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PEDRO MENÉNDEZ DE AVILÉS
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And after the 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.
PEDRO MENÉNDEZ DE AVILÉS

ADELANTADO
GOVERNOR AND CAPTAIN-GENERAL
OF FLORIDA

MEMORIAL
BY GONZALO SOLÍS DE MERÁS

FIRST PUBLISHED IN
LA FLORIDA SU CONQUISTA Y COLONIZACIÓN POR
PEDRO MENÉNDEZ DE AVILÉS
BY EUGENIO RUIDÍAZ Y CARAVIA

TRANSLATED FROM THE SPANISH WITH NOTES
BY JEANNETTE THURBER CONNOR

DELAND, FLORIDA
THE FLORIDA STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
MCMXXIII
FOREWORD

This translation of the Merás Memorial of the Adelantado Pedro Menéndez de Avilés is respectfully dedicated to his distinguished descendant Don Alvaro Armada y de Los Ríos Fernández de Córdoba y Miranda Conde de Revilla-Gigedo y de Guémes Marqués de San Esteban del Mar Eighteenth Adelantado of Florida
In presenting to its members, as its third publication, an English translation of the "Memorial" of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés by Gonzalo Solís de Merás, the Florida State Historical Society takes the first step toward rendering accessible what may be called the epics in prose of Florida history. Nearly all writers on Florida refer to her exceptional wealth in old chronicles, but it seems scarcely fair that they should be familiar with their contents while the general public is deprived of the pleasure of reading, ipsissimis verbis, accounts of events long past, written by those who played a part in them.

There is nothing to be said here regarding the importance of the "Memorial," for the translator has pointed that out in the introductory essays of the book. Although it had been intended that this narrative should appear some time ago, its publication was delayed to make way for other work of greater interest to scholars (the interest greater only because the matter is still unknown: we allude to Florida's official Spanish documents). When the Society, however, learned of the August celebration—mentioned in the Preface—in honor of Pedro Menéndez at his birthplace, Avilés, Spain, it was felt that no more fitting testimony could be given of America's admiration for the famous founder of St. Augustine than by sending forth this volume at the present time, ahead of the Colonial Records. It is thus truly a "memorial."

John B. Stetson, Jr., Chairman,
Jeanette Thurber Connor,
George Parker Winship,
J. Franklin Jameson,
Committee on Publications.
FOREWORD

I

For some time I have been searching for a proper compilation of Paradise
Lost. The translations that I have found are either too long or too short, or include
too many or too few lines. I have therefore decided to produce a new edition of
the poem, taking into account the various translations that have been made.

The text of the original manuscript is given in full, with the translations
of the various parts added in the margin. The text is arranged in the order
in which the chapters were written, and the footnotes provide further
information and explanation.

The work was begun in 1700, and completed in 1710. It was
published in 1712, and has been reprinted several times since then.

I hope that this edition will be of interest to scholars and
students of literature, and that it will provide a useful
resource for the study of Paradise Lost.
PEDRO MENÉNDEZ DE AVILÉS

PREFACE

There is nowadays a growing feeling of gratitude toward those hardy Europeans who were the first to blaze the trail in the development of this country. Foremost among them stands Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, one of the greatest of Spanish pioneers. Juan Ponce de Leon discovered Florida; others, in the years that intervened between his achievement and the advent of Menéndez, made extensive explorations in the vast region then known by that name; but Pedro Menéndez, of all his countrymen, not only conquered and explored Florida, but began in earnest to settle and organize it, and with a skill, an executive talent, which would have given Spain a much firmer hold on her colony during the following two centuries, had his successors been half as efficient as he was.

Representatives of the city of St. Augustine, which Menéndez founded, have been invited to be present, in August, 1923, when his native town of Avilés has his remains removed to a new and more imposing resting place. It is hoped that both Spain and Florida may join in the ceremonies, thus bestowing tardy recognition on the debt they owe to the memory of Pedro Menéndez.

The Florida State Historical Society can add its tribute to the occasion in no more practical way than by making available in English that delightfully quaint narrative, the "Memorial" of Menéndez, written probably in 1567, by his brother-in-law, Gonzalo Solís de Merás; but not published in full until 1893, when it appeared in Ruidíaz's La Florida. It is the Ruidíaz transcript of the "Memorial" which I have used for the translation.

This period of Florida history is fully covered in Lowery's Spanish


Some papers concerning Menéndez are still lying unpublished in the Archivo General de Indias, at Seville.
Settlements,² which it is wise to read. He makes frequent use of the documents in La Florida, by Ruidíaz y Caravia, and reviews at length the French and Spanish chronicles of the time, quoting from them and weighing impartially—for Lowery was both lawyer and scholar—the differing statements and points of view. He assembled his own collection of Spanish transcripts with the intention of continuing his history of Florida. The appendices to the Spanish Settlements are unique in thoroughness and painstaking accuracy, and their author's premature death was a loss to Hispanic-American historical research.

The heirs of Woodbury Lowery have kindly consented to the reproduction in this volume of the map of Florida, 1562-1574, compiled by Lowery, which appears in the Spanish Settlements.

Doctor Gonzalo Solís de Merás, the author of the "Memorial," is believed by Barcia³ and Ruidíaz to have been the official chronicler of the Spanish expedition to Florida in 1565, commanded by the Adelantado Pedro Menéndez de Avilés. Merás was the brother of Menéndez's wife—that little Ana María de Solís to whom Pedro's relatives had betrothed him when they were both children, hoping thereby to keep him from running away to sea. As Ruidíaz observes, they did not effect their purpose, for Pedro, far from staying at home, lured many of his relatives away with him to a life of travel and adventure.

² Lowery, Woodbury. The Spanish Settlements within the Present Limits of the United States, 1562-1574, New York, 1905.


³ Cf. p. 12, note 8.
Among these was his brother-in-law, who was also his nephew, having married the niece of Menéndez, Doña Francisca de Quiros.

Little is known of Solís de Merás, except that he belonged to one of the noble families of the Asturias and was a man of letters, although he is nowhere mentioned as having had a literary career. His title of Doctor, then less common in Spain than it now is, might prove his claim to literary ability, even if it were not apparent from portions of the "Memorial." Ruidíaz waxes enthusiastic over it. "It is the true work," he says, "of a chronicler: moderate, simple and above all, sincere. Solís de Merás is not the artist who is charmed while contemplating the beauties of a landscape, and seems to amuse himself by lingering on the incidents which most appeal to him; he is the photographer who reproduces whatever the landscape offers, whether it be pretty or ugly, most beautiful or least sublime. That is the mission of the chronicler. Solís relates events loyally and frankly, without love, passion, or hatreds outwardly manifested, but with a serenity of soul never disturbed; he does not judge or belittle or exalt them: he reveals them. . . . One feels that his diary is written on the spot, close to the facts; there is life and color and movement in it. . . . [He] must have jotted down nearly all the events during the very night of the day in which they occurred, and afterwards he gave us his work. Because of this, one notices some repetitions, which he would certainly have cut out had he corrected his text; but those very repetitions, that carelessness which is not affected but natural and logical, give to his work a tone of sincerity which is the most commendable quality in chroniclers and historians."

There are four known biographers of Pedro Menéndez, three of whom were contemporaries: Solís de Merás; Barrientos, a professor of Latin in the University of Salamanca, who finished his record of the

4 La Florida, tomo I, pp. ccxli, ccxlii.
5 "Memorial que hizo el Doctor Gonzalo Solís de Merás de todas las jornadas y sucesos del Adelantado Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, su cuñado, y de la Conquista de la Florida y Justicia que hizo en Juan Ribao y otros franceses."
life of Menéndez in December, 1568; and Mendoza Grajales, his chaplain, whose account of the Adelantado’s famous first voyage to Florida, when he founded St. Augustine and mercilessly destroyed the French, is very short but unusually interesting and amusing. The fourth biographer is Cardenas z Cano (Barcia), who wrote no separate life of Menéndez, but speaks of him at length and quotes part of the “Memorial” by Merás, a copy of which he owned.

Mendoza and Merás accompanied Menéndez on his expedition to Florida in 1565; Mendoza was with him at the first massacre of the French and Merás at the second. Merás was one of the two men who killed Ribaut. We learn this fact from Barrientos; Merás does not mention it.

Lowery gives his reasons for thinking that there must have existed an original document, now lost—probably the Adelantado’s own nar-


“Vida y Hechos de Pero Menendez de Auelles, Cavallero de la Horden de Sanctiago, Adelantado de la Florida: Do largamente se tratan las Conquistas y Poblaciones de la Provincia de la Florida, y como fueron libras de los Luteranos que dellas se auian apoderado. Compuesta por el maestro barrientos, Catredatico de salamanca.”

This work is one of the two narratives in Dos Antiguas Relaciones de la Florida publicalas por primera vez Genaro Garcia, Mexico, 1902.

“Memoria del buen suceso y buen Viaje que dios mio senor fue servido de dar a la armada que salio de la ciudad de caliz para la provinicia y costa de la florida de la qual fue por general el Illustre senor pero menendez de auiles comendador de la orden de Santiago,” por Francisco López de Mendoza Grajales.

1565.


8 Ensayo Cronologico para la Historia General de la Florida, por Don Gabriel de Cardenas z Cano (anagram for Don Andreas Gonzalez Barcia). Madrid, 1723.
rative of his successes in Florida—from which both Merás and Barrientos took many of the incidents in their chronicles. He says also, *"it appears probable that Barcia and Ruidíaz had access to two different copies of the Merás ‘Memorial.’ ”*²

JEANNETTE THURBER CONNOR.

New York, June, 1923.

* Spanish Settlements, 1562-1574, page ix. 
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1 Jean Ribaut. A corsair in ancient times was the captain of an armed ship who had a patent from his King or his government, and whose duty it was to pursue, fight and capture pirates or any enemies of his country. Later the word became synonymous with pirate.
PEDRO MENÉNDEZ DE AVILÉS


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**Frontispiece**

- Lowery’s Map of Florida, 1562-1574
- Sand Dunes at Matanzas Inlet, Florida
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Numbers of estantes, cajones and legajos—i.e., the references of location of documents—are given between dashes.
On June 29th, 1565, a fleet set sail from the Bay of Cadiz to drive the French out of Florida. To command it, Philip II of Spain had selected Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, an able Spanish seaman, and the most discussed figure in Florida’s colonial history; a man with a record of service which calls for the attention and respect of the most prejudiced.

Pedro Menéndez was born in the sea-port of Avilés in the Asturias, February 15th, 1519. Reared in the Asturian mountains, in sight of the ocean, the love of the sea was in him, and the story of his early life, during the years when he so often fought corsairs off the Spanish and French coasts, is one of the most graphic sources from which to form an idea of the picturesque lawlessness of those freebooters of the sea. The historians of Menéndez, Merás and Barrientos, give striking incidents of these battles of his youth. Later they give detailed accounts of the many voyages he made to America as Captain-General of the Fleet of the Indies, and of his masterly assistance to Philip II during the wars in Flanders between Spain and France. When Menéndez was named Captain-General of the Armada of the Indies in the year 1554, his predecessors in the post had shown little capacity and the appointment was made by the King himself, against the wishes of the Casa de la Contratación at Seville, a powerful organization which was the governing board of the American trade. They had another nominee for the position, and it had always been their prerogative to choose the Captains-General of the Armadas of the Carrera of the Indies.1 Menéndez thus incurred the relentless enmity of the Casa for the rest of his life.

As the head of the fleet, he had a great opportunity for displaying his many talents and rare qualities. The care of the fleet and frequent inspections of the merchant vessels during the voyages were among his

1 These armadas escorted and protected the fleets bound for the Indies. Cf. p. 138, note 3.
duties. His resourcefulness was never found wanting in perils and encounters at sea. He was most successful in bringing back treasure, most faithful in performing every detail of his service and it was his very integrity which made him unpopular with the merchants, from whom he steadily refused to receive bribes in return for allowing any infraction of rules. In this connection there is a good story about him:

"Being in the said port of San Juan de Luz, getting the said fleet in readiness to sail for the kingdom of Castile, Tolomeo Espindola, a merchant, and others, asked him to delay the sailing for three or four days, promising to give him for each day of delay one thousand crowns or one thousand pesos de minas, for this witness does not remember which; and further they promised him that if he remained longer than three days in the said port, they would give him for the rest two thousand ducats a day; and the said Pedro Menéndez said that it was good money, ordered to sea the chaplain of his fleet, and commanded him to say mass, which he did; and it being said, the aforesaid Pedro Menéndez boarded the flagship, discharged a cannon and set sail, saying publicly that no one could know what it was to lose one hour’s time while serving God and his King." This haughty dislike to anything like graft, and his unbending way helped to keep his relations with the Casa strained to the breaking point.

Until the close of 1559, Menéndez was active in Spain and England, France and Flanders, on land and on sea. His list of achievements as told in this "Memorial" of Merás, is fairly bewildering.

2 "Y estando en el dicho puerto de San Juan de Luz aprestando la dicha flota para los reynos de Castilla, Tolomeo Espindola, mercader, y otros, le persuadieron á que se detuviese tres ó quatro dias y le prometieron le darian por cada un día que se detuviese mill escudos ó mill pesos de minas, que este testigo no se acuerda lo que fué, y mas se lo prometieron, que si mas estuviese en el dicho puerto de los tres días, le darian por las demas por cada dia dos mill ducados; y el dicho Pedro Menéndez dixo que era vuen dinero, y mandó á la mar el Capellan de su flota, y le mandó dixer miserá, el qual la dixo, y dicha, el dicho Pedro Menéndez se entró en la nao capitana, y tiró una pieza, y se hizo á la vela, diziendo publicamente que no sauia nadie lo que era perder vna hora de tiempo y seruir á Dios y á su Rey." Cf. "Informacion de algunos servicios prestados por el Adelantado Pedro Menéndez de Avilés." Mexico, 3 de Abril de 1595. A. G. de I., 1–2–1/18.—Ruidiaz, La Florida, II, p. 621.
During his voyage to the Indies in 1561-1563, the Casa de Contratación, which had as usual been annoying him, was lying low and preparing a telling stroke. It refused to pay him an increase of salary granted by the King, accusing him of not adhering to his instructions. Every time Menéndez used his own judgment in his expeditions, it had been to the advantage of the King's pocket. Philip therefore intervened and commanded that thenceforth Menéndez should serve directly under the orders of the Council of the Indies, to which alone he would be responsible. Nevertheless, on his return from the West Indies, he and his brother Bartolomé, who had been Admiral of the Fleet on that voyage, were seized by the officials of the Casa and thrown into prison, where he was kept twenty months, and Bartolomé, twenty-five. It will probably never be known exactly what were the charges against them; Barrientos says that the enemies of Menéndez tried to show that he had allowed large sums to be smuggled, besides exceeding orders and breaking rules. Menéndez wrote to the King that they also revived old accusations, such as his taking a bribe of five hundred ducats, and that they questioned whether he had provided sufficient rations for the soldiers. Menéndez had faults, but his indifference to the temptation of money was apparently far above that of many of his contemporaries. The judges delayed the sentence as long as they could. They did not succeed in finding anything against him and he and Bartolomé were finally released, but not until the King had forced the Casa to free them by his issuing two peremptory cédulás that sentence should be passed. Pedro was condemned to pay one thousand ducats, and Bartolomé two hundred. The King reduced the fines to half the amount. All biographers of Menéndez say that he was accused unjustly.

The jealousy and antagonism of the Casa also showed itself on one occasion when its officers were inspecting the ships of a fleet of which Menéndez was Captain-General. He noticed that their boat standard was of crimson damask, bearing the royal arms, an honor accorded only to the King when at war, or the Captain-General by special
privilege. Menéndez, instead of arguing, hauled it down and kept it in his possession. "And from this," he writes to the King, "they have conceived such anger against me, that publicly, since they have seized me, they have said that as I have wished to deprive them of the authority which they had in naming the Generals, and have taken from them the royal standard, it is not too much that they should try to deprive me of honor, and even life." Again in the same letter, Menéndez says: "If I deserve punishment, let me be chastised in conformity with justice, without any act of mine being forgiven me; and if the judges deserve it for doing what they should not do, let not their punishment be a secret reprimand, but in conformity with what they deserve; for I do not wish to retain my honor, unless the charges made against me be removed by justice, and I be cleared, so that Your Majesty and the Council may understand the passion and shameless boldness of these men."

In 1565, Philip's differences with France in connection with Florida had reached the point where he sent over an armada to settle to his satisfaction France's position in that region, and he chose Menéndez to command it. Although homesick for his wife, and for his daughters, whom he had not seen for twelve years, since they were little girls, Menéndez accepted the enormous task with enthusiasm. His only son, Don Juan, had been shipwrecked with many friends and relatives while returning in 1563 from New Spain with a fleet, of which his father had put him in charge, when he himself was about to return to Spain from Havana. Menéndez had not ceased to grieve over the catastrophe, and on his release from prison, his principal thought was to go in search of his lost son. He also, in his loyalty to Philip and

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6 "Doce años que no he estado en mi casa, ni visto á mi muger y hijas, que dexé tres chiquitas, que son ya mujeres." Menéndez to Philip, January 8th, 1564, A. G. de I.—D. H.—Ruídiaz, La Florida, II, p. 59.
7 There is a difference of opinion as to where Don Juan was wrecked. In "Noticias de la población que habian hecho los Franceses á la Florida," 1564 (Rojomonte's Deposition, Patronato, 1–1–1/19, pp. 3 and 4, note), there is a
Spain, felt deeply concerned over the attempts of France to found settlements on Spanish soil in America, and his feeling against all heretics added fuel to the fire. He hated them as the Inquisition hated them.

On March 20th, 1565, the King granted to him the patent, or Capitulación y Asiento, for the conquest and settlement of Florida. In it were stipulated all the conditions under which the enterprise was to be carried out, and among the privileges and rewards to be bestowed on Menéndez was the title of Adelantado of Florida. This old Spanish dignity was conferred on explorers of distant lands and Governors of frontier provinces.

On June 29th, 1565, Menéndez and part of his fleet sailed from Cadiz, but had to return on account of a storm, and made a fresh start a few days later. In September he captured Fort Caroline, the settlement of the French Huguenots on the River of May (the St. Johns River), Florida, and killed Jean Ribaut and his followers at Matanzas Inlet.

The events of the next two years are told in detail by Merás and Barrientos, whose biographies of Menéndez end with his arrival in Spain in 1567, whereas the Adelantado did not die until 1574. This intervening period is confused because of his many trips to and from Spain and his varied interests; but dominating it and shining through it all is his absorbing passion for Florida.

reference to the loss by Don Juan Menéndez of three ships on the coast of Florida, near Cape Canaveral. Fontaneda, in his “Memoria,” agrees with this statement. Merás, however, says that Don Juan was wrecked off the coast of Bermuda; and in “Información de algunos servicios” (A. G. de I., 1-2-1/18; Ruidíaz, II, p. 608), the following appears: “[This witness, Captain Agustín Espinola, followed Menéndez] as Captain of the galleon called Madalena; and likewise, in the year 1563, he was with Don Juan Menéndez, son of the said Pedro Menéndez, when he went as General of the fleet of this New Spain; and off Bermuda, in 33 degrees, they ran into such a tempest and hurricane that the flagship, on board whereof was the said Don Juan Menéndez, has not reappeared to this day, and it is held for very certain that he was drowned, for he had no harbor he could reach.”

8 Appendix D.

9 The term is derived from the word adelantar, to advance, to take the lead. The title of Adelantado is now an honorary one.
The colonies in that country underwent great hardships during his absences. In the spring of 1568, while the Adelantado was in Spain, Dominique de Gourgues, a French gentleman from Gascony, sailed for Florida with three small ships and achieved amazing success in avenging the deaths of Ribaut and his fellow countrymen. The fact, brought to light in 1911, that de Gourgues was a Roman Catholic, not a Protestant, whose patriotism was above the frenzied religious hatreds of the times, and the extraordinary incidents of his private expedition to Florida, deserve to become better known.

In letters to the King from Seville and Cadiz, in December, 1569, and January, 1570, Menéndez restlessly urges the need of reinforcements and supplies for the colonies and for his own return there—trying to stir in his sovereign the fear of French and English enemies. "By way of Portugal," he writes, "I have heard that many corsairs are going about the Indies, and they [the Portuguese] confirm the news that Mastreaquines, an English corsair, has passed with a large armada; and if it be so, he will do much damage in Havana and Florida, and he could possess himself of those places, and the fleets are running a great risk, especially if misfortune should overtake the dispatch caravels that have gone; and thus, every hour that I am detained here, I am more anxious; and as the delay depends on the time it will take to provide and provision this armada, when I go out the corsair will have carried out his purposes, and all the other corsairs who are going there will join him. May it please God to confound them and give me grace to serve Your Majesty to the extent of my desire; for at no time more than the present have I wished to distinguish myself in your service, because this corsair is so powerful and harmful in those parts." A few weeks later he says: "I doubt whether

10 Cf. an article by Charles Samaran on Dominique de Gourgues, in Revue Historique, CVIII, November-December, 1911, pp. 276-293.
11 The Florida State Historical Society plans a volume on de Gourgues for the near future, containing the most lately discovered French and Spanish documents relating to him.
12 Master Hawkins, i.e., Sir John Hawkins.
one hundred and fifty soldiers only will want to remain in Florida, divided among so many forts and such good harbors; for it is needful that Your Majesty should guard and hold them for your own until the Indians give obedience to Your Majesty, because they are numerous and very warlike, and have rendered allegiance to the French Lutherans, for whom they have great friendship; and the hundred and fifty men are not sufficient to defend themselves against these Indians, being so divided; and so many of the men who are in Florida will not want to remain, [that] it will be necessary that Your Majesty name persons here who will make up the one hundred and fifty and take charge of the forts, for the farmers and settlers of that country have to live inland, where they have found the soil is very good, and no one will want to live in the harbors and sea-shore forts, because of the great danger they run from the Indians and because the soil has proved unprofitable for them.”

And again he says, four days afterwards: “The soldiers that Your Majesty has in Florida are very unprovided for, and I have been sustaining them for days at the cost of my estate, and they are consuming the supplies I put there for the farmers, and I fear that for lack of supplies the soldiers will dismantle the forts, and the farmers run the risk of perishing.”

The resigned endurance of the colonies turned to despair, and the Casa de Contratación and other enemies and obstacles stood in the way of such help from Spain as the Adelantado urged. Two months before, Menéndez wrote to Philip from Seville that a caravel, which arrived at St. Augustine to bring away the Accountant of the fleet with the papers and naval accounts, “anchored outside the harbor because she was warned by Estebano de las Alas to do so, in order that the people of the port should not take the caravel by force and embark therein and go off.”

14 Menéndez to the King, December 31st, 1569, A. G. de I., 143-3-12.—Ruidíaz, La Florida, II, p. 199.
15 Menéndez to the King, January 4th, 1570, A. G. de I., 143-3-12.—Ruidíaz, La Florida, II, p. 201.
16 Menéndez to the King, November 24th, 1569, A. G. de I., 143-3-12.—Ruidíaz, La Florida, II, p. 190.
In the summer of 1569, Bartolomé Menéndez went to Spain to beg for succor in soldiers and provisions, and the following year Las Alas, losing all patience, abandoned his post and also sailed for Spain. He does not appear to have been punished for this act. Possibly Menéndez, as Adelantado, interceded for him; possibly also, the description given of the state of affairs in Florida, when Philip II commanded an inquiry as to why he had returned, may have inclined the King to leniency.

As Menéndez himself said, one of the difficulties of his career was that he could not be in several places at once. The King needed him in Spain; the Florida colonies were suffering during his absence; yet in 1568, as if he had not already enough to do, his enemy, García Osorio, having been dismissed from office, the Adelantado was named Governor of Cuba. Furthermore, the neighboring provinces showed a keen desire to come under his jurisdiction. The year previous, the Bishop of Yucatan had written to Philip II, urging that Florida “be all one government,” with the Adelantado at its head.

From 1568 to 1572, while Menéndez was away, the post of Lieutenant-Governor of Cuba was filled successively by Dr. Francisco de Zayas, Diego de Rivera y Cepero, Pedro Menéndez Marqués (the Adelantado’s nephew, who was also Lieutenant-Governor of Florida), Juan Alonso de Navia and Sancho Pardo Osorio. In Havana the Castle was erected, the Seminary for Florida Indian boys, of which Father Rogel was the first Rector, was founded, and the military hospital was built. In addition to these activities, corsairs were expelled from the neighboring seas, and Pedro Menéndez Marqués reconnoitred the eastern coast, from the Florida Keys to the Chesapeake, and wrote the first report and description of it in 1573. But through it all, the revolts of dissatisfied soldiers continued.


18 Cf. Chapters XIII, XX, XXV.

19 Cardenas y Cano (Barcia), *Ensayo Cronologico*, p. 146.
In 1570, on his return from a voyage to Havana, Pedro Menéndez Marqués went to Fort San Mateo, which had been rebuilt after the de Gourgues expedition. There he heard of a mutiny at St. Augustine, which took on such proportions that in order to prevent the men from making off in a vessel anchored in the harbor, Marqués was compelled to write and promise them that if they were not succored by March, he would come and take them to Havana, with the artillery of the fort, and allow them to go thence to Spain to claim their pay. He went so far as to say they might leave on any ship they could find, if he should be unable to arrive on time, and offered to lend them money with which to send to Havana for supplies. His sympathies were with the mutineers. What must have been the state of mind of the Adelantado, far away in Spain, between anxiety as to the fate of the colonies, and all his conflicting desires to be of service to the King at home and to explore farther the new world beyond the seas! He thought he could reach the Pacific and China by way of Chesapeake Bay and he was consumed with eagerness to obtain a license to settle the country in the northern part of Pánuco. In spite of the long opposition of the Audiencia of Mexico, he did obtain a cédula from the King, four years later (February 23rd, 1573), extending his dominion "eighty leagues" to the west as far as the Rio Pánuco in Mexico.

Thus we see that from 1568 to 1571 it is quite a task to attempt to follow the Adelantado from point to point. Returning to Spain from the Indies in the autumn of 1569, he found a letter of eulogy from Pius V. One can imagine how it must have been treasured. In the year 1570 much time was taken up by his duties as Governor of Cuba, and more was spent at sea, protecting the returning treasure fleets against the ever present pirates. In 1571, he went to Florida for the last time, sailing on May 17th from San Lúcar, with seven galáns and two

20 A. G. de I., 54–5–9, 8.
hundred and fifty sailors and soldiers. Estébano de las Alas stayed
behind in Spain, to assist Diego Florez in his preparations to follow
as soon as possible with two more galleons.

It was in Havana that Menéndez learned of the end of the Second
Jesuit Mission to Florida, through the tragic death of Father Segura
and his fellow workers at Axacán,²² owing to the treachery of Don
Luis de Velasco, the Powhatan Indian, and his relatives.²³ He promptly
set forth, accompanied by Father Rogel and two Brothers, to chastise
the murderers,²⁴ stopping at San Felipe on the way to reinforce the
garrison. In his letter of July 22d to King Philip, he writes, explaining
why he did not head a European expedition of the fleet: “I refrained
from going with it because of the great necessity there is of my person
in these provinces of Florida, for the rest of the people who were there
have gone, and those that there are [remain] with great discontent,
and the Indians my friends have a great desire to see me: they are
those who have given obedience to Your Majesty; and the Indians
my enemies, friends of the French, make great war on them on account
of the friendship they hold for me; and if I should not hasten there,
all would be lost, and the Lutherans having news of this, would hasten
here with ease, and Your Majesty would lose what has been gained,
and they would make themselves masters of the land. Because those
Indians, in general, are more friends of the French, who let them live
with freedom, than they are mine or those of the Teatinos,²⁵ who
restrict their mode of living; and for this reason the French can accom­
plish more in one day, than I in one year, although with the help of
Our Lord I hope it will become the contrary.”²⁶

The Adelantado, on his way south again, did not reach St. Augus-

²² The Indian province of Axacán, near and including Chesapeake Bay,
which was called the Bay of Santa María of Axacán. The word is spelled in
²³ Father Pedro Martinez, the head of the First Jesuit Mission, had been like­
wise killed by Indians a few years previously, September 28th, 1566.
²⁴ Page 245, note 2.
²⁵ Friars of the order of that name.
²⁶ Menéndez to the King, July 22d, 1571, A. G. de I., 143–3–13.—Ruidíaz,
tine until December, and stayed there just long enough to succor the miserable garrison and infuse new life into it. With Father Rogel, the other Jesuits and a little boy named Alonso (the sole survivor of the martyrs of Axacán, who had been trained by the missionaries to serve at mass and who described their end), Menéndez sailed for Havana. He was overtaken by one of the characteristic storms of the Florida East Coast, wrecked in the neighborhood of the present New Smyrna, and given up for dead, according to a letter written from Havana by Sancho Pardo Osorio; but he marched back to St. Augustine and arrived there in safety.

Always predominating were the two constant and unswerving aims: to conquer and colonize new lands for Spain and the King, at the same time keeping other nations out of them; and to convert the Indians to the Roman Catholic faith. Any Lutheran who stood in his way he exterminated, both as a Frenchman and a heretic. In one of his Memorials, he compares the religion of the Indians to that of the Lutherans. "It is fitting," he says, "that Your Majesty should try to master that land very shortly; even for the reason that it is a country so large, and of such good altitude, that if some other nations go to settle it, forming a friendship, as they will, with the Indians of the land, it will be afterward most difficult to conquer and rule it, especially if the French or English should settle it, as they are Lutheran peoples; and because they and the Indians are nearly of one faith, as I have said, they will very easily make friends with one another."  

The amusing naïveté of the Adelantado's ignorance gives one the measure of the narrowness of that age. It is all the more interesting when one remembers that he was a man of exceptional ability. One is struck by his skill as a strategist, so well exemplified when he was a


28 "Memorial of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, respecting the measures it would be proper to take to insure the safe possession of Florida, and prevent the French and English from being able to cause trouble in those dominions." A. G. de I., 1–1–1/19.—Ruidíaz, La Florida, II, p. 324.
mere boy, in his fight with French corsairs near the Galician coast, to rescue a young bride;\textsuperscript{29} also by his sense, of what we must call divination, before deciding on a course of action, as when he convinced his captains that it was the right thing to attack\textsuperscript{30} Ribaut's fleet at the entrance of the River St. Johns and about ten days later, to go and surprise Fort Caroline, because his reasoning told him the French must have sent off their best men in the ships with Ribaut. Ruidíaz remarks that the expedition seems "the invention of a poet." We recognize his remarkable tact in always consulting his captains, and always bringing them to his way of thinking; his kindness and cleverness in dealing with the Indians; his patience with García Osorio, the Governor of Cuba, and in all circumstances when patience was needed; his quickness and judgment, courage and restraint, which have placed him in the rarer class of men who, to borrow an old, homely phrase, have "as much balance-wheel as main spring." Besides his talents as a soldier and a seaman, his versatility manifested itself in his love of music, and in the invention of an instrument for measuring longitude. By a cédula of February 17th, 1573, the King granted him a ten years' patent for making and selling his invention.\textsuperscript{31}

The Adelantado's plans for settling and cultivating Florida were on a large scale for the times. Besides the colonists who came over with him on his first voyage, Philip authorized him on three different occasions to bring others to the untold difficulties that awaited them. By royal cédula of March 5th, 1571, he was allowed to carry over one hundred farmers; and by two more of January 26th, and February 23d, 1573, one hundred from the Azores and fifty from Seville. That was the year the King granted permission to Menéndez to extend his conquest as far as the Rio Pánuco. In the last letter he wrote, he mentions the large number of farmers and tradesmen he expects will soon sail for Florida.\textsuperscript{32} But he was doomed to die a few days after writing

\textsuperscript{29} Pages 40, 41.
\textsuperscript{30} Pages 78, 79.
\textsuperscript{31} A. G. de I., 139-1-12.—Ruidíaz, \textit{La Florida}, II, 366-368.
\textsuperscript{32} Pages 256, 257.
it, when about to sail at the head of the great fleet which, it was said, Philip II had assembled to clear the Spanish and Flemish coasts of pirates. Ruidíaz believes, however, that “the thought of invading the British Isles might already have been seething in the brain of Philip II.” He gives a hint that the cause of the death of Menéndez may have been neither acute indigestion nor a “pestilential fever”—as the Adelantado’s doctors diagnosed it—but poison. “In no chronicler,” he writes, “have we found any insinuation, even the slightest, that would lead one to suspect that the unexpected death of the Adelantado, when he was getting ready to undertake what might perhaps have been one of his loftiest enterprises, was prepared and accomplished by his enemies. We have no right consequently to express suspicions, which today would have no more foundation than the very weak one of a coincidence which, if in truth somewhat strange, is neither impossible nor even improbable; but in that case we have to admit that chance served admirably the enemies of the Adelantado.”

The three doctors maintained that the disease was “that which goes about in that Armada commonly and continuously, whereof many have died.”

In the portrait of Menéndez, the strain of his many responsibilities shows plainly, and yet there is such power and strength, such energy and stern decision in those features, that they inspire unbounded faith in his ability to carry any enterprise to success. He wears on his left breast the insignia of the Holy Cross of Zarza, a crimson cross of the shape of an ancient sword,—having been appointed to the Commandery of that Order in January, 1568.

Orders and titles, and the lost Titian portrait of Menéndez, hung on the walls of the King’s palace, seem to have been the chief benefits

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33 Ruidíaz, La Florida, I, p. ccix.
34 Ruidíaz, I, p. cccxiii.
36 Frontispiece.
37 For details concerning the portraits of Pedro Menéndez, see Lowery’s Spanish Settlements, 1562-1574, p. 418.
the Adelantado derived from his long career of public service, to which he had sacrificed everything. In 1605, his daughter, Doña Catalina, was in such straits that her property and personal effects were seized and attached. She died in 1611, leaving only enough for the founding of two chaplaincies in the church of Saint Nicholas of Avilés. From the "Información de algunos servicios prestados por el Adelantado Pedro Menéndez de Avilés" (the legal investigation into his circumstances made in the city of Mexico), one realizes vividly the indifference of the Crown toward the family of the Adelantado. The conditions of his will were not carried out for his second daughter, Doña María, any more than they were for Doña Catalina. Doña María’s husband, Don Diego Fernández de Velasco, was Governor and Captain-General of New Biscay about 1580. She died there, and in 1595 he sought to obtain advantages for his sons. Through the investigation it was learned, among other things, from the various witnesses: “that while the said Don Diego de Velasco was in the service of his Majesty as the referred to Governor of New Biscay, Doña María Menéndez, his wife, daughter of the Adelantado Pedro Menéndez, died and passed away from this present life; and at her death and end, six sons and daughters remained, and the two boys are called Don Pedro Fernández de Velasco and Don Diego de Velasco; . . . that the said Don Diego de Velasco and his children aforesaid are very poor, and that the said Don Diego de Velasco has not the wherewithal to be able to give them a profession; and . . . that there are and have remained no other male successors of the Adelantado Pedro Menéndez, save the said Don Pedro Fernández de Velasco and Don Diego de Velasco, his grandsons and the sons of the said Don Diego de Velasco and Doña María Menéndez, his wife, daughter of the said Adelantado Pedro Menéndez.” “Sad it is to say it,” concludes Ruidíaz, “but just and perhaps fitting to record it: Spain has been ungrateful to this man, one of those who conquered the most fame and glory for her in the

38 Ruidíaz, La Florida, II, p. 629.
It is always curious to see what salvage turns up out of a great wreck. The honorary title, at least, of Adelantado of Florida is alive to this day, and belongs to a descendant of Don Alvaro Sánchez de Avilés, brother of Pedro Menéndez. It was the courtesy of the seventeenth Adelantado, the Count de Revilla-Gigedo, Marquis de San Esteban del Mar, which placed at the disposal of Ruidíaz, in 1893, the unpublished manuscript, the "Memorial" of Dr. Solís de Merás. It was his father, the sixteenth Adelantado, who had the reputation of being a splendidly hospitable Spanish grandee, of whom Buckingham Smith speaks in a letter to Columbus Drew, the publisher, of Jacksonville, Florida: "I called on him," he says, "at his country seat in Dania, and, detaining me to spend the day with him, he gave orders to have his family pictures and palace shown to me at Gijón, and his papers at a residence in Oviedo. Among the documents is a valuable one for writing the life of Menéndez. It is a draft for a letter in his own hand, directed to his nephew, Governor [sic] of Florida, in which he expresses his wish to be with him and away from business. He speaks of the 'invincible armada' which he had been appointed to command, and gives the number of his ships. This probably was the last thing he ever wrote, dated ten days before he died, as it is known that he died on the ninth day of his sickness. Of course I have a copy to show you." It is a graceful continuation of his family's traditional courtesy that has caused the present Count de Revilla-Gigedo to send me this year a photograph of the last letter of Pedro Menéndez, addressed to his nephew, Pedro Menéndez Marqués. Although unsigned, it is written entirely by him, and voices very simply and touchingly his deep love for Florida.

Up to the time of the publications by Ruidíaz and by Lowery, the

\[4^1\] Ruidíaz, La Florida, I, p. ccxxviii.
\[4^2\] Menéndez says: "Una gruesa"—a huge—armada.
\[4^4\] A facsimile of part of this letter appears opposite p. 254, and a translation of the whole of it, on pp. 255-258.
fame of the Adelantado had rested mainly on the capture of Fort Caro-
line and the massacres at Matanzas Inlet. Whether the aversion for him
thus created in history has been just or unjust, it must be left to the
individual reader to decide, now that all the facts are known. Religious
wars have ever been the most sanguinary, and the monstrous crime of
the St. Bartholomew massacre took place in France only seven years
after the events at Matanzas Inlet in Florida. Menéndez lived in a
cruel age; he was a man of that age; and although nothing can efface
the eternal stain of the wholesale murders at Matanzas, so revolting
in their cold-bloodedness, it is impossible not to consider his side of
the deed, and impossible to determine how far his conviction that it
was a sacred duty to exterminate heretics was responsible for the
massacres. A mistaken idea of duty might explain his resorting to such
foul means in order to rid himself of the poor Frenchmen. Is he to be
judged by those acts, or by the record of a lifetime of faithful and
brilliant service to his King, his country and his God? The best course
to pursue is to tell all and palliate nothing: when that is done, Pedro
Menéndez de Avilés stands out as a religious fanatic, but the greatest
genius whose name has been linked with that of Florida.

JEANNETTE THURBER CONNOR.

New York, June, 1923.
MEMORIAL
WRITTEN BY DOCTOR GONZALO SOLÍS DE MERÁS
OF ALL THE VOYAGES AND DEEDS OF
THE ADELANTADO PEDRO MENÉNDEZ DE AVILÉS
HIS BROTHER-IN-LAW
AND OF THE CONQUEST OF FLORIDA
AND THE JUSTICE HE WORKED ON JUAN RIBAO
AND OTHER FRENCHMEN

CHAPTER I.
The Family and Youth of Pedro Menéndez.¹

The Adelantado Pedro Menéndez is a nobleman sprung from illustrious ancestors, descended from the ancient houses of Oviedo in the Asturias, whence he derives his origin and that of his descendants: he owns one of the oldest manor houses there are in that country, which is the house of Doña Paya, where in days of yore the Kings of that time had their abode, after the death of the King Don Rodrigo and the coronation of Pelayo; and so the place where it is situated is called Monte de Rey, and a league from there is the town of Pravia, where many of those Kings were buried; and two leagues from there is the town of Avilés, where likewise several Kings were buried; whence to the westward he has his house, his wife and children; and the inheritance he received from his fathers was that same house of Doña Paya and its district, and because he had twenty brothers and sisters, the estate was divided in such wise that they were all left poor: he applied himself to being a soldier, with other brothers of his; to such an extent did he incline toward the military profession on land and sea, that forgetting his comfort, his estate, his origin and his relatives, he followed and follows it, in the service of his Majesty, as is notorious. He set out from his home as an orphan under the control of his foster-parents, who were rearing him because his father was dead and his

¹ Abbreviated headings. Given in full in Contents.
mother had married a second time; they sent after him and brought him from Valladolid within six months, and in order to hold fast to him and to insure his not departing from the country, they affianced him to Ana María de Solís, who was ten years of age; they were related in the fourth degree; which event did not suffice to keep him at home.  

In that time there were wars with France: an armada was equipped against corsairs; he enlisted therein and served two years, and as soon as he returned to his home, he sold part of his patrimony, built a patache and went with his friends in quest of adventures, wherein he achieved and performed very daring and notable things, which would be very lengthy to relate. In particular when two pataches of the armada and his own happened to be assembled off the kingdom of Galicia, all well equipped for war, as they were going against corsairs, for this was in war-time, at the entrance of a harbor; three large boats passed by [going from one] port to another; they carried a maiden on board . . . to be taken to her husband, with her relatives, men and women, more than sixty persons in all; and a French ship and three zabras came forth to encounter them, and because there was no

Barrientos says that when Menéndez was very young he ran away to sea in a boat with a crew of eighteen men only, and encountered a French pirate’s ship fully armed. The pirate’s guns wrought havoc to the small Spanish vessel and the crew were on the point of surrendering, but Menéndez inspired them with his own enthusiastic daring, and the French were cowed and allowed them to get away. Cf. Barrientos, “Vida y Hechos de Pero Menendez de Auiles,” in García, Dos Antiguas Relaciones de la Florida, p. 9.

His brother-in-law, Merás, does not say how old he was when he was brought back from Valladolid. Barrientos writes that at the period of his betrothal he was only eight and his fiancée was ten. It will be noticed that the lines in the Merás “Memorial,” p. 2, following the mention of the event, show that he was older than eight, for at that age he could not have served two years in a fleet.

Pataje, or patax (the oldest form of the word). This craft in ancient times was a small war vessel, used by fleets as an advice-boat and coast patrol. It carried men, stores or orders from one ship to another; guarded the entrance of harbors; was a police-galley or a custom-house tender. Nowadays it is only used in the Spanish merchant marine.

The dots indicate that the manuscript is torn or illegible.

Small frigates or sailing vessels used in the Bay of Biscay.
wind, the French zabras [advancing] by oars as well as by sails, seized the bride with all the people on board. Pedro Menéndez, who knew that this prize the corsairs had captured was that maiden with many other women, prayed the men of the two pataches to go to her rescue and take that prize away from them because it was women, or die in the attempt: this to them appeared temerity and they would not; thus he alone with fifty men he had with him, relying on his strength, his shrewdness and the lightness of his patache, went against those corsairs, a daring thing; and as the three French zabras which had seized the bride who was being taken that morning to her husband, with the three boats which carried all the people, had shifted a league from their French ship, Pedro Menéndez, plying his oars and with sails unfurled, went against them with his patache alone, sounding his fife and beating his drum and displaying his pennants. They awaited him with the prize, and when he came near them he told them they should give up the prize they were bearing away; if not, he would hang them all: the Frenchmen said that he should come and take her, that they would give her to him: he did not dare do this, because each zabra was as large as his patache and to all appearances held as many men; and as he made a feint of wanting to run, two of the zabras went to attack him: he fled: one of them was faster than the other, and he more so than either. Having one of them near him, a good half league ahead of her companion, he set upon her and took her: he divided his men between both and took the other: he went against the third zabra, which was guarding the bride, and her crew deserted the prize and fled: he was not able to overtake them.

The following year, peace having been made with France, some [French] corsairs took eighteen Biscayan ships off the Cape of Finisterre, laden with ironware and many other kinds of merchandise of

* Menéndez is often called Pero, instead of Pedro.
* The manœuvres of Menéndez in this fight suggest that he might have read the story of the Horatii and Curatii.
* On the coast of Galicia.
much value. As it appeared to the Emperor Maximilian, who then governed these kingdoms, that these corsairs deserved to be punished and could not have reached France with the prize, he sent to order Pedro Menéndez to try to set out in pursuit of them, which he did with much speed, without being given one real for it; and as it seemed to him they might have reached France, he went straight to the coast of Brittany, and between Belle-Isle and La Rochelle he captured five prizes from them and seized the French captain who had taken those prizes; he anchored near the chain of [the harbor of] La Rochelle, whence owing to the contrary wind and tide he could not get out; the authorities sent to order Pedro Menéndez to land, which he did; he showed the commission he carried from his King to go after that corsair and take the prize from him: the authorities commanded him to give it up, with all the goods he held and prizes which he had recovered from [the captain] on that coast, because [they said that] it would all be deposited to be delivered to its owners, and that the corsair would be punished. As Pedro Menéndez saw that he could not otherwise, he permitted it to be so done, and took affidavits thereof: he sent one copy to Flanders to his Majesty, and brought the other with him to Spain.

This French captain was a famous corsair whom the French called Juan Alfonso the Portuguese, and the Spaniards Juan Alfonso the Frenchman: he came out wounded [from the encounter with Pedro Menéndez], and died of his wound: he had a very warlike son whom they called Antonio Alfonso, who sent to challenge Pedro Menéndez, [saying] that within two months he would depart from France, having taken a vow never to return there without avenging the seizure and death of his father and the prizes which had been wrested from him, and that in whatever place he knew Pedro Menéndez to be, even though he should have double his forces, he must seek him and fight and battle with him; and so within the two months he set out with

9 Merás means Maximilian, Regent of Spain, during the time Charles V was in Flanders.
10 Jean Alphonse was from the old French province of Saintonge, and had been to Canada as Roberval's pilot, in 1542-1543.
three armed ships. He had tidings that Pedro Menéndez was going to the Indies: he went to await him at the Canary Islands; and off the island of Teneriffe, in the harbor of Santa Cruz, he went to capture two vessels which were being laden there for the Indies: they fired on him from the shore with certain pieces of artillery, while he with his vessels lay alongside the two he had already taken; and with a ball they fired upon him they shattered Antonio Alfonso to bits, and his ship was swept away; afterward Pedro Menéndez took from him the two [ships].

CHAPTER II.

Menéndez and the Corsairs.

Because of the information the Emperor,¹ of glorious memory, had concerning Pedro Menéndez, and that which Maximilian had concerning his notable deeds at such a tender age; and because he knew that French corsairs would pursue Menéndez; he wanted to grant him right and authority that he might go after corsairs in times of peace, and the treasure he might take from them should be his property and that of his heirs, for there were many [corsairs] about; and so that he could seize the prohibited goods he might find on the sea and in the harbors of [the Emperor's] kingdom, in order that they might be divided according to the law of the kingdom. He had many good chances thereby, wherefore his Majesty the King Don Felipe² named him as Captain-General of the Fleet of the Indies and as his Councillor, so that he could go to serve him from Corunna to England when the King went to marry the Most Christian Queen Mary of England, and thus did he serve him very well. The day after his Majesty was married in England he dispatched him with the news of his arrival and his wedding, to the Prince and Princess who were then governing [in his absence]; and he ordered him to go afterward to embark at Seville, to serve him as Captain-General [of the fleets] in the Carrera of the Indies,³ as he had already decreed.

¹ Charles V.
² Philip II of Spain.
³ Spain’s trade with the West Indies and South America.
[Pedro Menéndez] embarked in two zabras laden with merchandise which came from Flanders; they were of Laredo going back that way [by England]; he had a prosperous wind. Four leagues from the port of Laredo, two corsairs set upon him; they came near, to board him; he defended himself although the men for defence were very few; the sailors with great cunning abandoned the helm to surrender: he was forced to take it, and without fear of the artillery he made a bulwark of some mattresses: near him he had six soldiers, arquebusiers, whom he was taking with him: they made very good shots and hits because the enemy, holding them to be of little worth, exposed themselves without being afraid. This was at nightfall, and owing to the darkness and the fear of the arquebusiers [the corsairs] finally dared not come aboard, and so they were saved. In Valladolid he gave to the Princess the dispatches he brought, and went to Seville to fulfil his office as [Captain-] General.

The things which have happened to him since then shall be written with all the brevity possible.

CHAPTER III.

Menéndez Appointed Captain-General of the Fleets of the Indies. His First Voyage There (1555). ¹

The ancient houses most closely related to the Adelantado, wherefrom he is descended (besides that of Doña Paya, which is his own and he possesses [the mansion]), are those of the Cascos y Avileses, Valdeses y Menéndez Arango [and] Bustio y Vegil, and so he has as a motto in his coat-of-arms: “The Menéndez are Valdeses, the ancient lineage of the Cascos; their surname is Avilés, the Councillors of Pelayo.” All these houses recognize that of Doña Paya as the principal one because they are descended therefrom, and they make it the foremost in their coats-of-arms; and those and these are all one, for the

above reasons, although on account of being related to other illustrious houses, they all consider themselves as renowned as that of Doña Paya.

It happened on that first occasion wherein his Majesty named him as Captain-General of the Carrera of the Indies, that he had a prosperous voyage, going and returning within a short time, a thing whereby all people marveled; because having understood the great need wherein his Majesty was left, owing to the wars with the Pope and with France, and the little money he had remaining to sustain them; and having been ordered by the instructions given him to winter in the Indies; he decided to disregard the instructions; gave them to Alvaro Sánchez de Avilés, his brother, who was his lieutenant, and sent him to Nombre de Dios as General of the fleet and armada which was going there; and he went to New Spain: they returned to Seville the following September with more than seven millions, and he was not expected until April of the following year, fifty-seven, for they were securing ships and men to assemble an armada in the spring, which was to go to seek them at the islands of the Azores in order to convoy them as far as Seville.* These expenditures and those which his armada would have had to make, wintering in Havana, ceased with his coming.

CHAPTER IV.

How Pedro Menéndez Released the Chain of Dartmouth Harbor.

On February 26th, 1557, he was again appointed General of the fleet, but as the damage wrought by the corsairs on the coasts of Spain was increasing, for lack of anybody who could remedy this, the King on March 22d, ordered him to go in pursuit of them, which he effected in the month of April with such swiftness and good fortune that he freed the coasts from the infamies they were committing. While he was resting in Laredo in May, the King on June 2d named him as

* From this asterisk to the one following, the gap in the original manuscript is supplied by the relation in the Ensayo Cronologico of Don Gabriel de Cárdenas Cano (Barcia).
Captain-General to go to Flanders with the armada under his charge, escorting 24 ships with cargoes of wool, to carry a succor of 1,500 soldiers and 1,200,000 ducats. And although, when the dispatch was delivered to him, which was on the 8th of June, 4 of the vessels of the 8 which composed the armada, were in Galicia for supplies, by order of the purveyor general, Don Diego de Mendoza, with their Admiral, Alvaro Sánchez, his brother; as he knew that Don Luis de Carvajal was detained in Corunna with much money on board his armada [and] no wind to get under way, and that the King was in England, unsuccessful; he decided to set sail on the 9th day of June with the 4 ships he had there, taking thereon the infantry and funds referred to; and while he was escorting the vessels with the wool cargoes he encountered the squadron of Pie de Palo,¹ a famous corsair, consisting of 8 corsair ships, which he caused to flee by using notable stratagems, except one, which he sent to the bottom. He continued his voyage, arrived at Dover in fifteen days, landed the money and infantry in Calais, the wool vessels going to Zealnd; to this successful venture of Pedro Menéndez can be attributed the victory of Saint Quentin.

In the year 1558 he went forth from Valladolid, and with two zabras, which are very small boats, he reached Antwerp in fifteen days, counted from the one on which he sailed from Valladolid, navigating those seas in winter, when even in summer this would be held as temerity [because of] such small boats, of so little solidity, for they were the first that he found in Laredo, taking them from some fishermen of Castro.

The King again sent him to Spain in order to bring succor, and the Council ordered him to go with 6 zabras and 4 vessels under his charge as a protection: when he arrived in Laredo he found that the purveyors, Don Lope de Valenzuela and Juan Martínez de Recalde, had sent two of the zabras without his order, to San Sebastian for supplies, whereof the other 4 of his armada were short; but observing that the wind was favorable for the voyage, and contrary for the corsairs of

¹ Jacques le Clerc, called Pie de Palo by the Spaniards because of his wooden leg.
San Juan de Luz and other Frenchmen, he set sail from Laredo with the 4 *zabras* only, and within nine days he was in Antwerp, having deceived the corsairs, who soon after put out to sea, thinking that he had not departed, to lie in wait for the succor, having special information of all that he was carrying. Once more the King ordered him to come to Spain in the first fine weather, with the 4 *zabras* and the 2 armed ships of Don Luis de Carvajal, and to bring to Flanders on board thereof, the Archbishop of Toledo, Count de Sarria, Regent Figueroa, Don Diego de Mendoza and other gentlemen. He went to Zealand, where he had tidings that a large French armada was waiting for him on the way, for fear of which the merchant ships of the King’s vassals did not dare go forth, either from those ports or from those of England: he assembled them all, for there were 27, although the order had been given that he should not bring more than 6, which were in Zealand; and he set out with them from the harbor; and although he could have made his voyage with great speed with the 4 *zabras* and the 2 galleons, he waited for the merchant ships; and between the island of Ushant and the Scilly Islands the Admiral of Normandy came out to meet him with 12 very large galleons and one patache; he [Menéndez] secured against the risk all those who went with him, and used so many stratagems and so much military cunning against the French, now attacking, now retreating, that they did not dare attack him and left the way open to him; and although he could have arrived in Laredo in three days, he turned back to stop in England so as not to forsake the merchant vessels, and he entered into Laredo with them all, without the loss of a pin. Some of these things he carried out against the instructions given him, as it appeared to him that it was to the King’s greatest interest that he should violate them, and confident in his experience and good fortune, he exposed his head to the risk of losing it if they were to fail him.*

And because the said General Pedro Menéndez had very good men, his Majesty ordered him to go in company with the armada of England, the General thereof being the Admiral of that kingdom, in order to form an escort to a certain number of cavalry, infantry and sappers.

* From here the manuscript continues.
who were crossing from Dover to Calais in the service of his Majesty, to go thence to Saint Quentin which was being besieged; and having served two months in this, his Majesty commanded him to go and await, between Ushant and the Scilly Islands, a large armada from Spain, wherein the Prince de Evoli\(^2\) was coming: likewise his Majesty ordered Don Luis de Carvajal to station himself with his fleet in that channel between Ushant and the Scilly Islands, through which of necessity the Prince de Evoli had to come with that succor in order to pass on to Flanders; he also gave this order to the Admiral of England, with his fleet, for there was news that in France large armadas were being made ready to await the Prince in that channel, which is near France, through which he would of necessity have to go to enter Flanders; and the three armadas aforesaid, the English one, that of Don Luis de Carvajal and that of the said Pedro Menéndez, being in the same channel as a guard to the Prince, a great storm came upon them, wherefore Don Luis de Carvajal with his fleet put into an English port, and the English armada did the same. Pedro Menéndez, seeing that if the Prince de Evoli had set out from Laredo, he must, with that wind, be driven within three or four days to enter that channel between the island of Ushant and the Scilly Islands, watched the tempest with his fleet, which the English greatly regretted, and they prayed him to put into an English port with them; he answered them that it did not suit him to do this, because the armada had to come sailing from Spain in that weather, and if the enemy should set upon it, what his King had commanded him would not be fulfilled. The English prayed him to order a vessel of his, whichever he chose, to put into port, so that they could tell the Queen of England, their mistress, that because of a storm they had been compelled to seek refuge, and she would believe this from the captain of Pedro Menéndez, on seeing that a ship from his fleet had put into port; for she greatly liked Pedro Menéndez; wherefore there had been very good relations with the English armada, as four months previous [the two fleets] sailing jointly between Dover and Calais, off Boulogne, had wrought damage to the French, keeping the aforesaid armada bottled up in their har-

\(^2\) Evoli or Eboli. Barrientos calls him Eboli.
bors so that from fear they dared not come forth; and the Spaniards and English going together, a thing which it had been thought was not possible; and the time that he went there he formed an escort with his fleet for the cavalry, infantry and English sappers who crossed from Dover to Calais, and many gentlemen from England crossed over: he did all this with such liberality, love and good-will, entertaining them all, that he gave great satisfaction to that nation: especially did Queen Mary, his Majesty's Catholic wife that was, hold herself to be well served by him. And when that tempest ceased, and the said Adelantado remained alone, with his armada, between Ushant and the Scillies, with eight sail, among them being the flagship and the Admiral's, two choice galleons, solid and swift, of 500 toneles each; all the others being very fast vessels and very well armed; and when eight days had passed while he navigated thereabout, he discovered a sail one morning about five leagues from France, near Ushant. He ordered Captain Diego de Isla, who was a very exceptional sailor and good corsair, a native of Quejo near Laredo, to go and reconnoitre her, as he had a fast ship; which he did; and within two hours the said Pedro Menéndez, from the top-sails of his galleon, where he went, sighted many vessels; ordering them to be counted, they said there were more than 80 sail: he held it for certain that this was not the Prince de Evoli because it appeared to him that he could not bring so many ships, nor did he think he would bring above 30 at most; he believed that they were French vessels coming from Newfoundland, whereat they rejoiced greatly; and assembling his fleet, he gave them the order in what manner they were to come up to capture them, for it seemed to them that few or none could escape them; and going to attack them they still believed them to be French, until a swift patache came forth from the 80 sail and came alongside the flagship, which went ahead, on board whereof was the said Pedro Menéndez; and then he recognized them, for the patache belonged to his armada which, when he departed for Flanders, had remained in Laredo with the 4 armed ships left under the charge of his brother, Alvaro Sánchez de

8 A tone is an ancient measure of ships, a little larger than a ton. Ten tone make twelve toneladas, a tonelada being a ton.
Avilés, wherewith he was convoying the supplies being collected in Laredo for that armada; and Diego Florez de Valdés was the captain of that patache, which the Adelantado knew when it came up to him; whereat he showed regret, for it appeared to him he was losing a great prize, as he had thought those vessels were French; and when the patache arrived it joined the Adelantado's fleet and flagship. Diego Florez having recognized her, saluted her, and told Pedro Menéndez how that armada was the armada of Spain, on board of which came the Prince de Evoli, and Don Diego de Mendoza came as Captain-General thereof, who had been Ambassador in Rome; and as Admiral, came Alvaro Sánchez de Avilés, brother of the said Pedro Menéndez and Admiral of the armada under his charge: presently Pedro Menéndez reached them with his fleet and went to speak to his brother, and having saluted each other [his brother] told him how he was transporting 400 soldiers on his vessel, and that Don Diego de Acevedo went on board thereof as the Colonel of 6,000 soldiers that this fleet was carrying to land them in Flanders, and many other leading knights who went with him; and they all spoke to the said Pedro Menéndez with great joy, gladness and merriment, for he was very much beloved by all and they desired extremely to meet him, as they had already had notice, before departing from Laredo, that his Majesty had commanded him to await them in that channel. Pedro Menéndez took leave of that ship, which sailed in the rear-guard, to overtake the flagship a league ahead, on board of which was the Prince; wherein the swiftness of his vessel appeared, for it was seen and experienced then, that she could outsail any of the 80 ships; and having reached the flagship, Pedro Menéndez lowered his flag before her, saluted her with his artillery, jumped into a boat with a dozen gentlemen and went therein to the flagship of Don Diego, where he was very well received by him and by the Prince de Evoli and many knights and gentlemen who came with him. The following day they saw the coast of England: they arrived in the evening off Hartamua, 4 a port of that island, the wind remaining fair.

4 Probably Dartmouth in Devonshire. The name Artamua appears on Domingo Olives's map, year 1568 (in Nordenskiold's Periplus, Plate XXIX), in
The Prince told Pedro Menéndez to take him to land in one of the two zabras he brought, which were very swift, and that he should send the other zabra from him to all the vessels which came with him, so that the knights and gentlemen who might wish to disembark in that harbor of Hartamua could do so in that zabra, giving them notice how he was going on board the other; and so he landed with Pedro Menéndez from his zabra, and some knights and gentlemen with him, and he went to Hartamua where he arrived at nightfall: the other zabra did the same with many knights and gentlemen which it landed. Pedro Menéndez could not return that night to the armada with his zabras, as the wind and tide were against him: in the morning the Prince departed for London by land, to kiss the hands of Queen Mary, and go thence to Flanders where his Majesty was, in order that he might be advised within a short time of the succor [the Prince] was bringing. The Adelantado having taken leave of him, went with his zabras to the armada, which he was keeping anchored one league from that harbor of Hartamua, in a rather perilous place because of the outlook there was for a storm: he went straight to the flagship of Don Diego de Mendoza: he told him that it was expedient to set sail with the fleet so as to get into the harbor, or to go out to sea at a distance from land, on account of the indications of a coming tempest and side wind, and that if this were not done at once, the whole armada ran the risk of being lost: the pilots whom Don Diego carried on his flagship were neither as expert nor as good seamen as were Pedro Menéndez and his pilots: to them it appeared that it would be well to wait there until the day following. Pedro Menéndez replied [telling] them how ill founded was their reasoning, and he said such things to them that their conclusion to Don Diego was that it was good advice to set sail at once and go out to sea, in order if the wind were favorable to arrive in Flanders in a short space; which was what he much desired, for at the time he departed from Laredo it was said that his Majesty had sore need of that succor going to him in the armada, the men and the funds; and he

the same location as that of Dartmouth on other old maps of the time. The Spanish name is spelled both Artamua and Hartamua.
told Pedro Menéndez to go and make his fleet hoist anchor and set sail, for he was ordering his to do the same; which they began to do with great speed, setting the sails and winding the cables on the capstans. Pedro Menéndez, being an expert mariner, managed so well that within half an hour he was on his way out to sea with [his fleet], and when Don Diego set sail with his, Pedro Menéndez was about two leagues from land, and the wind was blowing landward with increasing force: the sea was very rough, and it was past four o'clock in the afternoon: Pedro Menéndez realized that as Don Diego de Mendoza with his fleet was so close to land, night was coming and the weather was stormy, the course the wind was forcing him to take would put him into the harbor of Portland Island, which is near there, on a very perilous and difficult coast; that it would be a chance if he could escape, should a tempest arise during the night; and that because he [Menéndez] was at a distance from the coast he was out of that danger. In order to get Don Diego and his armada out of it, he came up to the poop of Don Diego's flagship and told him that before night-fall they must hoist sail and go and put into the harbor of Hartamua, about 3 or 4 leagues from there: Don Diego did so at once: Pedro Menéndez with his fleet could well have entered half an hour before, for his ships were very fast; but to observe respect for Don Diego he let him go ahead with all his armada, he himself remaining in the rear-guard thereof; and when Don Diego was about to put into the harbor, he found that a large chain which is usually stretched across the entrance, was in place, in such wise that he could not enter: he lowered the sails and anchored, and as the tide was running in and a side wind was already blowing very hard, the vessels which came behind Don Diego did the same as he, and they [all] assembled in that narrow passage, so that the masts and bowsprits and lateen yards broke and were torn to pieces one against the other; and night was coming, for it was already time for the Ave Maria, and the weather was very dark and stormy and the wind very strong, to such an extent that they found no means to save themselves, for although by order of Don Diego boats hastened to the fortress so that they
should loosen the chain, at no time would the alcaide's consent to slacken it or open the door.

Pedro Menéndez had anchored with his armada at a distance from Don Diego’s vessels, where they could receive no injury the one from the other; and as he knew that if they did not enter the harbor while it was still day, it would be a miracle if by night either a man or a ship escaped, with great diligence he boarded two boats equipped with about 50 soldiers, arquebusiers, and went to the fortress and made what efforts he could so that they should open to him; and as they would not, he took a heavy beam, with the soldiers and sailors he had with him, and gave strong blows at the door to break it, keeping 10 arquebusiers with their weapons pointed, ready for whoever might show himself above to prevent this: he broke down the door: he entered: he found no men: [the place] was a tower with some very strong doors of iron, and within it was a capstan, by the device whereof the chain was lengthened and shortened: Pedro Menéndez arranged that the 50 soldiers should remain with him, and he sent one of them with the boats and the sailors, and ordered that they tell the pilot of his flagship, and then the pilot of the Admiral’s (as they were large galleons of 500 toneles each), to cut the cables and give all the sail the wind would allow them, because it was already very strong; and to rush against the chain, for there was no way left for those armadas to save themselves except to venture in that manner; and meantime he tried to break down the iron doors with an iron bar, and at the time his flagship was coming against the chain as he had ordered, the door was finally broken down and Pedro Menéndez entering within the tower, pulled out a steel cutlass he carried in his belt, cut a large hemp hawser and released the chain, in such wise that his flagship which was going against it, received no damage or injury whatever; and so the whole armada entered within the harbor in safety, although in spite of the harbor’s being a very good one, the fleet would all have been lost that night, for the tempest was very great; but the great efforts that Don Diego Mendoza made on his part, and Pedro Menéndez...
Pedro Menéndez de Avilés

dez on his, for they had very good pilots and sailors, were the reason that they were saved. 8 ships were lost, however, within the port during that night: 6 English vessels that were there and 2 from the armada of Don Diego; and 2 other large ships remained outside the chain, anchored about half a league out of their course, not knowing that the chain was lifted; and at dawn they sank, with much treasure they carried, and more than 400 persons were drowned, and Pedro Menéndez saved . . . with his men and the ships of his fleet . . . 8

It was a miraculous thing that within 10 or 12 hours, Our Lord saved that armada from four perils, for because of any one of them, all would have been lost, had they not been remedied by the efforts which God enlightened Pedro Menéndez to make: the first, that had not the fleet set sail from where it was anchored that afternoon, those that were therein would have perished: another, that if it had not turned back to reach Hartamua, it would have been lost likewise at Portland Island: another, that if the chain had not been broken, it would then also have been lost; and the same would have happened if that night Pedro Menéndez with the boats and sailors of his armada had not gone about fastening and succoring [the ships]; for if the fleet had been lost this would have been a great loss to all Spain, for much of the flower of her chivalry went to Flanders on board thereof, and it was the principal succor of money and infantry for his Majesty, to enable him to obtain good results in the great wars he was carrying on against France.

The following day, when they saw themselves out of that danger, all the persons of the armada, great and small, gave such glory to Pedro Menéndez as cannot be exaggerated; especially Don Diego de Mendoza, who as Captain-General had everything coming under his charge: great was the joy he had; and the same with Don Diego de Acevedo; and they ceased not from giving embraces to Pedro Menén-

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8 At this point there is a gap in the manuscript. He saved more than three hundred, according to Barrientos (“Vida y Hechos,” in García, Dos Antiguas Relaciones, p. 14). Menéndez makes but a brief mention of this in his letter to the Princess of Portugal, October 6th, 1557. Cf. Ruidiaz, La Florida, II, p. 27. —Ibidem, II, p. 601, “Información de algunos servicios.”
dez, and rendering thanks for Our Lord's having freed them from so
many perils through his good wits. Don Diego gave orders so that the
fleet in a short time should again prepare and make ready to depart
for Flanders in the first good weather, and within four days Don Luis
de Carvajal arrived with his armada, and Don Diego de Mendoza
delivered his to him, as he held orders from his Majesty therefor; and
he departed for London by land, and thence to Flanders; and Pedro
Menéndez departed for Laredo with his armada as he had orders to
that effect from his Majesty; where he learned that when he was
between Ushant and the Scilly Islands and sent Captain Diego de Isla
with his armed ship to reconnoitre the sail he had seen, [it proved to
be] a French corsair; and fighting him, Captain Diego de Isla captured
two prizes from the French corsair, the one laden with sugar, the other
with wines; and because the wind was against his returning to seek
Pedro Menéndez at Ushant, he arrived at Laredo; and two leagues
from the port he encountered three galleons from San Juan de Luz
which attacked him and fought with him, until they boarded him
several times, slew Captain Diego de Isla and most of his soldiers he
was bringing with him, and took all the prizes from him and his ship
of the armada; wherefore Pedro Menéndez grieved at this greatly,
because up to then he had received no damage from the French arma
das or corsairs; rather had he and his brother, Alvaro Sánchez, who
was . . . , had many and good strokes of luck against the enemy, tak
ing many ships from them and sending many others to the bottom,
in such manner . . . French and English of all kinds . . . greatly
feared him. Particulars of successful ventures will not be set down
in this chron . . . he had with corsairs since . . . to sea, for they were
many and . . . which it is understood a chronicler wants to . . .
reasons; and soon, within a . . . of his arriving at Laredo, as has been
said . . . his Majesty to return with the armada to the States of . . .
to bring money . . .
Within eight days, her Most Serene Highness the Princess of Portugal, who was then the Governor of Spain, commanded him to come by post from Laredo to Valladolid, where when he arrived she ordered him to make ready with great speed, besides the armada under his charge, ten other large ships and two thousand seamen and soldiers, to take Queen Mary to Flanders with the greatest safety, because at that time his Majesty wished to leave her in those States as their Governor, while he came to Spain; which [Pedro Menéndez] went to do with great diligence; within a month he did it; at when he was ready and had advised that the Queen might go to embark whenever she wished, the Queen died; and having understood that his Majesty was treating of peace with France, all the armada under his charge was disbanded, and her Most Serene Highness the Princess ordered him to go to Flanders with two zabras, with dispatches to his Majesty, taking on board Doctor Velasco, a member of his Majesty’s Councils and of his Cámara.

At that time they appointed his brother Alvaro Sánchez de Avilés, who was the Admiral of his fleet, as Captain-General of the Carrera of the Indies; and when the said Pedro Menéndez had arrived in Flanders, his Majesty named him as General of the armada wherein his royal person was to go from Flanders to Spain. He dispatched him from Brussels at the end of April in the year 1559, and he came disguised through the whole of France, travelling by post without being recognized, with two gentlemen; one was his son Don Juan Menéndez, and the other, a gentleman, his relative, whom they called Sebastian de Estrada; he made such speed on the way that he arrived at Fuenterrabia in seven days, whence he sent to her Most Serene Highness the Princess the dispatch he was bringing, and busied himself in going all along the sea-coast, through all the ports, gathering and enlisting soldiers and sailors and seeing the ships there were on the coast for the coming of his Majesty; and as a suitable galliass was being built...
in Bilbao, he gave orders that she be finished quickly. He assembled the vessels with wool cargoes there were on the coast, and on the 10th of July he was back in Flanders with 50 ships, in the harbor of Ramua: he took a zabra, sent on board of her 12 regular captains who came with him, so as to serve his Majesty as counsellors on his coming to Spain: through them he wrote to him of his arrival: His Majesty was in Ghent: on the 12th of July this letter and the captains came before his Majesty, who received the greatest satisfaction on seeing that he had done so much in such a short time, for what was done therein was a thing to marvel at, and he could not believe that he [Menéndez] could arrive in time; for this reason his Majesty had caused many hookers to be commandeered in order to go to Spain on board thereof, and he had had one of the best prepared for his royal person. Those captains told his Majesty how the galliass that Pedro Menéndez had built in Bilbao was the strongest and swiftest and best ship for war of all those they had seen, and that they were bringing her as the flagship of the armada: His Majesty sent Mr. Dobaque, a Flemish gentleman, the lieutenant of the Admiral of Flanders and General of those hookers, so that he might see the galliass and the strength and fitness thereof, which he did, and although his principal hooker, on which his Majesty was to go, was his own and very good, he told his Majesty of the fitness of the galliass.

His Majesty sent to command the Adelantado to come to Ghent, where he was well received by him, and he gave him directions to have the whole armada ready for the 15th of August, in order if the weather were fine, to set sail from those States for Spain; and he gave him a sketch of the rooms he was to have made on his galliass, because he [the King] wished to go on board thereof, and he enjoined on him the care and duty of the management of the said armada, so that as its General he might have it ready [and] might direct and control it, and that all might respect and obey him and fulfil his orders.

His Majesty embarked with all his Court at Ramua, one night at midnight, on the eve of [San José de Calasanz], which comes the 26th of August: on the 27th in the morning, all the Spanish and Flemish pilots hastened to his Majesty, telling him that the wind was contrary
and that he ought not to sail [but] that his Majesty should land again. Pedro Menéndez gave arguments which made his Majesty conclude that for those eight or ten days the sun showed [signs of] good and fair weather, and that at 10 o'clock in the morning his Majesty would have good weather and a good tide, and so it happened, and his Majesty gave the order to set sail; and because the galiass of Pedro Menéndez, on board whereof came his Majesty, was very swift, also 6 ships of his armada and 6 zabras, which sailed much faster than the hookers and the other ships, the gentlemen and servants his Majesty brought with him, advised him to outdistance [the rest], because they could soon arrive in Spain, and on this [advice] he called Pedro Menéndez and told it to him. Pedro Menéndez contradicted it, [saying] that in no manner was it fitting that his Majesty should do this, because until they came out of the Channel between the island of Ushant and the Scilly Islands, they had to sail between France and England for one hundred leagues, inclosed by the one country and the other; and that if a contrary wind should arise he would have to put into the harbors of those kingdoms, which all had fortresses, and he could not come out of them without license from the alcaides: especially was it said very positively that the Queen of England was very much offended with his Majesty, because he had not wanted to marry her and did marry the Queen our Mistress; and as she was a warlike woman she might in her kingdom give him some vexation, and the fleet and men he was taking were not sufficient to prevent this, nor to be able to get out of the harbors of England in spite of the fortresses: these arguments convinced his Majesty, and he decided to sail with the armada of more than 80 sails, assembled and together; all very good galleons, ships and hookers very well armed; and 8 very swift zabras, under oar and sail, which Pedro Menéndez was taking along, well adapted (if the wind were calm, near the coast of Spain) for landing his Majesty and his servants in the first harbor they reached there. They had moderate winds those ten days, contrary winds most of them: Pedro Menéndez steered so skilfully in them that he benefited

1 Elizabeth.
PEDRO MENÉNDEZ DE AVILÉS

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much by the tacking of the fleet, discerning the direction whence the wind would come; and while they were sailing out of the channel between Ushant and the Scilly Islands, with the whole armada, it appeared to Pedro Menéndez that the sun was showing [signs of] very stormy and violent winds, although he knew not whence they were coming: he said to his Majesty that since they were clear of the coasts of France and England, they could now do what he wished to do the day they departed from Flanders, [that is,] go ahead with those few, as they were swift. His Majesty commanded him to do in everything what appeared [best] to him, since the voyage was under his charge. Some persons of those on board held Pedro Menéndez to be at fault because he did not outdistance [the fleet] on the first day, [saying] that if he had done so they would be near Spain; and that now it was not well to outdistance it, but that his Majesty should arrive in Spain with his whole armada, with the authority that was fitting; whereeto Pedro Menéndez responded that in the first case he had acted as was proper, and was doing the same in this; that his Majesty's arrival in Spain carried as much authority with one ship as with a thousand, but that when he sent some servant to govern any country, it was well that he should go with [a display of] authority.

And because there was no wind and he knew not whence the wind would come, Pedro Menéndez entered into council with the counsellors, having previously informed his Majesty, as to which point in Spain it would be convenient to go first; they could not agree; some said, to Corunna; others, to Laredo; others, to Bilbao; others, to San Sebastián: His Majesty's desire always inclined toward Santander. His Majesty wished to hear these opinions, and on what each one based his, and he found that none of the reasons they gave proved anything beyond [the fact] that each one desired to take him to his home land, to honor the place of his birth: His Majesty asked Pedro Menéndez to say where it appeared best to him to go first: Pedro Menéndez answered him that every one of those counsellors in wanting to take him to his native place, spoke in his own particular interest, for it seemed to them that where his Majesty landed he would bestow favors, exemptions and liberties; and that it appeared to him that his Majesty should go
directly to his [Menéndez’s] birthplace, which was the Asturias, where he had his wife and his house, straight toward a point which they call Las Peñas de Gijón,² where there is a good anchoring place which they call Torres. The King and those who were with him laughed at this, for it seemed to them that Pedro Menéndez said it without any [personal] interest, and [his Majesty] asked him to give his opinion. Pedro Menéndez replied to him that it certainly appeared to him that what he had said should be done, and nothing else, and he based it [on the fact] that from that point whereof he spoke, which they call Las Peñas de Gijón, which projects much into the sea, it is 40 leagues to Corunna and another 40 to Laredo, and if the wind should come from the northeast his Majesty would go to Corunna, and if it came strong from the sea, he would go to Santander or Laredo; and if in sight of land the weather were fair, his Majesty and his servants in the zabras, would disembark at Avilés or Gijón, and he would go by land to Oviedo and León, for his Majesty would see that country which he had never seen, and those churches, which are very fine. The opinion of Pedro Menéndez seemed very good to the pilots and counsellors, and as such, they approved thereof; whereat his Majesty and the gentlemen and servants who came with him showed that they felt great satisfaction, and thus did the voyage take place. On the third day they sighted land and it was the very land of Pedro Menéndez, toward which he was coming directly; the wind veered very strongly, coming from the sea: they could not reach land: His Majesty on the second day arrived at Laredo: the hookers which had remained behind, which were going straight to Laredo, were not able in that wind to reach the land of Spain: they arrived in France, and in Spain at the end of 40 days, and his Majesty would have done the same had he made straight for Laredo, Bilbao or San Sebastian.

And when his Majesty was three leagues from Laredo, with no wind, Pedro Menéndez saw that [the weather] was about to turn into a sudden storm, and he feared it: he told his Majesty and entreated him to embark with him in the boat of the galliass which they carried on the poop deck, and go to land in the harbor of Laredo, [saying]

² The Rocks of Gijón.
that the ships would go when they should get wind. His Majesty did so.

The boat was so good that it took in with him his servants whom he was bringing there, as many as 20, and although the wind and sea were against them at the bow, the sailors put themselves under the shelter of a high cliff there is there, which they call Santofia, and going along its base they arrived at Laredo on the day of Our Lady of September, at nine o’clock in the morning, where his Majesty was received with much rejoicing by the town and those that were waiting therein; and being received under a canopy by the regidores of the town, he went to hear mass at the Iglesia mayor, and Pedro Menéndez went with him; and having heard it, he [Menéndez] went out to sea again in the boat, to try to get the ships into port, and so he did; and as it seemed to him that the tempest would not be long in coming, he caused 7 anchors and cables to be put out from his galliass, so that she should be very well secured when the storm should come; and when it was already night he caused 5 or 6 boats to be brought from land to his galliass, because his Majesty was bringing therein 150 coffers and all his household furniture: he wished to unload it all on land before the storm broke, for that was a very bad harbor for such large vessels, and he worked all night with the sailors in unloading. The following day at eight in the morning, his Majesty sent to summon him to come to land at once: he [Menéndez] sent to tell him that he would do so presently: he delayed one hour: he [his Majesty] sent for him a second time: he detained the messenger on board the ship a good half hour, and went to land with all the coffers and his Majesty’s household furniture: he had it all unloaded with great speed on the quay of Laredo, and delivered to those who were to receive it: he hastened to his Majesty, who was disgusted on account of his tardiness: he asked what had delayed him: he told him that it was going orders to unload his furniture because he feared the storm, as that was a bad harbor. His Majesty inquired in how many days he could unload it: he told him that it was already unloaded and delivered to his servants: His Majesty took much pleasure in this: he asked him what he thought

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*a The aldermen or councilmen.
of the weather and what the hookers could have done: he told him that they must have been forced to put in to France, and that it appeared to him the tempest would not delay 6 hours: His Majesty sat down to dine, and Pedro Menéndez went to do so with Don Diego Mendoza; and having finished dining, Don Diego and Pedro Menéndez stood by the window and Don Diego said, against [the opinion of] Pedro Menéndez and other gentlemen who were there, who had been dining with him, that it appeared to him that within 24 hours a storm would be upon them. Pedro Menéndez told him that it would be within 4 hours; and thus discoursing, two hours had not gone by when there started up such a sudden wind and [heavy] sea, that the ships which were in that harbor broke loose from their moorings and drifted against the galliass of Pedro Menéndez; and as she had her well anchored, she held several of them; in the meantime, other cables and anchors of the ships that were in that harbor did not hold, and 4 ships were lost; and one galliass of Martín de Otáñez, a new one, which came with his Majesty and was on her first voyage, wherein the Count de Chinchón was bringing his household furniture, likewise was lost; [and] the imperial ship was lost, a vessel of 700 toneles, on board whereof his Majesty had come from Flanders to the port of Laredo 3 years previous. If the galliass had not been so well anchored, her cables would have broken because of the ships that drifted against her, and she would have drifted against the other vessels that were there, and not one would have escaped of all those which were in the harbor, because she would have taken them all with her. His Majesty [was] amazed at that very sudden tempest, [but] Pedro Menéndez two days before knew that it had to come and expected it; and after it was over, [his Majesty] being in Colindres, half a league from Laredo, in the house of his secretary, Pedro de Hoyos, Pedro Menéndez went to kiss his hands and ask him what course [of action] he must pursue, as the following day his Majesty was to depart thence to Valladolid: His Majesty said to Pedro Menéndez that God Our Lord had granted him a great mercy in having landed him before that storm, and [asked him] what he thought thereof. Pedro Menéndez answered him that for many months all Spain had been saying orisons for his Majesty, supplicat-
ing Our Lord to bring him to his kingdoms in safety, and during that
time the devils had not been able to do any harm; but as his Majesty
had disembarked, the orisons had ceased, and thereupon they found
the chance to do whatever evil they could. His Majesty commanded
Pedro Menéndez to remain there to disband the ships, gather the artil-
leroy, await the hookers and give them orders to go to Santander, and
this being done, to go to Toledo where his Majesty was to hold the
Court, and [he said] that he would give him a reward for his services;
and his Majesty departed without giving him any, or bestowing on
him any aid in the expenses, and Pedro Menéndez remained doing what
he had been ordered. He felt so deeply his being left poor, with many
of his brothers and kindred dead, that the following day he fell ill of
a very great quartan fever, which lasted him 20 months, and was very
severe: he went to Toledo: His Majesty liked him very much and
desired to give him a reward: it was said that Gutierre Lopez de
Padilla and others of his Majesty’s ministers had informed him that
if he did so, he [Menéndez] would retire, because they had heard this
from his relatives and friends. A great convoy and armada was then
going to the Indies, New Spain and Tierra Firme, and the Count de
Nieva therein as Viceroy of Peru, and Licentiate Muñatones and other
commissioners: Pedro Sánchez de Benesa, a resident of Fuenterrabía,
was going as General of that armada which they had given him be-
cause of the death of Alvaro Sánchez de Avilés, brother of Pedro Me-
néndez, and of the absence of Pedro Menéndez; [but] if [Menéndez]
came to Spain with his Majesty in time, he was to go as General
thereof, and Pedro Sánchez as Admiral; and as soon as Pedro Menéndez
arrived in Toledo, [the members] of the Royal Council of the
Indies had recourse to his Majesty there, beseeching him to order Pedro
Menéndez to go as General of that fleet and armada. His Majesty did

4 “Pero Menéndez le respondió que había muchos meses que en toda España
hacían oración por S. M., suplicando á Nuestro Señor le trajese á sus Reinos á
salvamento, en el cual tiempo los demonios no habían tenido parte de hacer mal,
y que como S. M. desembarcara, había cesado la oración, y con esto tuvieron
lugar de hacer el mal que podían.” Merás “Memorial” in Ruidiaz, La Florida,
I, p. 37.

5 The provinces of Northern South America.
so, and although Pedro Menéndez represented to him that he was ill, and that it was many years since he had seen his wife or been in his house; and that his Majesty should grant him the favor to give him permission to go there until he recovered his health, because when he had, he would go to serve him at the point where his Majesty should command him; his Majesty told him that a quartan fever was not a dangerous complaint, and that on his return from that voyage he would give him a reward for his services, which had been notable, for never up to then had any been given him, nor any aid in expenses; and so he made that journey to the Indies and he was ordered . . . and he was back in Spain on the 11th of July, 1560.*

CHAPTER VI.

How Pedro and His Brother Bartolomé Were Imprisoned Unjustly by the Casa de la Contratación. The King Commissions Him to Reconnoitre the Coast of Florida (1565).

Other events and exploits, as singular as they appear incredible, proved Pedro Menéndez to be the foremost man of his time; but applause, as general as it was sincere, was not sufficient to free him from thrusts of envy; since having been ordered in the year 1561, to return to the Indies with the fleet, he arrived in Spain laden with riches and rivals, who gave cause for the imprisonment which will now be treated of; having accomplished more on this occasion than on the others.*

The said Pedro Menéndez went to present himself before the Casa de Contratación of the city of Seville, before the judges thereof, who commanded them1 to give bail [to appear] at the trial and sentence, and although they knew . . . guaranteed, they would not take it . . . two persons among the most wealthy . . . and when they finished

* The following paragraph is supplied from the Ensayo Cronologico of Cardenas z Cano (Barcia).
* The manuscript follows.
1 Pedro Menéndez and his brother, Bartolomé.
taking the . . . imprisoned in Las Atarazanas\(^2\) and . . . that city, with two \textit{alguaciles}\(^3\) . . . each one and each \textit{alguacil} earned . . . every day; and the day following they impeached them . . . there were five \textit{informaciones}\(^4\) against Pedro Menéndez . . . most of them, whence resulted . . . the whole accusation, made by Licentiate Bane-gas, the Fiscal of that Casa de la Contratación, without holding any commission from the judges therefor, and he made . . . concealment and made the charges and . . . followed and accused the said Pedro Menéndez and his brother, Bartolomé Menéndez, and [when this was] seen by the lawyers of . . . Pedro Menéndez, who was Licentiate Martín Alonso, a great . . . friend, and he had been many years a censor for the Casa de la Contratación, and drew a salary from his Majesty therefor, and was in the habit of remaining in the place of some of them as a judge of that Casa de la Contratación, when they absented themselves; and he could not plead in any lawsuit of that Casa without the permission of the judges, and if he did so, he lost the salary and office he held therein: he asked permission of the judges to plead in [that trial]: they would not give it to him, as he and Pedro Menéndez were great friends; and as it was understood that he was . . . he chose to lose the salary he received . . . de la Contratación, and defend him . . . lawyer and that of Bartolomé Menéndez, his brother, and so . . . them with the accusation, he put in an answer in the suit . . . and that of Pedro Menéndez: he said he gave . . . amended the testimonies in the five summary \textit{informaciones} which had been made against Pedro Menéndez . . . and he demanded the sentence: as it appeared to the officials that by this means they [Menéndez and his brother] would be getting out of the . . . with their case, the Fiscal asked for a \textit{termino ultramarino}\(^5\) in order to prove the things of which he held him accused: this was granted him: it was requested on behalf of Pedro Menéndez that in the meantime he be released on

\(^2\) The Royal Arsenals.
\(^3\) Constables, policemen.
\(^4\) Reports of charges against him.
\(^5\) Literally a \textit{beyond-the-sea period}; a length of time sufficient to obtain evidence from the other side of the ocean.
bail: they would not do this, and so he remained a captive in that prison 20 months, and Bartolomé Menéndez, his brother, 25; [and] although on behalf of both, all possible efforts were made with the Contratación to have them tried, they could not get the time shortened, on account of the delay there was in their case so as to lengthen their prison term, until [the coming of] the 1st and 2d cédulas from his Majesty [to the effect] that they should be sentenced. Since their cases had been finished many days previous, and the charges reported to his Majesty could not be proved against them, they sent their cases and persons to his Majesty and the Señores of his Royal Council of the Indies, and [decided] that they [Pedro and Bartolome] should give six thousand ducats [and] should go to present themselves before that Court with an **alguacil** and two guardsmen for security: they complied with the sentence: they gave the bail: they asked for the proceedings: they would not give them the originals: they ordered that copies be made: two months went by during this, without [the copies] being given to them: when they had been given them, and they asked that the **alguacil** and the two guardsmen be appointed to take them to Court, they set new guards over them, saying that the Fiscal in the service of the Indies had appealed from that sentence, and likewise he of the Casa de la Contratación.

There was much wonder and murmuring at this among lawyers and persons of importance, on seeing that at the end of so many prison terms and annoyances and accusations as had been imposed on Pedro Menéndez and his brother, and the many **informaciones** that had been taken against them in the kingdom and out of it (for in the suit against Pedro Menéndez alone, there were three **informaciones** against him, taken in the kingdom and out of it); that when he had been such a famous Captain-General for so many years, in positions of such trust; and that no particular person at any time, nor then, had asked or demanded anything of him and his brother, save only Licentiate Banegas, the Fiscal of that Contratación of Seville; that at the end of so many prosperous occurrences and voyages which Our Lord had granted him in the service of his Majesty, and when he was expecting that his Majesty would bestow on him a notable reward,
they should behold him a prisoner, accused by his Fiscal, and [serving] such a long prison term; see him come out with such a trifling sentence and such a small guard for him and his brother; and see that because the judges at Seville cannot try a case in a higher court of claims (for it must of necessity come before the Council [of the Indies] in whatever form it may be, either by appeal or by a trial which they provide), the Fiscal of the Royal Council of the Indies had likewise appealed from that sentence: [therefore] the Adelantado was advised by persons learned in the law that it was proper for him to break prison, leaving therein his brother, Bartolomé Menéndez, and travel by post and go to his Majesty with great secrecy, which he did; and entering the palace, [his Majesty] saw him coming through a hall, at nine o'clock in the morning, and he sent him a page of the bedchamber to tell him to come up to speak to him; and because the said General had been warned that, as he had not been cleared of the accusations which there were against him, he would transgress the law if he spoke to the King before speaking to the members of the Royal Council of the Indies, he sent to tell his Majesty that owing to this, he dare not kiss his hands, nor go up at his summons, for fear the Señores of the Council of the Indies would order him to be punished: he spoke with the Señores of the Council: they commanded him to be put into prison, and time went by and his case was heard: he was tried in the primary and secondary court of claims, without any other proceedings being instituted in the case against him, or in that against his brother, than those which had been taken in Seville, by the same judges who had competence in jurisdiction; and they and the Fiscal were prosecuting them and conducting the case and they were to sentence them; and they had written to his Majesty that [Pedro and Bartolomé Menéndez] had transgressed the law in many serious and shocking things, and they [the judges] must be willing to find them guilty so that everything might be made true; and the said Pedro Menéndez was condemned to pay one thousand ducats and his brother Bartolomé Menéndez, 200, because of the guilt resulting from the lawsuit aforesaid, without knowing on what charges; his Majesty, on account of them, having spent from his Royal Exchequer more than
2,000 ducats, in sending to have informaciones taken in the kingdom and out of it, in order to find evidence against them, because his Fiscal wanted to find them guilty.

His Majesty regretted that sentence, since he sent to summon him; and as he was a servant of his, he granted him the mercy of reducing that penalty by one half, and he commanded him to return to serve as General in that Carrera [of the Indies], together with his brothers and kinsmen, as of yore, saying he would thereby hold himself to be well served; would reward him for having previously served him well, and would vindicate him openly for the insult which had been offered him, for it was well understood throughout his whole kingdom that he had been accused falsely. Pedro Menéndez replied to him with all humility, kissing his hands for the grace and favor he did him in telling him that he was satisfied with his services and considered him so good a captain; and for the conviction [his Majesty] had that he had been accused falsely and that the judges had been prejudiced against him. He aspired to no further favor from his Majesty than this, which was as much as he could desire: the satisfaction that his services were acceptable to his Majesty, and that he served him with all love and fidelity; [but] he was in great affliction, because having but one only son, who was a gentleman of his Majesty's household, he had disappeared while coming as the General of a fleet and armada from New Spain, in a storm which came upon him off an island near Florida they call Bermuda; it was in the natural order of things either that the ship had sunk with all on board, or that they had escaped to that island or to Florida; and on account of his imprisonment he had been unable to go in search of them, in order if they were there, to save them and restore them to life; because there came on that ship besides his son, many of his kinsmen, friends, followers and soldiers, all of whom had been serving his Majesty under him for a long time; all of whom he had left with [his son] in New Spain, and loved like children; he intended from the contributions he obtained from relatives and friends, to equip two pataches at once and go to that island and the coast of Florida, sailing close to the shore, and landing at some points, in order to ask the Indians by signs if there were bearded men
in that country, or in any island near by, since none of the Indians have beards; and until he could start on that undertaking, it seemed to him that he was not satisfying his conscience, nor the love he had for that only son, because he had no other; or for the kinsmen and friends who were with him; [he said] that when he had made that voyage he would go to his home, wife and children, whatever the result might be, for in eighteen years he had only been there . . . times, because he had been occupied in his Majesty’s service; during which period he had attended, as he was in duty bound, to serving him; and that even though it were in great poverty, he wanted to end his days at home in the service of God.

His Majesty had pity and compassion on him; he told him that he would help him in the one and the other [purpose], and to come to speak to him the following day, and the said Pedro Menéndez did so. His Majesty told him that he was sorry for his hardships and troubles; that he wished to aid him in the voyage he wanted to make in search of his son, provided that after he had finished his search, he would navigate along the whole coast of Florida, in order to discover the inlets, harbors and shoals that were there, so as to record them with exactness and set them down on marine charts; because, on account of this not having been done, many ships had been lost which went to and from the Indies, with much treasure and many people on board; and many armadas the Emperor, his father, of glorious memory, and his Majesty [himself] had equipped for the conquest and settlement of that land of Florida.

Pedro Menéndez answered that would to God his Majesty understood that which he was saying as fully as was fitting for the service of God and his own, since that was one of the necessary things which he must provide and remedy in his kingdom, especially at a time when so many Lutheran heretics were springing up in Flanders, Germany, France, England and Scotland, all of them lands near to Florida, which is such a large country with such a good altitude and climate for all kinds of products that it must perforce contain many good things;

6 The text says this distinctly: “Todas tierras cercanas á la Florida.” Merás “Memorial,” in Ruidiaz, La Florida, I, p. 49.
and [since] it was entirely peopled by savages, without faith and law, unenlightened by the law of Our Lord Jesus Christ, his Majesty was in duty bound by the powers which the Holy Pontiffs of Rome had given long ago to the Kings of Castile for the conquest and settlement of that land, to try to implant the Holy Gospel therein; and he [Menéndez] would take that enterprise under his charge with greater zeal than any for the many armadas, or any office which his Majesty might entrust to him in his kingdoms. His Majesty answered him that he would take much pleasure in committing that undertaking to his care, and in making a contract with him in order that he might do it, [granting] everything within reason; and so his Majesty made a contract with the said Pedro Menéndez, leaving in his charge the conquest and settlement of that land, with [everything pertaining to] the journey; and after having collected his cédulas and decrees, [Menéndez] departed for Asturias and Biscay, to assemble his fleet.

CHAPTER VII.

Preparations for the Voyage.

Pedro Menéndez feared that his Majesty might have thought ill of him because of what his ministers had said of him, as they believed the tale-bearers who had spoken ill of the Adelantado; and he [believed] that he had fallen in his [Majesty’s] disfavor, who might not have as good an opinion of him as was just; he desired to regain his reputation, which he had obtained through such hardships and dangers, at the cost of his property, and the loss and death of his son, brothers, kinsmen and friends; and when he saw the captains and men of noble birth who had followed him and served his Majesty in his company, poor and in need, without being able to help them, because he was so likewise, nothing he might undertake appeared difficult, especially that [conquest] of Florida, which was so much for the service of God Our Lord and of his Majesty, and for the general welfare of his kingdoms; wherefore he had thought that if the King’s reward should fail him, that of God Our Lord could not, nor His aid, which was what
he needed, and was the particular interest he was trying for therein; and he dispatched from there three messengers to different parts, writing to his friends and to Francisco de Reinoso, a military man of his Majesty, so that they might bring him as many men as they could; and he told Francisco de Eraso that his Majesty would be very ill served by the delay in his going to Florida; that it did not appear fitting to him to be detained for those ships, supplies and men because he did not know where he could find the ships; that he had a galleon of one thousand tons, the best thing there was on the sea, very fast and well armed, ready for war; that the merchants of Seville were giving him twenty-five thousand ducats’ worth of freight so that she might go laden to Nombre de Dios, and that he was already loading her; that he was willing to lose that interest and would collect as many men as he could; that notice should be sent to the officials of Seville to take and prepare her to carry on board as many people as she could hold, and that any dispatch his Majesty was to give him in Valladolid, could be sent to him in Seville: this appeared very good to Francisco de Eraso, who enjoined him so to do, and to make his voyage with speed. The Adelantado managed so well by way of Cadiz and Biscay, that on St. Peter’s Day he set out from Cadiz with that galleon San Pelayo and ten other sail; and five from Asturias and Biscay, and 2,150 soldiers and sailors on board thereof, as has been said; and of all these his Majesty paid for 300 soldiers and one ship; all the rest was at the expense of the Adelantado, who sought all the aid he could from kinsmen and friends, who helped him very much, knowing that that enterprise was greatly for the service of God Our Lord and his Majesty; and Pedro del Castillo, a citizen and regidor of Cadiz, a great friend of the Adelantado, distinguished himself in this more than all [of them], in helping him from his own means and those of his friends, for he alone lent him twenty thousand ducats; the Adelantado realizing the great service he was doing his Majesty in this, in order to go straight to Florida, as he did, to destroy the enemy before they could fortify themselves and gain the good-will of the caciques and Indians of that land, as has been said.
Having seen that for that journey to Florida his Majesty was giving him decrees, and sufficient assurance that in the Indies they would furnish him with 200 horses, 400 soldiers paid for 4 months, artillery and 3 armed ships, munitions and provisions and all the things he should ask for and have need of, to drive out the French Lutherans who were in Florida; it appeared to him that by departing from Cadiz by June, '65, as it had to be then, and going through the islands of the Indies collecting that infantry and those horses and armed ships, he would be much delayed, and could not go to Florida until the spring of the year '66; and that by then, as has been said before now, the French who were in Florida would have so fortified themselves through having received much succor in men, artillery, arms, munitions and supplies, that when the Adelantado arrived there by March, '66, he could not bring about the same results as he could if he were to go directly from Cadiz to Florida, where the Frenchmen were, before they could have been succored; or in case they had been, before they could have fortified themselves and won the good-will of the caciques; for this was the greatest fear the Adelantado had, because if he should have the native Indians of Florida as enemies, as well as the French who would train them to fight, the forces the Adelantado brought with him would not be sufficient to gain a footing in that country, or to drive the Lutherans out of it. The Adelantado told this fact to his Majesty in Santa María de Nieva in April, '65, and in La Mejorada; and he said it to the Señores of the Royal Council of State and War, who were with him; afterwards he came to say so in Madrid, where the Court was, to the President of the Royal Council of Castile and the Señores of the Royal Council of the Indies, in order that they might give him two galleys and two galliots [then] in charge of Don Alvaro de Bazán, [and] with his zabras and pataches he might push on to Florida before the French could be succored; and

1 A town in the province of Madrid. In ancient times it was called Mejorada del Rey.
if they had been, he would land in another harbor, the nearest to theirs he could find; he could do this, as the ships he took drew but little water; and there he would fortify himself, trying to do the enemy all the harm he could, and to gain the good-will of the caciques; and in the spring, with the horses that should come to him from the Indies, he would get control of the country and the [Frenchmen’s] harbor, because they had their fort two leagues inland up the river; so that they could not be succored nor the Indians treat with them; and that in this manner war could be made on them in all good order and activity, and they could soon be driven out of the land of Florida, in order that they should not implant therein their evil Lutheran sect.

Because his Majesty had been advised that the powerful Turk was marching on Malta, that the galleys he had to oppose him were few, and that therefore he could not give them, although the reason the Adelantado gave seemed a very good one to him; and all the other Señores aforesaid with whom he communicated, said likewise; his Majesty on the following day in La Mejorada provided through his Council of State and War, that they should give the Adelantado 500 men, paid and equipped, with 4 armed ships, all at the expense of his Majesty; so that with the 500 men and 10 shallops and zabras the Adelantado was taking at his expense, in accordance with the asiento he had made with his Majesty concerning the conquest and settlement of Florida, he should go to the islands of Puerto Rico, Hispaniola and Cuba, to assemble the horses, infantry and ships.

*The Adelantado named very important persons as officials of the Royal Exchequer, and among them Hernando de Miranda as Factor; whereof he gave an account to the King, who approved the selection; for one cannot go to conquer and settle new lands without taking them [the officials], and their appointment belongs to the General.

On the 5th of May Menéndez wrote, by order of the King, that Francisco de Eraso must raise more people, and the same day the proper order was given by the officials of the Casa de la Contratación, whereby the Royal Atarazanas were opened and Pedro Menéndez was given artillery, munitions of war and food supplies, and although his

* Supplied from the Ensayo Cronologico.
Majesty ordered that 500 men be given him, this was not carried out; for the King's account there were given only 299 soldiers, who received the pay apportioned to 200 men; 95 sailors with the chief pilot, and everything else that he held necessary; as the same order had allowed him to dispose of a larger equipment than that [called for] by his obligation.

CHAPTER IX.

Description of the Fleet. Menéndez Sails for Florida

June 29th, 1565.

Juan de San Vicente arrived in Seville from Italy with a comrade of his, called Francisco Pérez; they were both natives of Medina del Campo; they brought letters from Luis de Quintanilla, a great friend of the Adelantado, wherein he assured him that San Vicente was a very good soldier [and] asked that he honor and favor him in whatever way he could, for he [San Vicente] had a brother in Italy who was a captain serving with great credit; and as this was the first thing his friend begged of him, and he believed that the bravery of the protégé would be equal to that of his brother, of whom the Adelantado had heard much, he made him a captain, and his comrade an ensign.

He carried to that conquest 2,646 persons in 34 vessels, among them being 4 very large ones, provided with much more than had been stipulated. Before sailing out of the Bay of Cadiz he wished to take the muster-roll of the people who had embarked there; but Francisco Duarte, the Factor (without an order from the King, because he did not show any to the Adelantado, although he asked him for it), wanted to interfere with this, saying it was his right, and he insisted so much that the Adelantado, although he had no jurisdiction; [but] he represented to the King that in accordance with the patent and instructions he carried, the officials of the Casa de la Contratación of Seville could not interfere in anything without a special royal cédula; and that when he
was in San Lucar with the armada of protection for the Indies, about to set sail, wishing to take the muster-roll of the soldiers and sailors, and aid them before the royal officials in compliance with his instructions, Francisco Duarte, the Factor, had requested him to join with him and the other officials, but when he asked him for the order he could not produce it; and that as the wind was favorable and in order that the royal service should not suffer, [the Adelantado,] holding it for certain that his Majesty would reprimand that infraction and would command it to be remedied for the future, had joined him at his house, where the roll was taken; and he supplicated his Majesty to order the officials referred to, not to intrude themselves in anything concerning that fleet, nor in the visitation thereof, without a special royal cédula, since he would permit [the visitation] when it should be for the royal service: "because," he added, "the people of the said armada would show the greatest discontent if the officials of the Casa de la Contratación were to be their judges; and for this same reason I fear that the armada may disband if the men should know that they have any other judges than the Council of the Indies."

The muster-roll was called, and the fleet was composed of one galleon, chartered for his Majesty's account, of 996 tons; and 10 ships wherein were going 995 sailors and soldiers, 4 secular priests with licenses to receive confession, and 117 tradesmen: locksmiths, millers, silversmiths, tanners, sheepshearers and others, with all the artillery necessary for building forts and defending oneself. All the people were going at the expense of the Adelantado, except 299 soldiers and 95 sailors, with the chief pilot.

[There was] the galleon San Pelayo, which was the flagship, with the Adelantado on board and 317 soldiers, 299 thereof for the King's account; [and] 4 cannon, with the rest of the artillery and provisions bought by Pedro del Castillo, a citizen and regidor of Cádiz; [also] the shallop Magdalena, of 75 tons; the shallops San Miguel and San Andrés, of 100 tons, Gonzalo Bayón, shipmaster; and La Concepción, of 70 tons, carrying 96 men; the galley called Victoria, with 17 benches; the brigantine La Esperanza, with 11 benches; the caravel San Antonio, of 150 tons, carrying 114 soldiers; the caravel La Con-
repción, laden with supplies, which only went as far as the Canaries; the caravel of shipmaster Juan Ginete; the caravel Nuestra Señora de las Virtudes, Hernando Rodriguez, shipmaster, a citizen of Cadiz; the vessel Espíritu Santo, of 55 tons, Alonso Menéndez Marqués, shipmaster; the vessel Nuestra Señora del Rosario, Pedro Suarez Carvayo, shipmaster; and 5 others, the names whereof have been lost, making in all 19, for the others were being equipped in Asturias and Biscay.

And [the fleet] having set sail from the Bay of Cadiz on the 29th of June, as the warnings and notices against the Huguenots had deferred the departure, such a severe storm arose that it was driven back to land, to the great grief of the Adelantado at the delay: he gathered more people in Cadiz, and the weather growing clear, he set out another time and arrived safely at the Canaries, where he resumed taking the roll of the men he carried, a thing he had been unable to do in Cadiz because Francisco Duarte, the Factor, absent himself; and he found he had 1,504 persons, not beggars and of the rabble, to beat whom, says Jacobo Le Moine, 50 Frenchmen were sufficient; but among them were some of the principal gentlemen of Asturias, Galicia and Biscay, whom a thousand Frenchmen would not dare to face.

Two days after he had departed, Captain Luna with 90 men arrived in the Bay of Cadiz, and requested Francisco Duarte, the Factor, to give him a ship wherewith to go over to Florida: Francisco Duarte declined, and sent him to Pedro del Castillo, who freighted a caravel for him, with supplies and everything needful, and 67 persons embarked, not counting the sailors.

At the same time that the Adelantado was preparing in Andalusia all that he thought proper for the service of his Majesty and the renown of so great a general [as himself], Estebano de las Alas, his lieutenant, embarked in the port of Avilés, 257 persons, sailors and soldiers, in three ships laden with arms and munitions for the same

1 This must mean taking the muster-roll of the men who joined him when he had to go back to Cadiz.

2 Jacques Le Moine. Cf. his Brevis Narratio, Part II of Theodor de Bry's Collectiones Peregrinationum in Indiam Orientalen et Indiam Occidentalem, Francoforti ad Moenum, 1591, p. 27. Translated by Fred B. Perkins as Narrative of Le Moyne, Boston, 1875.
conquest; and there set sail from the harbor of Gijón, on the 25th of May, in charge of Pedro Menéndez Marqués, a nephew of the Adelantado and the Admiral of that fleet (who was also Accountant for his Majesty in Florida), two vessels with supplies, munitions, arms and accoutrements, with 78 persons. Among the people who embarked in Asturias were 11 friars of San Francisco, ordained priests, and one lay-brother; one friar of Mercy, one priest and 8 [members] of the Society of Jesus, and most of them did not arrive because of the tempests. From Santander and other parts of Biscay many ships set out in the same enterprise, laden with supplies and munitions; in such wise that on this voyage, the zeal of the Adelantado exceeding his obligation, he carried so many persons that he had no need of the 500 negroes, nor did he take out the royal license therefor; besides, the rumor of the [contemplated] destruction of the heretics who had settled in the lands of the King induced the people to embark, so that if he had had the inclination he could have taken over as many as he wished. He conducted 2,646 persons, among them 26 married citizens with their families, the Adelantado spending in 14 months nearly one million ducats, as the whole armada was at his expense, except one vessel and 299 soldiers for the King’s account: a thing surely incredible, if the expense were not authenticated by valid documents, and more so because the salaries were then so low, for to the highest officials were given 6 ducats a month; to the sailors, 4; to the ship-boys, 1,000 maravedis; to the cabin-boys, 2 ducats; to the pilot, 24; to the artillerymen, 5; to the other shipmasters, 9; to the captains, 40; to the ensigns, 15; to the sergeants, 8; to the corporals, fifers and drummers, 6; to the quartermasters and pikemen, 3; to the arquebusiers and halberdiers, 4 ducats a month; to the corporals’ aids, 4 ducats, and to the soldiers, 2.

He carried with him royal cédulas to the effect that in the Indies he should be given what he asked for, but they were not carried out. Having set sail from the Canaries, within a short time a fierce tempest arose, and the flagship with 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. The course of the other ships that went in charge of Estebano de
las Alas was not known; only five vessels sailed together; and on the 20th of July so great a hurricane came upon them that it was necessary to lighten them and throw overboard the best part of the cargo. Luis de Cabrera says that they arrived at the island of Hispaniola, and on the 9th of August at San Juan de Puerto Rico, where were already waiting the flagship and patache which had been separated from them in the storm: there the Adelantado took on 43 men who had been enrolled in advance, as he had taken on at Hispaniola the provisions he needed: and knowing that Juan Ribao was ahead, and had captured a dispatch boat on her way to the islands, he determined to follow him, although the Adelantado had with him less than one third of his men and his fleet, not knowing whether the others had been lost in the storm, and whether the ships from Asturias and Biscay would arrive. Seeing that the people who were with him were persons of much reliance and bravery, despite [the fact] that many of the soldiers were not trained, he summoned all the captains to a council, and told them that he had not taken that expedition under his charge through vanity or [personal] interest, but for the honor of God, Who already appeared to be manifesting His mercies, since to show His hand visibly, He had permitted that the powerful fleet which sailed from Teneriffe should arrive near Florida so impaired in order that the success of whatever famous action could be achieved should be attributed to Him. [He said] that trusting in the Divine Will, he held it to be very proper that they should set sail thence for Florida, without waiting for or seeking further aid; for if they succeeded in finding the place where the Lutherans were settled he considered victory to be beyond a doubt, as the French would be taken unawares, and the more so if succor had not reached them; whereas if they should wait for the whole armada at the Windward Islands, there would follow the difficulty of their arrival being made known, and of the enemy having the opportunity so to fortify themselves as to become invincible; which fears would vanish by going in search of them promptly. In case they should find them fortified and with ample aid, and should not be able to land near by because of recognizing some great danger, they would turn back their prows toward Hispaniola and Cuba, where they could
discuss what had to be done, while being reinforced by the men, supplies and munitions that would be arriving; although he held it for certain that such valiant and honorable gentlemen as had assembled there, were equal to attempting more arduous feats; and in this undertaking they could lose nothing, for if they had to return to the said ports, they would have gained much honor, and learned the way to attack the enemy with the other [troops]. He begged them to give their opinions, for he would follow the most suitable and reasonable.

The camp master, Don Pedro de Valdés, his son-in-law, said that what the Adelantado proposed appeared good to him, and that the more the voyage was delayed, the more this would weaken resolution. Others followed him; but Captain Juan de San Vicente and some who had the intention of remaining in Hispaniola to go to Peru or New Spain, and desert that undertaking, replied that it would be best to wait and know the fate of the armada and the strength of the enemy, in order to proportion thereto the preparations which had to be made to obtain the greatest renown in an enterprise of such importance; whereupon they began to quarrel one with another, but came to an agreement that the opinion of the Adelantado should be followed; who [was] very joyful at this decision, because he had always believed that the successful outcome of that expedition depended on swiftness; he thanked them and had the vessels overhauled with great care.

At that time the Adelantado was planning that his elder daughter should marry Pedro Menéndez Valdés. Cf. the letter of Menéndez to King Philip, September 11th, 1565, A. G. de I., 54-5-16.—Ruidíaz, La Florida, II, p. 82.
CHAPTER X.*


That day in the afternoon, the Adelantado commanded that all the ships' arms should be delivered to the captains, so that they should distribute them among their soldiers, who were to keep them clean and ready, and that each soldier should shoot three rounds every day until they reached Florida, in order to lose fear of the arquebuses and be trained, as they were raw recruits for the most part. They were to shoot one round with bullets in a space arranged within the said gal­leon, prizes being awarded to the soldiers in the companies who shot best, and to their captains so that they should take great care to make them skilful; and with that exercise, which was done each day, they daily repeated the Christian doctrine and the litanies, saying prayers and making supplications to God Our Lord, and beseeching Him to grant them victory in everything. They sailed until August 28th, St. Augustine's Day, on which they sighted the land of Florida; all of

* The manuscript follows from here.

1 Menéndez to the King, October 15th, 1565, A. G. de I., 54–5–16.—Ruidíaz, La Florida, II, p. 86.

2 Francisco de Mendoza Grajales, the chaplain of Pedro Menéndez, also gives August 28th as the day that the Spanish fleet sighted Florida (cf. his “Memoria” or “Relación,” Ruidíaz, La Florida, II, pp. 445-446). Barrientos says August 28th (cf. “Vida y Hechos de Pero Menendez de Auiles,” p. 39, in Genaro García, Dos Antiguas Relaciones de la Florida). Menéndez himself, however, says that the event occurred on August 25th (perhaps a scribe's mistake).

“On the XXV of August, Sunday at noon, we discovered this land off Cape Canaveral, which is the latitude of XXVIII degrees, at the entrance of the Bahama Channel, and we sailed along the coast, seeking that harbor [of the French], as far as XXIX degrees, for such was the report I had, that the
FLORIDA
1562–1574
Compiled by
Woodbury Lowery

*Spanish and French names are in red.*
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.

And because they knew not in what part the Lutherans had fortified themselves, they sailed for four days along the coast, very much distressed, and in great suspense, not knowing whether the French were north or south of where the said Adelantado was going with his armada, sailing by day and anchoring at night; and one morning he saw Indians on the coast: he sent his camp master to land with 20 arquebusiers: he did not wish to land more men so that the Indians might not be frightened and flee. When the camp master disembarked among the Indians with the 20 soldiers, they came with their bows and arrows, and as our men went toward them, they retreated toward the woods: the Christians fearing that if they followed them there might be an ambuscade of many men, and they would run a risk; and that if they did not seek information from them to learn in what part the Lutherans were, it would be a bad state of things; for as the Frenchmen were between the XXVIII and XXIX degrees. Not finding them, we went on as far as XXIX and a half degrees; and having seen fires on the shore on the second of September, I ordered a captain ashore with twenty soldiers, to try to get an interpreter among the Indians, that they might give us knowledge of that harbor; and so the captain who went ashore joined them and talked to them, and they told him, by signs, that the harbor was further on, in a higher latitude towards the north."


3 These Indians belonged to the large and important tribe of the Timucua, who controlled most of the northern part of the region known today as Florida. Many affiliated smaller tribes were included under that designation. The word has different forms: Timuqua, Timoqua, Thimogona, etc. The name of the River Tomoka, which empties into the Halifax above Ormond, on the Florida East Coast, is an English form of Timucua. For information on the Timucua, cf. Frederick W. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C., Part II, pp. 752-754.—Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, 1562-1574, Appendix H, p. 407.
coast and sand-banks were not known either to the said Adelantado or to his pilots, if some storm should come up they were in danger of losing themselves with the fleet; to remedy this, the camp master ordered a soldier who had committed a crime, to lay down his arms and go to the Indians with certain little things as presents, and the soldier did so: the Indians awaited him, received him well and were reassured: then the camp master arrived and spoke with them, and through signs they told him that the French were about 20 leagues from there, to the north. The Indians asked whether the General of the armada was on board the ships, or among them: they were told that he was on the ships: they answered that they desired greatly to see him and know him: [the Spaniards] wanted to take them to the ships, but they would not go: they said that they were afraid and would await him there on land. And so the camp master returned to the flagship with his 20 soldiers, where was the said Adelantado, and he related to him everything that had taken place with the Indians and that they were awaiting him on shore; and because of the desire he had to see them, and to satisfy himself [of the truth] of what the Indians said by signs, that the French were 20 leagues from there toward the north; he went to land with 2 boats and 50 arquebusiers, and as soon as the Indians saw him land, leaving their bows and arrows, they came to the said Adelantado, [and] began to sing and to make gestures with their hands raised toward heaven, in manner of adoration, so that it was a wonderful thing to see. The Adelantado gave them many things and sweets to eat, which he had in one of the

4 Jean Ribaut, commanding an expedition of Huguenots or French Protestants (whom the Spaniards called the Lutherans), had attempted in 1562 to make a settlement to which he gave the name of Charlesfort, near Port Royal, in South Carolina. The expedition was sent by Admiral de Coligny, the great leader of the Huguenots, who had obtained a commission from the French King, Charles IX, but the colony was afterward abandoned. In 1564, René de Laudonnière, at the head of a French Protestant force sent to help the first, built Fort Caroline on the St. Johns River, which had been called by Ribaut the River of May because he had discovered it on the first day of May, 1562.

In August and September, 1565, Menéndez was seeking Laudonnière’s colony, hoping to attack and destroy it before it could be succored by the arrival of another fleet under Jean Ribaut.
boats: they reiterated what they had said, that the French were 20 leagues from there; the Adelantado left them very happy and embarked on his ships and went sailing along the coast with his armada, and discovered 8 leagues from there a good harbor, with a good beach, to which he gave the name of St. Augustine, because that was the first land he discovered in Florida, and he did so on the very day of St. Augustine. On the following day, three hours after noontime, as he was proceeding along the coast, he discovered four large galleons at anchor. As it appeared to him that that was the harbor where the

5 "Un puerto bueno, con una buena ribera, á que puso nombre Sant Agustín, por ser allí la primera tierra que descubrió de la Florida y ser el mismo día de Sant Agustín cuando la descubrió." Merás, "Memorial," in Ruidíaz, La Florida, I, p. 72.

This is a misleading sentence. Merás, through the vague words, "por ser allí la primera tierra," intends to say that that whole region, from Cape Canaveral up, was the first land which Menéndez discovered in Florida, after he had sighted it at the Cape on St. Augustine's Day, several days previous (cf. p. 80, note 2); instead of which the impression is conveyed that the site or neighborhood of the present city of St. Augustine is the land that Menéndez first discovered.

The sentence which comes next is equally ambiguous. When Merás writes: "On the following day," he probably means September 4th, the day after the Adelantado found "a good harbor, with a good beach"—he is not thinking of the day following August 28th, St. Augustine's Day. Barrientos, at this point, is just as misleading; but the letter of Menéndez of September 11th, and the "Memoria" of Mendoza Grajales, make the dates fairly clear.

From the careless wording of these passages Lowery was led to believe that Menéndez gave the good harbor the name of St. Augustine because he had discovered it on the festival of the saint (Spanish Settlements, 1562-1574, p. 154), whereas the name of St. Augustine was given to it because it was on St. Augustine's Day, August 28th, that Menéndez had sighted Florida off Cape Canaveral. Merás makes this plain on p. 80.

6 A week elapsed before the fleet of Menéndez reached the mouth of the River of May (the St. Johns) and saw the four French galleons. In his letter of September 11th, the Adelantado mentions September 4th as the date of his arrival there (cf. La Florida, II, p. 76). Laudonnière mentions the same date, which is very likely the correct one. Mendoza Grajales in his "Memoria" says Wednesday, September 5th, and Le Challeux in his "Discours de l'Histoire de la Floride," says Monday, September 3d. Le Moyne, Merás and Barrientos do not give any date. Ribaut had anchored at the entrance of the River of May on
French were, that succor had come to them and that those galleons belonged to their armada, he entered into council with his captains and told them that as he held it for certain that the French armada had come and that their fort could not be taken, nor their armed harbor, [the captains] should say to him what it seemed to them ought to be done. Different opinions were given, but most of the captains decided that the said Adelantado should return to Santo Domingo with the five ships he had, and that there he should gather most of the ships of his fleet which had become separated in the storm, and 6 others he expected from Biscay and Asturias, for he had left orders at the Canaries that they should go to Puerto Rico. He would likewise collect two armed ships and the horses, infantry and supplies that his Majesty had ordered to be given him in that island of Santo Domingo and that of Cuba; and so with everything being gathered together, he could go to Havana, and in the coming month of March he would return to Florida with large forces to accomplish whatever good result he could; [but] the said Adelantado was afraid that if he acted on that opinion he would run the risk of defeat, because his presence with his 5 ships was already revealed to the French fleet. There was no wind and the sun gave promise of fair weather, but on account of the storm they had had 4 of the ships had remained without foremasts and lacked others which had been broken, so that the French armada could pursue his, especially as he had notice that they had vessels with oars; and he answered the captains that the Frenchmen could not reasonably expect him so soon on that coast; they would have their infantry on land and be unloading the supplies, as those vessels, being large, could not enter the harbor laden; and it seemed to him that they [the Spaniards] should go to fight with them, for if they captured them, the French would not have an armada sufficient to go out in search of him on the seas; and that they could return to the port of St. Augustine, which was twelve leagues from there, and disembark in that harbor and fortify themselves, and send the ships to Hispaniola to give tidings to the armada he was in need of; and that the infantry, August 28th, the day that Menéndez reached Florida in the vicinity of Cape Canaveral.
horses and supplies his Majesty had ordered to be given him, should all come together in March to that port of St. Augustine, and once they had arrived there, they could go against the enemy by land and sea, capturing their harbor, because they had their fort . . . leagues inland, on the river bank. In this way succor could not come to them from France; [the Spaniards] with the horses would be masters of the country, so that they [the French] could not have dealings or intercourse with the Indians, and they [the Spaniards] could wage war on the French within a brief time, without danger to the said Adelantado’s fleet, nor to himself, nor to his men: this was to be done when they had reconnoitred the fort of the French, and [felt] that they were so strong that they could run the danger of giving them the assault and conquering the fort with their arms. Owing to these reasons which the said Adelantado gave, all the captains approved this opinion and advice, and before coming to a decision they prayed to Our Lord, beseeching Him to favor them in everything and grant them victory over their enemies; and when the prayer was ended, the said Adelantado told them that he had determined to attack the French armada, which they all approved. Then he ordered the captains to go to their ships and gave them instructions as to what they had to do, and he gave orders to the Admiral of the fleet7 as to what point he was to support and what position he was to take, with two vessels he indicated to him and the one whereon he was, which made three in all; the other ship, a patache, the Adelantado commanded not to leave the side of his flagship. And so, sailing along with fair weather, they were about 3 leagues from the French armada, which was anchored off its harbor and consisted of 4 large galleons, when the wind died down, and there was much thunder and lightning and a heavy shower, which lasted until 9 o’clock at night, and then the sky became very serene and clear, and the wind shifted toward land. As it appeared to the Adelantado that it would be almost midnight when he arrived near the enemy, and that it would not be safe to grapple with the ships because of the danger from the incendiary missiles which the enemy is wont to carry; that they could better avail themselves thereof by night

7 The Admiral of a fleet was under the orders of the Captain-General.
than by day; and if the vessels of both fleets should burn, the enemy
could escape in the boats and skiffs they had at the poop; a thing they
could easily do, as the land was theirs; and they would come off vic­
torious and the said Adelantado would be defeated; he decided to
anchor in front of their bows, in such manner that when the cables
were let loose after the anchors had caught, the sterns of the ships of
the said Adelantado would overlap the prows of the enemy's ships,
and at dawn the next morning, by loosening the cables they could
board the enemy, who could not be aided by their vessels which were
within the harbor; as the bar was a long one, those ships could not
come out by night, and at dawn it would be low tide, so that they
would have to wait until it was high, and that would be at midday.
And so [the Adelantado] commanded his captains to come on board
his flagship, and told them his decision, which they all approved as
being very good; and when they arrived near the French armada at
about half past 11 at night, [the French] began to fire artillery pieces
therefrom, and the balls passed through the masts and rigging of the
said Adelantado's vessels without harming anything whatever; he did
not permit that any artillery should be fired from his ships; on the con­
trary, he ordered that on all the ships and on his own all the soldiers
should clear the decks so that they should not be injured, for since
they were to anchor and not to board the enemy, it was not safe that
they should remain on deck with the artillery; and with great courage
and coolness, unmindful of the guns [the enemy] were firing, he
passed by the French flagship, for the four ships were all together;
and he paid no attention to them. They had flags and pennants, and
on the mainmast of the flagship were hoisted a flag and a royal stand­
ard: and on the Admiral's galleon, at the top of the foremost, was the
Admiral's flag. When the said Adelantado had anchored with his 5
vessels turned with their prows toward the shore, he had the cables
loosened, and the poop of his flagship was between the prows of the
enemy's flagship and Admiral's galley, and their prows reached his
vessels like long pikes; and then he had the trumpets sounded hailing

8 "Y como hubo surgido el dicho Adelantado, con sus 5 navíos, por la proa á
tierra dellos é hizo largar los cables, y la popa de su capitana quedó en el medio
the enemy, and they answered him, hailing him with theirs; and presently when these salutes were ended, the said Adelantado spoke to them with much courtesy, saying: "Señores, whence comes that armada?" One only replied that it came from France. He asked them again: "What is it doing here?" They said to him: "We are bringing infantry, artillery and supplies for a fort which the King of France has in this country, and for others which he is to build." Said the Adelantado to them: "Are you Catholics or Lutherans, and who is your General?" They answered that they were all Lutherans of the new religion, and that their General was Juan Ribao; and [they wanted to know] who they were, who was he who asked this, and whose armada that was; why it had come to that country and who was the General thereof.

The Adelantado replied to them: "He who asks this of you is called Pedro Menéndez, this armada belongs to the King of Spain and I am the General thereof; and I come to hang and behead all the Lutherans I may find on this sea and in this land; and thus do I bring instructions from my King, which I shall fulfil at dawn when I shall board your ships; and if I should find any Catholic, I will give him good treatment."

Many together answered many shameless and insulting words against the King our Master, calling him by his name, and against the said Adelantado, saying: "Let that be for the King, Don Felipe, and this for Pedro Menéndez, and if thou beest a brave man, as they say, come and wait not until tomorrow." The Adelantado, on hearing such unseemly words to the detriment of his King, ordered the cables to be loosened to board the enemy, and as the sailors did this unwillingly, he leaped down from the bridge to hasten them. The cable was wound round the capstan; it could not be loosened so quickly: when the enemy saw this, and heard sounded the Adelantado's command, they feared him, cut the cables, unfurled the sails and fled.

The said Adelantado did the same with his ships, and pursued them
in such manner that when he was in the midst of them, he followed [in the flagship] with a patache, the two [galleons] which took the direction of the north, and his Admiral pursued, with the three ships, the other two which turned to the south. By the patache the said Adelantado sent a message to his Admiral that by dawn he was to return off the harbor, and that he would do likewise, to see if they could capture it; and that if not, they would go to land at the port of St. Augustine, as had been agreed; for in case no ship of the said Frenchmen should be taken (because theirs outsailed those of the said Adelantado, which lacked some of the masts owing to the storm they had had), 3 or 4 days would pass before the enemy could come together again, wherein the said Adelantado would either capture their harbor, or disembark in the port of St. Augustine; as the other French vessels in the harbor would not dare to come out with the four [galleons] not appearing; and if they should come out, there was no reason to fear them. And thus it happened that the said Adelantado chased the two French galleons northward for about 5 or 6 leagues, until dawn, and his Admiral went as many after the other two which sailed to the south; and the said Adelantado, with his 5 ships, lay off the harbor of the French at 10 o'clock the next morning, and trying to enter it, he saw two infantry flags at the end of the bar, artillery began to fire and there were 5 vessels anchored within. As it seemed to the said Adelantado that he ran the risk of failure if he tried to capture the harbor from them, and that meantime the 4 ships which had fled might unite with the 5 which were within, and that [then] he could escape neither by land nor by sea; he decided, without losing time, to put his flagship under full sail and order the others to do likewise, and he went to the harbor of St. Augustine, where he arrived on the eve of Our Lady of September; and as soon as he reached there he landed about three hundred soldiers, and sent 2 captains with them, who were to reconnoitre at daybreak the next morning the lay of the land and the places which seemed to them strongest [for defence], in order that they might dig a trench quickly while it was being seen where they could build a fort, so that the next day when the said Adelantado
should land, they could show him what they had observed, and decide what would be most proper to do about it.

And on the following day, the day of Our Lady of September, the said Adelantado landed near noon, when he found many Indians awaiting him there, as they had had tidings of him from the other Indians with whom he had spoken four days before: he had a solemn mass said in honor of Our Lady, and when that was ended, he took possession of the country in the name of his Majesty; he received the solemn oath of the officials of his Majesty's Royal Exchequer, the camp master and the captains, that they would all serve his Majesty with entire loyalty and fidelity, and this being done, the said Adelantado had the Indians fed and dined himself. On finishing, he went immediately to see the locations which appeared to the captains he had sent, suitable for the trench; and leaving the site marked out, he returned to the ships, having first held a council and decided that within three days everything possible should be unloaded from the vessels, and that then, two of them should be sent to Hispaniola, for as they were large they could not enter the harbor, and if the French armada came, it would capture them. The diligence the Adelantado showed in unloading those ships to send them away, so that the enemy should not take them from him, as it seemed to him that on the fourth day the French armada would come upon him—was such that all who were there were astounded; for although the ships were anchored more than a league and a half away from the landing place, in two days and a half he took ashore the people, the artillery, the munitions and a large part of the supplies; and without waiting for the third day, one

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The site of St. Augustine was changed several times. The first was on Anastasia Island.

night at midnight, fearing that the French fleet would be upon him at dawn, he made them set sail for Hispaniola without trying to unload more of the provisions. He placed about 150 soldiers he had with him on board a shallop of about 100 tonelos, and he himself got into a large boat which he carried with him astern of his flagship when he chased the French fleet; and in order the better to flee, he cut it loose, and went to anchor off the bar with that boat and the shallop, in two fathoms of water. At dawn the French armada was near there, a quarter of a league away, where the said Adelantado had been at midnight [and] whence he had sent the vessels to Hispaniola, and a ship and three shallops of the enemy came on, and because of the extreme low tide and the sea's not being very calm, it was dangerous to cross the bar. When the said Adelantado saw the enemy upon them so that they could not escape, they all prayed to God Our Lord and his precious Mother to save them from that danger; and as the Lutherans were already beside him, he cut the cable with which his boat and the shallop were anchored, and entered over the sand-bars at great risk, and Our Lord was pleased to bring him safely within the bar. The enemy feared the entrance and waited until the tide should be high. At that time the ships which the said Adelantado had sent to Hispaniola must have been about five or six leagues from them, and so they saved themselves from that peril without being discovered; and about two hours from the time the enemy were waiting for the tide to be high, God Our Lord performed a miracle; for the weather being fair and clear, suddenly the sea rose very high, and a strong and contrary north wind came up, which made the return to their fort and harbor difficult for the French. This became known to the Adelantado, who was already on land with his people, having a mass said to the Holy Ghost which he wished everyone to hear, supplicating him to enlighten him and set him on the right path in a decision he wanted to make; and when the mass was over, he entered into council with his captains, the first council he had held in the land of Florida, and none of them knew why they were summoned; and being assembled, he said to them:

“Gentlemen and Brothers: We are shouldering a very hard task,
very full of trials and dangers, and if this were only for the King our Master, I should not be surprised if some of us should become tired and make some show of the weakness of cowards, in not being able to undergo so many hardships as confront us; but since this burden we are carrying is the enterprise of God Our Lord and of our King, that agent among us who should show weakness and not encourage the officers and soldiers in their duty, should hold himself as accursed, for this is of much importance to us; and so, Gentlemen, I beg of you as a mercy, as earnestly as I can, [to consider] that since in this matter we serve God and our King, the guerdon of heaven cannot fail us; and let us not be dismayed by the scarcity of the supplies we have, or by our being left isolated in this land: I beg of you as a favor that we may all take courage and make efforts to bear our sufferings with patience.”

They all answered very well, each and all together offering to do their uttermost.

Then the Adelantado said to them, having thanked them for their favorable reply:

“Gentlemen, I feel impelled to tell you of a very good opportunity which presents itself to my soul and reason, for we must not lose it, and it behooves us to take advantage of it and not allow it to pass by, and it is that I consider (and this is common sense), that as the French armada fled from me four days ago and now comes in search of me, they must have strengthened themselves with part of the men they had as a garrison in their fort, and these must be from among the best [men] and captains: the wind is too contrary for them to return to their harbor and fort, and to all appearance it will last so for many days; and since these are Lutherans, and this we knew before departing from Spain through the proclamations which Juan Ribao, their General, issued in France when on the point of sailing; [to the effect] that under penalty of death no one should embark who was not of the new religion, and under the same penalty, no one should take books along which were not of that faith; and since likewise they themselves certified this to us, when our fleet lay at anchor with theirs outside their harbor, for they said there was no Catholic among them, and when I wished to punish them, they set sail and fled; for this reason
the war we have with them, and theirs with us, cannot be carried on save with fire and blood, as they, who are Lutherans, seek us, who are Catholics, to prevent our implanting the Holy Gospel in these provinces; and we seek them because they are Lutherans, in order that they shall not implant their evil and detestable sect in this land, nor teach their belief to the Indians; [and] it seems to me that we must take 500 men, two thirds of them arquebusiers, the other third pikemen, and rations for 8 days in our knapsacks, without any porters, carrying our arms on our backs; and that you ten captains, each with your banner and officers, with the number of 50 men to each captain, should go [with me] to reconnoitre the country and the fort where the Lutherans are, and the way to them; for although we know not the way, with our compass I shall know how to guide you, within two leagues right or left of the right direction; and wherever we find woods, we shall open a path with the hatchets so as to pass and know how to return; for I am taking a Frenchman with me who has been more than a year in that fort;¹⁰ he says he is acquainted with the country for two leagues around and can take us to the fort; and if we see that we are not discovered, it may be that a quarter of an hour before dawn, we can capture their fort by setting up twenty ladders which we shall make when we are near there, and risking the loss of 50 soldiers; and if we should find that we are discovered, since we are certain that the woods are less than a quarter of a league away, by planting our ten banners along the edge of the woods as if on [our] quarters, it will appear to them that we have a number of more than two thousand men; and we can send them a trumpeter telling them that they must give up the fort to us and depart from that land, and that they will be given ships and supplies wherewith they may go to France; but that if they will not, we shall put them to the sword, every one; and if they do not [surrender], we shall have gained much in reconnoitring the country and the fort, and they will be afraid of us in such manner that it will be a reason why they will leave us here in security, this winter until

¹⁰ Jean François. He was one of Laudonnière's mutineers from Fort Caroline whom Menéndez took with him to Florida, after they had been captured in the West Indies and sent to Spain by the Cuban government officials.
next March, when we shall have forces enough to go and seek them, by sea as well as by land."

There was much discussion on this speech which the Adelantado made, as it appeared to some that the journey should not be made, and to others that it ought to be: it was decided that it should be made: the Adelantado ordered there and then that by the third day at dawn they should all hear mass, and when that was done they should start immediately; he commanded the camp master, who was called Don Pedro Menéndez de Valdés and was betrothed to his elder daughter, and Gonzalo de Villarroel, captain and sergeant major, to arrange at once for the selection of the men who were to go, and [said] that they should be given a sufficient amount of powder, wicks and lead so that they might make small shot and bullets; and he provided that Captain Bartolomé Menéndez, brother of the said Adelantado, should be in charge of the soldiers who were to remain there, with artillery, arms, ammunition and supplies; and that Diego Florez de Valdés, who was Admiral of the armada, should remain as captain of the artillery and General of the three ships which were left there from the fleet, having them under his charge, [and keeping] them and the sailors thereof, in readiness; and when they had come out of his junta with this agreed upon, it became public news at once throughout the camp, and [the men] began to make and provide those things which the Adelantado had ordered, whereat the whole camp showed great contentment.

On the morning of the following day, the Adelantado was informed that some captains were complaining at the decision he had taken to go in search of the Frenchmen’s fort, and they said this so publicly and justified it in such a manner, that it was clearly seen that the soldiers were becoming faint-hearted who, the day before, showed great satisfaction over the agreement. Some of the captains decided among themselves, especially Juan de San Vicente, Francisco de Recalde and Diego de Maya, that when the Adelantado had finished dining, they would tell him as friends of his, on behalf of most of the captains and people who were there, that he must change his mind so that in no wise would he go to the fort of the Frenchmen: the Adelantado was notified thereof, and he commanded a very good meal to be
prepared and told them to tell the captains to come and dine with him, likewise other gentlemen among the soldiers of the expedition, and most of the ensigns; and when they had finished dining, he said to them:

“Gentlemen and Brothers: After we had landed, we captains came together in council, which was done with great secrecy, and we only who were there and no others, knew the words which passed between us there: and as I now understand that all the soldiers and women who are here know them, and are having stubborn arguments among themselves as to which of us spoke rightly or wrongly, in such wise that there is murmuring against our plan and it would be temerity to carry out what has been agreed upon; it appears to me a very bad thing, worthy of great rebuke and chastisement; [but] although I know who are the most to blame for this, and they are here, I do not wish to punish anyone, nor to do more than ask you, Gentlemen, as a favor, that hereafter each of you shall remedy this by observing great secrecy in the matters that may be treated of in our councils, since in wars where there is no secrecy nor diligence, success is seldom attained, and he who shall commit a sin against this, even a slight one, will be punished as though it were a mortal sin; for it can be well understood that if a captain is faint-hearted and fears this expedition for his soldiers, the 50 soldiers who have to go with him will fear for him and his ensign, and not for themselves; but if the soldiers go about cheerfully, polishing their arms and preparing their knapsacks for their rations, it is clear that because they are hopeful, and desirous of undertaking the journey, their captains and officers encourage them.”

[The Adelantado added] that if it still appeared to them that he ought to change his mind, they should tell him so; [but that] he would punish the captain who, once out of the council, should speak against what had been decided, by taking his company away from him and not admitting him to councils.

All replied that what his lordship said was very good, but to some it appeared that he ought to change his mind; to others it appeared the contrary, that the agreement and decision that had been reached in this, should be carried out: and so the Adelantado told the captains
that each of them was to send the knapsacks to the keeper of supplies, and a person to receive the rations, so that by dawn of the following day they could hear mass and set out as had been agreed; and he ordered that each should go and attend to what he had to do, and so they went away.

The next day at daybreak they sounded reveille with trumpets, fifes and drums; the bells chimed and all thronged to mass; and having heard it, they departed hopefully, all setting out marching in order.

The Adelantado took 20 soldiers, all Biscayans and Asturians, with their hatchets; a Biscayan captain with them who was called Martín Ochoa, and 2 Indians who had come there, brothers, who seemed to be angels that God was sending; these told them by signs that they had been in the fort of the French 6 days before; and he went ahead, marching as far in front as he could, marking the path, blazing the trees with the hatchets, so that the men should not lose it and should know it on their return, [and] leaving the camp master and sergeant major to follow in good order; and whenever it seemed best to the Adelantado to call a halt in a suitable place where there was water, he did so; he waited until they were all assembled and gave them orders to rest, and would then depart at once, opening the way and marking it, as has been said, and he would again call a halt in the place that seemed best to him to pass the night. [Marching] in this order, on the fourth day at sunset he went to reconnoitre the land around the fort, half a league therefrom, where he stopped; and as it was a wet and stormy night, and in order not to be discovered it seemed to him expedient to draw nearer into a pine grove, he approached to less than a quarter of a league from the fort, where he decided to spend that night in a very bad and swampy place; and on account of the bad night he turned back to look for the rear-guard so that they should succeed in finding the way. It was after 10 when they finished arriving, and as during those 4 days there had been much rain, they had crossed many marshes, and had carried their arms and knapsacks with food, on their backs, the soldiers arrived very tired and weak; and because the showers that night were so heavy, there was no way to keep the powder
and wicks from being all wet, and the little biscuit they had in their knapsacks, and no one wore anything on his body that was not soaked with water: at this point the Adelantado feared greatly to take counsel with the captains, either as to going back or going forward to the fort of the Frenchmen, because some were beginning to be insolent, and his officers were saying abusive words against him so audibly that he heard many of them, especially those of an ensign of Captain San Vicente, who placed himself near the Adelantado and said loudly, so that he might hear him:

"[See] how we have been sold by that Asturian corito, who knows no more about land warfare than an ass! If my advice had been followed on the first day we set forth from St. Augustine to make this journey, he would have been given the reward he must now take."

Then the Adelantado feared the more and pretended he did not hear him.

Captain San Vicente, whose ensign this man was, said at the time of departure from St. Augustine that his leg and stomach pained him, so he remained there; and there was much grumbling at his staying behind, and at the insulting words of his ensign, because it came out that when some of those who remained, reproved Captain San Vicente for not having gone with the Adelantado, he replied:

"I swear to God that I am expecting the news that all our soldiers have been killed, so that we who remain here may embark on these three ships and go to the Indies, for it is not reasonable that we should all die like beasts."

The Adelantado, about two hours before daylight, sent four soldiers who were near him, servants of his, to go running among the men and call to the camp master, the sergeant major and the captains to come and join him, and they did so; and when they were all assembled, he said to them:

"Gentlemen: Although I am a great sinner, I have all this night entreated Our Lord and his precious Mother to show us favor and put us on the right path in what we must do, and I believe, Gentlemen,

11 A man who treads grapes in the wine-press; usually considered timid, and much scorned.
that you have done the same. Let us discuss what is best for us to do considering the straits we are in, without food or ammunition, and with the soldiers very tired, bewildered and disheartened."

Some answered him [asking] what was the use of discussing any other arrangement than that they should retreat as soon as day dawned, and return to St. Augustine, eating palmettos [on the way], and [saying] that it seemed foolhardiness to treat of anything else.

The Adelantado approved of this and said to them: "Gentlemen, for the love of God hear this my plan, and be not displeased because I tell it to you, as I am not doing so to make you act on what I say. You shall do what you wish and what appears best to you, for up to now you have always followed my advice and counsel, and now that I see myself in this great danger, I wish to follow yours."

They answered that his lordship should speak, for they were desirous of hearing him and giving their opinion.

Then he said to them: "Gentlemen, are you confident that the forest is very near the fort?"

They replied that they were.

He said to them: "Then it appears to me that we ought to go and try our fortune, as has been agreed; for even if we cannot capture the fort, we must not fear the thought that if we should send them the trumpeter they will sally out to look for us at the edge of the woods, where we shall have halted in our quarters and set up our flags; and for this we shall have little need of powder or fuses, because even if we are discovered retreating in the morning, the enemy will not take courage, and will hold us as cowards and men of little worth, and this will mean as much to them as victory."

Some captains replied, especially the camp master and sergeant major, that the argument appeared to them good, and that the decision agreed upon for the undertaking should be carried out to the end, and after a discussion with those who thought differently, all agreed that so it should be done.

Then the Adelantado ordered that all should kneel and say their prayers to Our Lord, entreating him to give them victory against their enemies in that enterprise they were attempting and the danger they
were to encounter; and they made this prayer at once, with as much fervor as if their enemies were before them, wishing to give battle. When it was ended, after indicating the captains who were to go in the vanguard and the rear-guard, and the points and manner in which each was to attack the fort; and charging each of them for the love of God to encourage his soldiers; he gave the order to march, he himself going ahead, taking with him the Frenchman whom they had as guide, with his hands bound behind him by a rope, the end whereof was held by the Adelantado himself. It was about an hour before daybreak, and they lost the way before a quarter of it had passed, on account of the great darkness and the great tempest of wind and rain, and the path's being very narrow, in such wise that some thought they were going forward when they were going back. As the Adelantado realized this and it seemed to him that the rear-guard might march away from the vanguard, he sent an order along the line that they should halt, and that until daylight none of them should stir from where they were, for fear they should become separated from one another; as many of them did, in a swamp where the water reached above the knees, and the Adelantado was one of them. When daylight had come the Frenchman recognized the path along which to guide them, and the Adelantado set out on the march and sent orders with all speed from mouth to mouth that all must follow him, under penalty of death, for it appeared to him that that was no time to take counsel as to what he had to do, as the captains were quite a distance apart; and when they had arrived at a little rise in the ground, the Frenchman told him that behind there, below, was the fort; that the water from the river washed against it, and that it was about 3 arquebuse shots from there.

The Adelantado gave the Frenchman over to Francisco de Castañeda, the captain of his guard, who never left his side; and bending forward very quickly he went to the top of the hill, discovered the river and saw some houses, but he could not see the fort, although it was near them. Returning where he had left the captain of the guard, with the Frenchman beside him, he found the camp master, who had arrived, and Captain Martín Ochoa, and he said to them:

"Brothers, I want to go down to that plain with 5 or 6 soldiers,
to the point where there are some houses, to see if I can find the sentinels, so that they can give us information concerning the fortress of those [people] and the [number of] men they have; because as it is already daylight and the sun has risen, we cannot attack without powder unless we reconnoitre the fort." Then the camp master told his lordship to remain [where he was]; that that business was his; and he took with him only Captain Martín Ochoa, not wishing to take any other person, so as not to be discovered; and on arriving near the houses they saw the fort, and as they were returning with the news, they found two paths. They did not take the one whereby they had come, and after walking a little along [the other] they met with a fallen tree: then the camp master said that they were lost, and as Captain Martín Ochoa was behind at the time they had turned back, he was [now] ahead; it seems that they were seen by the sentinel, who thought that they were Frenchmen: he came to see who they were, and met them, and as he did not know them, he stopped, saying: "Who goes there?"

Martín Ochoa answered: "A Frenchman."

And as it appeared to the sentinel that they were French, he came nearer, and Martín Ochoa did likewise; and when the Frenchman [found that he] did not know him, he stopped, and Captain Martín Ochoa closed with him, and with his sword in its scabbard gave him a slash across the face, although he did not wound him very much, as the Frenchman warded it off with his sword. They grasped their swords, and the camp master arrived, who already had his unsheathed, with a buckler in his hand; and as he made a lunge at him, the Frenchman fell backwards to avoid it, and at this he began to shout.

The camp master placed the point of his sword on his breast, telling him to be silent, otherwise he would kill him, and the Frenchman became so. They raised him and took him bound to the Adelantado, asking about the fort and the people who were there. At the shouts that Frenchman gave, it seemed to the Adelantado that they were killing the camp master and Captain Martín Ochoa; and his men and several captains with their flags, being already assembled near him,
especially the sergeant major, Francisco de Recalde, Diego de Maya and Andrés López Patiño, the Adelantado cried in a loud voice:

"Santiago! At them! God is helping! Victory! The French are killed! The camp master is inside the fort and has captured it!"

And then all began to run forward in disorder along the path, but the Adelantado remained motionless, always repeating this, without ceasing. The soldiers held it for certain that many had gone with the camp master and that the fort was won: they felt great joy and satisfaction, in such wise that he who could run fastest was considered the most valiant, and there were no cripples, nor maimed, nor cowards; and as they presently reached the place where the camp master and Martín Ochoa were coming along with the Frenchman, Martín Ochoa ran ahead without orders to ask the reward from the Adelantado,\(^{12}\) for telling him that they were bringing the sentinel as a prisoner. The camp master, fearing that they might be discovered, ran the Frenchman through with his sword, who passed away; and leaving him dead, he took the lead [of the Spaniards], saying: "Brothers, do as I do, for God is with us"; and then he encountered two Frenchmen in their shirts and slew one of them: Captain Andrés López Patiño, who came back of him, slew the other: they passed on running, and when they arrived near the fort, the postern of the principal gate was opened at the shouts raised by the people outside the fort, when they saw them [the two Frenchmen] killed; the camp master closed in on the postern, slew the man who opened it and stole in, and after him those who could enter the soonest: some of the Frenchmen in the houses came out in their shirts and others who were clothed, to find out what was happening: these were killed at once, and others took to flight and threw themselves down from the walls of the fort. 2 flags were presently brought in: one belonged to the sergeant major, which was raised on a caballero\(^{13}\) by his ensign, who was called Rodrigo Troche, of Tordesillas; the other belonged to Diego de Maya, and it was set up on

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\(^{13}\) An interior defence which was erected on a platform on the parade ground, and served to protect a part of the fort.
another caballero by his ensign, Cristóbal de Herrera, a mountaineer: there was some quarrelling between these 2 ensigns as to who had been first: this could not be ascertained. The trumpeters entered at the same time as those two flags and they placed themselves on those caballeros near the flags, sounding victory; whereat all the French became terrified; and all our men came running through the gate, which was opened wide to them, and went through the quarters of the French without leaving one alive.

The Adelantado, where he stood when half of the soldiers had gone by him, told Francisco de Castañeda, the captain of his guard, to whom he had delivered the Frenchman with his hands bound behind him, to remain where he was, crying out victory, until the rear-guard should arrive; because it behooved him [the Adelantado] to overtake those ahead and be in the midst of that danger; and he did so, running with the utmost speed. He arrived at the fort where our soldiers were killing the Frenchmen: then he said in a loud voice, running from one point to another: “Under penalty of death, let no one wound or kill any woman, or boys under 15 years.” And so this was done, for 70 of those persons escaped: the rest all died, except about 50 or 60, who threw themselves down from the walls of the fort and took refuge in the woods.

The Adelantado then went out of the fort to some houses which were near the ramparts, where Captain Castañeda arrived with the Frenchman, who pointed out a large house to the Adelantado, and said they called it the grange; and it was full of articles for barter, cloths, linens and munitions.

The Adelantado left there 6 men as a guard, so that no one should enter; [he did this] so that everything therein should belong to the camp in general, in order to use and distribute it among those most in need. He went to the river bank, where there were 3 ships, very well armed, with their prows moored to the fort; and calling a trumpeter, he made him sound a peace call, using a white cloth as a flag [of truce], and saying that they should land in their boats: the Frenchmen replied that they would not, but the Adelantado assured them on his word that they could come: [still] they would not: he hastened to the fort and
had 4 pieces of bronze artillery set up to send the ships to the bottom, and went about looking for powder. He found 2 barrels half full, which held about a hundredweight of powder, and about 20 balls, in a gunner's house which a Frenchwoman showed him, wherewith they loaded the pieces; but before firing, again he asked them to land in their boats. They answered, from the ship to which the Adelantado was speaking, that they would send the boat so that someone could go back therein to speak with them, and tell what we wanted: the Adelantado ordered that it should come, and in order that they might believe what he should say to them, he took the Frenchman he kept bound and released him, and told him to go to those ships and tell the principal commander thereof to select from all three the vessel they wanted; [take] the women and children who had been saved and the supplies that might be necessary, and go to France with the aid of God, without carrying any artillery or munitions, for he would give them a passport and safe-conduct so that they should not receive ill-treatment at whatever place they might arrive, and should be allowed to go to France in safety; but if they did not do this, he would send them to the bottom and order that all of them should be killed and hanged, without leaving one alive.

The boat came to shore, and the Frenchman went therein with that message, and by then the Adelantado had ordered the sergeant major to distribute among the soldiers a barrel of very good powder for arquebuses, which was in the house of that gunner, with the cannon powder.

The Frenchman returned to the Adelantado with the reply, and said that the principal commander of those ships was Jaques Ribau, eldest son of Juan Ribau, who, he said, was Viceroy and Captain-General of that country for the King of France; and that he had come by his King's order, in company with his father, to bring people, artillery and supplies to that fort with those vessels, wherein he had committed no crime; rather had he, as a loyal vassal, done what he was bound to do; and that if the Adelantado meant to wage war, he would wage war against the Adelantado.

14 Jacques Ribaut.
Then the Adelantado commanded aim to be taken with the best piece of bronze artillery, against one of the best ships, which appeared to him to be on her first voyage, and was anchored where she could conveniently be hit, for the other two were not. Captain Diego de Maya did this, and fired the cannon, as it appeared to the Adelantado that he would take aim better than any other. He hit the ship at the water line in such a manner that they were sinking, and they could not resort to the pumps because they would have had to stay in the open above deck, and could have been killed by the artillery. When the Frenchmen who were on the vessel saw that they were lost, they lowered themselves into the boat on one side thereof, and the 2 boats from the other two ships came to that vessel, and carried all the people from her to the two ships: she sank, and then the other two cut the cables, and they went down stream with the strong current there was, and anchored at a place where the artillery could not do them much harm, especially as the Adelantado did not dare to waste the powder, since up to then they had not been able to find more in the fort. And during all that time, the wind and rain from heaven were such as to be a thing of wonder; and as the soldiers were joyful over the victory and the booty, they did not retire and rest themselves after the hardships and the bad night they had had. The Adelantado, for the good of all, had them quartered in the many houses there were outside the fort, 20 men in each, and a whole outfit of shirts and clothes given to them, as there was a quantity thereof in the grange; likewise good rations of bread, wine, lard and bacon, whereof there was [also] a quantity; and at about midday he undressed and went to bed, where they gave him food, and he ordered all the captains to come to him by 4 o’clock in the afternoon, as he wished to enter into council with them, and they did so; whereupon the Adelantado, having risen and dressed, said to all of them assembled, while his eyes filled with tears:

“Gentlemen and Brothers: God does these things miraculously, in behalf of His cause: let us know how to praise and serve Him for such a great mercy as He has done us; and now, more than ever, is the time for us to commend ourselves to Him in prayer, and provide all things so that we can defend this place against the French armada.
when it returns to it. Let us likewise insure the safety of our people, artillery, arms, munitions and supplies we left at St. Augustine; and for this purpose let a muster-roll of the people who are here be called immediately; for it appears to me that many are missing from the 500 men who set out from St. Augustine, as we must see which are to remain here and which are to return; for it behooves me to return the day after tomorrow with those who must go back, because it is needful that St. Augustine be well protected; so that while we shall be defending this [fort] against the French if they come with their armada, they cannot set foot in this country [by] going to disembark in St. Augustine, which has a better harbor."

And he made Captain Gonzalo de Villarroel, who was the sergeant major, alcaide of that fort and governor of that district; who had worked very hard and with much system and care, and who appeared to him a very good and trustworthy soldier for the office; and it was delivered to him and he took the accustomed oath, and [the Adelantado] gave the fort the name of San Mateo because the day he captured it was St. Matthew's Day. He commanded that from that day forward he [the sergeant major] should hold and defend it in the name of his Majesty with 300 soldiers whom he would leave him for the guarding thereof; and he ordered the camp master to go at once and make the list of all the people there; of those who were to remain and those who were to return with the Adelantado; he did so, taking the sergeant major with him. In that council the Adelantado had first appointed Rodrigo Montes as the keeper of supplies in that fort, and [directed] that all the provisions there were should be delivered to him; likewise that on the following day they should bring him a memorandum of what had been delivered, so that he might leave instructions as to the manner in which rations were to be given out. The Adelantado decreed in that council that the two coats-of-arms which were over the principal gate of that fort, [those] of the King of France and the Admiral, should be immediately taken off; but when they went to remove them, a soldier had already pulled them

15 The River of May became the River of San Mateo.
16 Gaspard de Châtillon, Admiral de Coligny.
down and demolished them; and he ordered that an escutcheon be made at once with the royal arms of Spain, [those] of the King Don Felipe our Master, with a cross of the angels above the crown; which was painted very well by some Flemings who were soldiers there, and placed where the others had been.

On the morning of the following day, the Adelantado, having heard mass, had 2 crosses raised in the places that seemed best to him; he marked out the site for a church, where a wooden chapel was to be erected immediately, so that mass might be said every day; for the French had there a large quantity of sawed lumber for a galley they were building; and giving Gonzalo de Villarroel, the alcaide and governo of that fort and district, a memorandum of the supplies which had been found, the Adelantado instructed him as to how he was to use them and give out the rations. They brought him the list of the persons there: there were found to be less than 400, because some of the others who completed the 500 had given out on the journey from exhaustion; and the rest, owing to cowardice and the danger ahead which was described to them, returned to St. Augustine saying they had lost their way; as was found out later. The Adelantado ordered that 300 soldiers should remain, and 100 go with him, with Captains Andrés López Patiño, Juan Vélez de Medrano and . . . de Alvarado; these captains and soldiers said that they were in no condition to walk, especially as it had rained very hard, so that it was impossible to cross the marshes, rivers and brooks there were on the way; and although the Adelantado made great efforts to have them go, he saw it was not possible because of the many reasons they had against it, their lack of desire to set out, and their being very tired from the journey’s hardships. Then he went through the soldiers’ quarters, and among those least tired, and best known to him, he found 35 who were willing to follow him, with the captain of his guard, and he notified them that they were to start on the next morning. The Adelantado ordered that the camp master should set out at once (it was about 9 o’clock in the morning), with 50 soldiers, for a place one league from there in a straight line, where the French ships were anchored; as they had weighed anchor that morning and gone down [the river], and it
seemed likely to the Adelantado that the 50 or 60 Frenchmen who had thrown themselves down from the ramparts when their fort was captured, would hasten through the woods to the right of the ships, to call the ships' boats to take them on board. The camp master scattered the soldiers through the wood: they met about 20 Frenchmen, who fled, and not being able to overtake them, they fired upon them with the arquebuses, and killed them; of the others, about 30 had embarked, among them Captain Ludunice, the alcaide of the fort, who had escaped by throwing himself from the ramparts with the rest: the other ten had sought refuge with the caciques; the Adelantado ransomed them later and sent them to France, and they told how Ludunice, with the 30, had embarked on those ships. And when the camp master, Captain Martín Ochoa, and Diego de Maya, with the men they had taken [with them], had returned by nightfall of that day, the Adelantado commanded all the captains to be called to a council, and told them that his departure for St. Augustine was set for the following morning, whence he would immediately send 2 vessels of the 3 he had left there, well armed and with good artillery, in order that they should capture those 2 French ships before they went out of the harbor, as they had but few soldiers on board, according to what the Spaniards had understood from the French who were at the fort; and if the French vessels should have sailed away, they would set in the fort, in the places where it would be the most necessary, the artillery which their own two ships would bring, so as to be more strongly fortified when the French should come; for the Adelantado always feared that when the French armada returned, with the Indians friendly to them, they would want to capture that place and avenge themselves. [He told them also] that one of his vessels would take those Frenchwomen and children to the island of Santo Domingo, and that he would write to the Audiencia so that they should send them to Seville, and thence they should go to France; and he would give instructions to the masters of those 2 ships to take on supplies from the galleon San Pelayo, which the Adelantado had sent to that island of Santo Domingo. And on the morning of the following day, the Adelantado...
tado, having heard mass, departed with Francisco de Castañeda, the captain of his guard, and the 35 soldiers he had picked out; and he commanded that the camp master and the other captains should remain in that fort until he should order them to do something else, and that the 3 captains, Alvarado, Medrano and Patiño, with the remainder of the one hundred men, should start for St. Augustine as soon as they were fit to march, without losing time; and they did so within 8 days.

CHAPTER XI.

The First Massacre of the French by the Spaniards at Matanzas Inlet, September 29th.¹

The sufferings and dangers which the Adelantado and those who returned with him from San Mateo, encountered on that day he left, and on the second and third day, until they arrived at St. Augustine, were so great as to be beyond belief, except to those who saw them; because on that day he set out from San Mateo, when they had gone about 2 leagues [and] it was about 2 o’clock in the afternoon, they entered a wood through which they had previously passed, and having gone therein half a league, they found much water; and thinking they would get out of it quickly, they proceeded over half a league farther, finding more and more water, in such manner that they could not go forward; and when they went back the streams were more swollen, and there was more water in the woods. They lost their way in such wise that they knew not whether they were going forward or back: [the Adelantado] wished to search for a place where they could halt and build a fire by which to rest during that night: none could he find: he wanted to climb the trees: they were so high and straight that it was not possible: there he felt himself entirely lost, and his companions were discouraged, not knowing what remedy could meet the situation. He made a soldier, the most agile he could find, climb a very high

tree to discover any dry or level spot; this soldier said, when he had reached the top, that all he could see was water, and that there was no dry or level land: the Adelantado ordered him to look and see if there were any indication as to which way the sun was moving; he said there was none: he ordered him to remain there until later: God willed that the weather cleared a little, and the soldier saw where the sun was setting, and pointed out the place.

The Adelantado recognized the direction in which he had to emerge from the woods, as there was no undergrowth and the trees were far apart. By cutting down some pines for the places where there was a great depth of water, he came out by a deep and narrow river, which he had crossed with the men when he went from St. Augustine to San Mateo, although not at that point. He had the trees which were at the river's edge cut down at the foot with 5 hatchets the soldiers carried, in such a way that they fell across to the other side of the river; and they passed over with much peril, and in so doing, two soldiers miraculously escaped drowning. He ordered the man who had climbed the tree, to go up another one, and he discovered dry land in a place by which they had passed before; and they reached the path and went to take up their quarters in a spot where they made great fires and dried their clothing, for it was all soaked with water; and toward daybreak it began to rain very hard, and as it was already light, they set out. It took them 3 days to arrive in St. Augustine, for owing to the victory Our Lord had given them, they did not feel the journey, nor the hardships thereof, in the desire they had to give this good news to their comrades: one league before reaching St. Augustine, that soldier [who had climbed the tree] begged the Adelantado as a favor to allow him to go ahead to announce the welcome tidings; the Adelantado granted this to him. The people who had remained there held them for lost, because of the bad weather they had had and the news given them by those who had returned, as they knew that they had no kind of food, powder nor wicks; but when the good news came, 4 priests who were there immediately set out, holding the cross aloft, and followed by all the sea and land forces, the women and children, in a procession, singing the Te Deum Laudamus; they received the Adelantado with great
pleasure and rejoicing, everyone laughing and weeping for joy, praising God for so great a victory; and so they escorted the Adelantado in triumph to the intrenchment and settlement of St. Augustine, where he related to them in detail the very great mercy which Our Lord had shown them through his victory. He presently ordered the two armed ships to be made ready; and within 2 days, being about to depart with them for San Mateo, there came tidings that the 2 French ships had already left the bar; so he sent one of his vessels with artillery, powder and ammunition in order that they should be in the fort, and everything be in a good state of defence; and he occupied himself in fortifying [St. Augustine] as well as he could, to await the French armada if it should come there. The following day some Indians arrived, who told them by signs that 4 leagues away there were many Christians who could not pass an arm of the sea, even though it was narrow, which is a river inside a bar, that they were compelled of necessity to cross in order to reach St. Augustine.

Then the Adelantado took with him 40 soldiers that afternoon, and after midnight he came near that arm of the sea, where he halted. In the morning, leaving his soldiers in ambush, from the top of a tree he discovered what was going on: he saw many people and two flags on the other side of the river, and the said Adelantado, to prevent them from crossing, approached close enough for them to count his men, so that they might think that there were many [behind]. When they [saw they] were discovered, one man presently swam across: he was a Frenchman, and said that the people there were all French; that they had been shipwrecked in a storm and had all escaped.

The Adelantado asked him what Frenchmen they were.

He said there were 200 persons, captains and soldiers of Juan Ribao, Viceroy and Captain-General of that land for the King of France.

The Adelantado asked if they were Catholics or Lutherans. He said that they were all Lutherans of the new religion; although the Adelantado already knew this, for they had said this when he met their

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2 Farther along Merás says that the Adelantado sent two of his ships.
3 Matanzas Inlet.
armada, and the women and children whose lives he had spared when he captured the fort, had told him so; and he had found within the fort 6 coffers full of books bound and gilt-edged, all concerning the new religion; [he knew] also that they did not say mass, and that their Lutheran faith was preached to them every afternoon; he had ordered those books to be burned, not leaving one.

The Adelantado asked him why he had come. He said that their captain had sent him to see what people they were.

The Adelantado asked him if he wished to return.

He replied that he did, but that he wanted to know who they were. This man spoke very clearly, for he was a Gascon, from San Juan de Luz.

Then the Adelantado told him that he should tell his captain that he [the Adelantado] was the Viceroy and Captain-General of that land for the King, Don Felipe; that he was called Pedro Menéndez; that he was there with some soldiers to find out who they were, as they [the Spaniards] had had news the day before that they were there and were arriving at that hour.

The Frenchman went with that message, and returned presently, begging that safe-conduct be given to his captain and to 4 other gentlemen who wished to come to see [the Adelantado], and that a boat be loaned him which the Adelantado kept there, which had then come down the river with supplies. He told the Frenchman to say to his captain that he could come over in safety, under the pledge of his word; and he sent for them at once with the boat, and they came immediately.

The Adelantado, with about 10 persons, received him very well, and he commanded the others to keep back a little among some bushes, in order that they might all be seen, in such wise that the French might think that there were more men.

One of these Frenchmen said that he was the captain of those people, and that they had been wrecked in a storm, with 4 galleons and several shallops belonging to the King of France, which had foundered within 20 leagues of one another; that they were the men belonging to one of those ships, and they desired that the Adelantado should
favor them by lending them the boat with which to cross that arm of the sea, and another 4 leagues from there, which was that of St. Augustine, as they wished to go to a fort they had 20 leagues from there: this was the fort that the Adelantado had taken from them.

The Adelantado asked them if they were Catholics or Lutherans.

The captain said that they were all of the new religion.

Then the Adelantado said to them:

“Gentlemen, your fort has been captured, and the people therein killed, except the women and the boys under 15 years; and in order that you may know for certain that this is so, there are many things [from there] among some of the soldiers who are here; there are also 2 Frenchmen whom I brought with me because they said they were Catholics: be seated here and dine and I will send you the 2 Frenchmen and the things that those soldiers have taken from the fort, that you may satisfy yourselves.

The Adelantado did this, ordering food to be given them, and he sent them the 2 Frenchmen and many things that the soldiers had taken in the fort, so that they might see them; and he withdrew to eat with his men; and an hour from then, seeing that the Frenchmen had dined, he went over to them and asked them if they believed what he had told them.

They said they did, and begged him as a mercy to give them ships and supplies wherewith they could go to France.

The Adelantado replied that he would willingly do so, if they were Catholics and if he had the ships therefor, but that he did not have them as he had sent two to San Mateo with the artillery; and that they were to take the Frenchwomen and children to Santo Domingo, and seek supplies; the other was to go to Spain with dispatches to his Majesty concerning what had happened to them in those parts.

The French captain answered that he might grant them all their lives, and they would remain with him until there should be ships for France, since they were not at war, and the Kings of Spain and France were brothers and friends.

"The Adelantado replied that that was the truth, and that he would
aid Catholics and friends, understanding that he served both Kings thereby; but that as they belonged to the new religion he held them to be enemies, and would wage against them a war of fire and blood, and carry it on with all possible cruelty against those he should find in that land and on that sea, where he was Viceroy and Captain-General for his King; and that he came to implant the Holy Gospel in that land, in order that the Indians might be enlightened and come to the knowledge of the holy Catholic faith of Jesus Christ, Our Lord, as it is preached in the Roman church; that if they wanted to give up their flags and arms to him and place themselves at his mercy, they could do so, in order that he might do with them what God should direct him; or that they could do what they wished, for any other truce or friendship they must not form with him; and although the French captain replied, nothing else could be obtained from the Adelantado. And so the French captain went to his men in the boat wherein he had come, 

él los favorecería, entendiéndole que sirvía á entrambos Reyes en ello, mas que por ser ellos de la nueva religión, los tenía por enemigos é tenía con ellos guerra á sangre y fuego, é que esta la haría con toda crueldad á los que él hallase en aquella mar é tierra, donde era Virey é Capitán General por su Rey, é que iba á plantar el Santo Evangelio en aquella tierra, para que fuesen alumbrados los indios é viniesen á conocimiento de la Santa fé católica de Jesucristo, nuestro Señor, como lo dice é canta la Iglesia romana; que si ellos querían entregarle las banderas é las armas, é ponerse á su misericordia, lo podían hacer, para que él hiciera dellos lo que Dios le diese de gracia, ó que hiciesen lo que quisieren, que otras treguas ni amistades no habían de hacer con él; y aunque el Capitán francés replicó, no se pudo acabar otra cosa con el Adelantado; é así se partió para su gente, en el batel en que había venido, diciendo que les iba á decir lo que pasaba é acordar lo que debían hacer, é que dentro de 2 horas volvería con la respuesta.

El Adelantado le dijo que hiciesen lo que mejor les pareciese, y que él aguardaría.

Pasadas 2 horas, volvió este mismo Capitán francés, con los mismos que primero, é dixo al Adelantado que allí estaba mucha gente noble, que le darían 50 mil ducados de talla, porque otorgase á todos la vida.

El Adelantado le respondió que aunque él era pobre soldado, que no quería hacer aquella flaqueza, porque no le notasen de codicioso; que cuando hubiese de ser liberal é misericordioso, había de ser sin interés.

Volvió á porfiar en esto el Capitán francés: desenganóle el Adelantado, que si la tierra se juntaba con el cielo, no había de hacer otra cosa más de lo que le tenía dicho; é así volvió el Capitán francés á donde estaba su gente, é dixo al Adelantado que con lo que acordasen volvería luego, é así volvió dentro de
saying that he was going to tell them what was occurring, and to decide what they must do, and that within 2 hours he would return with the answer.

The Adelantado told him that they should do what appeared best to them, and that he would wait.

When 2 hours had gone by, that same French captain returned with the same gentlemen, and told the Adelantado that there were many noblemen over yonder, who would give him 50 thousand ducats as ransom in exchange for his granting them all their lives.

The Adelantado replied to him that although he was a poor soldier, he did not wish to give such a sign of weakness as to appear covetous to them; that when it was his duty to be liberal and merciful, it must be without any interested motive.

The French captain persisted in this: the Adelantado undeceived
him, [saying] that if the earth were to join with the sky, he should do
no more than what he had told him; and so the French captain re­
turned to where his men were, telling the Adelantado that he would
return at once with what had been agreed upon; and he came back
within half an hour, bringing the flags in the boat, and about 60
arquebuses, 20 pistols, a quantity of swords and bucklers, and some
helmets and breastplates; and he came to where the Adelantado was
and said that all those Frenchmen gave themselves up to his mercy,
and he surrendered the flags and arms. Then the Adelantado ordered
20 soldiers to enter the boat to bring the Frenchmen over, ten at a time:
the river was narrow and easy to cross; and he instructed Diego Florez
de Valdés, the Admiral of the fleet, to receive the flags and arms, and
go in the boat to bring the Frenchmen across; [he ordered] that the
soldiers should not give them ill treatment; and the Adelantado with­
drew from the shore a distance of about two arquebuse shots, behind
a sand dune, among some bushes, where the men in the approaching
boat, who were bringing the French, could not see him: then he said
to the French captain and the other 8 Frenchmen who were with him:

“Gentlemen, I have but few soldiers, and they are not very experi­
enced; and you are many, and if you are not bound, it would be an
easy thing for you to avenge yourselves on us for the death of your
people whom we killed when we took the fort; and so it is necessary
that you march with your hands tied behind you, to a place 4 leagues
from here where I have my camp.”

The Frenchmen replied that so it should be done; and with the
ropes from the soldiers’ fuses they fastened their hands behind them
very securely; and the ten who came over [each time] in the boat

El Adelantado mandó marchar con ellos, habiéndoles primero dado de comer
é beber, cuando llegaban los diez, antes que los amarrasen, lo cual se hacía antes
que los otros diez viniesen; é dixo á un Capitán de los suyos, que se dice . . .
que marchase con ellos en la vanguarda, é que á un tiro de ballesta de allí ha­
llaría una raya que él haría con una gineta que llevaba en la mano, que era en un
arenal, por donde habían de caminar al fuerte de Sant Agustín; que los degol­
llasen á todos, é mandó al que iba en la retaguarda hiciese lo mismo, é así se
hizo, dexándolos allí todos muertos; é se volvió aquella noche al amanecer al
fuerte de Sant Agustín, porque era ya puesto el sol cuando estos murieron.
Plate 2
Southwestern end of Anastasia Island from the opposite shore.
Desolate spot, showing the little sand dunes at Matanzas Inlet, at or near the point where Menéndez ordered the massacre of the French in 1565.
could not see those whose hands were being tied behind them, until they met them, because it was expedient so to do in order that the Frenchmen who had not crossed the river, might not understand what was happening and be warned; and thus 208 Frenchmen were bound, of whom the Adelantado asked if there were any Catholics among them who might wish to confess: eight of them said that they were Catholics: these he took away from there and placed them in the boat to be sent up the river to St. Augustine: the others replied that they were of the new religion, and held themselves to be very good Christians; that that was their faith, and no other.

The Adelantado commanded that they should march, after having first given them food and drink when they arrived in tens, before they were bound; this was done before the next ten came; and he told one of his captains, who is called ... that he was to march with them in the vanguard, and that at a cross-bow shot's distance from there he would find a line which he [the Adelantado] would draw with a *jineta* he carried in his hand; [that place] was a sandy stretch over which they had to march to the Fort of St. Augustine; that there he was to kill them all, and he ordered the captain who came with the rear-guard to do likewise; and so was it done, and they were all left there dead; and that night he returned to St. Augustine toward dawn, because the sun had already set when those men died.

CHAPTER XII.

*The Second Massacre, October 12th.*

*The Murder of Jean Ribaut.*

On the day following that on which the Adelantado had arrived in St. Augustine, the same Indians came as before, and said that many more Christians were on the other side of the river than there were previously. The Adelantado realized that this must be the party

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5 A short lance with a gilded point, and a tassel as an ornament, which in ancient times was the insignia of Spanish captains of infantry.

1 Menéndez to the King, October 15th, 1565, A. G. de L., 54-5-16.—Ruidíaz, *La Florida*, II, pp. 101-103. Menéndez makes it plain that thirteen days elapsed between the massacres.
of Juan Ribao, General of the Lutherans on land and sea, whom they called the Viceroy of that country for the King of France, and he set forth at once with 150 soldiers, [marching] well in order, and at midnight he arrived and quartered himself where he had been the first time. At dawn he came near the river, and scattered his men, and as the daylight grew stronger he saw many people on the other side of the river, two arquebuse shots away, and a raft made to take them across to the point where the Adelantado was. Presently the Frenchmen, when they saw the Adelantado and his men, sounded an alarm and unfurled a royal standard and two field banners, playing their fifes and beating their drums in very good order; and they offered battle to the Adelantado, who had commanded his men to sit down to breakfast, and make no demonstration of anger whatever. He himself walked along the shore with his Admiral and two other captains, paying no attention to the anger and battle stir of the Frenchmen, in such manner that they stopped running, and in battle array as they were, they halted, stopped playing the fifes and drums, and, sounding a bugle, they raised a white cloth in token of peace.

The Adelantado called at once to another bugler he had with him, a very good one, and drew from his pocket a small cloth, and began to wave it as a signal of peace.

A Frenchman got on the raft, and asked in a loud voice that we should go across to them.

A reply was sent to them by order of the Adelantado, that if they wished anything they should come to where he was, since they had the raft and they called to him: he who was on the raft answered that it was a poor one whereon to cross, because of the strong current; [he asked] that they send him a canoe which was there, belonging to some Indians.

The Adelantado told him that he should swim across for it, under the pledge of his word: then a French sailor came over, but the Adelantado would not consent that he should speak: he ordered him to take the canoe and go to tell his captain that if he wanted anything of the Adelantado, he should send to tell him, since it was the French captain who had called to the Adelantado. That sailor returned pres-
ently with a gentleman who said he was the sergeant major of Juan Ribao, Viceroy and Captain-General of that country for the King of France, and that Juan Ribao sent him to say that he had been shipwrecked with a fleet in a storm at sea, and that he had with him there about 350 Frenchmen; that it was his purpose to go to a fort he had 20 leagues from there; that he wished the Adelantado to do him the favor of lending him boats wherein to cross that river, and another there was 4 leagues from there, and that he desired to know if they were Spaniards and who their captain was.

The Adelantado replied that they were Spaniards, and that their captain was he with whom the sergeant was speaking, who was called Pedro Menéndez; that he should tell his General that the Adelantado had taken the fort which Juan Ribao said he had 20 leagues from there, and had slain the Frenchmen therein, and others who had come from the shipwrecked fleet, because they had ill conducted themselves; and they walked to the place where the French lay dead, and he showed them to him, [telling him to inform his General] that he had no reason left for wishing to cross the river to his fort.

The sergeant, with great composure, without showing any sign of grief at what the Adelantado said to him, asked him if he would do him the kindness to send one of his gentlemen to tell that to his General, so that they might negotiate regarding their safe-conduct because his General was very tired, and he wished that the Adelantado would go to see him in a boat he had there; and the Adelantado answered him thus:

“Brother, go with God’s blessing and give the reply which has been given you; and if your General should wish to come to speak with me, I give him my word that he can come and return safely, with about 5 or 6 companions whom he may bring with him from those of his council, so that he may follow the advice which suits him best.” And so that gentleman left with that message.

Within half an hour he returned to accept the safe-conduct that the Adelantado had given, and to ask for the boat, which the Adelantado would not give him, sending him to say that they might take it from him; that Juan Ribao could come across in the canoe, which was safe,
since the river was narrow; and thus that gentleman again went back, and presently² came Juan Ribao, whom the Adelantado received very well, with 8 other gentlemen who came with him, all of very fine address and appearance, holding positions of authority, and he had a

² E luego vino el Juan Ribao, á quien el Adelantado recibió muy bien, con otros 8 gentiles hombres que con él vinieron, todos muy bien tratados, de muy buenas personas é autoridades, é les hizo dar colación de cierto barril de conserva, é de beber, é que les darían de comer, si lo quisiesen.

El Juan Ribao respondió con mucha humildad, agradeciendo el buen recibimiento que se le hizo, é dixo que para alegrar los espíritus, que estaban tristes por las nuevas que le habían dado de la muerte de sus compañeros, querían desayunarse con la conserva é vino, é que por entonces no querían otra comida, é así lo hicieron.

El Juan Ribao dixo que aquellos compañeros suyos que allí estaban muertos, é los vió que estaban cerca, pudieran ser engañados, é que él no lo quería ser: entonces mandó á los soldados que allí estaban, se llegase cada uno con lo que tenía del fuerte, é fueron tantas las cosas que vido, que tuvo por cierto era verdad, aunque ya él sabía aquellas nuevas, é no las podía creer, porque entre ellos estaba un francés barbero, de los que el Adelantado había mandado degollar con los demás, que había quedado por muerto entre los otros, que de la primera cuchillada que le dieron, se dexó caer, haciéndose muerto, é cuando él allí llegara, se pasara á nado para él, y que el barbero tenía por cierto los había engañado el Adelantado, diciendo que el fuerte era ganado, no lo siendo, é así lo tenía él hasta entonces por cierto.

El Adelantado dixo que para que lo creyesen mejor é se satisficiesen, hablase aparte con dos franceses que allí estaban, para satisfacerse mejor, é así lo hizo, é luego se vino el Juan Ribao para el Adelantado, é le dixo que él estaba cierto que todo lo que le había dicho ser verdad, é que lo que él acontecía, pudiera acontecer del Adelantado; que pues sus Reyes eran hermanos é tan grandes amigos, hiciése el Adelantado con él como tal amigo, dandole navíos é bastimentos con que se fuese á Francia.

El Adelantado le respondió lo que á los primeros franceses de que hizo hacer justicia, é dando é tomando con él, no pudo acabar otra cosa el Juan Ribao con el Adelantado: entonces el Juan Ribao le dixo que quería dar cuenta á su gente, porque había entre ella muchos nobles, é le volvería ó inviaría respuesta de lo que acordáse de hacer: dentro de 3 horas volvió el Juan Ribao en la canoa, é dixo que había diferentes pareceres entre su gente, que unos se querían poner á su misericordia, é otros no.

El Adelantado le respondió lo que no se le daba ninguna cosa que viniesen todos, ó parte, ó ninguno dellos; que hiciesen lo que mezor les estuviese, pues tenían libertad para ello. El Juan Ribao dixo al Adelantado que la mitad dellos se querían poner á su misericordia é pagarían de talla más de cien mill ducados, y la otra mitad podían
collation served to them from a certain barrel of preserves, and gave
them some drink; and he said that he would give them food if they
wished it.

Juan Ribao answered with much humility, rendering thanks for the
pagar más, porque había entre ellos personas ricas é de mucha renta, que pre-
tendían hacer estado en aquella tierra.

Respondióle el Adelantado:—Mucho me pesa si perdiese tan buena talla é
presa, que harta necesidad tengo dese socorro, para ayuda de la conquista é
población desta tierra: en nombre de mi Rey, es á mi cargo plantar en ella el
Santo Evangelio.

El Juan Ribao usó aquí de buen ardid, si le valiera, porque le pareció que el
Adelantado, con la codicia del dinero que estos le darfan, no le mataría á él, ni á
los que á él se viniesen á su misericordia, pareciéndole que con no los matar, los
unos é los otros, por concierto que el Juan Ribao haría con él, valdría al Ade-
lantado más de 200 mill ducados; y dixo al Adelantado que él se volvía con la
respuesta á su gente, que porque era tarde le pedía por merced se detuviese allí
hasta el día siguiente, que volvería con la resolución que acordase.

El Adelantado dixo que si aguardaría, e fuese a SU gente, que ya era á puesta
del sol; y á la mañana volvió en la canoa y entregó al Adelantado dos estan-
dartes reales, uno del Rey de Francia, otro del Almirante, é dos banderas de
campaña y una espada é daga é celada dorada, muy buena, é una rodela é un
pistoleté é un sello que traía, que el Almirante de Francia le había dado para
seellar las provisiones é títulos que diese: dixo al Adelantado que hasta 150 per-
sonas de las 350 que había, se querían venir á su misericordia, é que las demás se
habían retirado aquella noche, y que fuese el batel por los que se querían venir
é por sus armas.

El Adelantado proveyó luego al Capitán Diego Florez de Valdés, Almirante
de su armada, que los hiciese traer, como á los demás, de diez en diez, é llevando
el Adelantado á Juan Ribao detrás del medano de la arena, entre las matas,
donde los demás, les hizo amarrar las manos atrás á él é á todos, como los de
antes, diciéndoles que habían de caminar 4 leguas por tierra é de noche, que no se
sufría ir sueltos; y estando amarrados todos, les dixo si eran católicos ó luteranos,
é si había alguno que se quisiese confesar.

El Juan Ribao respondió que él é todos cuantos allí estaban eran de la nueva
religión, y empezó á decir el salmo de Dómine memento mei, y acabado, dixo que
de tierra era y que en tierra se habían de volver, que veinte años más ó menos,
todo era una cuenta, que hiciése el Adelantado lo que quisiese dellos; é mandando
el Adelantado marchasen, como á los demás, con la misma orden y en la misma
raya, mandó que se hiciése de todos lo que de los otros: solo sacó á los pífanos,
atambores é trompetas é otros 4 que dixeran ser católicos, que eran en todos 16
personas: todos los demás fueron degollados. Mérsás, “Memorial,” in Ruidíaz,
kind reception given him; and said that in order to cheer their spirits, which were sad because of the news of their comrades' death, they wished to breakfast with the preserves and wine, and that for the time being they wanted no other food; and thus they did.

Juan Ribao said that those comrades of his who lay dead there, and he saw them near by, might have been deceived [concerning the capture of the fort], and that he did not wish to be: then [the Adelantado] commanded that each one of the soldiers who were there should come with whatever he had from the fort, and the things Juan Ribao saw were so many that he held it for certain that was the truth; although he had already heard that news, and could not believe it, because among the French was a barber whom the Adelantado had ordered killed with the rest, who had remained for dead among the others, for at the first knife-thrust given him he let himself fall, pretending he was dead; and when Juan Ribao had arrived there the barber had swum over to him, and he [the barber] held it for certain that the Adelantado had deceived them in saying that the fort was captured when it was not, and so had Juan Ribao up to that time.

The Adelantado said that in order that they should believe it fully and satisfy themselves thereof, Juan Ribao should speak apart with two Frenchmen who were there, and he did so; and then he came toward the Adelantado, and told him that he was certain that all he had told him was the truth, and that what was happening to him might happen to the Adelantado; that since their Kings were brothers and such great friends, the Adelantado should treat him like a friend, giving him ships and supplies wherewith he could go to France.

The Adelantado replied to him as he had to the first Frenchmen upon whom he had worked justice, and Juan Ribao in discussion with him was unable to obtain anything else; then Juan Ribao said to him that he wished to report to his men, for there were many noblemen among them, and he would return or send an answer as to what he should decide to do: within 3 hours Juan Ribao came back in the canoe and said that there were different opinions among his men, as some

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3 Philip II of Spain married Elizabeth of Valois, the sister of Charles IX of France.
wished to place themselves at the Adelantado's mercy, and others did not.

The Adelantado replied that he cared nothing whether they all came, or came in part, or did not come, any of them; they should do what seemed best to them, since they were free to do so.

Juan Ribao told the Adelantado that half of them were willing to place themselves at his mercy, and would pay as ransom more than one hundred thousand ducats; and the other half could pay more, as there were among them wealthy persons of large income who intended to settle in that land.

The Adelantado answered: "It would grieve me deeply to lose such a good ransom and booty, for I have dire need of that help to aid me in the conquest and colonizing of this country; it is my duty, in the name of my King, to spread therein the Holy Gospel."

Juan Ribao used much cunning here, to see if it might be of use to him, because it seemed to him that the Adelantado, on account of greed for the money that they could give him, would not kill Juan Ribao or those who entrusted themselves to his clemency; it appeared to him that the Adelantado's not killing them, through an agreement that Juan Ribao would make with him, would be worth more to him than 200 thousand ducats; and he told the Adelantado that he would return to his people with the answer; that because it was late he begged him to have the kindness to remain there until the day following, when he would come with the decision that might be agreed upon.

The Adelantado replied that he would wait, and told him to rejoin his men as the sun was already setting; and in the morning Juan Ribao returned in the canoe and delivered to the Adelantado two royal standards, one of the King of France, the other of the Admiral; two field banners; a gilt sword and dagger, a very fine gilt helmet, a buckler, a pistol, a seal he had with him, which the Admiral of France had given him to stamp all the edicts he should issue and titles he might give. He said to the Adelantado that about 150 persons of the 350 with him, were willing to come and place themselves at the Adelantado's mercy; that the others had departed that night, and that the boat should go over for those who wished to come, and for their arms.
The Adelantado immediately directed that Captain Diego Flórez de Valdés, the Admiral of his armada, should have them brought over as he had the others, ten at a time; and taking Juan Ribao behind the sand dune, between the bushes, where he had taken the others, he had his hands and those of all the rest, tied behind their backs, as was done to the previous ones, telling them that they had to march 4 leagues on land, and by night, so that he could not allow them to go unbound; and when they were all tied, he asked them if they were Catholics or Lutherans, and if there were any who wished to confess.

Juan Ribao answered that he and all those who were there were of the new religion, and he began to sing the psalm, *Domine memento mei*; and when it was finished he said that from earth they came, and unto earth must they return; that twenty years more or less were of little account; that the Adelantado was to do with them as he wished. And the Adelantado, giving the order that they should march, as he had to the others, in the same order and to the same line in the sand, commanded that the same be done to all of them as to the others: he only spared the fifers, drummers, trumpeters, and 4 more who said that they were Catholics, in all 16 persons: all the others were put to the knife.

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4 As there is no psalm beginning with these words, Merás must be in error.

5 Probably suggested by Genesis, III, 19.

6 In the letter of the Adelantado to Philip II three days afterward, he says: "I had Juan Ribao, with all the rest, put to the knife, understanding this to be expedient for the service of God Our Lord and of Your Majesty; and I hold it very great good fortune that he should be dead; for the King of France could do more with him with fifty thousand ducats, than with others with five hundred thousand; and he could do more in one year than another in ten, for he was the most experienced seaman and corsair known, and very skilful in this navigation of the Indies and the coast of Florida." Menéndez to the King, October 15th, 1565.—A. G. de I., 54–5–16.—D. H., Col. Navarrete, tomo 14, No. 40.—L. C., Papeles relativos á la Florida, pp. 31–79.—Lowery, II.—Smith, vol. for 1561–1593, pp. 292–309, from D. H.—Mass. Hist. Soc.—Published in Ruidiaz, *La Florida*, II, pp. 84–105.—Mass Hist. Soc., Proceedings, 2d series, VIII, pp. 425–439 (translation).

King Philip replied to this letter, and wrote among other things: "From the good success you have had in the expedition we have had great satisfaction, and we shall remember, in order to bestow favor upon you, the loyalty, love and
To Mr. Smith.  

Dear Sir, 

I have read the letter you sent me, and have returned it to you with a copy of the chart of the Matanzas in the Bay of St. Augustine. The chart shows the fort of St. Augustine, with the bays and harbors, and the place where the fort was built. I have added a map of the bay and harbor, and from the chart you will be able to see the location of the fort.

I think the French were more kind.

At what is now the west end of Anastasia Island, near some palm trees, was built the fort. I have not been able to locate the exact spot, but I believe it was near the junction of the Matanzas River and the bay. The map shows the location of the fort.

I have had the honor of your letter, and I am happy to learn of your visit to the site.

Yours truly,

Benj. E. Du Pont.
That night the Adelantado went to St. Augustine, where some persons considered him cruel, and others, that he had acted as a very good captain should. It was thought that even if they had been Catholics, and he had not worked justice upon them, both Spaniards and Frenchmen would have died of hunger on account of the Adelantado’s scarcity of provisions; and the French, because they were more numerous, would have killed us, as Fort San Mateo, which the Adelantado had captured from them, burned down with much property and many supplies within eight days after it was taken. The fire started in a house wherein lived Captain Francisco de Recalde, for a servant had set it on fire by sticking a lighted candle on a post, and the candle had fallen; suspicion was aroused thereby because there was much discord between Captain Villarroel, the sergeant major, and Francisco de Recalde; and some soldiers were beginning to say that since there were no supplies and the fort had been captured, they ought to demolish it . . . [and go] to the Indies in the 2 ships which the Adelantado had sent them from St. Augustine with the artillery. Some of the captains did not dare to declare themselves, because the camp master and Villarroel, the most important persons among the soldiers, were the Adelantado’s friends, and they had some kinsmen and servants there. At that time it was not known at San Mateo that the Adelantado had won diligence wherewith you have served us, and the hardships and dangers wherein you placed yourself: and you will so carry forward the enterprise, as we trust in your person and virtue: and as for the judgment you worked on the Lutheran corsairs who wanted to occupy that land and fortify themselves therein, to sow in it their evil sect, and thence continue the robberies and injuries they have committed and were committing, wholly against God’s service and mine, we believe that you have done this with entire justification and prudence, and hold Ourselves greatly served thereby.” Philip II to Menéndez, Madrid, May 12th, 1566.—A. R. G., leg. 2, núm. 3, Apendizc 4, núms. 3 y 4.—Ruidíaz, La Florida, II, p. 363.
victories over Juan Ribao and his men, and had killed them; and it was found out from the Frenchwomen and youths who were spared when the fort was taken, that Juan Ribao and his captains, at the time they embarked with the fleet, had consumed two barrels of wine, some of them giving mocking toasts to the Spaniards, saying: “I drink to the head of Pedro Menéndez and the men who are with him”; and other insults, such as: “Spanish Marranos,¹ we shall punish them by hanging them from the yard-arms of their own ships and ours, so that they shall not come another time to look for us in this our land.” [This was done] in such a manner that it appeared to many people of noble birth who were with Juan Ribao, that those words and insults uttered against the Spaniards were in very bad taste.

And within 20 days after the French were put to the knife, Indians came to the Adelantado and told him by signs that at 8 days' marching from there, toward the south, within the Bahama Channel, there were many men who were brethren of those whom the Adelantado had ordered killed, who were building a fort and a ship. The Adelantado suspected at once that the Frenchmen who withdrew might be fortifying themselves and building a vessel with the timber, artillery, supplies and munitions from the French armada which was wrecked, in order to send to France to ask for succor; and he immediately dispatched ten soldiers from St. Augustine to San Mateo, giving notice of everything and of how he wished to go [after the French], so that enough men should come to him from those who were there, to make up 150, counting the 35 he had brought from there when he captured the fort and returned to St. Augustine; and the camp master sent them at once, with Captains Juan Vélez de Medrano and Andrés López Patiño, and they arrived at St. Augustine on the 23rd of October. The Adelantado having heard mass on the morning of the 26th, set out with 300 men and 3 boats which carried the arms and supplies

¹“Marranos españoles.” The original meaning of the word Marrano is pig, hog. It has several meanings. It was also applied in Spain in the XVI century to all Jews, who, while professing Christianity, still followed their own faith in secret.
by sea; and the boats went no faster than the men marched on land, for wherever they passed the night the boats anchored, as the whole coast was sandy and clear.

Before the Adelantado’s departure from St. Augustine, he appointed a junta and government in the name of his Majesty, and the junta and captains together formed a cabildo. It was set down in the books of the cabildo that the proper daily rations should be given from the supplies that remained, and the same with the supplies which should come: he left the fort traced out and the work of erecting it equally divided among squads of men, and they were to work at the fortifications each day 3 hours in the morning and 3 in the afternoon. He left as alcaide and governor, Captain Bartolome Menendez, his brother, who had always filled those offices, and still does: he provided that all criminal sentences should be imposed by the cabildo, because the captains themselves were the regidores; that all appeals should be heard before the camp master, on whom he conferred sufficient authority to be his Lieutenant-General, as his Majesty had given him power in due form to appoint to that dignity whomsoever he wished, whenever he should be absent. He sent the same orders and instructions to Gonzalo de Villarroel at San Mateo, so that he should observe the aforesaid; and before departing from St. Augustine, he dispatched Diego Florez de Valdes, the Admiral of the armada, to his Majesty by the ship which was there, giving him an account of what had taken place up to that time. All the government officials of St. Augustine, and the men and women who were there, begged the Adelantado as a favor that he should not return to that port with the soldiers unless he brought food, as the fewer who remained there, the longer the supplies they had would last.

The Adelantado took with him in the 3 boats, provisions to last the 300 men for 40 days, and the ration of one day lasted for two; and he promised the people that he would try to do in everything what was for the general good, even though he might undergo dangers and hardships. [He told them] that he trusted that the kindness and mercy of

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2 A council.
3 A town corporation.
God would help him in all ways, so that he might succeed in so good and holy an undertaking; and thus he bade them farewell, while many of them wept, because he was much beloved, feared and respected by all. And by making good marches, he arrived on All Saints’ Day, at dawn, at the fort the Frenchmen were building, for some Indians were guiding him, as he marched by land with the soldiers, while the 3 boats went by sea under the charge of Captain Diego de Maya; and as they were seen from the fort, the Frenchmen within it fled to the woods, not one remaining, and the Adelantado sent them a trumpeter assuring them that their lives would be safe [and telling them] that they should return and he would give them the same treatment he gave the Spaniards: about 150 came to the Adelantado; but the captain thereof, with 20 others, sent him word that he would rather be eaten by the Indians than surrender to Spaniards.

The Adelantado received these people very well and gave them very good treatment: he set fire to the fort, which was of wood, and destroyed it; and he burned the ship which was being built, and buried the artillery, as the boats could not carry it because they were small. Later in the afternoon of that day, he marched southward along the beach, and the 3 boats cruised in search of a harbor and river which were 15 leagues from there, where were some pueblos of Indians, for the Adelantado wanted to see if he could leave his men quartered there with some cacique, and if he could go by the Bahama Channel to the island of Cuba in search of supplies; and on the third day, the 4th of November of the said year 165, they arrived at that port which is called Ays, because the cacique who lived there was thus named. He was a very good Indian, who received the Adelantado very well; neither he nor his people left their homes; rather did he await the Adelantado with all the people of the pueblo, which was a demonstration of confidence which gave much pleasure to the Adelantado, for up to then the inhabitants of all the Indian villages where he had arrived, had fled to the woods, leaving the houses deserted.

4 Indian River Inlet and the Indian River (the Rio d’Ays). The Ays Indians lived south of Cape Canaveral, and were not one of the Timucua tribes.
The Adelantado did not allow any damage to be done in their homes, or to the furniture therein; rather did he leave, in return for hospitality received in the houses of the caciques, some gifts of mirrors, knives, scissors and bells, things which they prize greatly. He remained there 4 days, during which he went down a river to see some places the cacique told him were good to settle; and without going out to sea, he reached a small harbor which was about 15 leagues from there, inside the Bahama Channel. As the land did not satisfy him, he returned; and as he had but little food, and the Indians of that land had none either, unless it were fish, cocoa-plums and palmettos, it was agreed and requested by all the people who were there—who saw the danger of their all dying of hunger—that his lordship the Adelantado should leave with two of the boats for the island of Cuba, although it was the middle of November, a dangerous time to sail in the Bahama Channel, which is very stormy, and although the boats were very small; in order to send supplies to them and to the people at St. Augustine and San Mateo.

The Adelantado did so, taking with him 50 persons, counting sailors and soldiers, and 20 of the Frenchmen from Canaveral, for he had taken them all with him; and this was the reason that the provisions for 40 days which he had brought from St. Augustine, gave out sooner, for the same rations were given to the French as to the Spaniards, and in the distribution of the rations no preference was shown even to the Adelantado. They consisted of half a pound of biscuit each day for each soldier—though they should have been a pound and a half—without wine, or any kind of food save the palmettos and cocoa-plums they gathered in the fields: there in Ays there was a soldier who sold 4 pounds of biscuit at 25 reals each, and who ate so many palmetto berries and other kinds of fruit which had a pleasant taste, that one day at nightfall he was well, and at midnight he died.

The fact that the Adelantado made this journey on foot was some-

5 They probably ate the heart of the palmetto, which tastes like raw cabbage but has a more delicate flavor.
6 Uvas de palma.
7 From St. Augustine to Ays.
thing that everybody admired; for he had no horse; and on the third
day there were 50 soldiers whom he had left in the rear-guard, who
did not arrive, owing to the many so exhausted they could not walk.
Two of the strongest who came there, each of them between 25 and 30
years of age, who had been among the first to enter the Fort of San
Mateo when it was captured from the French, and marched in the
vanguard with the Adelantado, felt ashamed at seeing how he was
marching; and in order not to leave him they forced themselves beyond
reason, and as they walked along, one of them said to the other: "Com-
rade, I want to sit down a little while, for I am very tired." Without
the Adelantado's noticing it these two remained where they were, and
in a quarter of an hour, without rising from where he was, the one
who had spoken gave up his soul to God. The other forced himself to
keep up with the Adelantado, but one night he disappeared and they
never saw him more. All the men marched along the sea-shore from 2
o'clock after midnight until sunrise, and then they halted, and the
soldiers scattered in the savannas to eat palmettos and cocoa-plums,
some of which they gathered to take with them: they remained there
for two hours and marched [again] until 10 or 12 o'clock of the day:
then they rested until 2 hours after midday, and marched once more
until the sun went down; there was no day during which they did not
march from 8 leagues upward, a thing which everyone marvelled at
because of the difficulty of advancing over those sandy stretches and
because of the lack of food.

Cacique Ays was much grieved at the Adelantado's departing from
there, and he and his children wept, for during those days that the
Adelantado remained there he made him many presents and gave him
many things for barter, and did likewise to his principal Indian men
and women; and the Adelantado, fearing that the soldiers and the
Indians would break out in war against one another, wherein his men
ran the danger of being slain because they lacked food and did not
know the country and were so thin and feeble, arranged before his
starting for Havana to leave them in a place 3 leagues from there,
which the Indians said was very good, as there were palmettos, cocoa-
plums and fish, for it was on the river; and in two days he conveyed
the men there in the boats. He greatly feared his departure, one reason being that it appeared to him that the soldiers were becoming emaci­
ted and discouraged; another, because no ship had ever been seen to reach the island of Cuba through the Bahama Channel, although many had attempted it, as the current always runs very strongly toward the north, while the Adelantado had to sail southward to the island of Cuba, and he had the current against him, which struck the ships' prows; and if it had not been for the relief of these people and those left behind in St. Augustine and San Mateo, he would have preferred to send someone else in the two boats, and remain with the other and with his men, rather than to subject himself to that risk, which was great. The soldiers desired his departure because of the hope they had of obtaining supplies if he went in person, and so he decided to depart from that port of Ays on . . . of November, with 50 soldiers and sailors and 20 Frenchmen, leaving Captain Juan Vélez de Medrano in charge of those people, to whom and to all those who remained with him, the Adelantado made a speech, strengthening and consoling them and asking them to pray for him every day, as he was exposing himself for them to one of the greatest dangers ever encountered by man; and to supplicate God Our Lord and his precious Mother to give him a safe voyage; and while all were kneeling, singing the litanies and praying, the Adelantado set out. He had such a favorable wind that although there were one hundred leagues from there to Havana, and contrary currents, he made the journey in 2 days, a thing to marvel at, because all the pilots who sail in the Indies were of opinion that with galleys provided with oars, it was not possible to go against that current. He sailed along the whole coast and country of Florida, and upon crossing to the island of Cuba, he met with choppy seas and a great storm from the north, and high seas ran from poop to prow: through one whole night that this gale lasted he steered, not trusting the helm to any of his sailors: there were among the 20 Frenchmen he had with him, the chief pilot of Juan Ribae and another who seemed to him a very efficient mariner. The Adelantado asked him if he were a good helmsman: he replied that he was: the Adelantado gave him the helm toward morning, and that Frenchman steered very well; and
thus, until they arrived at Havana, the Adelantado and the Frenchman steered.

The boat in which the Adelantado was, carried no compass, because on departing from Ays he had it taken from its place, and they found it broken.

Captain Diego de Maya said that the boat wherein he was, outsailed the Adelantado’s and carried a compass, and as the Adelantado’s was broken, he should trim his sails and not go far from land, and be careful not to become separated from him [Diego de Maya]; and on the second night, when the storm was almost over and day was approaching, the Adelantado lost sight of the other boat and passed beyond the harbor of Havana, thinking he had not yet arrived there.

At about 10 in the morning, he recognized the port of Bahía Honda, which is 15 leagues farther than Havana, and saw a small vessel enter it; he went after her and reached her: in her were some Indians from Havana who were going hunting. They gave the Adelantado much meat and cassava, which is the bread of that land, and palmettos; and the Indians told him that Pedro Menéndez Marqués, his nephew, had reached Havana with part of the fleet from Biscay and the Asturias, which during a storm had become separated from General Estebano de las Alas; and that all the people were very sad, as they did not know what had happened to the Adelantado, who, they feared, had perished at sea in a tempest, or had been destroyed by the enemy; as they could not suspect or believe that he would dare to go to Florida with so few ships, nor did the thought cross their minds that he was there.

The Adelantado landed with his men in that harbor of Bahía Honda, and all of them kneeling, gave many thanks to Our Lord for the kindnesses he had done them in carrying them through to safety. He called the Frenchmen and told them to behold the power and goodness of God, and that if they were Lutherans, they should repent and become Catholics; that he would give them good treatment, no matter what their faith was, and give them liberty to go in the first ships to Spain, and thence to France; that he said that to them because he desired to save them.

There were some of them who, weeping, began to strike their
breasts; and praising Our Lord and begging him for mercy, they said that they had been wicked Christians and Lutherans, and now they had repented; and that henceforth they wished to renounce their evil sect and become Catholics, making confession and receiving the Communion, and to cherish and observe that which is required by the Holy Mother Church.

The Adelantado regaled and strengthened them, telling them that they should rejoice and not be grieved at their sufferings; that he would take care of them as though they were his brothers; and this he did for those men, as he did for all the others whose lives he spared, each one according to his rank: he invited the nobleman to sit at table with him, supplying him with clothing; and the sailors sat with his pilots and sailors, and the soldiers, with his captains and soldiers.

That night the Adelantado departed from that port of Bahiahonda to return to Havana, but as the wind was contrary and very strong—for it drove him out to sea, farther than he wished, in the direction of Florida—he did not arrive in Havana until the following night, at midnight. Diego de Maya had arrived two days before; he feared that the Adelantado was lost, and everyone held this for certain, for as the storm had been so great and he had no compass, they thought that in the hurricane the boat had been ripped open and had sunk; and according to report, great was the sorrow felt for him by the people of Havana and by his armada. On the day after he arrived there, when he entered the harbor rowing, as the wind was blowing from land, the sentinel on watch to guard the harbor called out and asked who came on board the boat that was entering: they replied, the Adelantado Pedro Menéndez; the sentinel answered, saying: "Blessed be Our Lord, that the Señor Pedro Menéndez is alive"; and [he asked] that they wait a little, while he went to tell Governor García Osorio, so that they should not be fired upon from the fortress.

The Adelantado himself said to the sentinel, who was very near: "My brother, go with God, and I will wait"; and so he waited long enough for the sentinel to be able to go and return; and as he saw that he delayed, he ordered his boat to enter; and within a short time it became known in the harbor that this was the Adelantado, and the
ships therein began to discharge the pieces of artillery, for there was anchored the armada from Biscay and the Asturias, under the charge of his nephew, Pedro Menéndez Marqués; and they began to give many indications of pleasure and to fire many rounds in sign of rejoicing.

The Adelantado saw these demonstrations, and that there were illuminations, with a flag, and that they beat a drum and sounded a fife, with great acclamations; and as it appeared to him that they were awaiting him, in order to land he went directly to the quay, without going on any of his ships or being detained on board of them. The Governor was there, but when he saw the Adelantado arrive he went away, with the greater part of the people he had with him: only Juan de Ynistrosa remained, with a few regidores of the pueblo; he was the Treasurer of his Majesty on that island, and he took the Adelantado to his house and entertained him very well, likewise all those who came with him.

The Governor sent to call on the Adelantado: this act, the little satisfaction and the lack of pleasure shown by the Governor at the Adelantado's arrival in safety, and at the artillery's being fired, surprised everyone; for whenever the Adelantado had seen his soldiers discontented, his refrain to console them had been:

"Make an effort, my brothers, for García Osorio, the Governor of the Island of Cuba, will send us a sufficient supply of food for all of us who are in Florida; for so was I promised in Seville, and his Majesty has charged and commanded him to do this."

And the next day in the morning the Adelantado heard mass, and as he was going out [of church] the Governor entered; they spoke to each other, and all noticed the great abruptness with which the Governor spoke to the Adelantado, for it was as though he had never known him; and so they took leave of each other.

After the Adelantado had dined, he went to see the Governor and told him the great necessity in which the people of Florida found themselves. He showed him the decrees whereby he was commanded to give one armed ship, 40 soldiers and 20 horses, with pay for 4 months, and all the help and favor that he might ask or need of him.
for the conquest and settlement of Florida; and he showed him how 500 men were in Florida for his Majesty's account, who were without supplies and would all perish of hunger if they were not succored; [he said] that he did not want the armed ship, nor the horses nor soldiers, for all of it would cost more than twenty thousand ducats; that with three or four thousand he might give him, he could relieve until spring those soldiers who were in Florida for his Majesty's account.

The Governor replied that he did not want to give them. The Adelantado asked that they might be loaned him, and [said] that he would guarantee them and give a bondsman for them.

The Governor replied that he did not have them.

The Adelantado said that [the Governor could help him] from the ten or twelve thousand ducats he held from a Portuguese caravel which Captain Juan de la Parra had taken [while commanding] the flagship of the Fleet of New Spain, which vessel and soldiers and sailors were under orders to the Adelantado, and that money belonged to the Adelantado and to the ship's people, as being the persons who had captured the caravel with what she contained, because she went about trading in the Indies, against the statutes and decrees of his Majesty and without being registered.

The Governor answered that he would not give those to him either, because he said that they did not belong to him.

The Adelantado begged that he lend him on endorsed security the four thousand ducats from those [ten or twelve thousand; and] that if his Majesty commanded him to return them, he would.

The Governor did not want to do this. He held prisoner Juan de la Parra, the captain of that flagship: the Adelantado told him to deliver him to him, with the record of his offence.

The Governor said that although he was his [the Adelantado's] soldier, it was he, as Governor of the country, who should punish him, 8 La Parra had been in prison three months. See the Adelantado's indignation, and his story of Governor Osorio's treatment of La Parra in his letter to King Philip, December 5th, 1565 (A. G. de I.—D. H.—Ruidíaz, La Florida, II, pp. 113-118). Osorio had seized La Parra's prize on the arrival of the caravel, crippling the pilot. La Parra made no resistance, but he did make comments on the Governor's action, and his remarks caused him to be thrown into prison.
and the other soldiers of the Adelantado who might do unlawful
things in his district.

The Adelantado replied to him:

“Sir, may this reception that your Honor gives me in your district
be for the love of God: I am determined to arm myself with patience
to go through all these things your Honor makes me endure, for I
believe that in doing this God gives me a greater victory than that I
won over Juan Ribao and the other Lutherans who were in Florida,
and that I am rendering his Majesty a great service”; and he doffed
his hat to him and went out through the door, without awaiting the
Governor’s reply. And the Adelantado immediately ordered a procla­
mation to be issued that all the soldiers and sailors who were there
from Biscay and the Asturias, and those of the flagship of the Fleet of
New Spain, should assemble on the ships during the whole of that day;
that he wanted to take the muster-roll of the men he had, in order to
employ them in the service of his Majesty.

And the next day in the morning, they heard mass at break of day
and went on board the vessels, and the Adelantado made a list of 550
men, and he summoned the captains and pilots to the flagship; he went
into council with them, and when they were together, he said to them:

“Gentlemen and Brothers: We find news here that there are many
French and English corsairs going about, robbing the subjects of his
Majesty. As we are at peace, they deserve to be punished; and it is
held for certain, and several of you, Gentlemen, who arrive from there,
say that among these corsairs there are two English and three French
vessels, which carry on board more than half a million of plunder,
and purchase money for negroes and merchandise; and that they are
wintering off that island of Santo Domingo, at the northern end, so as
to go to France in the spring. Since I have here four very good sailing
vessels and this flagship, all well armed, with a large quantity of good
munitions; and there are 550 soldiers and sailors on board, all very
good men; it appears to me that within ten days we shall be able to
collect our stores of water, wood and meat (for we have most of the
supplies on board, as the ships brought them from the Asturias and
Biscay); grease the vessels and make them ready, and then go out to
sea at the first opportunity and go in search of those corsairs, wherein we shall be rendering great service to God Our Lord and his Majesty in punishing those Lutheran corsairs and this will be for the general good of all the Indies, and we shall be able to profit very much thereby; and to send to our comrades in Florida, as soon as we reach [the corsairs], 2 or 3 ships of supplies. In the spring we shall take our vessels to Florida, laden with food and cattle, in order to make explorations and discoveries inland: and we shall have freed ourselves from the danger which it seems to me some of us are running, of being ruined by this Governor, and of losing patience, as I tell you for my part, Gentlemen, that although it be in December and navigation through the Bahama Channel is dangerous, I would rather sail through there and on the ocean than remain in this town; because even though I may know how to conduct myself with the Governor, I fear that some of you may not, and the blame for whatever might happen would be placed on me, for seeing the danger and not forestalling it: I beg of you as a favor, Gentlemen, to advise me as to whether I must take this decision."

They all approved and held it to be good, and showed great satisfaction thereat.

And the Adelantado at once ordered the captains and pilots there to prepare to be able to set sail within twelve days; and he caused to be summoned the masters and boatswains, officers and stewards of all the ships, and told them his decision, and he ordered and charged them all to have a care to place their vessels in readiness, and they offered to do so, showing great pleasure and satisfaction at the voyage, and the sailors, shipboys and cabinboys of the armada did likewise; and the Adelantado, in the presence of all, named as Admiral thereof his nephew, Pedro Menéndez Marqués.

And at the time appointed, which was within twelve days, the ships were ready to set sail. The Adelantado went on board and sent a requisition to the Governor, to deliver to him Captain Juan de la Parra: he would not do so.⁹

⁹ "And after La Parra had heard what was going on," writes Menéndez to the King, "and that I was about to start against the corsairs and he would remain,
During those 15 days there were many dangerous matters of discussion between the Adelantado and the Governor: many observed the patience of the Adelantado, who sailed on his voyage in the beginning of December, and on the third day after setting out from the port of Havana, he sighted a sail: he chased her, thinking she was a corsair, until she reached Matanzas, a harbor of the island of Cuba, where he found on coming up to her that there was no one on board, because the crew had gone to the woods. He ordered Pedro Menéndez Marqués, his nephew, the Admiral of that armada, to go on board, so that with a few sailors he might guard well all that she carried, and bring her to anchor near the flagship whereon was the Adelantado, for he wished to cast anchor in that harbor, as he did: and they heard voices in the woods, for the armada had anchored near there; the Adelantado sent a boat to land, to see what was the matter: some Portuguese ran there, and when they understood that the armada was Spanish and that the Adelantado was the General thereof, they rejoiced greatly and called their comrades. They got into the boat and were brought to the flagship, before the Adelantado, and they told him with great pleasure that they had come from Spain on that caravel, by command of his Majesty, with dispatches for him, which they gave him, whereby his Majesty advised him how in France a large armada was being prepared to come over to attack him in Florida; and in order that the Adelantado might defend Florida and succor the places and islands of Puerto Rico, Hispaniola and Cuba, his Majesty was sending him one thousand, five hundred soldiers, with a large quantity of supplies and 17 ships; and telling him to take the measures which might appear necessary to him, on sea as well as on land, to injure that armada if it should attack him or his territories.

he shouted like a madman in his prison, and the darkness wherein he was, and it is feared that he may lose his reason.” Menéndez to King Philip, December 5th, 1565, A. G. de I.—D. H.—Ruidiaz, La Florida, II, p. 117.

In the same letter of December 5th (Ruidiaz, La Florida, II, p. 199), Menéndez says: “And on the day I left Havana with that armada, which, as I have said, was on the last of November, I discovered a sail . . .” The dates do not agree.
Then the Adelantado summoned his captains to a council, and having shown them the letter, he said:

"Gentlemen and Brothers: It seems to me that in all things, and especially in war, new events bring new ideas; and it is my feeling that I must not remove myself from Havana, because they write to me that these reinforcements will arrive here during March. Let us return there, and I shall send one or two of these ships to Campeche, to be laden with maize for Florida; another I shall send to Puerto de Plata, so that she may be laden with meat and cassava; and another I shall have laden in Havana, as soon as I can, and although I have no money I will sell or pawn some of the artillery, or these munitions I carry, even if the price be below their value; and the gold chains and jewels there may be among us; and we shall amuse ourselves the best way we can, trying not to have a break with the Governor, no matter what may happen; because now that I have been given this dispatch, I should deserve to be punished by his Majesty for any misfortune that might occur if I were to go with this armada to make war on corsairs, and the reinforcements should come to Havana from another direction, and the French fleet should go to Florida."

They all approved the Adelantado's decision, and held it to be wise and of good counsel; and so they departed for Havana the following day, with all the armada; and when they had arrived the Adelantado sent the ships as he had agreed; and sent his nephew, Pedro Menéndez Marqués, to Spain in a patache, to inform his Majesty of what had occurred up to then.


12 On the return of Menéndez to Havana, Governor Osorio continued to make matters difficult for him. He did nothing to stop the desertion of forty of the Adelantado's soldiers, while the Adelantado lay ill for ten days at the house of his friend, Ynistroso. "While I was ill," writes Menéndez to Philip, "he wanted Juan de Ynistroso to drive me out of his house and tell me to go to Matanzas, all with the wicked intent that the anger I should feel while I was very ill, would bring about my death."—Letter of December 25th, 1565, A. G. de I., 54–5–16.—Ruidíaz, La Florida, II, p. 136.

Before going in quest of corsairs, Menéndez had sent his brother-in-law, Solís de Merás, on a mission of which Merás himself does not speak, but which Bar-
CHAPTER XIV.

Menéndez, Cacique Carlos of the Florida West Coast, and
Carlos’s Sister, Doña Antonia (February, 1566).

And at the beginning of the following year, ‘66, Estébano de las Alas arrived; he was the General of the Armada of Biscay and the Asturias, and a storm had separated him from Pedro Menéndez Marqués, the Admiral thereof, and he had been in Yaguana. Great was the joy and satisfaction which the Adelantado felt at his arrival, for he brought 2 vessels and 200 men; and the Adelantado immediately ordered that during that month those 2 ships should be equipped, likewise the 2 he had brought from Florida, a new brigantine which Diego de Maya brought from Florida when he had gone there with supplies, a French patache which the Adelantado bought in Havana, and a new shallop; and he had all those 7 ships calked, greased and placed in readiness, and on the 10th of February, with 500 soldiers and sailors on board, he sailed for Florida to discover if there were deep water and good navigation between [the islands of] Las Tortugas and Los Mártires, because it was very necessary to know this for the Fleets of New Spain and Tierra Firme, and other vessels which might sail in

rientos mentions as follows: “Before his departure he dispatched Gonzalo de Solís de Merás with a vessel to the Audiencia of New Spain, so that when he landed in Campeche, he should send her back to him laden with maize, chickens, shoes and other supplies for Florida; and should then proceed from there to New Spain and having delivered the dispatches and instructions for the Royal Audiencia, try to bring the funds he went to seek, loaned by the Royal Exchequer, or by friends of the Adelantado, in order to succor the infantry his Majesty kept in Florida; he should try likewise to bring some Franciscan and Dominican fathers for the conversion of the Indians, and to get back certain soldiers and one ensign, who had deserted the Adelantado in Havana, taking the flag and other tokens of his Majesty.” Barrientos, “Vida y Hechos,” in García, Dos Antiguas Relaciones, p. 83.

1 In Hispaniola.

2 The Tortugas Islands and the Martyr Islands or Florida Keys.

3 Twice a year, in January and August, the two Spanish treasure fleets sailed from the river of Seville to the Indies: the Fleet of New Spain bound for the Antilles and the Gulf of Mexico, and the Fleet of Tierra Firme, for Cartagena. They crossed the ocean together and separated at the island of Dominica. The
those parts. Finding the navigation very good, he went forward along the coast of Florida, in search of some men and women who, it was said, had been captives for twenty years, in the power of a cacique they call Carlos; and each year he killed some of those people, making a sacrifice of them to the devil; and they all went about naked, having become savages like the very Indians; and the Adelantado, pitying those slaves, wished to undertake that expedition, and go from there to the provinces of Santa Elena, 50 leagues to the north of the Fort of San Mateo which was won from the Lutherans, because the Indians had told the soldiers in that fort that in the harbor of Guale there were some Frenchmen newly arrived.

And having had many masses said to San Antón, that he might intercede with Our Lord so that he could find the harbor where those Christians were, and the Christians themselves; he met them within 8 days of his departure from Havana. It was in this manner: he left his flagship to Estébano de las Alas, making him his lieutenant and General of those vessels, and embarked with 30 men, soldiers and sailors, in a brigantine which did not draw more than half a fathom of water; and he ordered Captain Diego de Maya, who went as the Admiral of the ships, to go with him on board another brigantine drawing very little water, on which he was with 30 persons, the two brigantines sailing together along the coast, while most of the vessels proceeded out at sea, for the coast was low. On the 3d day, owing to dark and cloudy weather, the Adelantado with the two brigantines became separated from his ships; and on the 4th day, as they sailed along near shore, a canoe put out to Captain Diego de Maya’s brigantine, half a league ahead, and one man came therein, and when he arrived near her, he spoke, saying:

“Spaniards, Brothers, Christians, be welcome! We have been expecting you for 8 days, for God and Holy Mary told us that you were Captain-General was in command of one, the Admiral of the other. The Captain-General commanded both when they proceeded together.

4 The west coast.
5 In the southeastern part of South Carolina. Cf. p. 173, note 9.
6 The name Guale was given to the eastern part of the present state of Georgia, and also to Amelia Island. Cf. p. 181, note 2.
coming, and the Christian men and women who are here alive, have ordered me to come and await you here with this canoe, to give you a letter which I bring you."

Captain Diego de Maya and those who were with him in the brigate, felt great joy and satisfaction at seeing that they had discovered what the Adelantado was in search of, and so much desired, and they received that man on board, who came naked and painted, turned into an Indian, with a belt around his loins.

The captain embraced him and asked him for the letter.

The man drew a cross from under the deerskin belt he wore, and gave it to the captain, telling him that that was the letter which the Spaniards and Christians who were captives there sent to him; and that they entreated him, for the sake of the death that Our Lord had received on that cross in order to save us, not to pass by without entering the harbor, and endeavoring to rescue them from their cacique and take them to a land of Christians.

At that moment the Adelantado arrived with his brigate, and this man came before him, where he heard more in detail from this Christian all that had happened, and about the character of the country and the condition of the Indians; and all, on their knees, worshipped the cross, rendering thanks to Our Lord.

The Adelantado entered the harbor and anchored near the shore, for they could jump from the brigate to land without wetting their shoes. The pueblo, where were a few Spanish women and other Christians, was about half a league from there, and two other Christian men and women were at a distance inland; for more than 200 Spaniards from ships of the Indies, lost off the country of that cacique 20 years before, had all been brought to him by his subjects, and his father and he had killed them during their feasts and dances, sacrificing them to the devil.8

The Adelantado did not dare reveal to that Christian that he thought of taking away the Christian men and women who were there,

7 The Bay of Carlos or Juan Ponce; Charlotte Harbor.
8 Carlos was the most powerful cacique of the Caloosa Indians. There were many caciques subject to him.
because it appeared to him that he knew little, and that whatever he told him, he might repeat to the cacique: so he only told him to say to the cacique that he was bringing him many things for him and his wives, and that he should come to see him. The cacique, hearing of the small number of men the Adelantado had with him, came the next day in the morning with about 300 Indian archers, near the brigantines, down to the shore; while the prow of one touched the stern of the other, and the artillery in them was placed on the landside, with much hail-shot ready for whatever might offer itself; and the Adelantado had a platform set up, that the cacique might sit thereon, and he did so, with his principal Indians around him. The Adelantado disembarked from the brigantines, with 30 arquebusiers with their fuses lighted, and seated himself near him, the cacique and his principal men paying much homage to him.

The Adelantado gave him a shirt, a pair of silk breeches, a doublet and a hat, and other things for his wives: he looked very well, because he was very much of a gentleman, and was about 25 years old; the Adelantado also made gifts to his principal Indians, and gave them biscuit and honey, which they ate very willingly.

The cacique bestowed on the Adelantado a bar of silver worth about 200 ducats, and asked him to give him more things, and more to eat. The Adelantado told him that he had not food enough for so many people; that he should come aboard the brigantines with his principal men, and that there he would feed them and give them many things for their wives and themselves. Prompted by covetousness, the cacique did this, and took with him about 20 Indians.

The Adelantado commanded, with great secrecy and diligence, that there should be a soldier near each Indian, and 66 [others] near

— Barrientos, “Vida y Hechos,” in García, *Dos Antiguas Relaciones*, p. 87, says that it was a tent.

— Barrientos says (p. 88): “The cacique knelt, with the palms of his hands turned upward, and the Adelantado placed his hands on those of the cacique, which act is the highest mark of reverence that they [the Caloosa Indians] pay to their superiors.”

— Barrientos adds wine.

— This number, sixty-six, must be a mistake in the text, for we are told that there were only thirty soldiers in each brigantine.
them, and if they should want to throw themselves overboard, not to allow them to do so; and he ordered that the cables should be loosened wherewith the brigantines were fastened to the land, and went out to sea. The Indians were a little disturbed, but they were told by the interpreter that they must not be frightened, for the brigantines had withdrawn from land to prevent more Indians from entering them; as they were small, more people in them might upset them.

The cacique and the Indians believed him, and they were given food and many things, and [then] the cacique wished to go.

The Adelantado told him that the King of Spain, his Master, had sent him for the Christian men and women whom he [the cacique] held prisoners, and that if he did not bring them to him, he would order him to be killed; that he prayed him to give them up, and would bestow on him many things in exchange for them and would be his great friend and brother.  

The cacique said that he was satisfied and would go for them.

The Adelantado told him that if he went, his [the Adelantado's] men would kill him because he was allowed to go; that he entreated him to send some Indians for them.

The cacique did so because of fear, and within an hour they brought 5 women and 3 Christian men, to whom the Adelantado ordered some shirts and chemises to be given at once; and from some English woolen cloth he carried with him, he ordered 4 or 5 tailors who came there to make clothes for them, and the same for the Christian men; they wept for joy, so that it was a wonderful thing to see. The Adelantado consoled the women and gave them many presents, and they said that they felt great sorrow on account of the children that they were leaving there.

The Adelantado bestowed many things on the cacique and his men, and sent him away very well pleased, the cacique telling him that within 3 months he would have there for him 2 other Christian men and one Christian woman, who were some distance inland; and that

13 Barrientos in García adds (p. 89): "And would favor him with his invincible Spaniards against the caciques his enemies." This boastfulness and lack of judgment do not sound like Menéndez.
he prayed him to come the next morning, before he should depart for his village, in order that his wives might see him. The Adelantado answered that he would do so. In the morning the cacique sent many canoes for him: and the Adelantado being suspicious at his departure, that Christian with the cross who had gone out to sea in the canoe, and who had returned with the cacique to visit his wives on behalf of the Adelantado, to take them a present, arrived in a canoe and told the Adelantado that he must not go to the village because they had planned to kill him; and the Indians in the canoes, who knew of the treachery, suspected that that Christian was revealing it, and fled. The Adelantado, in order that the cacique and the Indians might think that he did not know of it, hoisted the anchors of the brigantines and rowed to a point near the village, where he dropped anchor, and there, with 2 bugles sounding, and flags displayed, he signalled that the canoes should come for him, because the brigantines could not go farther; and as no canoe would come the Adelantado sailed out of the harbor to search for his ships, and as they did not appear, the Christians told him that 50 leagues farther from there was

14 Here Barrientos in García gives more details (pp. 89, 90): “[The Christian] warned him that he must not go to the village, because they had planned to kill him, and this was to be the order of procedure: that they were to come forth without bows and arrows, but with branches of palms, singing and making great demonstrations of joy; and each Indian on arriving was to take a Christian on his back as a mark of honor; and in a wood, which lay between the village and the beach, they had many armed Indians in ambush; and that each Indian on arriving there with his Christian, was to seize him firmly by the hands while he held him, and the others would kill them. [Then] came Cacique Carlos with a great number of Indians, singing and making all manner of rejoicings, and saying that he brought those Indians in order that the Adelantado and his Spaniards might be carried on their backs, since they were persons who deserved it: and that he himself wished to carry the Adelantado, and that his principal Indians would carry his captains and the other men; and that the rest would accompany them, rejoicing, as they had done for other Christians who had come there, since they were all servants of God. The Adelantado replied, thanking him for this courtesy, and [said] that those who had consented to be thus carried were false Christians; that they would not accept that honor: that they [the Indians] might go: that he would go to his village with a few Spaniards only. The Indians, understanding what was the matter, that that Christian was exposing them, fled with their canoes.”
a very good harbor, where there were 3 other Christian captives in the power of the Indians. It seemed to the Adelantado that his vessels might have gone there; he felt a desire to ransom those 3 Christians, and he went there, and found neither the ships nor the Christians; but on returning he discovered the 5 vessels anchored off that harbor of Carlos, and that Estéban de las Alas had gone to the village with one hundred soldiers. When the Indians saw so many ships and people, and went to reconnoitre them in the canoes, they were afraid, and gave a good reception to Estéban de las Alas: the soldiers there got more than 2,000 ducats’ worth of gold and silver from the Indians, in exchange for baubles.

The Adelantado resolved to send the Christian to Carlos, that he might give him to understand that the Adelantado knew nothing of the treachery planned to kill him. Carlos believed him, and prompted by the greed he felt that he might be given other things, and the wish to take the Adelantado for a friend, he came to see him with 5 or 6 Indians, no more, and told him that he wanted to take him for his elder brother, to do all that he should command him to do, and that he wanted to give him for a wife a sister he had, older than he, whom he loved very much, in order that the Adelantado might bring her to a land of Christians, and if he should send her back, that when she returned, he would go likewise and become a Christian, with all his Indians; that it appeared better to him than being an Indian; and that he prayed him to come for her, and to see his wives and village.

The Adelantado said that he would go the next day, and he made him many presents and sent him home. The captains and soldiers would have wished that the Adelantado had not let that cacique go, because they said he had a great deal of money, and that he would give it all to him to be set free. The Adelantado would not do this, because it seemed to him that owing to the confidence the cacique had in him, it would be an act of knavery, and that [if he did so] the Indians would never become Christians.

All the captains, soldiers and sailors who were there were surprised at the reply the Adelantado gave them, for they knew how much he had spent in that enterprise, and the little assistance his Majesty had
given him; that he was in debt in Spain, likewise his relatives and friends; that he was also in Havana, and had sent to borrow money in New Spain; and we held him to be a man of poor judgment, who with little trouble might have drawn one hundred thousand ducats from that cacique; for even though he did not have them, his Indians and his friends among the caciques would have, in whose possession was some gold and silver from wrecked ships, and they did not know their value nor what the thing was; through them he might have freed himself from his obligations, also those who were in debt for the love of him; and they would have found themselves more strengthened and encouraged for such a good and holy conquest as that was, in order to try, as he was trying, according to the great inclination which we all saw he had, to establish the Holy Gospel in that land; for the Indians did not know what gold or silver was, and for a playing card, which was an ace of diamonds, one of them gave a soldier a piece of gold worth 70 ducats; and for a pair of scissors, half a bar of silver worth 100 ducats. All the soldiers who had first arrived with Estebano de las Alas, and those who came with the Adelantado in the two brigantines, obtained by barter on that one occasion about 3,500 ducats' worth altogether, which made them very pleased and joyful, and they began to gamble, holding the money of little account: the Adelantado did not take away from them anything of what each one had acquired, nor did he himself obtain anything by barter, so that the Indians should not think that he came in search of gold. And the day following that on which Cacique Carlos departed from the brigantines, the Adelantado went to dine with him, taking 200 arquebusiers with him and a flag, 2 fifers and drummers, 3 trumpeters, one harp, one violin\(^{15}\) and one psaltery, and a very small dwarf, a great singer and dancer, whom he brought with him. The cacique's house was about two arquebuse shots from where he landed, and 2,000 men might gather therein without being very crowded: the Adelantado's people marched in order to that house and he did not allow them to enter it, but stationed them outside, ready for any emergency, with their fuses lighted.

\(^{15}\) A vihuela de arco, a sort of primitive violin. A vihuela is a guitar.
He entered the cacique's house alone, with about 20 gentlemen, and stood where there were some large windows, through which he could see his men: the cacique was in a large room, alone on a [raised] seat with a great show of authority, and with an Indian woman also seated, a little apart from him, on an elevation half an estado from the ground; and there were about 500 principal Indian men and 500 Indian women: the men were near him, and the women near her, below them.

When the Adelantado mounted to that place, the cacique yielded his seat to him, and drew quite a distance apart.

The Adelantado placed him near him, and then the cacique rose, and went toward the Adelantado to take his hands, according to their custom; going through a certain ceremony which is like kissing the King's hand here; no greater mark of deference can be given among them, and it is that which Indian vassals are in the habit of giving to their caciques: then came the Indian woman, and did likewise; and then all the principal Indian men and women who were there; and more than 500 Indian girls, from 10 to about 15 years, who were seated outside the window, began to sing, and other Indians danced and whirled: then the principal Indian men and women who were near the cacique sang, and they said, according to what was afterward found out, that this was the greatest demonstration of rejoicing, for a ceremony of allegiance, that that cacique or any other of that country, could give the Adelantado, because the brothers of the cacique danced, and his uncles and aunts; for there were some who danced among those principal Indian women, who were 90 or 100 years old: they all showed themselves to be very pleased and joyful.

After the cacique's principal Indians had finished dancing and singing, the Indian women who were outside, at no time left off doing so, until the Adelantado departed, and they sang with much order: they were seated in groups of 100, and 50 of them would sing a little and stop, then another 50 would sing. The cacique asked the Adelantado, after his principal Indians had danced, whether he wished that they should bring the food for him and his Christians.

16 A length measure of 1.85 yards.
The Adelantado told him that it was too soon; and he carried with him many written words in the Indian language, which were very polite and friendly, in order that he might speak to Carlos's principal wife and to his sister; and thinking that she who was there was the principal wife of the cacique, he said to her in her own language the words he intended to say to her: the cacique and the Indians were surprised: they thought that the paper spoke, and what was written thereon; and the cacique thought that the Adelantado believed that that woman was his principal wife, and he told him through the interpreter they had there to understand each other, who was one of the Christian captives, that that woman was not his wife, but his sister; the one whom he had given the Adelantado for a wife.

Then the Adelantado rose and took her by the hand, and seated her next to him, between him and the cacique, and through what he carried written, he said many things to her in her language, reading from the paper; whereat they rejoiced, and all the Indian men and women who were there. This Indian woman was about 35 years old, not at all beautiful, although very grave, so much so that as time went on we were all surprised at this, because it seemed as though they had trained her from birth to know how to keep silence.

The Adelantado begged the cacique to bring his principal wife there, which he did: she was 20 years old, very comely and beautiful, with very good features: she had very fine hands and eyes, and looked from one side to another with much gravity and all modesty: she had a very good figure, for even among the many Indian women who were there seen to be handsome, not one was as handsome as that one: her eyebrows were very well marked, and she wore at her throat a very beautiful collar of pearls and stones and a necklace of gold beads: she was naked like the other, the cacique's sister, with only a covering in front.

The Adelantado took her by the hand, and seated her between the Indian woman and the cacique, and in her language he spoke many words to her, which he carried written on the paper, whereat she rejoiced greatly; and especially because, the Adelantado having been told that she was very beautiful, he carried written words in her own
language in order to tell her that; whereat she showed herself not to be displeased, and she blushed very prettily, looking modestly at her husband. The cacique showed that he regretted having brought his wife, and ordered her to depart, thinking that they wanted to take her from him: [but] the Adelantado told him through the interpreter not to send her away, and asked that she might dine there with him, because he had many things to give her; and presently he had the gifts brought, and he had the sister of the cacique clothed in one chemise and his wife in another, and he bestowed green gowns on them, one for each, wherein the cacique's wife looked very lovely. He gave them beads, scissors, knives, bells and mirrors, wherewith they were much pleased, especially at the mirrors, when they looked at themselves therein; and the Indian men and women who were there, laughed greatly at this; and he gave the cacique another garment, besides that he had already given him, and other trifles for barter, two hatchets and two machetes; and likewise made gifts to the principal Indian men and women who were there, without their making any kind of return to the Adelantado for this, or his asking for any. He ordered the food to be brought, which consisted of many kinds of very good fish, roasted and boiled; and oysters, raw, boiled and roasted, without anything else. The Adelantado had had landed one hundredweight of very good biscuit, one bottle of wine and one of honey, and divided them among all those principal Indians; and through the interpreter he commanded them to bring bowls, to give them some of that honey: he gave them some sweetmeats and quince preserves, and the Adelantado ate from a plate of his own, the cacique's sister from another, and the cacique and his wife from another, but on a table and tablecloths, and with napkins which the Adelantado had had brought: they well understood that our food was better than theirs.

When the repast was being carried in, the Spaniards blew the trumpets which were outside, and while the Adelantado was eating, they played the instruments very well and the dwarf danced: 4 or 6 gentlemen who were there, who had very good voices, began to sing in excellent order, for the Adelantado was very fond of music and always

11 A cutlass; a knife for cutting cane.
tried to take with him the best he could; when the Indians heard it they were strangely pleased. The cacique told the young girls to stop singing, for they knew little and the Christians knew much: their music ceased: the cacique prayed that until the Adelantado should depart, his men should always keep on singing and playing the instruments: the Adelantado commanded that it be so. They finished [eating] and the table was removed: then he said he wished to go.

The cacique told him that he should go and rest in a room which was there, with his sister, since he had given her to him for his wife, and that if he did not do this the cacique's Indians would be scandalized, saying that the Adelantado was laughing at them and at her and held her to be of little account; and there were in the pueblo more than 4,000 Indian men and women.

The Adelantado showed a little perturbation, and said to him through the interpreter that Christian men could not sleep with women who were not Christians.

The cacique replied to him that his sister and he and his people were Christians already since he had taken him for his elder brother.

The Adelantado answered him that before they became Christians they would have to know and believe many things; and he told them who God was, and His wisdom, power and goodness, and that all creatures who are born on earth must worship Him alone, and do that which He commands; that we Christians who do so, go to heaven when we die here on earth, and that there we live forever without dying and we see our wives, children, brothers and friends, and we are always joyful, singing and laughing; and that they, because they do not know this, do not serve nor worship God, but serve a very warlike and deceitful cacique, who is called the devil; and that when they die they go to him, and are forever weeping, because sometimes they are very cold, and other times they are very hot, and nothing satisfies them.* He gave other very effective reasons, and Carlos replied that as he had observed from the customs of the Spaniards, their music and their food, that their religion was better than his, he wanted to adopt

* From here to the next asterisk, Barcia's account fills in, as there is a leaf missing in the original manuscript.
it; and that he had given him his sister, and was giving her to him again, that he might take her away; wherefore the Adelantado was compelled to take her to the harbor with some Indian men and women to accompany her; and after consulting on the matter with his captains, he pointed out to them that it seemed to him there might come a break with the Indians [if he did not], and that would not do because of the Adelantado's plans, for since he had left Spain everything showed that his particular interest was that the Indians should turn Christians; and the captains answered him that it was fitting that much attention should be paid to her and the Indian men and women who were with her, and that that night there should be much music and rejoicing, and they should baptize her and give her a name; and the Adelantado should sleep with her, for this would be a great beginning to their trusting him and the other Christians; that all those Indians and the caciques, their neighbors, would [then] become Christians, and that in no manner was it advisable to do anything else.

The Adelantado showed much... to try some other expedient, but as none could be found, it was decided that thus it should be done.

Then the Christian women who were there bathed and clothed her, and she appeared much better than before, when she was naked; and the captains praised her intentionally as being very beautiful and dignified: they gave her the name of Doña Antonia, and that of San Antón to the harbor, on account of the prayers the Adelantado had made to Señor San Antón in order that he might meet with those Christian men and women whom he started out to seek. The supper, the music and the merriment took place on land, in some tents the Adelantado had had set up, near his ships, [and lasted] until two o'clock in the morning. The Adelantado had her seated next to him, and said many things to her through the interpreter which pleased her, and she answered so discreetly and in so few words, that we all of us marvelled at her. Her Indian women and the Christian women danced with the soldiers, and when that was ended, they conducted her to rest on a bed which the Adelantado ordered to be made, and he followed her; and in the morning she arose very joyful and the Christian women who

18 The missing word is probably desire.