food, so in a region such as that, where there is not the least resource, they have been in a pitiable state. Fortunately the governor,⁵ desiring to conserve the little food there is in the colony, has decided to send them to the French islands in a brigantine prepared for this purpose and in three smaller craft which the French ship captains obtained permission to purchase with their own money.

4. In addition, some two hundred French officers and soldiers were confined there at one time. Wilbur H. Siebert, "Privateering in Florida Waters and Northwards in the Revolution," *Florida Historical Review*, XXII (October 1943), 71.

5. Patrick Tonyn, governor of East Florida from 1774 to 1783.

THE DELANEY MURDER CASE

by HELEN HORNBECK TANNER

The only violent crime to disrupt life in St. Augustine in the early years of the Second Spanish Period¹ was a murderous attack the night of November 20, 1785, on Lieutenant Guillermo Delaney.² Since the town's annals provide almost no reference to such malevolence, this incident appears to be a distinct exception to the general behavior pattern. The crime remains unsolved; yet the evidence accumulated in an effort to identify Delaney's assailants provides a rare view of Florida colonial society.

In November of 1785, East Florida was in the process of stabilizing after the evacuation of the 10,000 British Loyalists who had fled there during the American Revolution. The final departure of the retiring British governor, General Patrick Tonyn, did not take place until November 13, 1785.³ By that time, St. Augustine had resumed the appearance of a Spanish garrison town. Of the 2,700 inhabitants, approximately 1,800 were the wives and children of the officers and men assigned to the Castillo de San Marcos and the few outlying posts.⁴ Vizente Manuel de Zepedes, the incoming Spanish governor, had been in St. Augustine since June 1784, when he arrived with his subordinate officials and 500 occupation troops, many with families.⁵ But it was the behavior of the unmarried military personnel which drew

1. Florida's colonial history is usually divided into three periods: the First Spanish Period (1565-1764), the British Period (1764-1784), and the Second Spanish Period (1784-1821).
2. Vizente Manuel de Zepedes to Juan Ignacio de Urriza, St. Augustine, November 30, 1785, East Florida Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, box 55 C5. Cited hereafter as East Florida Papers followed by "b" and correct box number. Translation in Joseph Byrne Lockey, *East Florida, 1783-1785* (Berkeley, 1949), 740.
3. Zepedes to Bernardo de Galvez, St. Augustine, December 24, 1785, No. 98, East Florida Papers: b43. Translation, *ibid.*, 746.
4. The civilian population of St. Augustine in 1786 was 943. See Joseph Byrne Lockey, "The St. Augustine Census of 1786," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XVIII (July 1939), 11-31.
5. Zepedes to B. de Galvez, St. Augustine, July 16, 1784, Archivo General de Indias, Santo Domingo, legajo 2660, Cited hereafter as AGI, Santo Domingo. Translation in Lockey, *East Florida*, 223-25.

attention during the investigation of the criminal attack of Lieutenant Delaney.

The crime took place on Charlotte Street (called San Carlos in 1785), in the block north of present-day Treasury Street.⁶ About nine-thirty or ten o'clock on the night of November 20, 1785, Lieutenant Delaney was walking along the street when he was suddenly stabbed and beaten by persons whom he was unable to identify. Severely wounded, he stumbled into the residence of Josef Gomila, on the east side of Charlotte Street not far from the Treasury Street intersection.⁷ The Gomila house, it seems, was his intended destination. Testimonials taken shortly after the crime revealed that Lieutenant Delaney was having an affair with Catalina Morain, a seamstress of Anglo-American parentage, who lived at the Gomila's.⁸ The LaRocque Map (1788) indicates that the Gomila house protruded slightly into the street, so that persons with criminal intent could have hidden in the recessed area adjacent to the south corner of the structure.

News of the attack spread rapidly throughout St. Augustine. As the facts were elaborated by rumor, it appeared at first that Delaney was the victim in a crime of passion, with jealousy the probable motive. In addition to Lieutenant Delaney, Catalina Morain was also having an affair with Distinguished Sergeant Juan Sively, a well-known young reprobate in the town. Just six months earlier, in May of 1785, Governor Zespedes had imprisoned this Italian-born sergeant because of his publicly scandalous behavior with Isabel Shivers, a servant in the home of former British Governor Tonyn.⁹ The web of personal relationships was

6. The cross streets, running east and west, had no names in the early years of the Second Spanish Period.

7. See Mariano LaRocque, "Plano de la Ciudad de San Agustin, 1788." The Gomila residence is number 93 in block (*Manzana*) 13, and is described in the twenty page manuscript "*Descripcion*" written to accompany the map. These two documents are the basis for the restoration and preservation project in St. Augustine.

8. The basic document for reconstruction of the crime is Zespedes to B. de Galvez, St. Augustine, April 5, 1786, No. 122, East Florida Papers: b41 B4. Copy in Lockey Collection, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, Gainesville. Cited hereafter as Lockey Collection. This is a summary and evaluation of the testimony with a list of the enclosures. The enclosures have not been located in the Library of Congress.

9. Zespedes to Pedro Jose Salcedo, St. Augustine, May 28, 1785, East Florida Papers : b116. This incident is discussed in Helen Hornbeck Tanner, *Zespedes in East Florida, 1784-1790* (Coral Gables, 1963), 70-72.

further complicated by the revelation that Catalina's current admirers also included Corporal Francisco Moraga. Both Sively and Moraga were members of the small artillery corps attached to the Castillo de San Marcos. According to the depositions taken, Sively had ordered Moraga to cease visiting Catalina, but Moraga had heatedly insisted that he would never stop going there. Of the several young men involved with Miss Morain, apparently Francisco Moraga had the most violent temper.

Captain Eduardo Nugent, adjutant to the commandant, collected testimony regarding the crime. The captain, as well as his commanding officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Guillermo O'Kelly, and the unfortunate Lieutenant Delaney were all members of the Hibernia Regiment, an Irish unit which had played a conspicuous role during the American Revolution. Service records of officers then stationed in St. Augustine show that they had participated in the siege of Pensacola in May 1781 under former Governor Bernardo de Galvez of Spanish Louisiana who, in 1785, became viceroy of New Spain. The Hibernia Regiment was composed of seasoned and reliable troops, whose officers filled many responsible positions in the Spanish colonies.

Corporal Moraga's testimony, taken down by Captain Nugent a few days after the attack, was limited to a simple declaration that he had not been at the Gomila residence at any time during the day or night of November 20. Sergeant Sively also stoutly insisted that he had not been in the vicinity of the house at the time of the attack. Lieutenant Delaney's description of his attackers was not particularly helpful. He said that they were muffled in hooded cloaks which completely obscured their features on a dark night and on an unlighted street. The attire of the assailants made identification virtually impossible, since it was the common winter-time garb for most of the military garrison. Use of the heavy cloak with attached hood had originally been restricted to sailors living in St. Augustine, but officers and soldiers, shivering in their unheated and dilapidated barracks, had begun wearing hooded cloaks made out of blankets. Any member of the garrison abroad that night probably resembled the lieutenant's attackers.

As it happened a play was being rehearsed that evening in St. Francis Barracks at the south end of town, and Corporal Francisco Moraga, one of the suspects, was at the rehearsal. His detachment was quartered at the Castillo, on the northern edge of St. August-

tine, and the direct route from the fort to the barracks lay along Charlotte Street and passed the Gomila residence. Other members of the garrison were also known to be in town that evening.

Lieutenant Delaney's personal account of the crime was confirmed, but not amplified, by testimony of persons in the vicinity. Witnesses included representatives of every geographic area and social class in St. Augustine's diverse civilian and military population. The Gomilas were an older couple of Spanish origin, sufficiently affluent to own a slave. Their only daughter, Dorotea, wife of Martin Hernandez, also lived in St. Augustine.¹⁰ In response to questioning, Catalina Gomila explained that although she was already in bed, she heard the commotion on the street that night. The disturbance was similarly noted by Catalina Morain who had not yet retired.

Reports of noise at the time of the attack also came from Diego Segui and Pedro Rodriguez, who resided close to the Castillo, two and a half blocks north of the Gomila residence. Segui, a sailor from Minorca, lived in a little hut on the south side of Charlotte Street next to the path leading up to the Castillo.¹¹ He had come to East Florida in 1767, as a colonist at New Smyrna, and when the colony was broken up in 1777, he moved to St. Augustine and was living there in 1785.¹² Rodriguez, a native of the Canary Islands, sold drinks at a little shop on his property adjacent to the fort.¹³ Although he was in bed when the crime occurred, Rodriguez testified that he heard the cries of alarm from down the street.

Most of the witnesses could do little more than offer opinions as to the time of the crime and the presence of muffled figures on the streets. Testimony of this nature was contributed by Lorenzo Capa, the sacristan, who was strategically situated on the north-

10. Census of 1793, 82, Entry no. 56, Lockey Collection. Apparently Joseph Gomila's daughter and son-in-law and their children and slaves moved to his home after his wife, Catalina Gomila, died late in the year 1786.

11. See LaRocque Map, block no. 1, building no. 2, and accompanying "Descripcion"; also, Census of 1793, 43, in Lockey Collection.

12. Memorial of the Italians, Greeks and Minorcans, St. Augustine, July 12, 1784, enclosed in Zespedes to B. de Galvez, St. Augustine, July 16, 1784, No. 11, AGI: Santo Domingo, legajo 2660. Translation in Lockey, *East Florida*, 232-33. Diego Segui was one of fifty Minorcans signing the memorial.

13. See LaRocque Map, block no. 2, building no. 12; also, Census of 1793, 8, in Lockey Collection.

west corner of what is now Cuna and Charlotte streets, near the Castillo.¹⁴ Luis Molina, a locksmith,¹⁵ and Lorenzo Capella, a Minorcan fisherman living in the Greek settlement on Cuna Street north of Spanish Street, were also witnesses.¹⁶ Another was Miguel Buysan, a subordinate treasury official, who was himself to become involved in serious scandal three years later, in January 1789, when he was found in his shirttails in the bedroom of a prominent St. Augustine lady.¹⁷

People living near the Gomila residence provided the most reliable evidence in the case. Edward Ashton, a tailor and former British subject born in Ireland, lived on the west side of Charlotte Street a little north of the Gomilas.¹⁸ Another highly reputable witness was Miguel Iznardy, a wealthy merchant originally from Andalucia, Spain, whose house was on the southwest corner of Charlotte and Treasury streets. A close friend of Governor Zepedes, Iznardy came to St. Augustine in 1784, and operated a coastal trade extending from Philadelphia to Havana.¹⁹

John Leslie, local partner of the well-known Indian trading firm, Panton, Leslie and Co.,²⁰ lived in the neighborhood, and several members of his household were questioned. The Leslie home faced the bay at the north corner of Treasury Street.²¹ The rear of his property was only about fifty feet from the Gomila's. John Leslie was also subjected to interrogation concerning the

14. See LaRocque Map, block no. 2, building 11; also, Census of 1793, 16, in Lockey Collection. Lorenzo Capo was the first signature on the Memorial of the Minorcans (footnote 12).

15. Government Employees Destined for St. Augustine, Havana, June 7, 1784. East Florida Papers:b54 B5. Translation in Lockey, *East Florida*, 202-04. Luis Molina is the last name listed.

16. See LaRocque Map, block no. 11, building no. 76; also, Census of 1793, 26, in Lockey Collection.

17. Zepedes to Jose de Ezpeleta, St. Augustine, January 30, 1789, Archivo General de Indias, Papeles Procedentes de Cuba, legajo 1395. Cited hereafter as AGI:PC, followed by legajo number. Copy in Lockey Collection.

18. See LaRocque Map, block no. 14, building no. 113. The name is misspelled as "Esten" on LaRocque's "*Descripcion*." See also, Census of 1793, 56, in Lockey Collection.

19. See LaRocque Map, block no. 18, building no. 148; also, Census of 1793, 6, in Lockey Collection. He is frequently mentioned in letters from St. Augustine in the Second Spanish Period.

20. The activities of Panton, Leslie and Co. are discussed in Tanner, *Zepedes in East Florida*, 85 *et passim*.

21. See LaRocque Map, block no. 13, building no. 96; also, Census of 1793, 53, in Lockey Collection.

Delaney attack. His cashier, John Forrester, two Mulatto women, and two Leslie slaves also testified.

Directly behind the Leslie property, a government storehouse for provisions occupied the northeast corner of Treasury and Charlotte streets, about fifty feet south of the Gomila house.²² One of the witnesses, a commissary guard named Pedro de Salas, probably was stationed at that warehouse on the night of the crime.²³ Although there were four priests in St. Augustine, only Father Pedro Campos appeared as a witness in the Delaney investigation. Father Campos, the dedicated Minorcan priest who had come to Florida with the New Smyrna settlers, had endeared himself to the entire community and was usually called on in any crisis that developed in St. Augustine.²⁴

In spite of numerous witnesses, the precise time of the attack on Lieutenant Delaney was never finally established. Governor Zespedes stated that if St. Augustine had a town clock to strike the hours, at least one aspect of the case could have been handled with accuracy.

Since the central figure in the Delaney case was Catalina Morain, considerable weight was given to her testimony. Thirty other witnesses furnished information about the circumstances surrounding the event, but not one of them could identify persons at the actual scene of the crime. Consequently, when Miss Morain implicated two soldiers of the garrison, Pablo de Martos and Ramon Cucarella, they were immediately seized and imprisoned upon orders of the governor. The regrettable affair seemed to be concluded, and the people of St. Augustine turned their attention to their own affairs and to preparations for the Christmas season which was rapidly approaching. Meanwhile, Lieutenant Delaney's physicians were battling to save his life from infection, but they were not successful, and he died shortly after the new year, 1786.²⁵

The crime perpetrated on November 20, 1785, was now labelled murder, a far more serious offense. Although Governor

22. See LaRocque Map, block no. 13, building no. 95.

23. Government Employees Destined for St. Augustine, Havana, June 7, 1784, EF:b54 B5. Translation in Lockey, *East Florida*, 203.

24. Michael J. Curley, *Church and State in the Spanish Floridas, 1783-1821* (Washington, 1940), 25-44 *et passim*.

25. Zespedes to B. de Galvez, St. Augustine, January 4, 1786, East Florida Papers:b41 B40, in Lockey Collection.

Zepedes had a half century of experience in the Spanish army before coming to East Florida, he did not feel qualified to conduct a murder trial. Ever since his arrival in the province, he had needed a legal official, and now the situation was urgent. He promptly requested the captain-general of Cuba to send an "*asesor*" or "*auditor de guerra*," as such an official was called in Spanish colonial administration.

Learning that authorities in Havana could not provide legal assistance, Governor Zepedes was forced, early in the spring of 1786, to reopen the investigation of the Delaney case. In the meantime, he had developed grave doubts about the justice of his original decision to imprison the two suspects implicated by Catalina Morain. Resuming the inquiry, he became convinced of their innocence and released the two soldiers from prison. On the other hand, as additional evidence was accumulated, the behavior of Catalina Morain and Francisco Moraga appeared increasingly suspicious.

Corporal Simon Collado of the Inmemorial del Rey Regiment, whose detachment included men from Spain and the Spanish possessions in Italy, testified that Moraga had been visiting Catalina more frequently since Delaney's death, and had even spent as much as a half hour alone with her at night. This information was confirmed by the mistress of the house, Senora Gomila. Catalina admitted that Moraga had been visiting her more often, and that some times he was there five times in a single day. Earlier in the fall, Moraga saw her only when he needed some mending done. For some time, the young woman had done sewing and mending for the members of the artillery corps.

Pressed for details about her relationship with Moraga, Catalina was quite candid. While he first started seeing her only on business, his attitude changed and his visits became more personal. Moreover, she recalled an occasion when he found another man in her company, and he flashed glances at her which she could only interpret as jealousy. She admitted that she enjoyed conversing with Moraga and treated him with familiarity, but always, she insisted, with propriety. Aware of his growing fondness, Catalina realized that his frequent visits might be criticized. Although they had spent time alone together at night in her room, Catalina said that they were not guilty of any misconduct. On the evening of November 20, Catalina recalled overhearing a conversation be-

tween Moraga and Senora Gomila. Moraga sharpened a quilled pen for the Senora, she said, and then left for the play rehearsal at St. Francis Barracks.

Moraga had originally testified that he had not visited the Gomila residence at all on November 20. However, when he was called in for further interrogation by Governor Zespedes, he admitted that he had been at the Gomila house "about nightfall," that he was muffled in a heavy cloak, and that he was carrying a cutlass, the one he had used to sharpen the pen for Senora Gomila.

Distinguished Sergeant Francisco Baldes of the Hibernia Regiment testified that Moraga left the play rehearsal before it was over, sometime between 9:30 and 10:00 p.m. According to Sergeant Baldes, Moraga explained that he was very sleepy. Moraga, however, stated that he had sat down to write as soon as he returned to his own quarters. Moraga's attempts to establish alibis led to baffling confusion when the testimony of guards and sentinels was introduced. Adriano Diaz had stood guard on the night of the Delaney attack so that Moraga could attend the rehearsal. Diaz first said he remembered Moraga's return to his quarters, but later admitted that he was actually asleep when Moraga came in and that he could only estimate the time. Moraga insisted that the sentinels at the barracks should recall seeing him enter and leave, since he had called attention to the fact that their lamp was about to go out. The sentinels, however, said they had not seen Moraga the entire evening.

Further investigation revealed that while a sentinel customarily stood inside the locked gate to the street, soldiers could easily enter and leave by going over the board fence surrounding the patio of the barracks. In fact, the activities of the sentinels on the night of November 20 were as difficult to establish as the movements of Corporal Moraga. Ultimately, Governor Zespedes discovered that on this important evening, four sentinels had been assigned to special duty, guarding firewood on the shore of Matanzas Bay. The wood, for the use of the artillery corps, had been brought down river earlier that day and unloaded in an open space directly behind the Gomila residence.²⁶ If four soldiers

26. The firewood probably came from "Oak Forest," the former estate of British Chief Justice James Hume. It was located about two and a half miles north of St. Augustine, between the North and San Sebastian rivers. In the Second Spanish Period, it became the royal wood-

were standing guard at a location eighty to 110 yards from the scene of the crime, Governor Zespedes expressed surprise that they did not report the noise and commotion that they undoubtedly heard on Charlotte Street.

Throughout the testimony, there was almost no mention of Lieutenant Delaney, the victim. In analyzing the evidence, Governor Zespedes found much that was suspicious but nothing that approached absolute proof. He finally decided that Corporal Moraga at a minimum was guilty of perjury and that Catalina deserved punishment for incriminating two innocent men. He ordered them both imprisoned to await the judgment of superior authorities. But his troubles with the Delaney case were not yet over.

Commandant Pedro Salcedo of the artillery corps decided that Corporal Moraga was inadequately guarded. If the prisoner was confined to the local jail, which seems likely, Salcedo's attitude is understandable. Complaints later made concerning the laxity of conditions in the jail seem well-founded.²⁷ To place Moraga under tighter security, Salcedo had him removed to prison headquarters within the fort, near the bunk rooms assigned to the artillery corps.²⁸ Technically, Captain Salcedo should have secured Governor Zespedes' permission before transferring Corporal Moraga to a different cell, but Salcedo displayed considerable freedom of action as commandant of the artillery corps. He was an important member of the community, whose family and connections extended back to the First Spanish Period.²⁹

Because regulations had not been followed, Corporal Moraga made a formal objection to Governor Zespedes. His complaint was supported by Sergeant Sively, who made representations to the governor through Captain Salcedo, his commandant. Zespedes knew that proper procedures had been violated in transferring

cutting preserve. For a description of the property, see Wilbur Henry Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida, 1774-1758*, 2 vols. (DeLand, 1929), II, 38-9.

27. Zespedes to Ezpeleta, St. Augustine, January 30, 1789, AGI:PC legajo 1395, in Lockey Collection.

28. Zespedes to B. de Galvez, St. Augustine, April 4, 1786, East Florida Papers:b41 B4, in Lockey Collection.

29. See LaRocque Map, block no. 7, buibhngs nos. 44, 45, and 46 on the west side of St. George Street, north of the restored Arrivas House. The property extends through to modern Spanish Street. On the opposite side of Spanish Street, block no. 6, building no. 31 is also part of Salcedo's family property.

Moraga to the Castillo, yet he did not relish espousing Moraga's cause in opposition to the man's superior officer. Also his suspicions were aroused by this evidence of friendship between Moraga and Sively. Earlier testimony had seemed to indicate antipathy between the two artillerymen, yet they were close friends, according to the declaration of Catalina Morain. It seemed possible now to Zespedes that there had been some hint of collusion between the two men from the very beginning of the case.

Governor Zespedes did not complete his investigations until early April 1786. Near the end of the inquiry, Juan Jose Bousquet, the royal surgeon, provided medical testimony,³⁰ and a final statement was added by Captain Carlos Howard, Zespedes' administrative assistant for the province. Howard, also a member of the Hibernia Regiment, was assigned many tasks which might be classed as "secret service," although his official title was secretary of government.³¹ Governor Zespedes finally decided to suspend all proceedings against Catalina Morain and Corporal Moraga, pending a review of the evidence by superior authorities. On April 5, 1786, he forwarded 176 pages of testimony from fifty-five witnesses to Viceroy Bernardo de Galvez in Mexico City.

The governor also appealed to Galvez for settlement of two other problems involving army personnel connected with the Delaney case. In the first place, he deferred to the viceroy's decision concerning the advisability of further disciplinary action against Distinguished Sergeant Juan Sively, a reprehensible but not a criminal character. Zespedes had already requested Sively's promotion to a lieutenantcy, and transfer from St. Augustine. He initiated this action at the time of the Isabel Shivers' affair in May of 1785. The governor's request was finally granted, but Sively was next transferred to Guatemala until 1789.³² The second matter requiring a decision from the viceroy was the con-

30. See LaRocque Map, block no. 39, building no. 253 on Marine Street near modern St. Francis; also, Employees for the Hospital at St. Augustine, Havana, June 1, 1784, East Florida Papers:b54 B5. Translation in Lockey, *East Florida*, 198-99.

31. Zespedes to Jose de Galvez, Havana, March 3, 1784, No. 1, East Florida Papers : b40. Translation in Lockey, *East Florida*, 183-84. The governor selected Captain Howard as a member of his staff in East Florida. Howard, who could speak English and French, as well as Spanish, had translated confidential documents during the American Revolution.

32. Zespedes to Salcedo, St. Augustine, December 16, 1789, East Florida Papers: b116, in Lockey Collection.

flict between Captain Salcedo and Corporal Moraga concerning the latter's unauthorized transfer from the St. Augustine jail to the Castillo de San Marcos.

When Governor Zespedes finished analyzing the conflicting evidence presented in the Delaney case, he was indeed weary. He realized that if he punished all misdemeanors and infractions of regulations uncovered in the course of the investigation, he would scarcely have sufficient military staff to operate the garrison.

The Delaney case investigation had covered a period of four months. If there had been a legal official on the administrative staff for East Florida, perhaps the proceedings could have been handled with more dispatch. For Governor Zespedes, the pursuit of justice in the case was but one of many tasks requiring his attention at the time. To place the murder case in proper perspective, reference should be made to other contemporary events in St. Augustine's local history.

The criminal investigation seriously delayed the governor's secret labor on a comprehensive program for the management of Indian affairs, the most critical problem that he then faced in East Florida. When the news of the crime first reached him at the Government House, he was copying the original draft of his plans for dealing with the Creek Indians and their allies who lived within Florida and along the embattled Georgia frontier. Zespedes completed this work on New Year's Eve.³³

Soon after the Delaney attack, Florida's most notorious outlaw, Daniel McGirt, reappeared in St. Augustine, accompanied by one of his *banditti*, William Cunningham. The previous September, McGirt, Cunningham, and Stephen Mayfield had been released from prison in Havana on condition that they never return to Florida, a restriction that was obviously impossible to enforce.³⁴ Zespedes promptly deported Cunningham on the first boat departing for Nassau in the Bahama Islands. McGirt, however, had a wife and several children living in St. Augustine, and the vessel was not large enough to accommodate these additional passengers. At the time of Delaney's death, McGirt was imprisoned in the

33. Discurso Sobre Indios, enclosed in Zespedes to Ezpeleta, March 14, 1789, AGI:PC legajo 1395, in Lockey Collection. This document is identified as a copy and continuation of a plan dated December 31, 1785.

34. Bernardo de Troncoso to Zespedes, Havana, November 7, 1785, East Florida Papers:blA. Translation in Lockey, *East Florida*, 737.

Castillo in St. Augustine, awaiting the final decision for the deportation of the entire family.³⁵

A scarcity of provisions was probably the most persistent problem occupying the governor's attention at the time. Miguel Iznardy, who had the provisions contract for 1785, had lost money and was not renewing the contract.³⁶ In January 1786, Governor Zespedes began a time-consuming correspondence with officials in Havana and with the new Spanish representative in New York City, in an effort to secure emergency rations for his garrison.³⁷ Funds were long overdue for subsistence, salaries, and soldiers' allowances.

During that same mid-winter season, the governor was trying to establish an outpost on Amelia Island to guard the Georgia border. A brigantine, the *San Matias*, anchored in St. Mary's harbor, had patrolled the area until the last of the British forces evacuated East Florida, and then it was returned to Cuba.³⁸ In January and February 1786, St. Augustine received an uncommon number of hungry Indians who came into the town because of a shortage of supplies at the Panton, Leslie's new Indian store at St. Marks on Apalache Bay.³⁹

These problems facing Florida authorities from November 1785 to April 1786, all serious and all calling for immediate solutions, overshadowed the Delaney murder, however sensational the latter was to the local population. For the historian, however, the testimony in the case provides data rarely found in public archives or official correspondence. These details, highlighting the private lives of real people in actual situations, aid considerably in recreating the historic period.

35. Zespedes to Troncoso, St. Augustine, January 7, 1786, East Florida Papers:b21,H2; also Zespedes to B. de Galvez, January 12, 1786, East Florida Papers:b41 B4, in Lockey Collection.

36. Zespedes to B. de Galvez, St. Augustine, January 24, 1786, East Florida Papers:b41 B4, in Lockey Collection.

37. Gardoqui al Conde de Floridablanca, New York, March 13, 1786, referring to letters from Zespedes and from Gonzalo Zamorano, treasury official, dated January 21, 1786. The problem of provisioning the garrison at St. Augustine was summarized in "Expediente Sobre Proveer de Viveres a San Agustin," Archivo Historico Nacional, Seccion Estado, legajo 3886, expediente 7, 525-664. The letter cited is Document 1 of the series included in the "Expediente." Copies of the letters are in the Lockey Collection.

38. Zespedes to B. de Galvez, St. Augustine, January 25, 1786, East Florida Papers: b41, B4, in Lockey Collection.

39. *Ibid.*

Toward all the people involved in the Delaney case, Governor Zespedes exhibited both tolerance and human understanding. He admitted that he might be excessively lenient. His actions gave no evidence of the dreaded "Spanish Yoke" which some British subjects had feared would descend on Florida with the arrival of a Spanish military governor. On the contrary, his behavior was reassuring to those who had foreseen a stern, inflexible rule when East Florida was returned to Spanish control. For the inhabitants of St. Augustine, this experience probably reinforced their traditional loyalty to a distant Spanish crown, an attitude incomprehensible and baffling to their American neighbors.

This incident at the outset of the Second Spanish Period also emphasizes an important point in East Florida's administrative history—the inadequate judicial arrangements in the province. The problems encountered in handling the Delaney case may explain the fact that in the future, Governor Zespedes made little effort either to collect testimony or to prosecute cases in St. Augustine. He generally sent the alleged offenders to Havana for trial. In the larger sphere of Spanish colonial government, the Delaney case is one of the many examples illustrating the extent to which local officials in frontier provinces were thrown upon their own resources. Though at the peak of its eighteenth century development under the illustrious Bourbon ruler, Charles III, Spain still could not provide sufficient personnel for the empire that reached its maximum geographic expansion at the end of the American Revolution. Zespedes governed East Florida capably and with ingenuity, but with minimal knowledge of Spanish law and without legal counsel.

It is disappointing to conclude a discussion of the Delaney murder without knowledge of the ultimate judicial decision. Reference to the Delaney case as it progressed through official channels, appears intermittently in the Zespedes correspondence. Viceroy Bernardo de Galvez submitted all the evidence to the *auditor de guerra* of New Spain, who approved the action taken in St. Augustine. Proceedings were considerably delayed in Mexico, probably because, in the fall of 1786, all activities in the capital were hampered by the fever epidemic which in November claimed the life of the viceroy.⁴⁰

40. John Walton Caughey, *Bernardo de Galvez in Louisiana, 1776-1783* (Berkeley, 1934), 256-57.

Under date of May 22, 1787, warrants for the imprisonment of Catalina Morain and Francisco Maraga were forwarded to Spain to the attention of Jose de Galvez, minister of the Indies, and influential uncle of the late viceroy. But while the papers were enroute, Jose de Galvez died in Madrid. The duties of his ministry were divided, and the Delaney case papers were turned over to Antonio Valdez, former secretary of the navy, who acknowledged their arrival on November 14, 1787.⁴¹

Meanwhile, plans for the regular rotation of troops were being carried out in the Caribbean area. In the spring of 1788, the Hibernia detachment was scheduled to leave St. Augustine, rejoin the rest of the regiment, and return to Spain. This troop transfer included Captain Eduardo Nugent, prosecutor of the Delaney murder case, and many of the witnesses. In June 1788, Governor Zespedes advised Jose de Ezpeleta, captain-general of Cuba, to detain the prosecutor and witnesses in Havana. At the time, the governor believed that a final decision in the Delaney case was pending in the Supreme Council of War.⁴² Both Francisco Moraga and Catalina Morain remained in prison throughout Zespedes' administration, which ended in July 1790. The length of their sentence cannot be discovered, and at this point, the trail of the Delaney murder case vanishes into unexplored archival depths.

41. The two colonial secretaries succeeding Jose de Galvez in July 1787 were: Antonio Valdez, who assumed responsibility for military, financial, and commercial affairs in the colonies, and Antonio Porlier, who supervised religious matters and the administration of justice. Decree of July 8, 1787, signed by Conde de Floridablanca, copy in Ezpeleta to Miro, September 18, 1787, AGI:PC legajo 151A, in Lockey Collection.

42. Zespedes to Ezpeleta, St. Augustine, June 4, 1788, AGI:PC legajo 1395, in Lockey Collection.

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