spoke to her said that she was very much pleased; she at once sent 2 Indian men and 2 Indian women to her brother in a canoe which was there, and he came to see her, and the Adelantado received him very well, and told him that he desired that he should have a large cross erected near his house, and that every day in the morning the men, women and children should go to kiss it and worship it, and take it for their greatest idol; he told him the reason for this, and that he should give up the other idols he had.

The cacique said that he would do so, but that he could not give up his idols so soon; [he would wait] until his sister should return, and the Indians who were going with her, and they would tell him what they ought to do.

This cacique was called Carlos because his father was so called, and his father gave himself that name, because the Christian captives he had, told him that the Emperor Charles was the greatest King of the Christians.

The cross was made and the Adelantado had it set up there, and with much music and great devotion he knelt before it and kissed it, and all the Spaniards who were there did likewise: then the Indian woman, Doña Antonia, did so, and most of the men and women she had with her: then Carlos and his Indians kissed and worshipped it.

This Carlos had a captain, a very good Indian, who was married to a sister of Carlos and Doña Antonia, and the cacique had married the captain’s sister; and the Indians apparently, according to what the Christians said, feared that captain more than the cacique. He told his cacique that he must be the captain of that cross, in order that all of them should do what the Adelantado commanded, [that is,] to go and kiss and worship it in the morning; and so the Adelantado delivered it to him and with great reverence he carried it on his shoulders to the canoes; and then the Adelantado proceeded to embark, taking with him Doña Antonia, 3 Indian men, 4 Indian women and 7 Christian men and women who had been prisoners, because 2 of the women had already gone back to the Indians, from the longing they had for the children that they were leaving behind. He gave orders to Estébano

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de las Alas to sail for Havana with that Indian woman and her people, and to deliver her to Treasurer Juan de Ynistrosa, who was the lieutenant for the Adelantado in that island for the matters pertaining to Florida; and he wrote to him to give orders that she and those who went with her should be taught the Catholic faith, and given all good treatment, and be made Christians when the time came; that within 3 or 4 months he would return to Havana, to take her back to her country; and that he [Ynistrosa] was to give as many supplies as he could, in cattle and poultry, to Estébano de las Alas, and then dispatch him with the 5 vessels he was commanding, to the Fort of St. Augustine, where the Adelantado would expect him, to go against the French, who, it was said, were in Guale and Santa Elena; for he himself was going with 2 brigantines, to discover all that coast near Los Mártires, to see if he found any good harbor in the Bahama Channel, and to try to promote friendship with the caciques and pueblos he ran across; and thus they departed with a prosperous wind: Estébano de las Alas with 5 vessels, for Havana, and the Adelantado with 2 brigantines, along Los Mártires to St. Augustine.

CHAPTER XV.

Mutinies at Santa Lucia and St. Augustine.

And 8 days after he left the port of San Antón, which is where Cacique Carlos lives, he entered a harbor he found in the Bahama Channel; and setting out the next day, he sighted a vessel, went to reconnoitre her, and saw that she was a caravel which they had sent from Havana to Campeche to be laden with maize. He reached her, went on board and found more than 130 persons, and the whole ship laden with maize, and [their narrative] was in this manner: That Fray . . . de Toral, Bishop of Yucatan, and Don Luis de Céspedes, Governor of that island [sic], had loaded that caravel with maize and chickens, honey, sandals¹ and other things, on receiving letters from the Adelantado and at his request; and when she was returning to Florida she

¹ Alpargatas, sandals made of hemp.
put in at Havana; and Juan de Ynistrosa, as lieutenant of the Adelantado for matters pertaining to Florida, dispatched her at once and ordered that she should go to the country of Ays and the harbor of Santa Lucia, where Captain Juan Vélez de Medrano had remained, when the Adelantado left him there with the 13 Spaniards and Frenchmen and went with the 2 boats to Havana to seek supplies. The Adelantado had already succored him with the cargo of a patache; [he had said that the caravel] should leave them a certain amount of fanegas\(^2\) of maize, chickens and meat, and should go on to St. Augustine with the rest; and the master of the caravel in order to do so, wished to unload the maize when he arrived at Santa Lucia; whereupon the soldiers seized the master and prepared to make off with the caravel, and because Captain Juan Vélez de Medrano wished to prevent this, they tried to kill, but wounded ... de Ayala, his ensign, who was likewise preventing their making off with the caravel; and they had all embarked on board of her and were on their way to Havana, and had already sailed more than 15 leagues.

The Adelantado placed some of his gentlemen on board of her, and he went on to St. Augustine, where he entered with her on the 20th of March, '66. He found the camp master very ill, and without supplies; there had been very great mutinies there, and in the Fort of San Mateo; and there was so much connivance between certain captains and most of the soldiers, that as neither the camp master, who was in St. Augustine, nor Gonzalo de Villarroel, in whose charge was the Fort of San Mateo, could stop this, they overlooked some things which were unwisely provided and ordered; and Captain Diego de Maya having arrived at the end of December with a vessel of 80 tonelos laden with cassava, meat and cattle, although all together it was but little, and having left part of it at the Fort of St. Augustine, he went with the rest to San Mateo, and at the entrance of the bar, the ship and supplies were lost [and] the crew escaped. The Adelantado was notified at once, and in the beginning of February he sent them a frigate of 70 tonelos laden with maize, wine, oil, cloth, canvas, some ship tackle, rigging and oakum, all this having a value of more than

\(^2\) In this sense, a grain measure of about 1.60 bushel.
six thousand ducats: from one merchant alone he bought four thousand ducats' worth of those materials and supplies, on credit for one year; and when the frigate arrived at St. Augustine, the soldiers mutinied one night, before she was unloaded; seized the camp master, the magistrates and the regimiento\(^3\) that were there, and the keeper of supplies; spiked the artillery, and appointed a sergeant major and an electo\(^4\) to govern them; for they [sergeant majors] were respected and obeyed. They remained 6 days in this manner, at the end of which they embarked on the frigate with 130 men; and because she could not hold all the mutineers, the sergeant major they had appointed, went about indicating those who were to go on board, who had to be [taken] from those who had been the most rebellious and treacherous to his Majesty in that rebellion. That sergeant took with him to guard his person 12 arquebusiers and 6 halberdiers; and while he was on the point of going on board with those men who were guarding him, the camp master succeeded in freeing himself, and he unbound 8 others, soldiers and officials of his Majesty's regimiento; and without being heard they took their arquebuses and went and set upon the mutineers: they deserted the boat, and the camp master took her: when they saw they were lost, they surrendered and gave up their arms to him: he had them put into custody: he impeached them; there was a disturbance among some men, friends of those whom they held prisoners there who had not been able to find room on board the frigate; and the camp master having had their confessions taken, caused the sergeant to be hanged during the night, before daybreak. Pity was felt for the electo whom he had likewise made prisoner, because he was foolish, and had accepted that office very much against his will: therefore in the morning the camp master released him and the others whom he held in custody, giving them a reprimand; and in order that the frigate might not be able to set sail, he armed a patache he had there, to go and attack her; this having been done, he took on board the patache with him the soldiers in whom he had the most trust, and began to fire at the frigate so as to sink her; the rebels cut the cable which held her at

\(^3\) Municipal council.

\(^4\) In ancient times, the man elected a chief of mutineers was called an electo.
anchor, hoisted the sails and fled: the camp master returned to the fort, disarmed the patache and put his men under orders and discipline, as before.

The Adelantado felt great sympathy for the camp master, on seeing him so weak from the shock he had had at finding the soldiers wanting in respect to him: it was the 20th of March when the Adelantado arrived there: Bartolomé Menéndez likewise, who was governor and alcaide of that fort and district, and the brother of the Adelantado, was in bed, very ill; when the mutiny broke out, he had been away with some soldiers, seeking maize from the Indian enemies; if he had been there at the time, they would have killed him, for he was disliked. Everyone was sad and distressed, and it was a great pity, but with the coming of the Adelantado they were cheered at once, and the sick became well, for the caravel brought much maize and honey, many chickens and sandals; and the same day Estébano de las Alas entered the harbor, returning from Havana, where he had left Doña Antonia and the other Indians; for he, also, brought supplies, meat and cattle, and great was the satisfaction, merriment and rejoicing of them all.

CHAPTER XVI.

Menéndez Returns to St. Augustine March 20th, 1566.¹ Troubles with Deserters, Conspirators and Indian Enemies.

At the time this meeting took place in St. Augustine, there was also one at San Mateo, for it was found out that there was a preconcerted arrangement and an exchange of letters going on from one fort to another between some captains, officers and soldiers, who ordered that the camp master be asked with all insistence that a vessel in the manner of a galley, which the French had left on the stocks at San Mateo, should be finished, and that a patache which was in St. Augustine should be prepared; [the mutineers would then carry off] the first supply ship that might arrive, and would leave the country with the 3 vessels, seizing the soldiers and captains who should want to go,

so that it might be thought they were taking them away by force; and if any captain remained of those in the mutiny, it seemed to them that he would be compelled to depart when any other ship came, because with so few people they could not defend themselves from the Indians if they should be enemies. In this manner his Majesty would keep them in service for remaining there at the time of the mutiny, and during the departure from the country afterward, so that all of them would not perish; and all secrecy was to be observed in carrying this out, for they were afraid of the camp master, and of not being able to bend to their wills the governors and alcaldes of the forts, who were Bartolomé Menéndez, the brother of the Adelantado, in St. Augustine, and Gonzalo de Villarroel in San Mateo; but the camp master, although he realized that making ready the ships was wrong, did not dare to do anything else, because the men were already stirred up: he therefore told them that they themselves must prepare the letter to be sent to San Mateo; that he would sign it; and so it was done: he wrote another, [however], to Gonzalo de Villarroel, and he had it sewed in the back of the messenger's coat, so that they should not find it; and therein he told Villarroel that he must hinder the completion of that vessel as much as he could, because he had not been able to do otherwise than give the letter the men demanded, as they were in a disturbed state of mind; and that if the soldiers at San Mateo should want to rise in rebellion, he must deal with them as best he could, and according to circumstances, and in such manner that they would not kill him. These mutineers began five days after the Adelantado departed from St. Augustine, to go to Cape Canaveral to search for the Frenchmen who had fortified themselves there, as has been said; for he left St. Augustine for the Cape on the 26th of October, '65; and from the 1st of November there were letters written from one fort to the other, wherein they began to seek an excuse to leave the country, there being no reason or foundation for this beyond its appearing to them that they had no tidings of any gold or silver in that land, and most of them held as impossible the victory which God Our Lord had given the Adelantado over the Lutherans. From Santo Domingo and the island of Cuba they could pass on to Peru and New Spain, which
were rich and fertile lands, and that was the principal object they had
had in setting out from Spain; and as they had not stopped at those
islands, and God gave the victory against the Lutherans, in casting
them out of the country, and those Spaniards did not want to be con­
querrors and colonizers there, it seemed to them that this was a good
opportunity to say that they were leaving it on account of lack of
food, but this they should have settled at the beginning—for the Ade­
lantado had taken away the 300 men for the second fort, whom he
afterward left with Captain Juan Vélez de Medrano; and the sail­
ers who manned the vessels he sent for provisions, and the dispatch boat
he sent to Spain; they had enough until the end of March, with the
great quantity of very good fish, large oysters, cangrejos2 and palmet­
tos, and a quantity of oil which the Adelantado had landed; and before
the Adelantado captured the enemy’s fort, he had arranged that a
pound of biscuit should be given as a ration, which was very good in a
[campaign for] conquest; and meat, at times; dried peas, at others,
cooked in oil and vinegar; fish, at others. And in the name of all, Juan
de San Vicente replied to him. He was a soldier of Medina del Campo,
who arrived in Seville at the time the Adelantado wanted to sail for
Florida; he came from Italy because of some quarrel he had had there,
and brought a letter of introduction to the Adelantado from Luis de
Quintanilla, wherein he told him that San Vicente was a very good
soldier, and it appeared to him that he might show as much spirit and
valor as Captain San Vicente, his brother; he begged the Adelantado
to honor and favor him whenever it might be possible. The Adelantado
was a great friend of Luis de Quintanilla, and this was the first thing
he had asked of him: he had heard that Captain San Vicente, in Italy,
the brother of this soldier, was a good captain: it appeared to him that
this man might also make a good one, so he appointed him a captain;
and he appointed as his ensign a comrade of his called Fernando Pérez,
who came with him; he was likewise from Medina del Campo, and
they had been together in Italy.3

2 Cangrejo usually means crawfish; at that time in the West Indies, it also
meant crab.
3 Cf. p. 74.
And that captain and his ensign said to the Adelantado: “A ration of one pound of biscuit to each soldier, is little.”

And although the Adelantado demonstrated with sufficient reasons that it was enough, and that considering the need and the circumstances, more biscuit ought not to be given out, San Vicente insisted, and some of his soldiers came up to say that one pound per ration could not be endured; on this account the Adelantado decided to make it a pound and a quarter, and he remained very suspicious of that captain and his ensign.

And after the capture of the Frenchmen’s fort, which burned down with the supplies, there yet remained more than one hundred casks of flour: many of the soldiers increased their eating, without system, and not wanting their rations made smaller. By the middle of February the supply gave out, and they would have wished this to happen much sooner, as was afterward seen; then a frigate of 70 toneles arrived, laden with provisions, and they mutinied and went off on board of her; then other supply ships arrived, which the Adelantado brought from St. Augustine, and the men at San Mateo, who had risen in mutiny, had not yet departed: he informed them at once of the sufficient amount of supplies which he was bringing, and that there were tidings of Frenchmen coming upon them; [he said] that he forgave them the disturbance, and if he had been with them he would have left the country before then, so as not to perish from hunger; that he did not consider them at fault for having mutinied to depart from the country, when they had no food; but now that there was enough, it would be great treason against his Majesty to abandon the two forts he had in that land; especially because, if there remained a few Christians only, the Indians would immediately become enemies, and there were some Frenchmen among them who would train them to make war on those who might remain in the forts, for in order to serve his Majesty and be loyal vassals to him, some of the soldiers would not want to abandon them. They received that message, which the Adelantado sent by a notary public. He notified them on behalf of his Majesty, that under penalty of being considered as traitors, they should return to the fort, observe that order and comply therewith:
they replied that they did not know how to cultivate or plough, and that land was not good for anything else; that they wanted to go to the Indies to live like Christians, and not remain to live like beasts in Florida.

On that vessel there were over one hundred and twenty soldiers who had risen in mutiny: 35 of them, who were gentlemen, answered that they wished to return to the fort, to serve their King and obey their General; that they wanted to be landed, as they were about two leagues from the fort: the rest said they did not wish to be: those 35 replied, saying that the others risked trouble for themselves in deserting, for in whatever land of Christians they might come to, they would have to tell the authorities about the mutiny, and how they had departed from the country leaving the fort abandoned, and within it only the alcaide, Gonzalo de Villarroel; his ensign, Rodrigo Troche; Don Hernando de Gamboa; Rodrigo Montes, a first cousin* of the camp master, and four of his relatives; Martín Ochoa, his ensign and sergeant, with other friends; and Captain Francisco de Recalde and a servant of his; 21 persons in all.

Francisco de Recalde's ensign and sergeant, who were the chief heads of the mutiny, had done much harm to the Indians and killed several, especially three principal ones, causing the rest to go to war, although up to then they had been so friendly with Saturiba and his vassals, that many of them intended to come and settle near the fort. The rebels knew that if they landed the 35 [gentlemen], as they asked to be, the Indians would kill them; and in order that this might happen the more quickly, the mutineers stripped them of their clothes.

* From here to the next asterisk, there is a break in the manuscript, supplied as usual from Barcia's *Ensayo Cronologico*.

* Laudonnière's *Satouriona, Dominique de Gourgues' Satiroua*. Saturiba appears very prominently both in the French and the Spanish chronicles of this period; there are several amusing descriptions of him. His district was the southern bank of the St. Johns, at the mouth of the river.

“One enters the harbor [the river mouth] to the east, southwest, and on the left hand there is a pueblo of 25 large houses, where in each one live eight or nine Indians with their wives and children, because [those of] one lineage live together. The pueblo is called Saturiba: by this name do the Lutherans call the cacique who is the lord of the place.” Barrientos in García, p. 43.
and robbing them of whatever they had, took them on shore in a boat; and as they began to walk toward the fort, the Indians sallied forth very fiercely and with their arrows killed them all.

Gonzalo de Villarroel was ignorant of all the aforesaid, and as he was short of men, he sent Rodrigo Troche, his ensign, with one soldier, to ask succor at St. Augustine thinking the trail was very safe, as it had been up to then; but they had scarcely left the fort when the Indians met them, calling them: “Christians, brothers and friends.” The two did not conceal themselves from them, and they were taken unawares, and carried prisoners to Saturiba, who knew Rodrigo well. He commanded at once that his breast be split open and his heart taken out, and that the same be done to the other man, in order to terrify the rest with these cruelties, and make them leave the country as the mutineers had done.

The Adelantado was then in St. Augustine, preparing to go on his voyage to Guale and the province of Santa Elena, having already picked out 300 soldiers with their captains, and among them Juan de San Vicente; and before dispatching to Havana the two pataches of Juan de Llerena and Diego de Miranda, he placed a caravel in readiness to bring supplies and munitions from Santo Domingo; but as he knew the boldness of the mutineers, and that his pity and tolerance had made them worse, he ordered a vessel to be made ready to go and fight them: at the time of embarking, Juan de San Vicente came and asked permission to leave on the caravel with his ensign.

The Adelantado refused to grant it, to avoid the bad example, telling him that the proper thing was to drive the French out of Guale and fortify themselves [there], for it was a good land; this he could not do with less than 300 men; and it was necessary to send 100 to Gonzalo de Villarroel, and to leave another 100 in St. Augustine with the camp master; that as soon as the reinforcements he expected from Spain arrived he would give him permission to go. The captain answered that he and his ensign were in ill health and insisted on its being given him.

The Adelantado ordered them to draw up a petition, and they presented it without delay, more than 100 soldiers presenting others, each
signed by 12 or 15 of them. The Adelantado, on seeing the disturbance, denied all the petitions; but as he feared that a greater mutiny might break out in that fort if he absented himself in Santa Elena, and that the lives of the camp master and the other officials might be in danger, he notified Captain San Vicente and others that leaving the country did not befit the royal service, and that during his absence in Santa Elena, they must not stir up rebellions or mutinies, but each one must attend to his duty; that when soldiers arrived from Spain, he would give leave to depart to all who asked for it; that if they wanted to name men to go to Santo Domingo in the caravel, thence to sail for Spain for their private affairs, they should do so at once; but that if, after those had left, the rest intended to mutiny, deserting the forts, they should tell him so; that it was less harmful to leave the forts deserted than in the care of such wicked men. They must understand, [however,] that they were to go as prisoners to Seville, under the orders of the royal officials of the Casa de la Contratación; and if they did not wish to go through that disgrace, but remained in the fort like good soldiers, he would thank them very much; but if they created any riot, they would be condemned to death, their property would be confiscated, and they would be declared traitors.

They replied that if permission were granted them, it should be as his lordship wished; and [the Adelantado] seeing that his efforts were of no use, and would only result in the ruin of the others; and [believing] that the caravel would only have room for 50 or 60 men, gave them leave to embark; but they accommodated themselves in such wise that more than 100 went on board. The pilot was given orders to take them to Puerto Rico and return to St. Augustine with supplies: the penalties already mentioned were intimated to those on board, to which they agreed; but they had hardly left land when they rose in mutiny on the caravel and compelled the pilot to set sail for Havana, whence they thought they would obtain better opportunities to go to New Spain, Peru, Honduras or Campeche. A contrary wind arose, and not wishing to land in Puerto Rico, they made their way to Santo Domingo and Puerto de Plata, having first drawn up a
statement that they came by permission, each one swearing falsely for the others.

The pilot informed Francisco de Ceballos, who was governing there, of the truth of the matter; but he took no notice thereof; on the contrary, he, the authorities and the rest of the residents received the mutineers very well, although they knew that they had royal cédulas in that town and in other parts of the Indies, to the effect that they were to arrest all the soldiers coming from Florida, and send them back there; but the judges and governors would not comply with them as they appeared to them very rigorous; and if they arrested anyone, they immediately freed him, allowing him to go to Peru or New Spain, as did several of these conspirators; but most of them died without going any farther, for there came in the caravel* many more than she could carry: they were very crowded, the heat was intense, the voyage usually took 10 or 12 days and they were over thirty in making it, and the food and water gave out; it was a miracle that any remained alive.

The Adelantado was advised of all this, and that the other 120 soldiers who had risen in St. Augustine, and sailed in the frigate laden with supplies, had arrived there, and been shown much honor and courtesy: he gave notice to the Royal Audiencia of that island, that since those soldiers were not sent back to him in Florida, in accordance with his Majesty’s cédula, they should be sent to Spain, for his Majesty would be very ill served by their going farther into the Indies. Most of them passed over to those parts to which they wished to go; and others presented themselves before the Audiencia, saying that they had served very well, were not in fault and should be set free; especially Captain San Vicente and his ensign; a thing which caused surprise, and was a very bad example for the larger number of soldiers who remained in Florida in his Majesty’s service; for his Majesty through his royal decrees, which were presented before that Audiencia, did not command that the cases pertaining to Florida should be tried, but did expressly stipulate that any person setting out therefrom without license from the Adelantado, should be taken back,

* The manuscript follows from here.
well guarded, as a prisoner; and although these decrees were presented before, and made known to, all the judicial authorities throughout the Indies, out of 500 soldiers who left Florida as mutineers, and 500 others who started for that country and remained in the Indies (the whole thousand of whom the Adelantado brought from Spain at his expense, even giving them passage and ship-stores), they have not, up to this day, sent ten of them back to him in Florida. The Adelantado informed his Majesty of everything, so that he might dispatch his decrees all through the Indies, that the deserters might be sent as prisoners to these kingdoms, and that there should not be so many malcontents in those parts. In order to justify their weakness, most of them, wherever they went, and those who returned to these kingdoms, spoke ill publicly of the country and the Adelantado’s enterprise; of his officials, relatives and friends who remained there, and the hunger, hardship and dangers that might come to pass; and this was the reason that many persons [changed their minds], who at the beginning, when the Adelantado sailed, had wanted to go and settle there; and because of these tales the deserters told, and the letters written by Captain San Vicente, Fernando Pérez, his ensign, and others who had shown weakness—letters as prejudicial to the Adelantado as to his agents and officers, in speaking ill of the country against all reason and truth—not a man was found willing to go and live, settle and conquer there. These letters and tidings gained so much credit throughout all Spain and the Indies, that it was said that many condemned the Adelantado for persisting in wanting to settle that land; to such an extent that it was said that several of his Majesty’s ministers held him to be in fault; and they did not take note that all those who said these things had only gone along the sea-shore, through swamps and sandy stretches, guarding the forts and making war against the Lutherans; and that there was not one of them who had gone one league inland in Florida.
CHAPTER XVII.

The Adelantado Goes to See Cacique Guale and Cacique Orista,
April-May, 1566.

Because, as has been said, Captain Juan de San Vicente and his ensign had departed from the Fort of St. Augustine with the hundred and odd persons in the caravel, to go to Puerto de Plata, the Adelantado changed his mind, for instead of taking 300 men to Guale and Santa Elena, he left 150 in the two forts of St. Augustine and San Mateo, with the people who were already there, and sailed with the other 150 in two brigantines and a ship of 100 toneles, directly to Guale, and on the way he stopped at San Mateo, left the men and provisions and visited that fort: his arrival greatly rejoiced Gonzalo de Villarroel and those who were with him: in St. Augustine and San Mateo Captain Francisco de Recalde was being held much to blame for the mutinies that occurred, and the general investigation which was made among those who were inculpated resulted against him more than anyone else.

The Adelantado did not wish to punish anyone: he sent the report of the proceedings to his Majesty, and Francisco de Recalde as a prisoner to the Casa de Contratación of Seville: the report arrived, [and] it was found that Recalde’s offence had been taken out of it; and when he reached Seville, he did not present himself at this court. On seeing that he was not blamed in the report, he begged favors of his Majesty, who delayed granting them until the arrival of the Adelantado in Spain.

It was held for certain that the Adelantado would order Captain Francisco de Recalde to be punished because of his offence which [had] appeared in the report, and because in his coffer certain letters were found from a priest of Seville, called Licentiate Rueda, who had been at the Fort of St. Augustine, and one of the chiefs of the mutineers, and who, owing to the statement he made before the authorities of the city of Santo Domingo, taking other mutinous soldiers as wit-
nenses, now serves as cura\(^1\) in that city, and they show him much courtesy.

The Adelantado, leaving the two forts of St. Augustine and San Mateo protected as well as he could, consistently with the [little] time and supplies he had, left San Mateo for Guale at the beginning of April of the said year 1666. Having sailed for 3 days, he discovered a harbor; he got into the 2 brigantines with about 50 persons, leaving Estébano de las Alas with the other 100 in the vessel of 100 toneladas: the Adelantado went to reconnoitre a harbor he saw at a distance and disembarked there, near the pueblo, about a quarter of a league therefrom: many Indian archers came running, and one Christian among them, likewise naked, with his bows and arrows; he spoke in Spanish and said: “What people are you [and] whence come you, brothers?” The Adelantado replied: “We are Spaniards,” and asked him: “Brother, who are you and what are you doing here?”

The man answered: “I am a Frenchman, although I was born and reared in Cordova: about 13 years ago I escaped from the Castle of Triana, where they held me prisoner, and fled to France: there, in Abra de Gracia,\(^2\) I married: since then I have always journeyed on the sea. I was 6 years in Brazil, learning the language of the Indians there in a harbor of that country. Captain Villagañon\(^3\) was there, who was Captain-General of that country, and he went to France to ask for succor, and a Portuguese armada arrived there, and captured the fort he had. Some died and others remained alive: I escaped to the Indies, for I know the language very well: afterward a French vessel came there and aboard of her I returned to France: then the Admiral of France got a fleet together: he sent me therein as an interpreter to this land, and Juan Ribao came as Viceroy of all Florida; he was the General of the armada: I came with him, and I am here as interpreter.”

Then the Adelantado asked him the name of that country and the cacique thereof.

He said that it was called Florida; that the lord of that land, and

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\(^1\) The priest of the town.

\(^2\) Havre de Grâce; Havre.

\(^3\) Villegaignon.
the village which appeared near by, was called Guale; and that he sent him to find out what people these were, in order that if they should be Spaniards, the Indians should not let them disembark, for that cacique and his people were friends of the French. The Adelantado said to him: "We do no harm to the Indians; on the contrary, we do them good; and we do not want to go to their land against their will; come hither, brother, for it grieves me to see you go about in this manner." And he gave him a new shirt, a pair of breeches, a hat and some food; and said that if the Indians wished to eat, they were to come there.

The interpreter called the Indians, and presently they came: they sat on the sand, and were given biscuit, which they ate very willingly, and some dried figs: there were about 40 Indians. The Adelantado made them all some gifts, whereat they took much satisfaction, and they praised the Adelantado by signs, asking him to come to their home.

The Adelantado asked the interpreter what they were saying; he replied that they were delighted with the Adelantado, and were requesting him to come to their pueblo to see their cacique.

The Adelantado told the interpreter to tell them that so he wanted to do; and he immediately took with him 30 arquebusiers and 4 halberdiers, and landed, leaving the 16 men to guard the brigantines; and the Indians had no fear. As he walked to the village the Adelantado spoke with the interpreter, and inquired of him who had left him there. He said that 6 months before, Juan Ribao had been shipwrecked with part of his armada, while he was going in search of General Pedro Menéndez, who came to that land to make the Indians Christians; and Juan Ribao, and the captains and men who were with him, belonged to the new religion; and all the Frenchmen who came in that armada, and the Admiral of France, wanted all the Indians to become Lutherans of the new religion, like themselves, and bring them to submission so that they might render obedience to the King of France, and [the

4 The Guale Indians were probably the tribe of the Yamasee, in the province of the present Georgia, north of the Timucua, and south of the Orista (Audusta, Edisto) Indians in the region which is now South Carolina.
French might] keep galleys there, to capture the fleets and vessels that passed on their way from the Indies. The armada was wrecked in a storm and the men escaped: its General sent a boat with a son-in-law of his, 2 other captains and 12 sailors, and the interpreter among them, so that they might go to a fort they had, to ask that 2 or 3 vessels be sent for the men, for these ships were in the harbor near the fort; and entering the harbor where the fort was, the friendly Indians told them that other Christians like themselves had captured their houses and property and the fort, and had slain the men who were therein. Presently a Frenchman ran down to the shore, who had escaped to the Indians, and he related all that had passed; and then the people in the boat decided to go to Santa Elena, because the Indians there were their friends, and they [the French] knew the country and the language, as 6 years before they had built a fort there [which they had for] 3 or 4 years, and because the captain did not wish to go to France, his soldiers killed him, built a ship, and sailed in her to England. A servant of this dead captain fled to the woods among the Indians, and remained with them, so that they should not slay him, [thinking] that he would tell in France what had happened: the Indians married him to a daughter of the cacique. *

That interpreter also told the Adelantado the state of affairs in Guale; that its cacique was at war with Orista and held 2 of his principal Indians as prisoners, whom he would shortly put to death, as he did the other enemies he captured; and that there was little food in the land, as there had been no rain for 8 months. Many other things the Frenchman said, until they arrived at the pueblo. The cacique, already an elderly man, came forth to receive them peacefully, with

5 Charlesfort was built four years before.
* Supplied from the Ensayo Cronologico until next asterisk.
7 Barrientos tells this part of the story much more clearly than does Merás. Ribaut’s party, instead of going to ask the help of Orista (or Audusta), who had been so good to Ribaut’s first settlers at Charlesfort, near Port Royal, in 1562, stopped on the way and remained with Cacique Guale, who drew them
two of his sons and some of the principal Indians. The Adelantado went through the same ceremonies with him as he had with the rest, and the cacique rejoiced greatly at seeing him, because the Frenchman easily persuaded him that the Adelantado and his men were good people who did no harm to the Indians, but much good. They spoke on some matters, wherein the French interpreter served well; and among other things, the cacique asked the Adelantado how it was that he was at war with the other Christians and killed them, when they were all from one land. He replied to him that they were false Christians and his enemies, being rebels against God, the church and their King, who was a true Christian; that others as wicked as they, wanted him [their King] to be a false Christian, by force of arms, and that if the King of Spain, the Adelantado's master, had not helped him to chastise them, they would have wrested the kingdom from him, to bestow it on one of their false sect; that those whom the Adelantado had slain, deserved a death more cruel, because they had come there, fleeing from their country, to deceive the caciques and their Indians, as they had deceived the good Christians, in order that the devil might carry them off. They against their will into his war with Orista; so that the latter, from being the champion of the French, became their enemy and the friend of the Spanish.

“During the walk [to Guale's village], the Adelantado asked the interpreter how he came to be there, and he said that it was six months since Juan Ribao had been shipwrecked with all his armada, while he was going in search of General Pero Menéndez: and he told him that fifteen Lutherans had arrived there, and had lived five months in a house which they built; and having built a boat, they had embarked therein fifteen days before, and went to Terranova [Newfoundland], to sail thence for France by the fishing vessels. He learned likewise from the man that the Cacique of Guale and Santa Elena were waging a cruel war on each other, and he of Guale had taken with him those fifteen Frenchmen to fight him, although they went with reluctance because Orista, for thus the Cacique of Santa Elena was called, was an acquaintance of theirs. Going in the very boat of the Lutherans, [the Guale Indians] ran across four Indians in a canoe, two of them Orista's relatives, whom they captured: and while returning to Guale with this prize, two of them threw themselves overboard, and swam back to Santa Elena, and related to the cacique that the Christians who had been in his land six years before, had taken them prisoners in their bark. [The interpreter also told the Adelantado] how Cacique Orista had sent to threaten the Lutherans, who within two days wanted to kill those principal Indians.” Barrientos, “Vida y Hechos,” in García, Dos Antiguas Relaciones, p. 103.
were so fiendish and pernicious that no one could have any dealings with them, until they were silenced by being put to death; that was the reason for making war upon them, until such a wicked and pestilential sect was destroyed. But the Adelantado did not think that the cacique had reason for the cruel war he was making on Orista, since they were all of one same country, and the wrongs which had been done were hardly worth the whipping of one subject. Guillermo the interpreter explained all the aforesaid very clearly to the cacique, and the cacique answered the Adelantado that he wanted to be a true Christian, not a false one, like the other Christians who had been there. The Adelantado told him the power and goodness of God, and all that he told the other caciques; and that he should order his people to come and hear the chants which the youths recited; that that was the Christian doctrine; and to come and kiss the cross; and afterward

* Guillermo, the Adelantado’s own interpreter, was Guillaume Rouffi or Ruín, who remained at Port Royal after Ribaut’s soldiers deserted his colony and set sail for France, in 1562. Guillermo married a daughter of Orista. Cf. pp. 167 and 174.—“Relación e información de los Franceses que han ido a poblar en la costa de la Florida, San Cristóbal de la Habana, 9 Julio, 1564.” MS. A. G. de I., 54-1-15.—Basanier, L’Histoire Notable de la Floride, ff. 74b-75a.—Hakluyt, A Notable Historic, f. 39b.

“The Adelantado brought with him a French Catholic called Guillermo, who had come [to the West Indies] in a frigate which Diego de Mazariegos, Governor of Cuba, had sent along the coast of Florida to see if Lutherans were there: and they brought him back with them, because the French had left him there to learn the language. The Governor, by a cédula of his Majesty, delivered him to the Adelantado: this man understood that the other interpreter in Guale was a Lutheran: and the Adelantado, being advised of this, and talking with the other interpreter, understood it to be thus: and he told him that he and his soldiers had come to that land to make the Indians become Christians: that if he had reason to think he [the interpreter] was a Lutheran, they would kill him: that he should tell everyone he was a Catholic and advise the cacique that the Lutherans who had been there were false Christians, and they were true Christians, servants of God, and had come to slay those Lutherans who were artful and false Christians: and that if the cacique and his people wished to be Christians, the Adelantado would defend him against his enemies. The interpreter, from the fright he had, said all this very well to the cacique and his principal Indians: Guillermo the Frenchman being present.” Barrientos in García, pages 103-104.

* The manuscript follows from here.
they would tell him what those chants meant. He said he would do so; and the Adelantado had a large cross set up there; and all of them having gathered and sung the litanies, kneeling, they went to kiss and worship the cross: the cacique and all the Indian men and women did likewise. The Adelantado prayed the interpreter, since he was born in Spain, to turn to Catholicism and the faith of Jesus Christ, [saying] he would cherish him greatly and give him many things; and if he wished to go back to France, he would send him to Spain, because he could make his way to France from there; but if he wished to remain where he was, he could do that: he replied that there he wanted to be and remain, and that he wanted to become a Christian and a Catholic, and that he would work to the end that the Indians might become so.

The Adelantado thanked him very much, and told him that next day in the morning they should discuss with that cacique a peace between him and the Cacique of Santa Elena, and that he [the interpreter] should be the good mediator for that purpose, so that they would not kill those two principal Indians of Orista. He promised him to do what he could in the matter; and the next day in the morning, the cacique and all the Indian men, women, boys and girls, when they saw that the Christian doctrine was being repeated, hastened there and knelt: after which, the soldiers went to worship and kiss the cross, kneeling, and the cacique and all the Indians did the same: then the Adelantado took the cacique by the hand, led him to his house and requested that he would have his principal Indians summoned, as he wished to speak to them; and thus about 10 or 12 came.

The Adelantado said through the interpreter that he had learned that they were at war with the Indians of Santa Elena; that he begged them to be friends; that he would go to treat of peace, and they should give him the two Indians they held as prisoners in order to take them with him; and if the Cacique of Santa Elena did not want to be their friend, he would bring them back. Guale spoke with his Indians, and replied that he could not consent, because Orista would take the Indians from him, and would not want to be his friend.

It had not rained for 8 months in the country, and their corn fields and farming lands were dry, whereat they were all sad, on account
of the little food they had. The Adelantado told them that God was angry with Guale, because he was at war with Orista and two other caciques, and because he slew the men he captured, and this was the reason God would not give him water; that he would leave him 2 Christians as hostages for the 2 Indians, and that if he did not make peace with Orista and bring Guale back the 2 Indians, he could kill those 2 Christians.

Cacique Guale spoke a while with his men, and replied that he was satisfied, and the Adelantado told him that next day he must depart. All the Indians, big and little, showed great pleasure at [the prospect of] that peace the Adelantado wished to conclude, for the Indians of Santa Elena were more powerful than they, and slew many Indians of that Cacique Guale. The Adelantado presently went to breakfast with his soldiers, and took with him the cacique and his sons he had, very good fellows, and went 2 leagues from there, to see the island and the lay of the land.

The cacique, being old, turned back after going half a league: the Adelantado found the land very good and fit for raising grain and grapes. When he returned to the village, the cacique asked him to show him the 2 Christians who were to remain with him: he did so at once, because in his own mind he had already picked them out: the two soldiers were silent, without answering anything, appearing very sad: the cacique said that he did not want those two Christians: that he was to take the two he wanted: the Adelantado said that he was satisfied, and the cacique should choose them immediately: he pointed out a nephew of the Adelantado, called Alonso Menéndez Marqués, and Vasco Zabal, the ensign of the royal standard, for he saw that they sat at the Adelantado's table, and it was thought likewise that the interpreter might have told him that those 2 were among the most important men.

The Adelantado said that he was glad that those should remain; that they were both his captains, among those he loved the most, and he would leave each of them a Christian to wait on him, and the youths who were to teach the Christian doctrine.

The cacique showed himself very joyful at this, and went to em-
brace and thank them in his manner, in order to do them honor. They became very sad, saying that it was not right to remain with those savages.

The Adelantado replied that he would willingly stay; that they had nothing to fear; that he prayed them earnestly to try through that interpreter to make them understand what bestial lives they led, and how good it was to be Christians: then he told the cacique to treat his Christians well, and if he did them harm, the Adelantado would order that he and all his people should have their heads cut off; because he would make peace and bring principal Indians from Santa Elena to conclude it, and would return as soon as he could.

The cacique was frightened, and if the Adelantado had urged him, he would willingly have given to him the Christians with the Indians, on condition that the Adelantado should leave his country; for the Indians stood in great fear of the Adelantado; they had already had tidings of the victories he had won over the French Lutherans, for in that land, news of the things that happen travels fast from cacique to cacique: he replied to the Adelantado that he would treat his people well, and that neither he nor his men would kill them, if the cacique of heaven did not do so. Thus the Adelantado departed for Santa Elena the next day, in the morning, leaving those 6 Christians there as hostages and teachers of the Indians: he embarked in his brigantines, went out to sea at midday, discovered a vessel, went toward her, recognized her as being his, at anchor: he boarded her: very great was the pleasure of Estébano de las Alas and his men on meeting the Adelantado, for they had feared much that he was lost; it was 4 days since he had left them to reconnoitre the harbor, which should have been a delay of 2 or 3 hours only, and that night was stormy. They sounded the trumpets for joy and discharged the artillery: the two Indians whom the Adelantado was taking to Santa Elena, and a principal one from Guale, who went along to be present at the peace negotiations, were much frightened at the noise, saying it gave them much pain in the head and heart; that the Spaniards should sound the trumpets, that was a good thing; but not to fire any more.

The Adelantado commanded it should be so, and told Guillermo,
the interpreter, to talk to the Indians, since he understood them, and gladden and cheer them as much as he could; and he charged all the soldiers to treat them very well.

The Adelantado ordered the ship to hoist anchor, and sailed for Santa Elena with her and the 2 brigantines: then he related to Estébano de las Alas, and most of the men, what had happened to him, whereat they were all pleased, although they regretted greatly that Alonso Menéndez Marqués had remained behind, as he was much beloved by all. They arrived at Santa Elena the next day in the afternoon, for the 3 Indians they brought knew the harbor very well: they entered it at the place to which the Indians guided them, for they were skilful pilots, being accustomed to going there fishing in their canoes. Having entered the harbor and gone a league up the river, the Indians ordered that the large vessel should anchor, as she could not go farther, and they should embark in the brigantines and go to the village: the Adelantado did this, and embarked in the brigantines, and took with him Estébano de las Alas and about one hundred persons. He arrived at the pueblo of the Indians, which was 2 leagues from there, and found it burned, and [the inhabitants] beginning to build a few houses again. A few Indians appeared, much disturbed, with their bows and arrows and ready for war: the two Indians the Adelantado had with him, told him that those others thought that he and his men were some of the false Christians, who had captured them in the war, while helping Guale; that they would land and tell them we were very good, and enemies of those people, and the reason we came. The Adelantado let them go, and within half an hour he landed with all his people, leaving 10 in each brigantine to guard it; and the Indians immediately came to the Adelantado without bows and arrows, with great humility and making great demonstrations of respect, and many ran off, some by one trail, others by another: this was to notify the pueblo, the caciques and captains, that they should come to see the Adelantado: then they built a great fire, and brought a quantity of shell-fish, and

9 The Point of Santa Elena, according to Lowery, was Hilton Head, South Carolina, very near the site of Charlesfort. Cf. Spanish Settlements, 1562-1574, p. 440.
the Adelantado and his men took supper. Many Indians came running, all of them to speak with and pay their respects to the Adelantado, for the love and joy these Indians showed him was something to see. That night came three caciques, subjects of Orista, and told him that he should go to a village one league distant from there, as Orista and others of his captains and caciques would come there to eat: next day the Adelantado did this: Orista came and 2 other caciques and captains: great was the delight of all on seeing Guillermo, the interpreter, to whom Orista had given a daughter of his for wife, at the time he first came there. The Adelantado ordered him to tell Orista to gather his principal Indians, because he wished to speak to them: this was done: the Adelantado commanded Guillermo, who was the interpreter, to tell them (the 3 Indians being present whom the Adelantado had brought with him) all that had passed in Guale concerning the making of peace. Orista said that he would reply presently, and he spoke with his Indians more than half an hour, discussing the subject, without their wanting Guillermo to be there, so that he should not understand what they were treating of; and then they called the interpreter, to whom they talked a very long time, and afterward the interpreter told the Adelantado, on behalf of Orista, that it would please him much to make peace, as the Adelantado ordered him to do; and he would be even more pleased to become a true Christian, with his people, as those of Guale wanted to be, for those people were not to be better than they; that his Indians, whom the Adelantado had brought from Guale, had told them who God was and how good it was to be Christians; that they wished very much to have the Adelantado live in that land and to take him for an elder brother, in order to do what he should command them; and that they would hold the false Christians as enemies, since they were those of the Adelantado. He replied to them, showing there was great joy in his heart, that he loved them much, but did not think he could live in that land, because it was bad, and his own was better; and that if Orista’s Indians killed his Christ-

19 Orista was Laudonnière’s friend, Audusta. Guale, in L’Histoire Notable and in A Notable Historie, is called Ouadé, this being the French spelling of the Indian name.
tians, and if they did any harm, the Adelantado would at once kill him who did it, because the Christians he brought would not hurt the Indians; that he would like to live there solely in order that they might learn to become Christians, so that when they died they might go to heaven. He told them the power and goodness of God, and all that he told the other caciques, that they might become Christians; they showed great satisfaction at hearing him, and repeated* that they wished to become Christians, praying him to leave them someone to teach them: they begged for this with so much earnestness, that the Adelantado offered to leave a man; but [said] that if Orista or his people killed him, he would return to make war on them, and cut off the heads of all of them.

Then came many Indian women, carrying maize, fish boiled and roasted, oysters and many acorns; and the Adelantado ordered biscuit, honey and wine to be brought, and divided it among the Indians, who drank the wine well, but ate the biscuit dipped in honey-water, better, because they are very fond of sweets. When the meal was over, during which there was great merriment and rejoicing, they seated the Adelantado in the seat of the cacique, and with various ceremonies Orista came to him and took his hands: afterward the rest of the caciques and Indians did the same: the mother and the relatives of the two slaves he had brought from Guale, caressed him very much and wept for joy: then they began to sing and dance, the caciques and several principal Indians remaining with the Adelantado, and the festivities and demonstrations lasted until about midnight, when they withdrew. The next day, the Indians issued many proclamations in the village, in order that no one should do any harm to the Christians, and the Adelantado said to the cacique that he was going in search of a good site where he could make a settlement for his Spaniards, for it was not right that they should live among the Indians, and quarrel afterward. The cacique told him of one, near the place where the vessel was anchored, and he embarked, without any suspicion whatever, with his wife and 12 Indians, in the Adelantado's brigantines; and they all

* The passage from here to the next asterisk, is supplied from Barcia's Ensayo Cronologico.
went very gaily together as far as the spot where they were to land. There the Adelantado gave the Indians their midday meal, and the Spaniards landed to go to Orista’s village, where they were very well entertained that night. Next morning the cacique took the Adelantado to a very large house, and seated him in his seat, going through the same ceremony with him as he had in the previous pueblo, and ordering the same proclamations to be made. They spent the following day in reconnoitring the site to begin the settlement, and it appeared to all of them very good and pleasant; and without losing time, the Adelantado, Estebano de las Alas and other captains marked out the fort, and its erection was committed to the charge of Antonio Gómez, whom he had taken with 50 soldiers, and others who were sailors, from the ship of the fleet which was in Havana, so that up to the end of May they could be with him in Florida; and they served him very well.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The Fort of San Felipe Is Built at Santa Elena. Cacique Guale and the Rain.

A fort was built of stakes, earth and fascines, and the Adelantado called it San Felipe. He named Estebano de las Alas as governor of it and of that land and left him 110 men: then he sent the vessel with 20 on board to Santo Domingo, to be laden with supplies so that the fort might be provisioned, for he had little to leave there. He likewise dispatched a brigantine to St. Augustine and San Mateo, to give news of everything.

He sent some Indians inland to tell the caciques that very good Christians were there; that they did no evil or harm to the natives, but much good, giving them presents; and that Orista and others had taken him for their elder brother, to defend them from their enemies, whereat all the Indians were very much pleased and desired to be Christians; that if those others wished to do the same and to see him, he was waiting for them to give them some of the things he had brought. Within 15 days, the time he tarried there, many caciques came to visit him,
and he paid them many attentions, so that they took him for their elder brother, to command them at his will: they told him they wanted to be Christians and he should give them a cross, and some of his men, to teach them in their country.

The Adelantado did so, giving to each cacique 1 or 2 Christians, and tools for erecting a cross in each village, admonishing them that every day, morning and evening, they should repeat the Christian doctrine and worship the Holy Cross, in order that the Indians might learn it and imitate them. To all the caciques he gave presents, and a hatchet to each one, with which they were very much delighted, and they gave him well tanned deerskins and some pearls, of which there are many in that country, although they are of little value because they are burned.

Taking his leave of Cacique Orista, who was very joyful at having Spaniards [left with him], the Adelantado set out for Guale, taking 20 soldiers, 2 of Orista's principal Indians to negotiate the peace, and Guillermo the interpreter. In Santa Elena* remained Estébano de las Alas, and the men who were with him, who were pleased because there appeared to be a very good beginning of turning the Indians into Christians, which, next to driving the Lutherans out of the land, was all that they desired; but they had great fear of lack of food, for they had very little remaining; and much work to do in finishing their fort, for each day they expected French Lutherans, who had had tidings of the Adelantado's successes against them, on sea as well as on land, in destroying them and eradicating them from that country, so that they should not teach their evil faith to the Indians. To avenge the injuries they had received from the Adelantado and his men, and return to settle in that land, they were getting together a great armada; but hearing that the Adelantado was awaiting them, they did not dare go in search of him, and went to the island of Madeira, which belongs to the King of Portugal, and took it and sacked and robbed it, and returned to France. Even if the Indians had been willing to give food to Estébano de las Alas and his men, they had none, for it had not rained for many months. The Adelantado arrived in Guale, with 20

* The manuscript continues from here.
persons, on May 8th: Guillermo landed first: he told the cacique about the peace that had been concluded, and to Alonso Menéndez [Marqués] and Vasco Zabal and the other 4 Christians who had remained with him, he told all that had happened to them, whereat they were much pleased. The Adelantado disembarked: he was very well received by Guale and all his Indians: then Orista's two Indians told Guale their errand to Guale, while he had his principal Indians gathered round him, whereat he showed much satisfaction, he and all his people, big and little; but he regretted that the Adelantado had started a friendship with those of Santa Elena, and that those caciques had taken him for an elder brother; and presently he said to the Adelantado through the interpreter that he was glad about the peace, and that he wanted to take him for his elder brother, to do what he should command him; that they wanted to be true Christians, not false ones, like the French who had been there; and that the Adelantado should leave him people to live in his land, since he had done so for Orista.

The Adelantado told him that he had none, but would soon send him some.

The cacique replied that he should leave those who were already there, as they were good men, to teach them to be Christians, and that afterward he could send him more.

The Adelantado said that he would answer him next day in the morning.

Then the cacique told the Adelantado that since he was already a Christian, and had made peace with Orista in order not to anger God, he should beseech Him to give him water for his maize fields and other cultivated lands, as it had not rained for 9 months.

The Adelantado told him that God was very angry with him, because He had ordered him to do many things and he had not done them, and on this account He would not give the cacique water, although he besought Him to do so.

The cacique turned away very sadly and went to his house: the youths who had been left to teach the natives the doctrine, hearing of this, went to the cacique with the interpreter and told him not to be sad; that they would supplicate God that it might rain.
The cacique gave them many *gamuzas*, which are dressed deerskins, and some maize and fish, all of which they took, and went off with them.

When the Adelantado heard this, he ordered that they should give up everything, and be stripped to be whipped. The cacique heard this, and came to the Adelantado very sadly, saying that he was deceiving him, since he would not ask the cacique of heaven for water, and wanted to whip the boys because they had asked Him for it; he begged that they might not be whipped, and no longer wished that they should pray God for water; he said he was content that it should rain when God willed.

The Adelantado said to the cacique that those youths were rogues; that they tricked him and told him those falsehoods in order that he should give them the food and deerskins, and that God was angry with them because they were rogues. He ordered that the boys should not be whipped, and said that if the cacique wished to be a true Christian, God would sooner give water to him than to the Adelantado, or to the youths who told him falsehoods in many things.

The cacique replied sorrowfully that he had been a true Christian since the very first day; and he went directly to the cross which was near there, and knelt before it and kissed it, and turned to the Adelantado and said to him through the interpreter: "Behold, how I am a true Christian."

This occurred at about 2 o'clock in the afternoon: not half an hour had gone by when there came thunder and lightning, and it began to rain very hard, and a bolt struck and splintered into many pieces a tree near the village: all the Indian men and women ran to it to take the broken branches and bring them to their houses, to keep them: then they all went with the cacique to the Adelantado's house, some of them weeping, some throwing themselves at his feet, and others taking his hands, imploring him to leave Christians there.
CHAPTER XIX.

The Adelantado Causes the French Interpreter to Be Put to Death Secretly.

Alonso Menéndez [Marqués], the Adelantado's nephew, and Vasco Zabal had told him that the French interpreter who was there was a Lutheran and a great Sodomite; that when the Adelantado had departed thence for Santa Elena, he went to the Indians [telling them] they should kill them; and that through Guillermo he could inform himself of what was happening in this [matter], so that he [Guillermo] could speak with 2 Indians with whom he [the interpreter] was living, one of whom they said was the cacique's eldest son.

The Adelantado made inquiries with great secrecy; and learning that it was the truth, and that they saw him [the interpreter] spit on the cross many times before the Indians, scoffing at the Christians, he spoke with Alonso Menéndez [Marqués], his nephew, and with Vasco Zabal, the ensign of the royal standard, who knew this and had seen it, and told them that it was not well to leave that cacique and his people disconsolate, since they wanted to become Christians, and that it would please him greatly if they would remain there, as before.

Vasco Zabal replied that he would sooner the Adelantado had him beheaded, than be left there.

Alonso Menéndez [Marqués] said that he would much regret staying, but since his lordship ordered it, he would do so, on condition that that Frenchman should be killed, or the Adelantado would take him with him; for otherwise nothing could be accomplished, and the Indians would slay him and those who remained with him; that the son of the cacique had more authority than his father, and liked that interpreter very much; that if they [the Spaniards] killed the interpreter [openly], the Indians would be angered and again break out in war. This reasoning appeared very good to the Adelantado, and because he trusted Guillermo, and held him to be a Catholic, he called him: he told him to tell that interpreter that he should go with him to Santa

1 “While the Indians were worshipping the cross, he spat on it, and committed other heinous sins.” Barrientos in García, p. 111.
Elena, for they can go there in a canoe in 2 or 3 days, by a river, without putting out to sea; that Estebano de las Alas, who was a very good captain and liberal, would make him many presents; and that he would bring back a gift to his cacique, for the Cacique of Santa Elena had sent word to him to send for it. The interpreter was pleased at this, and without knowing that the Adelantado knew it, he came to beg him to give him a letter for Estebano de las Alas so that he might know him, and to give him a hatchet, because he wished to set out to get the present which the Cacique of Santa Elena was to send to his Cacique Guale. The Adelantado told him to give him paper and ink, that he would write the letter at once; and so he did, writing one very favorable to the interpreter, and giving it to him.

Then Cacique Guale dispatched that interpreter in a canoe, with 2 of his Indians, that they might go and return immediately. The son of the cacique showed much sorrow because the interpreter was going, and prayed him, weeping, to return at once. The Adelantado sent a soldier with a letter to Estebano de las Alas in order that he might have that interpreter killed with great secrecy, as he was a Sodomite and a Lutheran; and if he returned alive, the Indians of Guale who desired to be Christians, would not as quickly become so; that he might greatly entertain the two Guale Indians who went with the interpreter; that Orista should do likewise, giving them a handsome present, sending another to Guale, and offering him his friendship; and that Estebano de las Alas should feign great regret because the interpreter did not appear, [saying] that as he was a false Christian, he must be hiding in the woods so as not to return to Guale, and so that if some ship should come from his country, he might go back on board of her. And therefore Estebano de las Alas had him garroted with great secrecy, and the two Indians returned to Guale; and the Adelantado had already departed for San Mateo and St. Augustine, leaving in Guale his nephew, Alonso Menendez [Marques], and the 4 Christians who were with him: he took away Vasco Zabal.

That rain which fell in Guale lasted 24 hours, and extended over the whole island, which may be 4 or 5 leagues in length.

Here Merás calls Guale an island; also on pp. 171 and 182. Guale was a

The Adelantado started for San Mateo in the brigantine, sailing along the waterway between the islands and the coast, without going out to sea. Indians in canoes came out to meet him, saying: “Spain, friends, brothers, we want to be Christians”; because these Indians had heard what had passed in Santa Elena and Guale, and how it had rained in this latter island.

The Adelantado would land and make them some gifts, and had many small crosses erected, one for each village; and he proceeded in this way until May 15th, when he arrived at San Mateo, where he found the men of that fort well, but in great need of supplies, and all the Indians on the war path. He learned that twice at night they had shot arrows at the sentinels at St. Augustine, and had killed two soldiers and set fire to the powderhouse, the roof whereof was thatched with palmetto leaves; in this way the fort was burned; and at night they shot their fire arrows at the magazine, and thus the fire started, 1 country of the Indians on the mainland; probably the eastern part of the present Georgia, south of the province of Santa Elena. In Spanish manuscripts of the XVII century it is sometimes called the “peninsula” of Guale. The region of that name included one of the coast islands, probably Amelia Island. Brinton, Fairbanks, Gatschet and Shea make the mistake of applying it to Amelia Island alone, considered apart from the mainland. James Mooney suggests that it might have been given to St. Simon’s Island, off the coast of Georgia (The Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. X, pp. 384, 385). Cf. also Velasco’s Geografía de las Indias, 1571-1574, p. 169, La barra de Guale. Velasco gives the name to Amelia Island. Lowery thinks that Guale was on the mainland (cf. Spanish Settlements, 1562-1574, p. 348, note); and that at a later date the name may have been applied to Amelia Island. The confusion on the subject can be explained by the fact that the larger part of it was situated on the mainland. This is made plain by the unpublished colonial records of Florida.

1 For an illustration of this mode of warfare, cf. Le Moyne’s picture, No. XXXI, in Brevis Narratio, Part II of T. de Bry’s Collectiones, Francoforti ad Moenum, 1591.
and because there was a breeze it spread in such a manner that it was not possible to control it, and the powder and munitions, cloth and linen, flags and standards, those of the Adelantado as well as those won from the Lutherans, were all burned without anything escaping. [He also heard] that the camp master and all the others were in the greatest difficulties through lack of provisions, and the peril from the Indians, who went about in ambush in small groups so that, when any Christian came forth in search of palmettos or shell-fish, they shot their arrows at him. As these Florida Indians are agile, and feel certain they cannot be overtaken, they are very bold in coming near the Christians, and at other times lying in wait for them; and when the Christians retire, they are in much danger from the Indians, for they shoot their arrows with such force that they pass through the soldiers’ clothing and coats of mail, and the Indians are very quick in shooting. Once a soldier has discharged an arquebuse, he cannot reload it before the Indian, on account of his fleetness, comes up with him and fires 4 or 5 arrows at him; and while he is putting in the powder to prime it, the Indian withdraws through the woods and high grass (for that is very good land), and watches for the instant when the powder takes fire; then he stoops, and as he is naked, he crawls along through the grass, and when the arquebuse is fired, he rises in a different spot from where he was when the soldier sought to take aim at him; and they are so dexterous in this, that it is a thing for admiration. They fight in skirmishes: they jump over the bushes like deer: the Spaniards are far from being as swift as they are; and if the Christians follow them, and the Indians are afraid, they go to places where there are rivers or swamps, for there are many near the sea-coast, as they swim like fish, lifting with one hand their bows and arrows above the water, so as not to wet them; and once on the other side, they begin to shout to the Christians and laugh at them; and when the Christians retire, they turn back to cross the river and follow them until they reach the fort, sallying forth from among the thickets and shooting arrows at the Christians, for when they see an opportunity they do not miss it. On this account very unsuccessful war can be waged against them, unless one goes to their villages in search of them, to cut down the plantings
and burn the houses and take the canoes and destroy the fishways, which is all the property they have, so that they must leave the land, or keep their word with the Christians so that the caciques and Indians may make friends with them, [the Christians] giving them good treatment when they go to the Forts of St. Augustine and San Mateo; [but] if they are not given food, clothes, iron hatchets and articles for barter, they go away very angry; they declare war, killing the Christians they find. They are very treacherous Indians, and in this manner, by treason under cover of friendship, the Indians have slain more than 100 soldiers at these 2 Forts of St. Augustine and San Mateo, where the French lived: these are the most treacherous.

The Adelantado was much disturbed at the burning of the powder-house and fort, supplies and munitions, and at the great need and danger wherein were the camp master and his brother Bartolomé Menéndez, and all the other people.

He hastened to St. Augustine, bringing some men, munitions and provisions, from the little there was in San Mateo: he took with him Gonzalo de Villarroel, who was very ill as a result of past hardships, to send him to Havana to be cured: he left Vasco Zabal, the ensign of the royal standard, in his place.

He arrived in St. Augustine on the 18th of May: great was the happiness of those who were there: they wept for joy at the mercy Our Lord was granting them in succoring them at such a time with the arrival of the Adelantado, who related to them the pleasant events which had occurred in Guale and Santa Elena, and the good beginning that had been made so that the Indians might become Christians, whereat they all greatly rejoiced: he ordered the supplies and munitions he brought to be unloaded, and the rations to be given them.

He entered into counsel with the camp master and captains. It was resolved that they should move from there and erect a fort at the entrance of the bar, where now stands the Fort of St. Augustine, because there the Indians could not do them so much harm; and that they should place the artillery in it, because from there they could defend themselves better against any vessels of enemies, which might want to enter the harbor; and when that had been done, if the supplies
did not arrive within 15 days, the Adelantado should go in search of them in three brigantines he had there, for of the ships he sent in charge of other persons, none had ever returned. This decision was made public: it gave great satisfaction to all, although it caused them much concern that the Adelantado should leave them, as they heard that the camp master had to go to San Mateo and stay there during Villarroel’s absence, for so the soldiers who remained there had requested, and the Adelantado had promised it to them.

Thereupon that day and the following were spent at the bar: they began to mark out their fort and build it with the greatest diligence, and they worked from 3 in the morning, before day, until 9, and from 2 in the afternoon until 6: they divided the men into 4 squads and the work into 4 parts, and threw the dice to see what part of it fell to each squad. So great was the order, in building this fort in a short time, for fear the Indians should fall upon them, that it was a pleasure to see it: about 170 persons worked at the fort; in 10 days it was in a reasonable state of defence, and the artillery in position. No ship arrived with supplies: they ran the risk of all perishing from hunger: so it was agreed unanimously that the Adelantado should sail at once for Havana with the 3 brigantines, and take back the 100 persons, most of whom came from the flagship of the Fleet of New Spain, and the Adelantado was obligated to take them to Havana during May; and as there remained but 70 rations, not more, [the settlers] could sustain themselves a few days until some vessel arrived. And so the Adelantado embarked with the hundred men in the 3 brigantines, at the beginning of June; and the day he departed, he met with one of his own ships, of 60 toneles, laden with provisions, under the command of Francisco Cepero; and aboard of her came Captain Diego de Maya, very ill. If the Adelantado had not met with them at that moment, they would have run on the shoals; and the vessel was already in a place where, if she had not cast anchor, she would have been lost, for they believed that they were entering over the bar, and it was high tide, and they were in 2 fathoms of water, and at low tide there was none left. The sea ran high, and when the ship loosened her cable, she struck, and the Adelantado boarded her and so exerted himself
that he brought them to safety: otherwise everything would have been lost, and all those who came in her would have been drowned. He wrote to the camp master that he should divide those supplies between the forts, and go at once to San Mateo, and not leave that fort until the Adelantado's return, which would be immediately, in the shortest time; that they should load with maize a brigantine that remained to them in the harbor, and send her to Estébano de las Alas, and this was done; and when that ship had been unloaded he was to sink her in order that 20 more men she brought should stay in the fort (for they were very good people), and that the soldiers might not mutiny, not having a vessel with which to leave the country: and so the camp master did it.

It was great good fortune that the Adelantado should have met with that ship, because otherwise, all those who remained in the fort would have perished of hunger.

And the Adelantado set sail at once and arrived in Havana with the two brigantines, within 8 days; the other could not turn her bow, for the wind and the sea were very high and she put in to the island of Santo Domingo.

The Fleet of New Spain had arrived in Havana 2 days before, with Licentiate Valderrama, of the Royal Council of the Indies, on board; he had been sent as visitador of New Spain by order of his Majesty, and having accomplished his mission, was now returning to Spain.

When the Adelantado landed in Havana he went to church with his soldiers in order to say prayers, and before entering his inn he went to call on Valderrama, as it appeared to him that by finding him there he could quickly succor the forts with men and supplies, for more than 300 soldiers had fled there from Florida. Valderrama lodged in the Governor's house, and thus he and the Adelantado spoke to each other standing, not sitting, saluting and embracing each other very courteously. The Adelantado told him that he considered it very good fortune to find him there, as he had to go back within 4 or 5 days;

2 A visitador was an official who, by special commission from the King, made an investigation into the conduct of any persons, either while they were in office or after they left it.
that he begged him as a favor to name him an hour so that he could talk with him and give him a detailed account of matters pertaining to Florida, of the great need in which those forts were left, and that his Majesty kept 500 men there at his own expense; and although he [the Adelantado] had brought plenty of supplies for the Governor of that island, the Governor had not aided him with anything.

Valderrama replied that every time the Adelantado might desire that they should meet, he would be delighted thereat.

And the following day the Adelantado found out when Valderrama was going to church, and he went likewise; and mass being over, he told him that he was in debt in that country, on account of the supplies he had bought for Florida, and that for 8 months he had been providing for the soldiers his Majesty kept there, who were left in extreme need of food and peril from the Indians; that those of the region where were the Forts of St. Augustine and San Mateo were all on the war path, there were few soldiers in the forts, and most of them were ill and misused and very discontented, owing to the great hardships and dangers they had had and were having every day; that there had been mutinies and double-dealing among some of the captains, wherefore more than 400 soldiers had gone from those 2 forts; that there were more than 500 in that island of Cuba, not only of those who had set out from the forts as rebels, but also of those who came from Spain to Florida, who because of a storm had become separated from the Adelantado, had landed on that island and had remained there, without desiring to go to Florida; that although he had many times had recourse to the Governor so that he might succor him with some supplies for his Majesty's account, and order that those men be gathered and delivered to him, the Governor had been unwilling to do this; that since he [Valderrama] was there in order to inform his Majesty of everything, he begged him to make a report; and in order that the Adelantado might return soon, to succor him with 2 or 3 thousand ducats of those his Majesty carried in that armada; that if his Majesty were not pleased thereat, he would pledge himself to return them; and that Valderrama should enjoin on the Governor that of the soldiers [recruited] for Florida who were going about
that town and island, he should give the Adelantado 200 to fortify the 2 forts of San Mateo and St. Augustine. He related to him what had happened in Guale and Santa Elena; how the Indians of that land were all his friends and wished to become Christians, and how he had built a fort and left Estébano de las Alas therein, with 110 soldiers, and the title of Governor of that district; [he said] that he wanted to depart the next day in the morning for the country of Cacique Carlos, and take back to him his sister who was then in Havana, because the principal Indian men and women she had brought with her had died, and she had but two left, and if she and they were to die, he would think that the Adelantado had had them killed; and that cacique was the ruler over much land, Los Mártires and the Bahama Channel, where the vessels of the Indies run the greatest danger in that navigation; that it was very important to have him for a friend and try to make him and his Indians turn Christians, and that he would return within 10 or 12 days, in which time the 200 soldiers could be assembled there, and the supplies he would have to take.

Valderrama answered him drily that he could not give the money; that as for the soldiers, he would speak to the Governor and recommend to him [to give them]; and that he held no commission to make the report the Adelantado told him he should make concerning the Governor's ill treatment of him in order that he might assure his Majesty of the truth.

Those of us who were present saw the Adelantado change color from grief, and he said to Valderrama:

"Señor, during the time until I return from Carlos, your Honor will realize how you can serve his Majesty in this, and will do me the favor which is called for; because it is in your Honor's hands to do that which I beg, in order that Florida may not be lost, that the souls and natives thereof may be saved, and his Majesty's purpose be furthered, which is to prevent the Lutherans from setting foot in that land, and to endeavor to implant the Gospel therein."

Valderrama did not reply to him, and presently the Adelantado very sorrowfully took leave and went to his inn. He told Juan de
Ynistrosa, the Treasurer of that island, and his lieutenant for matters pertaining to Florida, the little help he had received from Valderrama, and everything which had passed with him: and Juan de Ynistrosa consoled him greatly, saying:

"Señor, I have done all I could for your lordship with my means and my person, and now I shall try to do it with those of my friends. Let not your lordship be discouraged: go tomorrow to Carlos, as you have decided, and I will send to look for some maize, meat and cassava that you must take for the men's food; and meantime I will solicit Licentiate Valderrama, for since he is of his Majesty's Council, and sees how essential it is to give this aid, wherein his Majesty will hold himself to be very well served, I consider it as certain that he will do this."

The Adelantado thanked him, and charged him so to do.

Ynistrosa told him likewise that the Indian woman, Doña Antonia, the sister of Carlos, was very discreet, and of such grave demeanor that she astonished those of the town; that she and a maidservant of hers, of whom she was very fond, had learned in a few days with great facility all the things pertaining to prayers and the Christian doctrine, so that she might be baptized, and therefore she had been already; that she had been very sad, because of the absence of his lordship, and the deaths of her Indian men and women, but that since they had told her that his lordship had come, great was her delight and pleasure, and she wept for joy; that it was needful to entertain her and make much of her; that as he wished to take her away, it was fitting that she should go saying much good of them, for he and the people of Havana had shown her great consideration in entertaining her and making her contented.

The Adelantado said to him that the day previous, when they had disembarked, he had sent to call upon her, and that that day he would go to see her, and would do so when he had finished dining, and so he did; sending her first some of the food he was eating and certain chemises and clothing which he charged the Treasurer to buy for him, that the Indian woman might be pleased and see that he was bringing something; and he took with him when he went to see her, many per-
sons of agreeable manners who accompanied her, and the music, for the Adelantado never went without it. He found the Indian woman sad, and although the Adelantado made her many gifts, she would not be comforted; he prayed her many times through the interpreter to tell him why she was sad: she told him that she wished that God might kill her, because when they landed the Adelantado had not sent for her to take her to his house, to eat and sleep with him.

As the Adelantado knew her to be such an important woman, of such good understanding, and knew that she was not lacking in sense, he said to her that when the Christians who wore that cross—for the Adelantado is a Knight of the Order of Santiago—landed from an expedition against their enemies, they could not sleep with their wives until 8 days had passed, and that he wished that these had gone by, because he loved her much.

The Indian woman half laughed and half cried, and said that if she could believe he was telling the truth she would be happy.

The Adelantado begged that she would become so, for he was telling her truth; and she said, beginning to count on her fingers, that 2 days were passed already, and she named the remaining 6; that when those were passed, she would go to his house. The Adelantado told her to do so, and he rose, and she embraced him with great rejoicing, and took his hands, and ordered the instruments to be played, because those she had not seen in that land and they appeared very good to her: the Adelantado remained there more than an hour cheering her.

A regidor of that town, called Alonso de Rojas, had charge of this Indian woman: his wife is a person of standing, who was godmother to this Indian when she was baptized, and loved her very much and taught her, and she related to the Adelantado many instances of her good understanding, wherein the Adelantado took much satisfaction. And he asked the Indian woman if she had any desire to go to her country: she said yes, and a very great one: the Adelantado asked her if she wished that they should go the next day: she said yes, and that she entreated him very much that they might go: the Adelantado told her

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8 "Que la acompañaron," Ruidiaz, La Florida, I, p. 228. If la is here meant for lo, the words would make sense and read: "who accompanied him."
that they would do so, and he took leave of her and went to his inn, which was near there.

It happened that night that midnight being passed, and the Adelantado being asleep in his room, with a lighted candle, that Indian woman said to a woman who was her friend, whom she loved greatly, one of those whom the Adelantado had brought from Florida, whom Carlos, her brother, held as a slave; that she was to go with her to the house of the Adelantado, because he had ordered her to go there. The woman believed this and went with her, and with the Indian woman her maidservant, and she [the Christian woman] knocked at the door of the Adelantado's inn: they opened to see who it was: they recognized her: she said that the Adelantado had ordered her to go there with the Indian woman, and the youth who opened the door, thinking she spoke the truth, let them in and took them to the Adelantado's room, where there was a lighted candle; and the Indian woman took it in her hand, and looked to see if any woman were in bed with the Adelantado, and afterward she looked around the bed, and underneath it.

The Adelantado awoke, although he was very weary and exhausted, and when he saw her with the candle in her hand, he was disturbed, and he spoke across to the woman who came with her, and said:

"What is this, sister?"

Doña Antonia seated herself at the head of the bed with the candle, to see what the Adelantado was saying: the woman replied to the Adelantado that Doña Antonia had told her that his lordship had ordered that she be brought to him at that hour, and that she, believing this, had done so.

The Adelantado, with a gay and amused countenance, laughing greatly at this, told her to tell Doña Antonia that he would be very glad if the 8 days were passed, so that she might lie there beside him. Doña Antonia said to him through the interpreter that she prayed him to let her lie in a corner of the bed, and that she would not come near him; in order that her brother Carlos might know that they had slept together, for in any other manner he would think that the Adelantado was laughing at her, and he would refuse to become a friend.
in truth of the Christians, or to become a Christian like herself, whereat she would be greatly grieved.

The Adelantado called a servant of his and told him to draw some things from a chest: they were 3 chemises, and mirrors and necklaces of glass beads for each of them; articles for barter which the Adelantado had had collected that day to take to her brother, Carlos; and she said to the Christian woman who came with her that she had intended, if the Adelantado had not awakened, to put out the candle and lie down beside him; and with this they went away satisfied.

Immediately after in the morning, the Adelantado went to embark, and took the Indian woman with him, and her maidservant, and 2 of the Christian women who had been captives: he started in a patache and a little shallop, with about 30 soldiers and sailors: he set sail with a prosperous wind: he arrived at the pueblo of Carlos on the third day: he anchored at the entrance of the harbor because as he brought few men, he did not dare go up to the town: then the Indian woman told the Adelantado that he should land with her and go to the pueblo.

The Adelantado said to her that in no manner could he do this, as it was necessary that he should go at once in search of Christians, so that they could live there, and teach her brother and the Indians of that country to become Christians, if they wished to be; that he promised to build her then a house in that country, in which she should live, in the pueblo of the Christians; and that the relatives of the Indian men and women who had died in Havana, would believe that the Adelantado had killed them, and would want to do harm to him and his soldiers: wherefore war with her brother might break out, and this he would greatly regret, because he liked him very much, for the love of her, and held him to be his brother; and that he wished to return at once. The Indian woman answered him that she was very sorrowful because the Adelantado did not disembark and remain a few days on land, until the 8 days were over, in order that he might sleep with her; but that she likewise feared that the Indians might feel warlike and might do him some harm; that she prayed him to come back as soon as he could, and bring Christians so that they might live there, and turn her brother and the other Indians into Christians.
Then there came many canoes, and Doña Antonia sent to tell her brother that she was there and that he should come for her: it was something to see the joy of the Indians at the sight of her, and others wept in grief for the Indian men and women who had gone away with her and died. Within 2 hours [came Carlos], with as many as 12 canoes, and two of them fastened one to the other, with decks covered with awnings of hoops and matting; and first he and the captain, his brother-in-law, got into the patache with the Adelantado, [then] 6 other principal Indians: it was something to see how Doña Antonia and her brother received each other, and the ceremonies they performed. The Adelantado ordered them to bring food and to play the instruments, and to give some maize and cassava to the Indians in the canoes, likewise some knives and scissors, mirrors and bells; and having finished dining, he made a present to Carlos for his wife, and gave another to the captain for him and his wife, who was the sister of Doña Antonia; and he gave to the principal Indians who were there, and to Doña Antonia some things which he had brought for her. The Adelantado asked Carlos if he wanted to become a Christian and cut his hair, and if he would like to go to a land of Christians as he had promised him; and that he should bring him the Christians he had said he would give him when he [the Adelantado] should return there.

Carlos replied that they must allow him to speak apart with his captain, and that then he would give him the answer; and so they spoke aside for more than a quarter of an hour, and they said to the Adelantado that for those 9 months Carlos could in no manner go to a land of Christians, nor could he turn Christian at that time so that his Indians would not rise against him and slay him; that when that time had passed, the Adelantado might return; and he justified [himself] with sufficient reasons.*

The Adelantado entrusted Doña Antonia to him and went back to Havana, where he found that some meat and cassava had been bought through the efforts of Juan de Ynistrosa; but he did not find any men, nor other things that he needed; wherefore he was compelled to have recourse to Don Cristóbal de Eraso and Don Bernardino de Córdoba,

* Supplied from here.
who were there and who had come from Tierra Firme and New Spain.*

He represented to them his dire necessity, and that he desired to return to Florida with some supplies which he did not have, nor had he the money to buy them; he thought that when they understood the straits he was in, they would speak to the Governor or to Valderrama; that from each of the more than thirty ships in the fleets and the armada, they could give him one hundredweight of biscuit and one jar of wine; and that with some maize and cassava he begged from his friends in Havana, from each one his share as charity, he could return to Florida with 50 or 60 sailors and soldiers he had there.

They succored him with nothing. The Adelantado, seeing this, and [remembering] how few people he had left in the forts, took a frigate, a brigantine and a little shallop, and put on board about 65 persons, 5 of whom were delivered to him by the Governor; and on a gold-embroidered suit and garments and other things, he obtained 500 ducats, with which he bought maize, meat and cassava. He sailed from Havana on the 1st of July, in company with the Fleets of New Spain and Tierra Firme, that were going to Spain, and immediately after that day he separated from them. He arrived in Florida, at Fort San Mateo, within 8 days, where he found a vessel anchored off the bar: he went to reconnoitre her: he learned that she had come from Spain with provisions. The men on board of her said that in the harbor of St. Augustine there were 14 other ships, and in that of Santa Elena 2 more, and they all came laden with supplies, and brought 1,500 infantry to succor those forts and the Indies, because there was news that French Lutherans were getting together a great fleet to come to those parts.

* The manuscript follows.

4 They were in command of the fleets.
The satisfaction the Adelantado and his people received from this was very great, for he came back much aggrieved at the little favor and help he had found in Havana, though so many servants of the King were there, in such prominent positions, and all gentlemen of high standing, who had given him no succor, alms nor charity; it was especially wrong since he knew the sufficient provisions and cédulas of his Majesty, to the effect that from his Royal Exchequer García Osorio, Governor of that island, should give him what he asked him for and might need. The Adelantado crossed the bar of San Mateo; he went to the fort: he found Captain Aguirre, who had come from Spain as a soldier, because of the absence of Juan de Oruña, who was going as colonel of these men and had remained in San Lucar by order of his Majesty, to whom it appeared that he was not needed in Florida, on account of the good captains the Adelantado had with him; and the day they arrived in St. Augustine, Sancho de Arciniega, who came as the General of that armada and relief expedition, gave the colonel’s company, of 250 soldiers, to this Aguirre, that he might go to the assistance of Fort San Mateo, because the camp master had come at once from San Mateo to St. Augustine, as soon as he knew that reinforcements had arrived, leaving that fort in charge of Vasco Zabal. The Adelantado found Vasco Zabal with the Adelantado’s own soldiers, inside the fort, and Aguirre quartered outside, and differences between them, because Vasco Zabal requested that this Captain Aguirre should place himself inside the fort with the soldiers, and he said he would do so, but it was for him to place the sentinels and give the password: Vasco Zabal said that the care and defence of the fort were his duty, and he would not consent to his demands. The Adelantado ordered that Captain Aguirre should put 50 soldiers in the fort every night, and that Vasco Zabal should place the sentinels and give the password; and leaving them very much in accord, he departed for St.
Augustine. On the way he met the camp master, sailing in a brigantine, who was coming to San Mateo to adjust the disagreement between Captain Aguirre and Vasco Zabal: the Adelantado was extremely pleased to see him. The camp master related to him the miseries, hardships and perils they had suffered before the arrival of the reinforcements, and how the Indians, near Fort San Mateo, had treacherously killed Captain Martín Ochoa and other soldiers; and how in that of St. Augustine they had killed in the same manner Captain Diego de Hevia, a relative of the Adelantado; and as they had no food, they were forced to go out in search of large oysters, crawfish and palmettos: it was necessary that most of the men of the fort should go for this together; otherwise he who went alone did not return. The Adelantado was very sorrowful at the death of these two captains, for he loved them very much, and Martín Ochoa had greatly distinguished himself at the capture of the fort, and during all the rest of his service he had been very faithful; in such wise that those who mutinied had wanted to kill him many times, because he upheld with great spirit his Majesty’s service, condemning the weakness they showed.

The Indians had likewise treacherously slain with their arrows five other soldiers and an interpreter among them; they were much beloved of the Adelantado, had been among the first to enter when the fort was captured, and had assisted through hardships and dangers, obeying the Governor in everything, without wanting to desert the fort and go off with the mutineers: one of them was Don Hernando de Gamboa, a natural son of Don Prudencio de Bendaña; another, Juan de Valdés, a first cousin of the camp master: another was Juan Menéndez, a second cousin of the Adelantado. He felt this very much, but when he saw how much the camp master must be grieving, he concealed his sorrow and said: “In such undertakings these deaths, hardships and perils cannot be avoided: may God forgive them, for I certainly feel this deeply.”

Then the camp master told him in detail about the reinforcements which had arrived, and the names of the captains, and how badly they had behaved to him; for when they arrived and landed, they quartered themselves around the fort; and the first two nights when
the camp master arrived, he had the sentinels stationed at the points where they should be, and gave them the password. They were satisfied that the camp master, with the powers the Adelantado had given him, was his lieutenant; but afterward the captains heard that the powder-house and the Fort of St. Augustine where they were at first had burned with everything therein, all the supplies and papers, and among them the commission that the camp master had from the Adelantado; [so] they agreed to place the sentinels themselves, and give their password, and wanted to name a camp master and sergeant major. To some this appeared right, to others, wrong, and there was some discord among them; but in effect, they went ahead with this action. The camp master was surprised at this change, for never had they said one word to him, nor asked him for his commission, before or after: he sent to tell them that they should all meet, as he wished to speak to them, and when they had done so, he said to them:

"Gentlemen, the Adelantado has left me in these provinces as his lieutenant, by the authority which he holds for this purpose from his Majesty, and he gave me sufficient powers therefor. Those papers have been burned, but the notary before whom they were executed is here, and all have knowledge of them, and respect and obey me as the Adelantado's lieutenant. Your Honors can obtain information on this from the captains and soldiers who are in the province, for they are here, and they are Bartolomé Menéndez, regular Captain to his Majesty, brother of the Adelantado, alcaide of this Fort of St. Augustine and governor of the district; and Gonzalo de Villarroel, alcaide and governor of the Fort of San Mateo and its district; the other is Estebano de las Alas, alcaide and governor of the Fort of San Felipe and its district, which is in Santa Elena; they are all three persons of reputation, noblemen and very good soldiers, from whom your Honors can satisfy yourselves of this; and it being as I have said, his Majesty will be served by your obeying me while I am in office; and let us give orders that all suitable measures be taken, as befits his Majesty's service, sending men and supplies to Santa Elena, to Estebano de las Alas, who is in great need, and fortifying ourselves, for if the enemy
come upon us, and it is said they are coming and are strong, we are not [prepared] as soldiers should be.”

[The camp master went on to say] that Sancho de Arciniega, who was General of the armada, and whom they all held to be the head, replied to him that he could not deliver the men before the Adelantado returned, because it had been so decided between him and the captains he brought with him; and that they said his lordship was drowned, because when he set out from St. Augustine for Havana in search of supplies, with the three brigantines, one of them could not turn her prow and put in to Hispaniola; there were two days of strong winds and heavy seas, wherefore they held him for lost, and were thus determined to be the heads themselves, and name the officials who were necessary, and remain in that land until they could notify his Majesty. The camp master had answered Sancho de Arciniega that he regretted deeply to hear such things, because he knew his Majesty would not be pleased therewith, and his royal service would cease in those provinces; and that since they were determined so to act, he and the alcaides of the forts, with the soldiers therein, would hold them in the name of his Majesty, as they were holding them, and would defend them to the death against friend and foe; while Arciniega and his men would be quartered in the fields, accomplishing nothing, wasting the royal funds and supplies; and that if this enterprise were to continue, they must be good friends: they replied to the camp master that so it should be done, and they would maintain that friendship; and he had put up with those things as he saw he could not do otherwise, and it was for the benefit of his Majesty’s service to overlook them. In that manner had they been governing themselves, without working at the fortifications or doing anything else, for 12 days; since that armada and relief expedition had entered the harbor. The Adelantado thanked the camp master very much for the wisdom with which he had conducted himself, and said that he had acted like a very good captain, because in conquests and settlements of new lands it is needful for those in power to overlook such insubordination at times, when they can do nothing else; and that that was the true way to serve his Majesty and do what
was proper. The Adelantado arrived that day in St. Augustine; he was
very well received by all.

General Sancho de Arciniega was on board his ship, and as it was
late, did not come on land.

The next day in the morning, when the Adelantado had heard mass,
he sent to request the captains to come to the fort, because he wanted
to talk to them, and enter into council with them: this was done, and
Sancho de Arciniega came, who was General of the armada and the
forces in that relief expedition and carried a cédula from his Majesty
to the effect that he should deliver everything to the Adelantado, and
do that which he ordered and commanded. He brought with him Cap­
tain Juan de Ubila, Admiral of the fleet: the Adelantado received him
very well, because Sancho de Arciniega had been a great friend of his
for many years.

General Sancho de Arciniega gave into his hands his Majesty's dis­
patches, the armada and the men. When the Adelantado had read the
dispatches he acknowledged the receipt thereof, and said to the Gen­
eral that he had brought with him some bad advisers, since he had not
gone through that formality on the day of his arrival, with the camp
master as the Adelantado's lieutenant in those provinces, by commis­
sion from his Majesty; and that the Adelantado could hardly be in
all parts of Florida at once, as it was such a large country; that if
Arciniega were as familiar with the affairs of war on land as with the
same at sea, he would not have believed his advisers, nor allowed him­
sell to be deceived by them; that the Adelantado did not lay as much
blame on him as on some captains who, because they wanted to govern
and follow their private interest, did not advise him what was fitting
for him or for his Majesty's service; but that as this was past, and
remedied by his arrival, he did not intend to speak any more about
it, and begged of them as a favor to consider him as a brother and
friend, and to advise him in all the things wherein it appeared to them
that his Majesty would best be served; and that at the proper time he
would entreat his Majesty to reward him who had served him well:*

*A leaf is missing here. The gap is supplied, as usual, from the Ensayo
Cronológico.
and he added other remarks whereat, without passing over the wrong they had done, nor acquiescing in it, he left them very much satisfied.*

They all replied that they would do as he wished, and received great gratification from the good words the Adelantado had spoken to them.

Then the Adelantado went to visit all the women who had come in that armada, of whom there were 14, to whom he had sent an order to assemble in one house, and he congratulated them on their arrival, and they were much pleased at the Adelantado’s visit and the favor he did them. He spoke with the priests who were with these people, of whom there were 5; he recommended to them to attend with a Christian spirit to the duties of their charge: he gave them the vicar whom they were to obey, who was Chaplain Mendoza, of Xerez on the Frontier; a very good religious and soldier, who had come from Spain with the Adelantado, and he had made him vicar of that fort and that of San Mateo; and so they replied they would do it, and pledged obedience to the vicar. The Adelantado went—with all the captains who accompanied him for this, and with the advice and concurrence of them all, giving and taking [opinions] about it in order to decide the better—to mark out the site, place and space where they were to fortify themselves, which was in the same spot that the Adelantado had fortified; but because the sea was eating away the fort, they retired further inland, taking a caballero from the fort that had been made, for the one that was to be begun. He divided the men into squads and companies, and the work likewise: they cast the dice, so that chance might decide at which part each one was to work, and it was settled in this manner, to the satisfaction of all, so that next day in the morning each captain, man and squad understood which part of the fort had fallen to their share.

Next morning, at dawn, they rang the bells, which was the signal for all to rise; [and] they beat the drums, mustering their men, who all came hastening to work so that it was a pleasure to see them.

* The manuscript follows.
CHAPTER XXII.


On the third day, when the Adelantado saw that the task was progressing as it should, he summoned the captains to a council, and told them that it would be well to discuss where his Majesty's reinforcements were to be stationed; and after arguing about it, it was agreed that half of the 1,500 soldiers should remain in those parts, in the 3 forts of St. Augustine, San Mateo and San Felipe; that the Adelantado should go with the rest, and 6 vessels, one frigate and one patache, with their crews—about one thousand men altogether—to cruise about the islands of Puerto Rico, Santo Domingo and Cuba, in order to chastise the corsairs who might be there, and to fortify those places; and that the other ships should take their departure shortly and go to Spain under the command of Sancho de Arciniega and Juan de Ubila, who, as has been said, had come as General and Admiral of that relief expedition. In the meantime the 6 ships which the Adelantado was to take from the armada, the frigate and the patache, were being unloaded and outfitted. He wanted to go to visit the Fort of San Mateo and leave therein Gonzalo de Villarroel, who was in St. Augustine and had returned from Havana, with all the people under his charge; thence he wished to pass on to Guale and Santa Elena, to visit the Fort of San Felipe and put it in a state of thorough defence, because 2 vessels had sailed for there, the flagship and 2 other large ones, with 300 soldiers and Captain Juan Pardo in charge of them, and it was not known that they had arrived, nor the state of things in those parts.

With the concurrence and advice of all the captains, he named Captain Juan de Zorita to succor Puerto Rico; Captain Rodrigo Troche,¹ Both Merás and Barrientos mention Captain Rodrigo Troche, and it is not explained why he should have the same name as Rodrigo Troche, Villarroel's ensign, who was so cruelly killed by Saturiba. Cf. p. 160.
who was one of the first who had gone to Florida with the Adelantado, to succor Santo Domingo; and Ensign Baltasar de Barreda to succor Havana; and he departed for San Mateo, where he left Gonzalo de Villarroel in that fort, with Captain Aguirre’s company and the rest of the veteran soldiers who were there.

With one hundred soldiers and some sailors, in 3 brigantines, he ascended the River of San Mateo for more than 50 leagues; up to that time he had not done so. His object was to make friends with the caciques and discover the secret as to whether that river went toward the coast of New Spain.

The day after he left San Mateo, having ascended that river 20 leagues, he disembarked, and with a guide he had brought with him he walked 5 leagues through the good level lands of a cacique they called Hotina. When he was one league from his pueblo he sent him 6 soldiers with this guide, who was an interpreter; and on arriving there they gave him a present which the Adelantado sent him, and told him that the Adelantado was coming to see him because he held him to be his friend. He received the 6 soldiers very well and replied to them that he stood in fear of the Adelantado, and that if he wished to come to his village he should bring not more than 20 men, and should pray to God as he had done for Cacique Guale, that it might rain on his maize fields, which were dry.

The Adelantado was following close behind the 6 soldiers, and when the answer came back to him, he was about one quarter of a league from the village. He halted, and ordered 80 of the soldiers to remain there, and went on with 20, laughing at what the cacique asked about the rain; and when he arrived in the pueblo it began to rain very hard, and it was more than 6 months since it had done so. He reached the cacique’s house, and did not find him: he told 5 or 6 Indians who were there to go in search of him, and to say that he had come with the 20 men and the rain. One of the Indians went, and returned with the answer, saying that the cacique was hidden in the forest, and sent him word that he was in great fear of a man who had

2 Otina or Utina; he is often mentioned as Outina in Basanier, L’Histoire Notable, and Hakluyt, A Notable Historie.
such power with God; that he was to depart with God, since he was His friend. The Adelantado regretted this, for he much desired to see this cacique, as it was said that he had a very good understanding and was very powerful on that river bank of San Mateo; and he sent him back a message that he prayed him greatly to come to see him, and not to be afraid, since he had not more than 20 men with him, and the cacique had more than one thousand Indians, all with their bows and arrows. Hotina replied that if the Adelantado was helped by his cacique, who was God, he had many men in those 20 soldiers; that he prayed him to be gone, and from that time he was taking him for his elder brother and he was his friend, as long as the cacique was in his land and the Adelantado in his; and that he did not want to fight with the Adelantado or his men, but his Indians did, and that he caused him much anxiety because he did not go.

The Adelantado sent to tell him that he would go to please him, but that he was not afraid of him or his men; that he would sail up the River of San Mateo; that the cacique was to notify those of his villages through which the Adelantado would have to pass, that the men and women were to remain therein and not be afraid, and that if they fled, the Adelantado would make war on them, burning their villages and canoes and fishways. And so the Adelantado returned to where the 80 soldiers had halted, and taking them with him, he reached the brigantines at nightfall: his march was a thing they all marvelled at, for it was one o’clock in the morning when he left the brigantines to go and find Hotina, and he was there two hours, and it was still day when he returned; 10 leagues are a long way, although many thought it was 12. That night was very bad for it rained very hard and they could not embark, and as they camped in a wet field they all had a hard time.

The next day in the morning the Adelantado sent the largest brigantine with 50 men back to San Mateo, and he went on his way up the river with the other 50, the 2 brigantines and some supplies; for as he had provisions for 10 or 12 days [only], if all the men had gone with him the quantity could not have lasted and he could not have discovered the secret of that river.
He was very well received in the pueblos he found along the river banks, for they said that their Cacique Hotina had sent to command them to do so.

The Adelantado tried hard to carry with him some guide, to learn the secret of the river by means of presents he gave the Indians and the kindness he showed them, but no one wanted to go with him. He sailed up quite as far as the French had gone, having with him two who had guided them: the tide rose and fell for a distance of full 40 leagues, a thing which much astonished the Adelantado. He ascended that river about 50 leagues, two leagues farther than the French had gone, as far as [the domains of] a cacique they called Macoya, a friend of Saturiba who was a powerful cacique of the coast and country where are the Forts of San Mateo and St. Augustine; this Macoya retired with his Indians, leaving the pueblo deserted.

The Adelantado landed, entered the houses, allowed no damage to be done, and then turned back and withdrew: he sent the interpreter to see if any Indian appeared: they came to meet him, for they knew him: they were much pleased at seeing this interpreter. He said that the Christians and their captain were there, and that they should send to tell their Cacique Macoya to come to the village with his men, and have no fear: some Indians went in search of him to tell him this; others came back to their houses and brought the Adelantado much fish: he made them some gifts and received them very well, and prayed them to go and summon the cacique, because he wished to give him many things he brought for him and his wives. They went, and these and the first who had gone, returned and told the Adelantado that their cacique held him in great fear and would not come, and that he and his Indians were his friends, because they knew that he did no harm to any cacique; but that he was to return without going farther up the river, for the cacique's Indians were angry because he had come to their land without their permission.

3 The cacique of the pueblo of Mayaca on the St. Johns (Mayarca on Le Moyne's map in Brevis Narratio), where a century later was the mission of San Salvador of Mayaca, one of the largest of the Franciscan Missions, situated about thirty miles west of Caparaca, the Indian village then on the site of New Smyrna.
The Adelantado sent him word that he wished to pass up the river, to see some Christians; that he prayed him to give him 2 or 3 Indians as pilots.

The cacique replied that he would not.

The Adelantado commanded the oars to be used, and began to go up the river, rowing about a league; it was already late: he saw many excited Indians with bows and arrows, and on arriving at a narrow pass, he found the river barred with a row of stakes: he broke through and went farther on: the river became no wider than two pikes' lengths, and very deep: there he encountered a very swift current against him, for up to then there had been none whatever, except the rising and ebbing of the tide: the Adelantado feared that the Indians might shoot at the rowers.

2 or 3 Indians came down to the river bank and told him on behalf of Cacique Macoya that he must not go farther and must turn back; if he did not, they would begin to make war upon him.

The Adelantado answered them that he did not come to harm them, and they could make war when they wished; that he was obliged to go up that river, and as it was night, he wanted to stay there until morning, and he did so. The guide and interpreter the Adelantado brought with him had been a slave of a cacique of Ays whom they called Perucho, who lived 20 leagues up the river and knew this Macoya; he told the Adelantado that he ought to return, for there were many and very warlike Indians in that land, and that they told him that the river became very narrow from there inland for more than 30 leagues, until it emptied into a large lagoon they call Maymi, which they say has a circuit of more than 30 leagues, and which gathers into itself many streams from the hill range; and that [a branch of] this lagoon discharged itself in the country of Cacique Carlos, which is on the coast of New Spain, and that another branch drained the land of Tequesta, which is at Los Mártires.4

4 From this it would appear that the Timucua told the interpreter of Menéndez that the St. Johns emptied into Lake Okeechobee, called by them Maymi, or Mayaimi, and by the French, Sarrope. It was supposed to have a river flowing out of it to the west into Charlotte Harbor (the Bay of Carlos or of Juan
The Adelantado desired greatly to discover this secret, because of the friendship he had established with Carlos and because he wanted to know if that river were navigable, for that would be a very advantageous thing for the conquest and settlement of Florida; but on the other hand, he feared that if the canoes of warlike Indians came out in that narrow pass while he was within the barrier of stakes, he might be harmed by them; especially as it had been raining hard, and the soldiers' powder and fuses were damp. He retired one league back with his two brigantines, and next morning decided to return; and on the way, 7 or 8 leagues down the river, he landed at a pueblo where some Indians were waiting for him: he gave them presents and told them to summon their cacique, who came, and whom they call Calabay. He said to him through the interpreter that Macoya had sent to tell him not to pass up that river, and that his soldiers had been much angered against Macoya and wanted to land and burn his village and the canoes, and destroy his fishways; and to prevent their doing it, he was returning.

Calabay replied that he wanted to be his friend and take him for an elder brother, to do what he should command him; that he prayed him to give him a cross, and 6 other Christians, as he had to Guale; that he and his Indians wanted to be Christians; that he would show that river, as far as the lagoon of Maymi, to the 6 Christians who might remain with him, because the Indians did not fear a few Christians, but did fear many, and that he would do them no harm.

The Adelantado was afraid of this cacique, because, being a vassal of Hotina, he might rise against the Adelantado, and he was a great friend of Cacique Saturiba; but as there were only 12 leagues by land from there to St. Augustine, he decided to leave him the men and give him the cross, and told him that if anyone killed them he would come and make war on him, in such wise that he would burn the houses and

Ponce)—the Florida West Coast becoming Mexico or New Spain—and another river flowing out of it to the east, connecting it with Tequesta or Tegesta on the east coast, near the present city of Miami on Biscayne Bay. See Lowery's map, p. 80.

See the village called Calanay on Le Moyne's map.
canoes and destroy the fishways, and cut off his head and those of his men, women and children, for the Adelantado was a friend of his true friends and an enemy of his enemies. The cacique said that he was satisfied, and immediately there were many soldiers who begged that they might be left there.

The Adelantado left those who appeared to him the most willing and the best fitted to teach the Indians the doctrine: he gave this cacique a present for himself and another for Macoya, and prayed him that he should send Macoya three of those Christians, who should live with him and teach him and his Indians.

Calabay said that he would do this, and so it was done, for he sent Macoya the present and the Christians: Macoya would not receive them but took the present. He sent to tell the Adelantado that he was his friend and held him to be his elder brother, which is all the obedience the caciques of Florida can give; but that if he came to his country he would hold him to be his enemy.

When Saturiba heard that Calabay had Christians, he sent two of his sons and other Indians to slay them. Calabay would not allow this: Saturiba sent to tell him to kill them, or send them to him, and if he did not, he would hold him for an enemy.

Calabay, fearing Saturiba, sent them to San Mateo. When the Adelantado was on his way back to San Mateo, all the people, big and little, in 3 or 4 villages of Hotina by which he had previously passed, awaited him with much rejoicing; he made them some gifts and had the instruments played, whereat they were all delighted: they were sorrowful because he was going so soon. He arrived at the place where he disembarked when he went overland to see Hotina: he sent word to him that as he had gone to see him in his pueblo, Hotina should come there to see the Adelantado, and that if he did not do this, he would consider him as his enemy. Hotina feared to anger the Adelantado, and he had heard of the great friendliness the Adelantado had shown in those of Hotina's villages where he had stopped, in all of which they liked him very much; so he came to see the Adelantado, with 300 warriors, and at a quarter of a league from the brigantines he halted, and sent to tell the Adelantado to come there with 20 Chris-
He did this, bringing with him 20 skilful arquebusiers, marching in very good order. When he arrived near Hotina, the cacique was frightened, and sent to tell the Adelantado to come to him with 2 persons, no more; and at a distance of about half an arquebuse shot, the Adelantado halted with the 20 soldiers, and with two only, and the interpreter, he went to Hotina, who was surrounded with his 300 bowmen, seated on the ground. Hotina showed much humility, rendering the Adelantado the greatest homage which is customary among them; and then came his principal men one by one, doing likewise, and all the other Indians who were there did that.

The Adelantado clothed Hotina in a shirt, for he was naked, with only a belt round his loins, and so were all his Indians; and he clothed him in a pair of breeches and a doublet of green silk, and put a hat on his head. That Indian was much of a gentleman in face and figure, about 25 years old and very discreet: he told the Adelantado that he took him for his elder brother, to do what he might command him; that he should leave him a cross, as he had to Guale, and Christians to teach the doctrine to him and his people; and a trumpeter, since he was in truth his brother.

The Adelantado did so, for he left him the cross and 6 Christians, and the trumpeter among them; he gave him some presents for his wife, and made gifts to the principal Indians who were there: they parted very good friends. The Adelantado embarked and reached San Mateo within 12 days from the day he had set out: he found the whole fort in very good condition, and Gonzalo de Villarroel pleased with the men, although some of them, without his order, had gone two leagues from there to rob certain houses of Saturiba: the Indians came out upon them, and out of 12 arquebusiers who went, 8 were killed, and 4 returned to the fort within three days, very badly wounded, having hidden in the forest. The Adelantado remained there two days: he departed for Santa Elena: he dispatched notice to his Majesty that the reinforcements had arrived and [told him of] the state of those affairs. He sent a captain with 30 soldiers and 2 Dominican friars to the Bay of Santa María, in 37°, with an Indian who was the brother

*Page 32, note 22.*
of the cacique of that country, and who had been 6 years with the Adelantado: he was very crafty, a good Christian with very good understanding, called Don Luis de Velasco; so that with his assistance they might settle in that land and try to make the Indians Christians.

The friars were from Peru and New Spain, a very fertile country [sic]: they had suffered hunger, hardships and dangers in Florida. As it appeared to them that they could no longer endure such a difficult life, they secretly drew some of the soldiers into a conspiracy, for there was no need of much effort to accomplish this, and won over the pilot; and being in accord, and taking testimony to the effect that on account of a storm they had been unable to go to the Bay of Santa María, they went to Seville, defaming the country and speaking ill of the King and the Adelantado, because they wanted to conquer and settle it.

The Adelantado arrived at Santa Elena: he found Estebano de las Alas in his fort with the first soldiers sent there, and Juan Pardo quartered outside, building houses to lodge the men, because he had brought an order from General Sancho de Arciniega that one night he should give out the password, and the next night Estebano de las Alas should do so, and therefore Pardo showed Las Alas the order he carried.

Estebano de las Alas said to Juan Pardo that he was much pleased at his arrival, and that he had orders from the Adelantado Pedro Menéndez, his Captain-General, to guard and defend that fort in the name of his Majesty; that it was his duty to place the sentinels and give the password, and nobody else’s; and that on this condition Pardo could lodge himself in the fort with all his men, or with the part of them he wished; or camp in the fields; whichever appeared best to him.

Juan Pardo was a good soldier, zealous in the service of his Majesty: it seemed to him that Estebano de las Alas was in the right, and Sancho de Arciniega was not; and that he on arriving in Florida, was obliged to obey and comply with the commands of the Adelantado, and not those of others: he pledged obedience to Estebano de las Alas for the defence of the fort, giving him a squad of soldiers for the sentinels’ guard, and [saying that], if it were necessary, he would assist

7 Page 32.
with the rest; and he quartered himself in the fields, and they all began to work to place the fort in a good state of defence.

Great was the joy and gladness which all received on the arrival of the Adelantado. He heard that the Indians were very friendly, and that Estébano de las Alas was in great need of men and supplies when Captain Juan Pardo arrived with 300 soldiers and 2 vessels laden with provisions; because one month before, the Adelantado having sent a boat of supplies, the day after she arrived the soldiers mutinied and went off in her before unloading anything, leaving Estébano de las Alas a prisoner, with his officers who came with him from Havana, and about 60 men; and in the Bahama Channel they ran into a storm which compelled them to put into a harbor of Florida, at the beginning of Los Mártires. They found a pueblo, the calique whereof the Indians called Tequesta, who was a near relative of Cacique Carlos and the Indian woman, Doña Antonia, for 2 Christians who had been captives there many years, and who came to meet them in a canoe, told them this; and that those Indians used to kill all the Christians from the ships that were wrecked, but that now they loved them very much because they knew that the most important man among them had a relative of theirs for a wife, a sister of Carlos; that they should have no fear; that the cacique sent to find out from them if they were some of those Christians, and they said they were; and that near there, in a village on the coast, were many more of those Christians, and that was the truth; for of the soldiers who had mutinied at San Mateo, about 20 landed there, when they were on their way to Havana: a very strong wind had come up, the vessel spread her sails, leaving them in that country, and the Indians treated them very well, sharing with them what they had, for love of the Indian woman, Doña Antonia. Likewise, about 20 of Estébano de las Alas’s soldiers had deserted him and gone inland: he had about 25 in the fort when Juan Pardo arrived, and no food other than that which the Indians sent him.

After Captain Juan Pardo’s arrival he had hanged 2 soldiers for

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8 Tequesta or Tegesta. Along the Florida East Coast, south of Cape Canaveral, were the districts of Caciques Ays, Jega, Tequesta and Matacumbe.
mutiny: he held 3 others prisoners: 6 had deserted. The men were half
uneasy, as it appeared to them that there was discord between him and
Estébano de las Alas when there was not, but much harmony, and no
less than what is told.

The Adelantado entered into council: he decided on the way that
they should proceed: he remained there 8 days, during which the
caciques his friends came to see him, and prayed him to wait there a
month, because many caciques from inland wanted to come to see him,
to take him for their elder brother: he could not do this, owing to the
need there was of his returning shortly to St. Augustine, to dispose of
the reinforcements in the manner his Majesty might direct. He released
the 3 soldiers whom Juan Pardo held prisoners, giving them a reprimand,
and spoke to all of them, encouraging and entreating them to
remain steadfast in the service of his Majesty's provinces, because he
wanted to take the reinforcements with him, as he did; the camp
master for his lieutenant and Admiral of the armada; and he gave
orders to Juan Pardo to go inland, toward New Spain, with 150
soldiers, to visit the caciques who wanted to come to see the Adelantado;
and with all possible friendliness, in what appeared to him the
most convenient place for the safety of his soldiers, he was to fortify
himself, and see that the Indians became Christians.\footnote{9} And so the Adelantado departed from Santa Elena at the end of
August,\footnote{10} having confirmed the peace with the caciques, and charging
Estébano de las Alas to preserve it.

\footnote{9} Cf. the "Relación" of Juan Pardo, A. G. de I., 1–1–1/19.—Ruidíaz, La Florida, II, pp. 465–473.—Cf. also the "Relación" of the first Pardo expedition by the soldier, Francisco Martínez, A. G. de I., 1–1–1/19.—Ruidíaz, La Florida, II, pp. 477–480.

\footnote{10} In the year 1566.
He arrived in Guale in 2 days; he found the Indians very sad at the death of Alonso Menéndez Marqués, the Adelantado's nephew, whom they greatly loved, and who was the head of the Christians who were there.

Many caciques of that district came there with the desire of seeing the Adelantado: he stopped there 8 days, during which 14 or 15 of them came: they begged him for crosses and Christians, to teach them to be Christians: the Adelantado agreed to leave there one captain with 30 soldiers, most of them important men, who requested that they might be left there, because it seemed to them that [thus] they could best serve God and the King.

The Adelantado set forth: he arrived in San Mateo in another 2 days, where he found all the people well: he took Gonzalo de Villarroel with him to St. Augustine, where he found that many soldiers wanted to mutiny and leave the country. The camp master had hanged 3 of them: he held others prisoners, also Captain Pedro de Rodabán, who was one of the captains whom his Majesty had sent with that relief party. He had acted with disrespect toward the camp master, and was accused of being the leader who had given the order and the occasion for them to mutiny; but although the Adelantado found cause to work justice upon them, he spoke with the camp master and told him that, since they did not know those captains and soldiers, and as many of them had been disobedient, it was necessary to overlook things and do what they could, not what they would; that for the sake of peace it was proper that the Adelantado should rebuke this captain, then free him, leaving the charge against him as it was: this seemed right to the camp master, and so it was done.

The Adelantado was very joyfully received by all the captains, soldiers and sailors who were there: he sent the ships to Spain: he started with the armada to pursue corsairs and bring succor to the islands of
Puerto Rico, Hispaniola and Cuba, as had been resolved. He sailed on the 20th of October, although he had been ready to set out at the end of September and could not do so owing to contrary winds. In order to take the corsairs by surprise, he arrived on the 5th of November, with half the armada, at Mona Island, and the camp master, with the other half, at San German, because those are the places to which the corsairs and robbers are accustomed to go, but they found none.

CHAPTER XXIV.

The Adelantado Fortifies Towns in the West Indies to Withstand the French Fleet (1566-1567).

These were the captains of the 6 vessels of the armada: the Adelantado, who was the General of his ship; the camp master, who was the captain and admiral of his; Juan Vélez de Medrano, of another; Ensign Cristóbal de Herrera, of another; at the time he was ensign to Captain Diego de Maya, he was the first to plant the flag on the Fort of San Mateo when it was captured from the French; Captain Pedro de Rodabán, of another; Baltasar de Barreda, of another; García Martínez de Cos [was captain] of the frigate, and Rodrigo Montes, of the brigantine; he was the first cousin of the camp master and was likewise one of the first to enter the fort.

As soon as the camp master with his vessels anchored at San German, he received tidings from the people on land how a dispatch boat was at Guadinilla, 15 leagues thence: the crew whereof said that on the 25th of September of that year '66, 27 armed ships had departed from France; that they had separated into 3 divisions, and the first had captured the island of Madeira on the 6th of October; that they knew not where the other 2 parts of the armada might be, and that the whole of it was bringing 6,000 soldiers and sailors.

The camp master at once sent Hernando de Miranda, his Majesty's Factor in Florida, to inform himself and learn particularly about this; he went to Guadinilla and spoke with the master and the pilot of the patache, who were his friends, and who told him the same thing. They
gave a written statement of what had occurred in this, signed by a regidor of La Palma, who was in the island of Madeira when the French captured it, and they remained there 17 days; and on the ships came some Portuguese whom that regidor knew, who related to him all that was happening. On the third day Hernando de Miranda returned to San German and gave a report of everything to the camp master, who, because it appeared to him that the Adelantado should know these things (so that his fleet could assemble and a decision be taken as to what he ought to do), sent him the intelligence to Mona Island, 20 leagues from there, where he was with 3 ships. When the Adelantado had received the dispatch, he sent the fleet to San German with orders to the camp master to careen and grease the vessels and put them in very good condition, and he went to Santo Domingo, 50 leagues from there: he was very well received by the Audiencia of that city, for 2 days before they had had news of the French armada and they feared greatly that it might come there. The Adelantado went to the Audiencia, where the President and oidores were assembled: he showed them the cédula he held from his Majesty in order to raise assistance: he told them that he brought one thousand soldiers and sailors, all very good men, pilots and sailors, for he had taken for that purpose the seamen he had in Florida, who were very good; and that he came with the determination to chase and entrap all the corsairs there might be in those parts, in order to punish them, so that in times of peace they should not go about perpetrating such extortions and thefts from, and injuries to the subjects of his Majesty; but that owing to the tidings he had that the French armada was coming to those parts, he begged them as a favor to give him their advice thereon; and the Audiencia, after discussing the matter, summed it up by telling him that the advice they gave was that he should fortify that city and fortress, that of Puerto Rico, that of Havana and other neighboring ports, as his Majesty ordered him to do, and should then return speedily to Florida.

Much did the Adelantado regret that advice, because he desired to

1 The Spanish West Indies were divided into Audiencias or judicial districts; an oidor was one of the judges of an Audiencia.
encounter one of those three divisions of the French armada, and other corsairs who went about separately in those parts, who had become very wealthy from the plunder they had collected; but it appeared to him that his Majesty ordered him by his cédula to do what the Audiencia counselled, and so he determined to do it. He requested them to keep themselves free that afternoon and the next day, in order to see the best method to be followed for the fortifying of that city and fortress, and to examine and understand the points where the enemy might land, so as to station sentinels; and in order likewise that the wheels and gun carriages of the artillery might be replaced because those they had were decayed, so as to set them up and make them ready at the points where they were most needed; which was all done with great diligence and care.

The Adelantado left Captain Rodrigo Troche in that city, with 150 soldiers, two thirds of them arquebusiers and one third, pikemen; he left Captain Antonio Gómez as captain of artillery, for he was very skilled in this and a great man for handling powder, and within 6 days the Adelantado went back to San German. He arrived in 3 days, and he sent Captain Cristóbal de Herrera on his hooker, with supplies, munitions and twenty hundredweight of powder for cannon and arquebuses, for the defence of the fortress and the city.

There were in that city 10 vessels laden with hides and sugar for Spain: the Audiencia made that hooker the flagship and Cristóbal de Herrera the General, as he was a good soldier on land and sea, and with all of them he arrived in Seville in safety.

As soon as the Adelantado reached San German, he found the ships quite prepared for war: he entered into council with the camp master and the captains; he told them the decision he had taken on the advice of the President and oidores of the Royal Audiencia of Santo Domingo, and that he had to abide by and fulfil it. He immediately dispatched Captain Juan de Zorita, with his armed ship, and 100 arquebusiers and 4 artillery pieces on board, with a supply of powder; and the Adelantado went by land from San German to [San Juan of] Puerto Rico, where he was very well received by the Governor and citizens, as they were in great fear that the French armada might
arrive. He told them what his Majesty had commanded him: he showed the cédula to the Governor and the regimiento, and [said] that 100 soldiers, 4 pieces of artillery and munitions would soon be there on an armed ship, because he had just left them in San German about to be dispatched: he visited the fortress and the entrance to the harbor, where orders were given to fortify a tower there, by another and better plan which he had; and he visited other places which were dangerous because the enemy could disembark there. With the advice and concurrence of the governor and the alcaide of the fortress, Juan Ponce de Leon, and of other regidores, he decided on the manner in which they were to fortify and defend themselves, in case the French armada, or a division thereof, should come there. Most of the residents had fled to the woods, with their wives, children and property, being afraid that the French armada would arrive: the Governor could not bring them to the pueblo, [but] with the arrival of the Adelantado they all came and organized public rejoicings and processions, supplicating Our Lord to give them victory against their enemies, because all the citizens were determined that if the enemy came there, they would sooner die than surrender.

On the fourth day the Adelantado departed for San German, and on the third day after he arrived there, he set sail for Puerto de Plata, where with the advice, help and accord of the regimiento and judicial officials of Puerto de Plata, and the citizens thereof, he designed a fortified tower* and went on to Monte Cristo, La Yaguana and Puerto Real, to offer soldiers; but under different pretexts, they would not receive them; for which state of doubt they suffered in the ravages that the French armada* made among them.* The Adelantado had gone to all 3 of these towns, and they would not receive soldiers. In those days 2 vessels came upon Santiago de Cuba: the Adelantado had left there 50 arquebusiers;—. . . de Godoy, a good soldier, as captain thereof; and 4 pieces of bronze artillery, with their powder and munitions; this prevented any landing. Those ships went to Cabo de Cruz and Manzanilla, a port of Bayan: they seized 5 very rich vessels, with much money and many hides. The Adelantado reinforced Havana

* Supplied from here to the next asterisk.
with 6 pieces of artillery and 200 soldiers, and Baltasar de Barreda as the captain thereof, as had previously been agreed and provided; he took that succor to Havana on the . . . of January, a thing which appeared done by enchantment, that in such a few days the Adelantado should have distributed so much succor, where navigation was so difficult, for on October 20th he had departed from Florida, and had been in San German, Mona Island, Santo Domingo and Puerto Rico. He sailed to Puerto de Plata with the armada he had left: having given that succor, he sent the camp master by the old channel, with the 3 vessels, to reinforce Havana; on the way he met with a very great storm from the north, and was many times on the point of being lost. The Adelantado, with the other ship, went to Monte Cristo, Puerto Real and La Yaguana, and offered them soldiers to defend them against the corsairs, and they did not want them [he sailed] to Santiago de Cuba, Cabo de Cruz and Macaca, a port of Bayan: there he left the ship loading with supplies for Havana, bound thence to Florida, and went on board a zabra; and sailing between rocks and shoals, he arrived at a harbor south of Havana, called . . . ; went by land to Havana and arrived on the . . . of . . .; he made this journey by land and sea, from Bayamo to Havana, in 8 days; a thing whereat people marvelled, for it is a journey of at least one month. Great was the joy of the camp master and the captains, the sailors and soldiers, on beholding the Adelantado: he at once gave orders to fortify that place and harbor, as his Majesty had commanded him: he collected all the munitions on board one of the 3 ships that were there: he sent the other two to Spain: and leaving there Captain Baltasar de Barreda with the 200 soldiers, for the defence of the fortress and harbor, as his Majesty ordered him by his royal cédula to succor that place with the [number of] men he thought best, he dispatched the camp master to Florida with the munitions which were left over, and the supplies brought by the vessel the Adelantado had left in Macaca, being laden with supplies from Bayan, and he likewise sent away that ship which was at his Majesty’s expense, as well as the others. He also sent off at once the vessel of Puerto Rico and the hooker that arrived in Santo Domingo, in order to spare expense to
his Majesty; for if his Majesty had had to meet the cost of that armada, without the men and supplies, counting only the cost of arming and the other things which ships of the armada need, more than twenty thousand ducats would have been spent for his Majesty's account, and in the Indies, more than forty thousand; and the Adelantado did not spend one ducat, because with the officers he had in Florida (whom he had brought with him at his expense), and other things, he did it all with a part of the vessels, men and supplies that had gone to the relief of Florida and the islands, and with 150 other sailors, pilots and men he had; the frigate and brigantine belonged to the Adelantado, and the crews thereof, with no cost to his Majesty whatever. And the Adelantado gave orders to the camp master when he sailed for Florida, which was on . . . , that being arrived in St. Augustine and having visited that fort and the Fort of San Mateo, he was to go up the River of San Mateo with 150 men, and 3 of the Adelantado's own brigantines which he kept in Florida for explorations, until he arrived in the district of Cacique Macoya, the point the Adelantado had reached when he turned back. The same day the camp master sailed, the Adelantado departed from Havana for the country of Cacique Carlos, with 6 pataches and brigantines, and he told the camp master that he would try to learn if there were a river in [the land of] Carlos which extended to [the land of] Macoya, and that he would explore that coast.

2 A river from the west coast to the River St. Johns.
Preceding to the Adelantado's leaving Florida in order to obtain succor, he had decided to dispatch Francisco de Reinoso, a very good soldier of his Majesty, to Cacique Carlos with 30 soldiers and send him to the cousin of Carlos who was his heir, who was given the name of Don Pedro when he was baptized and [it was given likewise] to a servant of his. It appeared to the Adelantado that this Indian, the heir of Carlos, had a very good understanding and was a great friend of his, and he did not wish the Indians to kill Reinoso; and Don Pedro showed signs of becoming a good Christian, and the Adelantado was trying to marry him to the Indian woman, Doña Antonia, since they were to be the heirs of the possessions of Carlos, and would try to make the Indians become Christians. He appointed Francisco de Reinoso as captain of those 30 soldiers, and gave him instructions to build a blockhouse in Carlos's pueblo, and all of them to endeavor with great devoutness to worship the cross mornings and evenings, repeating the Christian doctrine so that the Indians should do the same, and working to indoctrinate them as well as they could; and through their friendship with the Indians they were to try to find out if a river which was 2 leagues from there, went to empty into the Lagoon of Maymi, and what the distance was in leagues; for the Adelantado already knew how many leagues there were from that lagoon to Macoya, and that there was a passageway; and within 3 or 4 months he would go to Carlos with a sufficient number of ships, to see if he could travel by that river to San Mateo and St. Augustine, which was what the Adelantado much desired, because of the great service he knew he would be doing his Majesty, the traders in the Indies and the

1 The Caloosahatchee; named after the Caloosa Indians, subjects of Carlos.
general good of those who went to conquer and settle in Florida; and he gave Francisco de Reinoso a present for Carlos, another for his wife and another for the Indian woman, Doña Antonia.

And when Francisco de Reinoso in the brigantine had reached Carlos with his 30 soldiers, Don Pedro, the Indian, Carlos’s heir, and the other Indian, they landed the two Indians in order that they might speak with Carlos and Doña Antonia, and great was the satisfaction the Indians received on seeing them; and presently Carlos came to the patache, offering his friendship to Captain Francisco de Reinoso and his soldiers, [and saying] that since the Adelantado was his elder brother, and sent to order him to receive them and give them good treatment, he must do so, and that neither he nor his Indians would do him any harm: so they landed with great contentment and rejoicing, and he took them to his pueblo. Francisco de Reinoso gave him the present he brought, with a letter, and the interpreter made clear to him what the Adelantado said therein, which was to enjoin on him earnestly that the Christians should be well treated by him and his Indians; and Carlos promised Captain Reinoso to do so, and he had a house built for him wherein [the Spaniards] gathered; and near it they erected a cross, which they went to worship mornings and evenings, repeating their Christian doctrine; and all the Indian men and women came to it with great devoutness.

He sailed for Havana in the brigantine with 5 or 6 sailors, as the Adelantado had ordered: he took with him Doña Antonia, the Indian woman, with 5 or 6 principal Indians, as the Adelantado had so commanded for the safety of Captain Francisco de Reinoso and the 30 soldiers with him, because he had very little confidence in Carlos, for when he had had dealings with him he saw him give many signs of being a traitor.

When the Indian woman arrived in Havana on the brigantine, within 6 days of her sailing from Carlos, Alonso de Rojas, a regidor of that town, came at once to the shore, and took Doña Antonia and her Indians to his house, as he had done before; and his wife, who was the godmother of Doña Antonia, received her very well, entertaining her greatly and giving her good treatment; and soon the brigantine
and the patache were laden with livestock and some supplies, and
went with them to Carlos.

Captain Francisco de Reinoso wrote of the hardships and dangers
they lived through, and that 2 or 3 times Carlos had wanted to kill
them treacherously, and that he sent to tell his sister, Doña Antonia,
and the other Indians that he had a very great desire to see them and
they should return at once, so that when he had them with him he
could slay Francisco de Reinoso and the soldiers who were with him,
for that cacique and his father were very bloodthirsty to kill Chris-
tians. Those men and women whom the Adelantado had found
prisoners there, said that in 20 years the father and son had slain more
than 200 Christians, sacrificing them to the devil, and holding their
feasts and dances on those occasions; and that they were all people
from shipwrecked vessels of the Carrera of the Indies, because even
though they were lost 100 leagues from there, they were brought to
him, as he was the cacique of much of the sea-coast near Los Mártires
and the Bahama Channel, which is where the ships which go from
the Indies to Spain run the greatest danger; wherefore the Adelantado
was making great efforts to settle that coast, and bring the caciques
and Indians into friendly relations with him.

And so [the Adelantado sailed for Carlos] with the 6 brigantines
he obtained in Havana with 150 men, on the day that the camp master
departed for St. Augustine, on the vessel laden with supplies and
munitions which had been taken from the surplus of the armada; this
was on . . . ; and the Adelantado had given him orders to go up the
River of San Mateo as far as Macoya, for he was on his way to learn
if he could go to Macoya from the direction of Carlos, in order to go
from there to St. Augustine and San Mateo; he took Doña Antonia
with him, and the Indian men and women she had with her, and he
arrived in 2 ordinary days, with a prosperous wind.

He had with him Father Rogel, of the Society of Jesus, a very
great and learned religious, and Father Francisco [de Villarreal], of
the same Society; likewise some principal Indians of Tequesta, which

2 Introduction, pp. 30, 32, 33.
3 This should be Brother Francisco de Villarreal.
was where the ship, coming from San Mateo with the men who had mutinied, left the 20 soldiers; and when a brigantine which the Adelantado was sending from Florida to Havana for supplies succeeded in getting through [the channel] and arrived off that harbor, it struck a contrary wind, and entered therein, and found all the Christians among those rebels who had remained there very well. They told them the good treatment given them by the cacique and his Indians, because the Adelantado had Doña Antonia for a wife, and that 5 or 6 of them had gone inland; and the men of the brigantine took about 15 of those soldiers and the cacique sent a brother of his on that brigantine, 3 Indian men and 3 Indian women, to tell the Adelantado that he and his Indians wished to become Christians and he should come to see him, because he wanted to take him for his elder brother, to do what he commanded him. There was a great war between that cacique and Carlos, and the reason was that Cacique Tequesta used to be subject to Carlos, and when Carlos learned that he had those Christians, he sent for them and Tequesta would not give them to him, and afterward he sent to have them killed treacherously: Tequesta heard this, defended them and slew two of his own Indians who went about trying to kill the Christians.

And the Adelantado was taking with him this third time those messengers of Tequesta, as well as Doña Antonia, all of them together, in order to treat of peace and friendship between Carlos and Tequesta; and when the Adelantado entered the harbor belonging to Carlos 2 days after he left Havana, as has been said, he was seen by Captain Francisco de Reinoso and his soldiers, and by Cacique Carlos and his men. They hastened to him at once with the canoes and brigantines: the Adelantado landed: he was very well received by the Christians and Indians: he had a house built for Doña Antonia near the Christians' house, and a chapel where Father Rogel said mass. He preached to the soldiers the next day, for they had sore need of being taught, and because of the good example he gave them they begged the Adelantado that he might be left with them, for otherwise they would soon be savages like the Indians themselves; and the reason was that the Indian women loved them greatly, to such an extent that if the Ade-
lantado had not arrived there, Carlos and his Indians—even though they should lose Doña Antonia, the sister of Carlos, and the six Indian men and women she had with her—were determined to kill Francisco de Reinoso and all the Christians who were with him, although because of the warning the Indian women gave the Christians, that Carlos and his Indians wanted to slay them, they lived with great caution.

Francisco de Reinoso reported formally to the Adelantado on the habits and customs of Carlos and his Indians, and on the many occasions when they had wanted to slay them; [he said] that great was the devoutness they showed before the cross, although Carlos was very troublesome and laughed at our ceremonies. The Adelantado greatly pleased Carlos and all his men: he took him twice to dine with him, and his wife, and his principal men and women.

The Adelantado learned that the passage he was seeking was not to be found there, but that 50 leagues farther on, in a pueblo they call Tocobaga, he would find a waterway. 4

The cacique of that land was a great enemy of Carlos and made much war on him.

Carlos had asked the Adelantado and Francisco de Reinoso to go with him and his men to make war on Tocobaga.

Francisco de Reinoso said to Carlos that he could not do this without orders from the Adelantado, because if he did, the Adelantado would command that his head be cut off.

And the Adelantado replied to Carlos that the King of Spain, his Master, had not sent him to that land to make war on the Indian caciques, but that if they were quarrelling he would try to make them friends, and ask them if they wanted to become Christians; he would teach the doctrine to those who did, for it showed the manner of becoming so, in order that when they died on this earth, they might go to God in heaven, who is the Lord of all the earth; that therefore he

4 Tocobaga was on Tampa Bay. Needless to say that neither by means of the Caloosahatchee River at Charlotte Harbor, nor the Hillsboro River at Tampa Bay, could the Adelantado travel to the St. Johns (the River of San Mateo).
Pedro Menéndez de Avilés wanted to be a friend of Tocobaga, and would go to treat of peace with him.

Carlos regretted very much that the Adelantado would not go to make war on Tocobaga, but told him that he wished to go with him in his brigantines to Tocobaga, with about 20 of his principal Indians, and that there the Adelantado could discuss peace.

The Adelantado was pleased at this, and at once discussed the peace and friendship between Carlos and Cacique Tequesta, with Carlos, Tequesta's brother whom the Adelantado had there, 2 other Indian men and 3 Indian women: they were settled very satisfactorily: the Adelantado left a very friendly feeling confirmed between the Indians and soldiers: and until he should return from Tocobaga he left there Tequesta's Indians with the Christians, and the two fathers of the Society of Jesus.

Father Rogel was making haste to learn with a vocabulary the language of Carlos and Tocobaga, to begin to preach to the Indians.

Father Francisco was learning the language of Tequesta, because the Adelantado intended, on his return from Tocobaga, to leave Father Rogel at Carlos and take Father Francisco to Tequesta.

Within 3 days after he reached Carlos, he sailed with all 6 brigantines in the direction of Tocobaga: he took Carlos with him and 20 of his principal Indians: he arrived at the harbor the 2d day, at night. The cacique lived 20 leagues inland, and one could sail up close to the side of his house by a channel of salt water: an Indian of those who came with Carlos, steered in such a manner toward the north, although it was at night and there was no moon, that with a prosperous wind, the Adelantado arrived one hour before daybreak near the house of Tocobaga, without being discovered, and he ordered the brigantines to anchor with great secrecy.

Carlos prayed the Adelantado to let them land, burn the pueblo and kill the Indians.

The Adelantado would not do so, telling him that [if he did], the King of Spain, his Master, would order his head to be cut off, because neither Tocobaga nor his Indians had ever done him harm; but that if they had, he would do what Carlos said. Carlos remained very sad at
this, and he asked the Adelantado to land him and his Indians, [say­
ing] that he would go and set fire to the cacique’s house, and would swim back to the brigantines.

The Adelantado told him not to do so, nor would he consent to it, since Carlos came with him to treat of peace and friendship: Carlos was much angered thereat, and wept in his spite.

The Adelantado consoled him the best he could, and said that he would try to make a very honorable peace between Carlos and Tocobaga, who should give up to Carlos 10 or 12 of his Indian men and women whom he held as captives. Carlos was greatly cheered at this, because there was among them a sister of his and of Doña Antonia, and he said to the Adelantado that with that he was satisfied. The Adelantado commanded that a small shallop with 8 rowers, and a Christian of those who had been captives in Carlos—who knew Tocobaga’s language—should go up to the cacique’s house; and he ordered that once near there he should tell him in a loud voice, in his language, to have no fear; that all the men brought by the ships that were there were his friends, Christians in truth; and when he had done so, the Indians awakened, and saw the ships close to the houses, and started to flee, with their wives and children.

The cacique remained quiet, with 5 or 6 Indians and one wife; and the day having come he sent a Christian he had to the Adelantado, to tell him that he thanked him greatly for not having killed either him or his people, or burned his village; that that Christian he sent him was the only one he had; that his people had fled, and he had remained in the house of his gods, his house of prayer; that he would sooner die than forsake them; that if the Adelantado wanted him to go to his ships, he would do so, and if the Adelantado wanted to land, to give him life or death, he could do that, for he was awaiting him.

The Adelantado was much pleased with the message and with the Christian who brought it, who was a Portuguese from Tavila, which is in the Algarve. He said that he had been a prisoner there 6 years; that they were in a bark laden with maize and chickens, honey and woolen blankets, bound from Campeche to New Spain, that a storm had cast them ashore there and that the Indians killed them all within
one hour; that he had hidden in the woods so they could not find him, and had gone about for a month, concealed therein, eating palmettos, acorns and some shell-fish; that some Indian fishermen saw him by chance, seized him and brought him to this cacique, and that he had been serving them by carrying wood and water and cooking for them; that from the day he had been shipwrecked until now, he supplicated God each day to free him from captivity, and that he had been expecting Christians for eight days, for every night of the 8 days he had dreamed that Christians were coming there to live, whereat he was very glad. He told the Adelantado of matters concerning that land, although he knew very little, never having gone more than 20 leagues out of that pueblo; and the Adelantado would not say to that Christian that Carlos had come there, nor that Tocobaga should come to the ship, for love of Carlos: he sent him to say that he would land and go to speak with Tocobaga, who should have no fear; and he enjoined on the Christian that he must encourage him, that the Adelantado would do him no harm, and that Tocobaga was to send and tell his Indian men and women to return to the village: and so the Christian went with that answer, and the Adelantado landed at 8 o'clock in the morning. He spoke with the cacique who received him very well and seated him near him, in the highest and most prominent place: the cacique had with him 6 Indian men and one Indian woman. He told the Adelantado through the interpreter that he had not thought the Christians were so good; that well did he realize they could slay him and his people, and burn his idols and his village; that he had known for a long time that Christians went about in that country, who had sent to tell the caciques, his friends, that they must give them maize, and if they did not, they would kill them, and because they gave them none, the Christians slew many; that he had great fear of them, and afterward there came other Christians who killed the first; and that it was said the caciques and Indians greatly loved these last Christians, and [he wished to know] which they were.

The Adelantado replied to him that he and his men were some of the last Christians, who had come to slay those first ones who came to make slaves of the Indians and caciques; that those were false Chris-
tians, wherefore he would kill them; that he and his men were Chris-
tians in truth, and had not come to slay or enslave the Indians, or
seize their maize, but only went about asking them if they wished to
be Christians, teaching them how to become so, and to make them
friends and brothers; that he came not to wage war, or to slay any
cacique or Indian save those who wanted to harm him, or kill some
Christian; and that if Tocobaga and his men wanted to become Chris-
tians, he would rejoice thereat.

The cacique was much pleased at what the Adelantado told him,
and he rose: he and his 6 Indians rendered the Adelantado great
homage very humbly, and kissed his hands, and then they sat down
again. Then the Adelantado said to the cacique that he was a friend
of Carlos and kept Christians in his land, and that was no reason why
he should be an enemy to Tocobaga; that he had Carlos with him on
board the brigantines, had brought him to treat of peace and friend­
ship with him, and he should return to him the 12 persons whom he
held as prisoners; and that if he and his Indians were willing to be­
come Christians, the Adelantado would be greatly gratified thereat
and would leave him Christians there as he had in Carlos, in order that
they might defend them from their enemies and teach them to be
Christians.

He replied that he had far from there his principal men and the
caciques, his friends and subjects, and that he could not answer the
Adelantado without their coming and his speaking with them; that the
Adelantado should wait 3 or 4 days, and he would send to summon
them.

The Adelantado said that he would be glad [to do it], and so the
cacique sent to summon his principal Indians and the caciques, and he
prayed the Adelantado to order his soldiers not to go near the house of
his gods, whom that cacique held in great veneration.

That night the Adelantado and his men went back to sleep on the
brigantines, and the next day in the morning Cacique Tocobaga came
to see him. He and Carlos spoke together and had several arguments:
Carlos wanted to disembark with Tocobaga and his Indians, but be­
cause the Adelantado considered Carlos very treacherous he hesitated
to take the risk, thinking that Carlos might speak ill of him and his Christians to Tocobaga, and the 2 caciques might agree so that Carlos would kill the Christians that he had in his country, and Tocobaga, those he might leave with him. On the other hand, the Adelantado dared not anger Carlos, and therefore he allowed him to land, but with 2 interpreters who should always go about with him so that he could not speak ill of the Christians to the cacique and his Indians.

In those 3 days came more than 1,500 Indians, with their bows and arrows, all men of very good appearance.

When the Adelantado saw so many people, he told the cacique that his soldiers were joyful because they thought that the cacique’s Indians wanted to be warlike and fight them; that he had better keep the principal men with him, to treat of peace, and send back the others. The cacique did this.

On the fourth day, 29 caciques having assembled, with about 100 principal Indians whom they kept with them, the cacique sent word to the Adelantado to come and treat of peace; and so he went, taking Carlos with him; and when they were assembled, the Adelantado being seated in the most prominent place, Tocobaga said to him that he had told those caciques and Indians who were there, all that the Adelantado had said, and that if he said those things in truth, all would be glad to take him for an elder brother and turn Christians; and make peace with Carlos, and give him his people; but that if Carlos should again make war upon him, the Adelantado was to help him, and if he should break the peace with Carlos, the Adelantado should help Carlos; because he wanted to make peace with the true Christians, not the false ones; and [he asked] that the Adelantado should leave him a captain with 30 Christians, to teach him and his caciques to be Christians. Everything was done in this manner, peace being made with Carlos, and his people returned to him; and the Adelantado left 30 soldiers there, under the charge of Captain García Martínez de Cos, who remained sorely against his will; and the Adelantado left him because he was displeased with him owing to a certain disobedient act of his, but likewise because he was a good Christian and had a good understanding; and Tocobaga told the Adelantado that he could not
go to Macoya with so few men, for the Indians on the way were numerous and warlike.

Immediately after he departed thence with his brigantines, within 4 days of his arrival, and within 8 he sailed back to the village of Carlos; and on the way he perceived that Carlos's rage and vexation were very great, on account of the warm friendship the Adelantado had formed with Tocobaga, and he tried very hard to conciliate him, but could not. A sailor passed in front of Carlos and happened to let the end of a rope fall on his head, and he, thinking the sailor had done it on purpose, gave him a great blow in the face and grappled with him to throw him overboard: the Adelantado ran up and wrested him from him: the sailor was one of the best they had there. This was greatly resented, and the Adelantado resented it much more, but as he had brought him on his brigantine, and had taken him from his country, it appeared to him that he was bound to take him back there; for otherwise it was understood that he would command him to be hanged because of that blow, and because also he had heard from the interpreters that Carlos was threatening the Adelantado and his Christians, and that he would give orders that none should escape him.

The Adelantado left him in his pueblo: he caused the Christians to fortify themselves better than they had been: he left them certain culverins, and soldiers in addition to those who were there, so as to make a complement of 50; likewise Father Rogel, of the Society of Jesus, to teach the Indians. He departed with Father Francisco, Father Rogel's companion, and with the Indians of Tequesta, to take them to their cacique and tell him of the peace which had been concluded between him and Carlos. The Adelantado left Doña Antonia there with the Christians: he had no good opinion of her; she was much on the side of her brother Carlos, and very sad on account of the peace he had made with Tocobaga: she spoke very resentful words to the Adelantado because they had not burned and killed Tocobaga and his Indians, and burned the pueblo and the house of his idols; and [she said] that the Adelantado had two hearts, one for himself, and the other for Tocobaga, and that for herself and her brother he had none.

The Adelantado satisfied her as best he could, took leave of her,
and went to embark to go to Tequesta; and when the ships were on the point of sailing, to take back the Indians he had there, confirm the peace and go thence to the Forts of St. Augustine and San Mateo, he saw a vessel enter the harbor, whereat he was astonished, not knowing what she might be; and when she had anchored, he recognized her as a patache of his which he had left in the harbor of St. Augustine when he set forth with the armada against the corsairs. She had been sent to Havana from the Forts of St. Augustine, San Mateo and San Felipe, to give notice to the Adelantado that he must send supplies; and when that brigantine had reached Havana, Treasurer Juan de Ynistroza, the lieutenant of the Adelantado for the affairs of Florida in that town and island, sent her on with advices to the Adelantado, and she likewise brought letters from all the regidores of Havana. The situation was that when the Adelantado sailed from Havana on that last voyage, at the very time he wanted to leave, a captain called Pedro de Rodabán, one of those his Majesty had sent to the Adelantado with reinforcements, had risen in rebellion and escaped to the woods with the flag, with the design of passing over to New Spain, which was then in a disturbed state.

The Adelantado feared his going: he delayed several days, thinking he could seize him, and he instituted proceedings against him, summoning him to appear by proclamation, sentencing him as a rebel and notifying Governor García Osorio of the sentence, so that if that captain could be captured, they should send him to Spain, to his Majesty, with the papers in the case; and [his friends] wrote him by that brigantine that the day after the Adelantado left that town of Havana, Captain Rodabán was walking openly about that town, and accompanied the Governor, and dined with him, with many of the rebel soldiers who had fled from Florida; and that within 6 days after the Adelantado departed, the Governor had sent for Captain Baltasar de Barreda, whom the Adelantado had left in that town with 200 soldiers, for the defence of the fortress and the harbor thereof, as his Majesty ordered him. The captain went and found the Governor in the company of his Majesty’s officials of that island, and the regidores of the town; and the Governor made the captain sit near him, and
ordered his ensign and other gentlemen who came with him, to go out; and he told the captain that he wished to see the instructions he held from his Majesty for the defence of that fortress and harbor.

The captain said that the Adelantado had sent them to him originally by a notary, as his Majesty commanded him, but that he had with him there a certified copy thereof, with the order the Adelantado had left with him; and he put his hand in his pocket and drew it forth, and gave it to the Governor, who said that if it were not the original he did not wish to see it.

The captain replied that the notary who had signed it was one of those present there.

The Governor would not take it, and directed a notary who was present to order the town crier to make a proclamation that under penalty of death, all the soldiers of Captain Baltasar de Barreda's company were to keep to their barracks, and none should come out without his order and permission.

Captain Barreda was surprised thereat, and remained silent, answering nothing; and after a little he saluted the Governor, saying to him and most of those who were there that he kissed their hands, and he rose to go.

The Governor rose and laid hold of him, saying: "Prisoner of the King." Two alguaciles with 7 or 8 porquerones immediately came forward and seized the captain, but as they could not make him relinquish his sword which he held, they went circling round. His ensign who was outside—a good soldier, a gentleman from Trujillo, called...—heard the noise: he entered, and seeing how badly they were treating his captain, he grasped his sword and attacked like a lion those who were hemming in the captain: they left him and retreated into an apartment, and the Governor with them: they locked the door inside.

The captain and the ensign went out of the house: they found many soldiers coming, much disturbed: the captain ordered them to retire to the guard-house under penalty of death; and Captain Rodabán controlled many of Captain Baltasar de Barreda's soldiers, having

5 Constables or bailiffs.
6 Sheriff's officers.
caused them to mutiny; and he had gathered many others of the rebels, and it was said that they were in the Governor's house, so that Captain Baltasar de Barreda being seized, his flag and company should be delivered to Captain Rodabán. The Adelantado received certified testimony of all this by that brigantine, and a letter which all the regidores had written to him, beseeching him to come at once to Havana and remedy these things, because otherwise great evil might befall.

When the Adelantado had seen those dispatches, he sent the Indians to Tequesta and he went to Havana, and arrived within 3 days: Captain Rodabán at once absented himself in the woods.

He investigated what was happening, and was compelled to delay there a month, so as to see whether he could capture that Captain Rodabán, who had taken to the woods with 15 or 20 arquebusiers. He used spies and artifice so that he caught him, and brought him to justice: he sentenced Rodabán to be beheaded; he wanted this carried out: but many flocked to the Adelantado, requesting him to grant him an appeal, and advising that he should do it, in order the better to justify the case to his Majesty. The Adelantado granted it; and leaving matters there in as much security as he could, he sailed for Florida with some supplies obtained from other vessels which he had sent to Campeche to be laden with maize; he went to Tequesta, where he was very well received by that cacique and those Indians: he made great peace with them: they took him for their elder brother: he left there 30 soldiers, and . . . as their captain; and left them a saw, and some carpenters to build a blockhouse. He erected a cross with great devoutness: the Indians worshipped it: he left there Father Francisco, of the Society of Jesus: he remained 4 days in that pueblo: great was his satisfaction at seeing that every morning and evening all the Indian men and women, big and little, hastened to the cross to worship it and kiss it with great devotion. The cacique gave the Adelantado a brother of his and two principal Indians, one of whom was the captain of one of Carlos's villages, in order that he might carry them to Spain; and the Adelantado sailed with them, in good weather. The third day he arrived in San Mateo, where he found Gonzalo de Villarroel and his men, all very well; that Saturiba was mustering a great number
of warriors, and that some caciques and Indians, his subjects, had killed all his [de Villarroel’s] cattle. He held prisoners, in chains, Cacique Emoloa, a son of his, two others, heirs of two caciques; two other principal Indians of Saturiba, for there were 16 Indians in all, whom he held in prison, in chains; and the Adelantado learned how the camp master, with 3 brigantines, had sailed up that River of San Mateo for 50 leagues, as far as Macoya; and because he found a great number of Indians, and the river was narrow and both banks densely wooded, he had turned back, as he had no news of the Adelantado, who had told him that he himself would have to go inland from the side where Carlos lived. And although the Indians in Tocobaga had told the Adelantado, when he went there with the brigantines and left the Christians, that there was a river in those parts which went on to Macoya, he had but few men to go there, and there were many Indians, very warlike all of them, who were enemies of Tocobaga; but he had said] that when the Adelantado came another time, he and his warriors would go with him.

In agreement with Gonzalo de Villarroel, the Adelantado decided the second day after his arrival at San Mateo, to set free one Indian of those that Villarroel held prisoners in chains, and he sent him to Saturiba to tell him that the next day in the morning he should be at the point of the bar, which is two leagues from there, because the Adelantado wanted to go to St. Augustine and desired to see and speak with him, for the Adelantado had never seen this cacique and desired greatly to talk with him, and they said that the cacique liked the Adelantado very much, but stood in great fear of him.

Saturiba, who was 2 leagues from the fort of San Mateo, received the message: he replied to the Adelantado that he would go to the bar, as he ordered him to do, and he prayed him to bring the Indians with him, because he wanted to see them.

The next day in the morning the Adelantado departed from the fort, leaving the soldiers as much cheered as he could, entreating and encouraging them to be steadfast in the service of his Majesty, because he had to sail at once for Spain, as all prayed him to do in order that his Majesty might succor them with pay and supplies, in order to
clothe themselves, for they now went about little less naked than Indians. He took with him Gonzalo de Villarroel: they found Saturiba at the bar, quite a distance from the shore, and many Indians with him: the Adelantado brought there with him Emoloa and 6 other principal Indians: the Adelantado set one free and sent him to tell Saturiba to come down there to the shore, under the pledge of his word.

Saturiba replied that the Adelantado was to land Emoloa and the Indians he brought with him, because he wanted to speak to them first.

The Adelantado did so, but kept on them the chains which they had on their feet, and placed them in front of a brigantine, holding 20 arquebusiers in readiness and two demi-culverins with small shot, in order to be able to kill any Indians who might want to carry them off on their backs.

Saturiba would not come to speak to Emoloa: he sent two of his principal Indians, who spoke with him: these came and went between Saturiba and Emoloa for a space of more than two hours: it was found at the end that their parleying was for the purpose of freeing the Indians and inducing the Adelantado to land, so that they might shoot arrows at him and the soldiers he had with him, for the Indians Saturiba held in ambush were many; the Adelantado obtained knowledge of the plot from a soldier, a friend of Emoloa, who was entrusted with the task of feeding him and his Indians, and understood their language, although they did not know it. The Adelantado took back on board his brigantines Emoloa and the other Indian prisoners he had landed: he sent to tell Saturiba that he had always desired to be his friend, and desired it then also, and that it caused him great regret that he did not wish to be his: that from then on Saturiba should consider the Adelantado as his enemy, and to avenge the Christians he had treacherously killed, the Adelantado would command that his head be cut off, or that he be driven out of his country.

The cacique sent him many insulting messages, saying that although he had told the Adelantado's captains many times that he was his friend, he did not say it with a willing heart, because he held all Chris-
tians as enemies; and that the Adelantado and his soldiers were hens and cowards; that they ought to land and fight with him and his Indians.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Captain Enriquez Gives Trouble at St. Augustine. The Adelantado Makes War on Saturiba. Goes to Santa Elena. Las Alas to Be Lieutenant-Governor in His Absence. Captain Juan Pardo’s Successful Explorations.

The Adelantado left him, without desiring to answer him: he crossed the bar and went to St. Augustine, where he found the camp master and the other captains all well, although the soldiers of that fort were very discontented on account of the ill treatment they were receiving from Captain Miguel Enriquez, one of the captains his Majesty had sent with the reinforcements, and the great disobedience and lack of respect which he had shown by reason of the Adelantado’s absence, to his governor and alcaide of the fort, whom they honored and from whom they asked the password; for among other things which showed his insubordination was his changing, against the Governor’s will, the sentinels whom the Adelantado had ordered to be kept: and likewise against the Governor’s will, his commanding soldiers to bear arms who had been deprived of that privilege because of crimes they had committed, and his appointing them as sentinels. When the Governor wanted to strike a soldier for disrespect, the captain, sword in hand, rushed to take him away; and within 8 days as the captain could not punish any soldier of his in a criminal way because the Governor was there, he maimed two of them without bringing formal charges against them; clubbed an alguacil; and perpetrated other misdeeds, ugly and serious all of them, in opposition to his Governor whom he had obeyed as such. The Adelantado brought legal proceedings against him: he expressed his anger, impeaching [the captain] and receiving his answer: he refrained from working justice upon him because the Governor was Captain Bartolomé Menéndez, his brother.
The Adelantado gave this captain's company to Francisco Muñoz, and to his sergeant and officers: he delivered the captain's person, with the record of the case, to his Majesty and the Señores of the Royal Council of the Indies.

The Adelantado appointed Estébano de las Alas, who was there, his lieutenant of those provinces, as he had done before: he discussed in council the manner of war which was to be waged against Saturiba, and it was agreed upon; he left instructions concerning this, and before his departure he made an attack at 4 points, and went in person with 70 soldiers, to the place where Saturiba was understood to be. In order not to be heard, he marched ten leagues that night, until dawn: neither he nor the others could find Saturiba: about 30 Indians were killed: the Indians slew one sailor and 2 soldiers, and wounded 2 others, but not one of the men with the Adelantado was either hurt or wounded.

They retired to the Fort of St. Augustine: he spoke to the captains and soldiers who remained there, encouraging them and begging them to be very firm in the service of his Majesty. He embarked in a brigan­tine for Santa Elena, where is the Fort of San Felipe, and the camp master [went] in a frigate: the Adelantado took with him as prisoners the two captains, Miguel Enríquez and Pedro de Rodabán, to take them to Spain, and 3 principal Indians, one of them a son of Emoloa; and he freed Emoloa and all the other Indians, telling them that he would treat well the 3 whom he was taking to Spain, with the other 3 from Tequesta, and would bring them back; and that if Saturiba made war on the Christians, and Emoloa and his Indians, and the other principal Indians whom the Adelantado was setting free helped him [Saturiba], he would cut off the heads of those 3 he took with him; and with a prosperous wind, he arrived on the third day at Santa Elena and the Fort of San Felipe, where he found Captain Juan Pardo very well and all the soldiers much pleased with the fair country they had seen when they went inland about 150 leagues, and they had left a fort erected at the foot of the sierra, in the land of Cacique Joada. The Adelantado had received advices from his Majesty that a large armada of Lutheran corsairs had sailed from France bound for those parts as they said, and he should be thoroughly prepared for war;
wherefore the Adelantado had sent orders to Captain Juan Pardo that leaving some soldiers in that inland fort, to take care of the Indians and friendly caciques and teach them the doctrine, he should come at once to the coast and place himself in the Fort of San Felipe, so that if a French armada arrived there, they could defend the fort.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Menéndez Prepares to Go to Spain.

Captain Juan Pardo told the Adelantado of the great friendship the caciques and Indians of the inland country had shown him, and of the desire they had to be Christians like the Adelantado and take him for an elder brother, to do that which he should command them; that the caciques of the coast and their Indians of that province were just as friendly, and that all desired greatly to behold him and turn Christian.

The Adelantado would have liked well to tarry there a month, to confirm the friendship with these caciques and Indians; but the supplies he was leaving in the forts were very few and the rations the soldiers ate were very short; it was 10 months since he had written to his Majesty that he would soon be in Spain, and he had received intelligence that Flanders was in rebellion against his Majesty and that his Majesty was going there; and so, for the relief of the soldiers who were in Florida under his charge, as well as of those who were in the islands of Puerto Rico, Hispaniola and Cuba—that they might be succored and paid, for they suffered from great need of food and clothes—and in order that he might give a detailed account to his Majesty of the state of things in Florida and in all the islands and Indies, and of the robberies the corsairs were committing, for if a remedy were not found, so much would be lost; likewise [to suggest to his Majesty] how he could better conditions, and maintain the forts of Florida at much less cost to his Royal Exchequer; and to be able to serve him in the campaign of Flanders; he embarked in the frigate, which was of about 20 toneles, made to order and very swift
with both oars and sails. The brigantine he had brought from St. Augustine with that frigate was not strong enough, and she was laden with 50 hundredweight of biscuit and sent to St. Augustine and San Mateo, for as some of the soldiers of Fort San Felipe had gone inland, this biscuit had been saved.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

The Adelantado Sails from San Felipe for Spain, May 18th, 1567.¹

Mistaken for a Corsair on His Arrival.

The Adelantado took with him in the frigate the camp master and Francisco de Castañeda, Captain of the Adelantado's guard; Captain Juan Vélez de Medrano, to whom the Adelantado had given leave to return to Spain because of his lack of health; Francisco de Cepero, Diego de Miranda, Alonso and Juan de Valdés, . . . de Ayala,² the ensign of Captain Medrano; . . . de Salcedo, Juan de Aguiniga, Aº. de Cabra, Licentiate . . ., who was a priest; Captain Blas de Melro and other gentlemen, to the number of 25, all of them with their arquebuses and their good fire-arms; persons who were in the habit of accompanying the Adelantado and eating at his table, most of them; and there were 5 others who were sailors; for the rest of those soldiers were sailors as well, and understood navigation; [there were likewise] 6 Indians, and the 2 captains the Adelantado held prisoners, Pedro de Rodabán and Miguel Enríquez, 38 men in all. The Adelantado had such a prosperous wind, and the frigate was so fast, that in 17 days he sighted the islands of the Azores, having averaged 72 leagues a day, as will be seen on the chart of the voyage. When he saw the islands in such a short time he was greatly pleased, for that demonstrated the great swiftness of his frigate: he entered the harbor of Terceira Island: he had tidings that his Majesty was on his way to embark at Corunna, to go to Flanders, and it appeared to him that if he followed that course he might overtake him before his departure from Corunna, and that

¹ Barrientos, "Vida y Hechos," p. 144, in García, Dos Antiguas Relaciones.
² Graviel de Ayala.
he could flee by means of his oars and sails from the corsairs with large seagoing vessels he might encounter thereabouts; while if he took the course to Cape Saint Vincent of Seville, and ran across any Moorish *fustas*, they might overtake him by rowing. He had some contrary land winds until he reached Corunna, and arrived off that harbor on Saint Peter’s Day: near it, about 3 leagues away, he encountered two French vessels and an English one which pursued him: he ran from them and on the second day entered the harbor of Vivero, 20 leagues from Corunna, where he learned that his Majesty was at Court, that he had not left yet for Corunna. From Vivero he sent the two captive captains, Rodabán and Miguel Enríquez, and placed them in charge of Ensign Ayala, so that in custody and under good guard he might deliver them to the court prison and hand over the record of the case to the Royal Council of the Indies.

He wrote to his Majesty of his arrival in that harbor and that he would shortly go to kiss his hands; and the day following his arrival there, he left at noon for Avilés, 28 leagues from Vivero, where were his wife and his home: he had such a prosperous wind that in that same day he sailed 25 leagues and entered a bay they call Artedo, where were anchored 10 ships, which, when they saw that frigate of a new type, and so plentifully equipped with oars that she seemed like a Turkish craft of the seas of the Levant, were afraid of her, and the crews deserted their vessels and started to flee to land in the ships’ boats; and one of the vessels, which was laden with iron, ran aground in the sand; her hull was torn open, so that if the Adelantado were a corsair, he could not make away with her. He anchored with his frigate in the midst of those ships: there was not a man or a boat on board of them: he was very anxious at this, since one of them was stranded: he made great efforts, ordering a sailor of the frigate to call to some boat to come alongside. She carried 3 small pieces of bronze artillery, and two of the 5 sailors were very good baglers: the Adelantado, to avoid any disturbance, would not let them play their instruments or fire any artillery. The men on the frigate went to rest, since it was

*A lateen-rigged lighter; a boat with a triangular sail.*
already 10 o’clock at night, and no boat had come to reconnoitre the frigate: at midnight a boat arrived, well equipped with oars, and from a distance its men called to the men on the frigate, inquiring what vessel theirs was and where she came from: they answered them from the frigate that she belonged to the Adelantado Pedro Menéndez, who came from Florida, and asked them to come on board: the men in the boat feared to do so, thinking they were being deceived, for many of the sailors thereabouts knew the Adelantado well, and they said that they were afraid they were being deceived; that if the Adelantado would speak to them, they would certainly know him.

The Adelantado, who was listening, said to them: “My brothers, do me the favor of going to that vessel which is aground, going to pieces, and tell her crew that I am the Adelantado Pedro Menéndez and that I come from Florida, so that they may try to save their ship; and tell the same to the men of those other vessels, for it appears to me that they have fled to the woods, and left their vessels yonder to shift for themselves; and this done, return here, for I should like to speak to you.” They were to tell the masters of the other ships to come in their boats and board the frigate. They replied from the boat that his lordship was welcome, and they would go and do what he commanded them; and they did so at once. Those men in the boat were detained until dawn, giving notice to the crews who had fled from the vessels, and helping to save that ship laden with iron; and at daybreak they all came in their boats and boarded the frigate, where the Adelantado had a streamer of crimson damask unfurled as a standard, and a field banner, and he ordered the bugles to be sounded and the 3 artillery pieces to be fired: the boatmen were alarmed, thinking he was a corsair, and turned and fled: the only boat to remain was that which had first spoken the Adelantado, the men whereof had recognized him.

There were 5 Portuguese caravels, laden with salt; 3 others were fishing vessels, and the other two were laden, the one with iron and the other with lumber.

That boat turned back at once to reassure the rest, and they came on board the frigate to speak with the Adelantado: all were very glad to see him and marvelled . . . sailed such a distance in so small a
vessel; and certain it is that this is one of the . . . things which up to this day have been seen on the sea.

CHAPTER XXIX.

The Adelantado’s Triumphal Reception at Avilés. He Reports to the King. Calumnies and Criticisms against Him.

The Adelantado set sail, and within 2 hours he entered his town, where they already knew he was coming, because a man in the boat which was sent to land, to give notice who he was, went by land that night to ask the reward for good news from the Adelantado’s wife and kindred.

The rejoicing of his wife, relatives and neighbors was such, at his arrival in that town, that it cannot be described; for besides the fact that the Adelantado and his kindred are among the important persons of that district, he is so well beloved and well thought of by all, that many dropped on their knees, with their hands raised to heaven, praising Our Lord who had brought him safely home, and gazing at the frigate, at which they marvelled, seeing such a small vessel with so many banners and pennants, and the arquebuses and pieces of bronze artillery, which the men fired; and the sounding bugles, and strange, ragged-looking soldiers; it was as if a spell had been cast over all the beholders, as they stared at one another. The Adelantado went directly to the church, to render thanks to Our Lord and his blessed Mother for the mercy he had shown him in thus bringing him safely through the voyage: he was accompanied as far as his house by the inhabitants of the pueblo, and then he was received by his wife and daughters, and his sisters and nieces who were with them, awaiting the Adelantado, as may well be supposed. The Adelantado had been 18 years in the service of his Majesty, in the capacity of Captain-General of the armadas of the coasts of Biscay, the Asturias and Flanders, and of the Carrera of the Indies, during which time he had been at his home but 4 times and in them . . . 1 [the Adelantado] was received very favor-

1 There are so many words missing in this part of the Merás manuscript (Rui-
ably by his Majesty, who considered that the expedition had been a great service and [said] that he would reward him. The Adelantado related at length the destruction of Ribao and the other heretics, and that within 300 leagues of coast he had discovered 4 harbors, the shallowest having at least 4 fathoms at high tide, and 20 others of two fathoms and a half, all of which he had entered and reconnoitred in person with 4 or 5 brigantines, exploring them, taking soundings and marking the entrances; that he had established peace and friendship with the caciques within those 300 leagues, except Saturiba, who would not have it; that he had made 7 settlements, 3 forts and 4 pueblos; and he gave an account of the fortifications of St. Augustine, San Mateo, San Felipe; of 5 other blockhouses he left, with soldiers and munitions, in Ays, Tequesta, Carlos, Tocobaga and of that which Juan Pardo erected inland.

díaz, La Florida, I, pp. 316-317) that the description of these events is also given here as supplied from Barrientos:

In 18 years the Adelantado had come home but four times, during which he did not stop twenty days: this time he remained. The camp master, whose home was four leagues from there, went to see his parents: the Adelantado went to Madrid to kiss the hands of his Majesty, where he arrived on the 20th of July with six naked Indians, with their bows and arrows, in the same manner as they went about in Florida. He gave his Majesty an account of the state of affairs in Florida and of the soldiers' need of supplies; of the harm the corsairs were doing to the trade of the Indies and in all the islands, and of the danger run by the fleets which carried the money: his Majesty provided immediately that the soldiers should be succored, and commanded him to give recommendations on the best measures that could be adopted for punishing the corsairs who, in times of peace, sailed about in those parts, robbing the King's subjects, in order to lessen the damage they might inflict. He commanded that the Adelantado should hold himself in readiness for the voyage he was to make to Flanders, and that the succor for the Florida soldiers should be sent by one of the captains he brought with him. After the Adelantado had replied to him that in the one and the other [matter] he would beseech Our Lord to favor him, that he might be able to succeed in serving his Majesty, he approached to kiss his royal hands. His Majesty thanked the camp master, who was only as yet 24 years old, because he had served signally in that expedition and knew well how to conduct himself, and because he had been previously a soldier in Italy: he held to his credit the campaign he had made, and did the same with the other captains and gentlemen [the Adelantado] brought with him. Barrientos in García, pp. 145-146.
The King was much pleased to see the Indians, and he and the members of the Council were so satisfied that they asked the Adelantado to put in writing what presented itself to his mind about the matters concerning the Indies, and particularly Florida, which he did; they asked him for a memorandum of many things in order to provide them, which he gave.

Among the things he said was this: many captains and soldiers among the Florida mutineers had made reports wherever they arrived, before the Governor of Havana and other courts of justice, some taking oaths in favor of the others [to the effect] that they had served very well, and more signally than those who remained there [in Florida] in the service of his Majesty, [who were] those who had distinguished themselves in his royal service, in the capture of the forts from the Lutherans as well as in sharing the hardships, famines and dangers, and wars with the Indians, which occurred in that country. Through these reports which the mutineers made, so favorable to themselves, they felt so confident that they all, captains as well as soldiers, spread them all over the Indies and Spain, in order to vindicate their weakness at the time they had mutinied, and had taken prisoners the camp master, the officials of justice and the regimiento, spiked the guns and seized their supplies, leaving them without any; and the Indians being friendly, had killed three of the principal ones, that the caciques and Indians of that land might unite, as they did, and kill the camp master and the soldiers, who remained in the forts without any food; because in this manner those Spaniards who remained in Florida would perish, and his Majesty reward the mutineers liberally, in return for their report.

Wherever these rebels were, they spoke ill of the Adelantado and all those who remained with him, and this they based on many lies and falsehoods, giving the best reasons they could, in order to be believed.

Some begged his Majesty to grant them favors for their services, which his Majesty postponed doing until the arrival of the Adelantado.

*Here follows the last leaf of the manuscript.*
tado; and as he reported on several of these matters, they absented themselves.

The Adelantado saw that some of the members of the Royal Council of the Indies had become convinced to his detriment, that what these mutineers said was the truth. Several others of his Majesty's ministers, who were close to his royal person, held the belief that the Adelantado, in some things, went beyond what was reasonable; and it appeared to them that the Adelantado had undertaken that expedition and enterprise more for his particular interest than for the service of God Our Lord and of his Majesty; which was quite the reverse, as was seen and known; and he had been the same all the time he had served his Majesty, as is notorious through his experience of 18 years during which he was Captain-General, fulfilling such important duties with large armadas; a position of such trust, honor and profit, that if he had so desired, he could have become very rich; but without being reckless, or making heavy expenditures, he had two very good galleons and thirty thousand ducats in money before being general of his Majesty's armada; and since then he had made prosperous ventures and voyages with many galleons, vessels, armed ships, zabras and pataches of his own, wherewith he has won great renown in the short and successful voyages he has undertaken; and he has held his profits very much at the service of his Majesty and without prejudice to his office, in which he has made more than two hundred thousand ducats. All this he has spent, like a good captain, for things needful in the service of his Majesty, that the affairs in his charge might come to a successful issue, for neither his Majesty nor his ministers would provide them; and in carrying very good captains and soldiers, people of standing and trust, both sailors and soldiers, in all the fleets under his command, to whom he gave many inducements, as neither his Majesty nor his ministers would do so. And because he never called on his Majesty for more pay and perquisites than were due him for the time he actually served, and this was less than was given to other generals; and the voyage once ended, his Majesty dismissed him; and until another offered itself, there remained under his care the captains, officials, and noblemen who
followed him and served his Majesty in his company, whom he main-
tained like . . . ²

² This is the abrupt termination of the manuscript copy of the Menéndez
"Memorial" by Gonzalo Solís de Merás. The version of the rest of the Adelantado's career as given by Barcia in his Ensayo Cronologico para la Historia
General de la Florida, has been condensed by Ruidíaz as a conclusion. I give the
remainder of the Adelantado's story in Barcia's own words, unchanged and
unabridged. Barcia's account of the Jesuit Missions (cf. pp. 32, 33), is omitted;
also his description of Dominique de Gourgues' expedition in 1568 to avenge
Ribaut, during the absence of Menéndez in Spain (cf. p. 28). The original
narratives of these events do not contain the errors made by Barcia in the
Ensayo Cronologico, and will be published in another work.
Year MDLXVIII. The Adelantado Pedro Menéndez was in Spain, making great efforts in order that apostolical preachers might go to Florida, and attending his suit against the Fiscal of the Council of the Indies, on the matter of the cost of the galleon San Pelayo being refunded to him, and other disbursements he had made outside the terms of his asiento; and the suit having been ended on March 13th, he departed for San Lucar to prepare for his voyage to Florida, his Majesty having appointed him Governor of Cuba, and succored him with 200,000 ducats as an aid to expenses (as Illescas says). He took all he needed, and 10 missionaries.

Year MDLXXII. The Adelantado Pedro Menéndez set sail from Seville with the Fleet of Tierra Firme. The galleon San Felipe caught fire in the Gulf of Las Yeguas, without its being possible to save anyone of those on board. The Adelantado arrived in Havana; he went on to Florida and found eight married residents in St. Augustine, and forty-eight in Santa Elena. He succored both presidios abundantly, with hopes that their population would increase.

Year MDLXXIII. Reconocimiento of the East Coast of Florida by Pedro Menéndez Marqués.

Year MDLXXIV. The Adelantado returned to Spain by order of the King, who commanded him to remain there for matters pertaining to his service. He gave an account of the condition in which he left Florida and the Carrera of the Indies: he claimed that they should pay him large sums due him, with warrants and without them, and on the 16th of February 1,591,200 maravedis were ordered to be reimbursed to him, with which he had succored 312 soldiers whom his Majesty

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1 Ensayo Cronologico, p. 137.
2 Ibid., p. 145.
3 Ibid., p. 146.
4 Cf. p. 30. To be published shortly.
5 Ensayo, p. 149.
sent to Florida, in the years 1565 and 1566; wherefore a *sobre-cédula*\(^6\) was dispatched, repeating those which had been given out on the 13th of October and the 19th of December, 1569. He likewise obtained another *sobre-cédula* on the 18th of February, to the effect that 5,000 ducats should be paid him in Panama; which was spoken of in the year 1570. And on the 19th of March they delivered to him 1,000 ducats as damages in addition to the salary, for what was earned by the Adelantado’s own frigates, that came as a protection for the fleet in the aforesaid year 1569.

The soldiers who came from Florida in his company, arrived in Seville well and strong, because of having used the water from sassafras wood. The faith they had in the virtue of this tree was so great, that Doctor Nicolás Monardes (who was the first to write in detail on the simple medicines of the West Indies; whose work Carlos Clusio translated into Latin, after he had travelled in Spain, and added very scholarly notes) certifies that when he was with some soldiers, informing himself about the tree, the greater part of them took a good-sized piece of it out of their pockets, saying to him: *Here you see this wood, which we all carry with us to cure us if we fall ill, as we did in Florida;* and each one would relate, with great exaggeration, the prodigy it had accomplished for him.

Monardes, having faith in so many experiences as they reported, and seeing that the soldiers who had not used it, were weak, swollen and pale, in danger of losing their lives; reduced to a system the portion of water to be taken; for up to then the Indians, Spaniards and Frenchmen had made use thereof without weighing or measuring it, in such wise that they followed no rule in the manner of doing the cooking; rather did each one do it as appeared best to him, but always with good effect; and they felt that their health in the Indies was so safe with this remedy, that if any soldiers fell ill where the tree did not grow, either they brought it, or they sent the sick men to Santa Elena or San Mateo in order that they might be cured of all the diseases they suffered from; whether they were chills or fever, light cases or severe ones; and so they were not afraid of being ill, because

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\(^6\) A *sobre-cédula* repeated the contents of another cédula or decree.
they believed that wood to be an universal remedy. It was only when there was hunger in the presidio that the soldiers refrained from drinking the [sassafras] water, for it increased it till it became unbearable; and many times did they prefer to suffer from the illness which afflicted them, rather than endure the hunger that water caused them.

The King entrusted to the Adelantado the preparation of the armada destined, it was said, for Flanders and England, with entire confidence in his zeal and prudent disposition, offering him a reward for his great services, as at other times; and he appointed as a successor to the Generalship of the Armada of the Carrera of the Indies, Diego Flores de Valdés, a relative of the Adelantado: he ordered a royal cédula to be dispatched on the 18th of February, commissioning Domingo Gamarra, the Accountant of the armada, to audit the accounts of the Adelantado: of what he had had under his charge at the time that he was General thereof. The accounts could not be finished before the armada sailed and Diego Flores de Valdés was ordered to pay him from the armada's subsidy, six thousand ducats which he had spent from his estate in fitting out with supplies the galleon San Thadeo and four frigates; and although Diego Flores wanted to carry this out, he did not then have the funds; but the Adelantado gained all the favor of the King, who, in order to have before him always such a valiant man, and lover of the royal glory, commanded that he should be painted as one of the most remarkable men of his time, and that his picture be placed in the palace gallery; and he sent him the title of General of the large armada which was being assembled in Santander. Having received that honor, he abandoned his own interests more and more, for he dedicated himself so earnestly to the new and difficult office that the King found that his confidence was well placed: since the Adelantado furthered by all the means he could the splendor of the crown, preserving its funds without wasting them on useless and ostentatious objects. He had a private correspondence with the King and his Councils of War, of State and of the Indies, which held such a high idea of his prudent experience and religious truth, that they decided few things of importance without his opinion: to this point was he led by his goodness and valor, and the distinction
of being the most able seaman known, since he facilitated the navigation of the ocean, which formerly was so difficult and perilous, by the more than 50 voyages he made to the Indies.

Having departed from the Court, in Biscay, he proposed immediately to the Council of War that the license for the Newfoundland fisheries be denied to the vessels which had gone to Portugal for salt, because the multitude of pirates made their risk evident; and by denying it, the enemy would be deprived of that profit which they had obtained a short time previously, when they captured three Spanish vessels, very well armed, which were going to Newfoundland: the pirates reinforced their ships with artillery, and increased their number. In the matter of preparing the armada of which the Adelantado had been named General, he pointed out the difficulty of assembling men and sailors, and [procuring] the money to satisfy them. To overcome this, orders were given him on July 29th, to compel pilots, sailors and surgeons to embark; and to appoint persons who should raise soldiers and sailors in the districts of Castile, Leon, Biscay and other parts; sending word to Count de Olivares, Chief Royal Accountant, to give him all the funds needful; charging him to have a good understanding with him, as the armada’s being promptly in readiness was of such importance. These measures caused the English so much anxiety that they began to form another armada with great haste, in order to learn the purpose of that which Pedro Menéndez was assembling; but they could never find it out, for only the King, the Adelantado and some trusted councillors knew the secret. The King granted him all the authority and powers he asked for, and on the 8th day of September the Royal Ministers delivered the armada to him as Captain-General, which was composed of 300 sails and 20,000 men; [the occasion being observed] with great rejoicings, gun salutes and ceremonies. It was one of the greatest celebrations that could be seen; but that same day he was attacked by such a violent fever that they despaired of him: he received all the sacraments, made his will and died on the 17th day, converting the joy of all into weeping: fearful were the lamentations of so many relatives, friends and followers, and the be-
wilderment of all was so great that the armada could not be kept together nor could the King find anyone to whom to entrust it.

And in view of what has been said of his house and family under the year 1565, it will be a worthy task, deserving the highest consideration, to show the ancient and venerable family of so great a hero.

THE TREE. 7

He died so poor that there was not enough to carry out the conditions of his will, leaving to his fame the more reason to glorify his poverty, which was caused by his expenditures in the royal service, extending the monarchy's dominions and defending his country against the wrongs done it and so many tyrants who wickedly attacked it; and to his greater honor be it said, he not only exhausted his estate, which might have been the most opulent of that century, but that of his kindred and friends, exposing the lives of all for the protection of the kingdom, and losing in his enterprises and conquests one son, two brothers, and many relatives and friends, who were among the most prominent gentlemen of Spain.

He declared in his sealed will, 8 which he executed in Santander on the 15th of September, that he had served 32 years as Captain-General of the royal armadas; and he supplicated the King to grant him the favor of ordering, as he had so many times offered to do, that he be paid what was due him, so that he might satisfy his debts, because he left no property theretofore. He left two daughters: Doña Catalina, married to Hernando de Miranda, and Doña María, a professed nun in Las Huelgas at Avila; 9 and, as his executor, Pedro del Castillo, regi-

7 This is obviously an allusion to his genealogical tree, which may be the "Casa de los Adelantados de la Florida" inserted immediately before the First Decade of the Ensayo Cronologico, and which contains some serious mistakes.
9 This is a mistake, repeated from the genealogical tree. The will of Menéndez speaks of Doña María as being married to Diego de Velasco. They had six children. Cf. Ruidíaz, La Florida, II, p. 518; also "Información de algunos servicios," A. G. de I., 1-2-1/18; La Florida, II, p. 590.
of Cadiz, his intimate friend; he ordered his daughter Doña Catalina to continue the suit which he had pending against the Fiscal of the Council of the Indies, in the matter of his being given satisfaction for what he had spent as a surplus in the conquest and settlement of Florida: he directed that if any property of his remained, a mayorazgo should be founded, whereof he named as first heir Doña Catalina, [who was] his daughter and the daughter of his wife, Doña María de Solís; and Doña Catalina’s children and descendants; and in default of any he named Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, his nephew (the son of his brother, Alvaro Sánchez), who was killed by the Indians of Florida, and left one son, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, who worked hard, but with little result, to restore the memory of the Adelantado in the creation of his mayorazgo, which his posterity preserves with great renown, as may be seen in the Tree; although his descendants, imitating the goodness and virtue of their ancestors, have tried more to serve the King, than to increase their patrimony by making petitions for the reward which was deserved by the great services the Adelantado had rendered.

He likewise directed in his will that they should bury him in the town of Avilés; and in fulfilment of his wishes, his body was placed on board a ship accompanied by many prominent captains, and his relatives and friends; but the ocean tempests were so great during those days, that they could not reach the port of Avilés; finding themselves obliged to put into the harbor of Llanes, and to deposit him in that church, with the greatest solemnity that was ever seen; for besides the military ceremonies with which he was honored by the captains and soldiers who accompanied him, innumerable people from those districts attended to celebrate the obsequies.

Afterward, in fulfilment of his wishes, his body was removed to the parish of Saint Nicholas in the town of Avilés, in a casket fastened with iron, with its cross-bars and locks; which they placed in the sepulchre itself, which in the church referred to is on one side of the altar, inserted in the wall and raised six feet above the pavement. Above the niche occupied by the casket and sepulchre is the coat-of-arms that the

10 An entailed estate.
Holy King Don Fernando gave to this family; on one side of the escutcheon, which is divided, there is a ship with a saw at the prow, attacking a chain fastened to two castles, and on the other there are five fleurs-de-lys. Under the casket the following epitaph is inscribed:

"Here lies interred the very illustrious cavalier, Pedro Menéndez de Aviles, native of this town, Adelantado of the Provinces of Florida, Commander of the Holy Cross of La Carlota, of the Order of Santiago, and Cán. Gen. of the Ocean Sea and of the Catholic Armada which the Lord Philip II assembled against England in the year 1574, at Santander, where he died on the 17th of September of the said year being 55 years of age."
Concerning Doña Catalina, Elder Daughter of the Adelantado.

Year MDLXXV.¹ Doña Catalina Menéndez de Avilés, daughter of the Adelantado, who was married to Hernando de Miranda,² had recourse to the Council of the Indies, setting forth the death of her father, his great services and the urgent need wherein she found herself; begging that, by means of a Treasury order, she might be assisted to fulfill the will. On the 21st of June, it was ordered that 1,000 ducats be delivered to her, a royal cédula being dispatched to the Official Judges of the Casa de la Contratación of Seville, Francisco Duarte, Ortega de Melgoso and Don Francisco Tello.

But this amount did not suffice to alleviate the penury wherein the royal service had placed the Adelantado, nor would it have sufficed though it had been greater, because on the 24th of August the Fiscal, in the name of the Council of the Indies, had all his property attached; which occasioned such great lawsuits and dissensions that if the inheritance of the Adelantado had consisted of many millions, they would have been consumed.

Doña Catalina, on account of not being able to live at court in a manner corresponding to her position, maintained herself in the town of Grado: although on the 17th of May the King had commanded that to Hernando de Miranda should be fulfilled all that had been offered to the Adelantado in regard to the Adelantadoship and government of Florida and the other agreements.

¹ Ensayo Cronologico, p. 152.
² After his death she married Hernando de las Alas, according to Ensayo Cronologico, the “Casa de los Adelantados,” before the First Decade.
There is little doubt as to the site of the massacres, yet it may be opportune to give the beginning and the end of an interesting letter of Benjamin E. Dupont, one of the well-known planters near Matanzas Inlet in the middle of the last century. It is undated and was written to Buckingham Smith, at St. Augustine, probably in the late fifties or early sixties, after he had been a Secretary of the United States Legation at Madrid, and had made his Collection of Transcripts of Spanish MSS. relating to American History. Mr. Smith and Mr. Dupont had evidently been discussing the site of the massacres, according to Mr. Dupont's letter:

“To Mr. Smith,

Dear Sir:

I have read the book you lent me, very carefully, and here return it to you, with a hasty sketch of the Matanzas River, the Bar and environs. The figure 1 shows where the St. Augustine light-house is situated; 2, some palmetto huts built by my Father on Anastatia Island, some two months ago; 3, Matanzas Fort; 4, the place where the French probably stood, and from where they were taken by the Spaniards over the Bar to No. 2 on Anastatia Island. . . .

I think the French were murdered at what is now the south end of Anastatia Island, near some palmetto huts built there lately by my Father to remove his negroes to in case the Indians broke out. No. 2 represents the place. In the rear are two high sand-hills. James Pellicer coincides with me in this opinion. (He says an account of this massacre is to be found in the Archives.)

Yours truly, in haste,

Benj. E. Dupont.¹

To Mr. B. Smith,

St. Augustine,

E. Fa.”

Sobre yo fui de la tierra, y por se vio cabecar 0 en defensa
que parto de la costa y aun la ruta de la nuca española, lleva
a tamborear a más de veinte días, tampoco la boveda me
menguó de mucho, el cielo de triste con la sombra de las
facciones de laque, tampoco se vería on la parte nubosa de la
la fortuna de la que me traje. Sólo pensaba que fueran quedas
algunos años.
Como en abuela habría en su manco quedada, con la tensión para
amarse y con la armada con su velo 0le circunscribir así y tan
de la bandada, y más a cuidar las en caso uno bienes y que
muertos del mundo, hombres de mal y guerra rara vez
principal, mucha que se quedaba para una, y así no
no puede matar en ella y por la guerra de Flanda en
poca el buque me suele, pero de saber con mucho por
la que sufriendo de los, de su querer de soñar, a la
porque había como el tribuno en el entendido no saber
me entendían. Enjunio no pensó en el de su
ocupada una madera a la flotación de la guerra duraron
punta de 4, y que la tierra no se pesas su nombre
sobre ingenuo de remito, lezón que el principal es
nadar. También pongo de en remision de Dios 0 Rey
que lo hagas la tierra, no sí, de la

Plato 4

Portion of last letter of Pedro Monández de Avilés, unsigned, but
the only one known to be written entirely in his own hand.
APPENDIX C.

Last Letter of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés Addressed to His Nephew, Pedro Menéndez Marqués. 1

Most Magnificent Señor.

Today is the seventh of September, '74, and I have received no letter from Your Honor since I departed from that coast [of Florida]; and although the Fleet of New Spain arrived at San Lucar more than twenty days since, neither have I had one by it, nor news of your health, which may God preserve to Your Honor with such increase therein as I desire. Neither have I had tidings of Florida by that fleet, other than those brought me by Juan de Quiros, which were that all were well.

As Your Honor will have learned, his Majesty commanded me to remain on this coast to assemble a large armada wherewith I might succor his States of Flandes, and so I held it ready during all of June; [it is composed] of one hundred and fifty sails and twelve thousand soldiers and sailors, very splendid and important people; for there has not remained one skilful man in these parts who has not placed himself therein, but as the war in Flanders is going much better, and the Turk has brought down La Goleta with a great force, [his Majesty] wished the armada to remain here quietly for a succor at the greatest need. And as winter has set in, I know not what they will order me; I have been notified that Pedro del Castillo wants to dispatch a zabra to Florida. I wish to give Your Honor an account of this, and [to tell you] that the work here is unbearable, and without any kind of reward; besides the fact that the principal thing is to be likewise occupied in the service of God and of the King, against those Lutheran heretics, for the increase of our Holy Catholic Faith; 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.

And therefore, when I expressed to his Majesty the discontent I feel

at finding myself separated from Florida, he did me the favor to tell me that every time it shall be possible to give me leave for it he will do it very willingly; and I hope to God he will do so in the spring, for I hold that without doubt the affair of Flanders will be arranged this winter, and when that is accomplished, I shall be at liberty to go at once to Florida, not to leave it as long as I live; for that is all my longing and happiness. May Our Lord do this as he can, and may he see that it is needful.  

It appears that the Audiencia of New Spain wrote to his Majesty that my conquest through Pánuco is to be understood [to start] from the River of Palms, which is forty leagues from there; and when I heard this, I went to court by order of his Majesty. I complained of this to the Council, and they decreed it again, by approving the asiento, the cédula for which I am sending to Licentiate Lope de Miranda so that possession may be taken, and Don Luis de Velasco be written to that he shall do this in my name, in case Your Honor should not go to do it; which would be for me the greatest satisfaction. It is certain that as for me, I consider that it is one of the best asientos which have been granted for all the settlers who may come there, who will be fully contented; although I shall always keep my dwelling and establishment where I have it, moving if I go to Guatari or Cano, or to the best site of fertile land there may be in the interior, not far from the sea-coast.

I have ready a great number of farmers in this home land, as well as Portuguese from the River of Miño, in order that they may embark at Bayonne; all of them people trained to many tasks, and [among the] tradesmen, stone-cutters and carpenters, who appear to me to be...
among the most useful there are in these kingdoms, very suitable for the settlements we have at present in Florida, as they are for those we have to make; and for Pánuco, if this should seem good to Your Honor. As for me, I should be very glad if Your Honor could arrange on receiving this letter, to come over to see me, for I hold that without doubt I shall be in Madrid in the coming month of March or April; because even if I go into Flanders, it is agreed that I shall be there [in Madrid] at that time, so that should it be necessary to increase the armada with large ships and galleys, his Majesty will be able to do it, and be so powerful in this western sea, and especially in Flanders, England and France, that there could be no resistance against the armada he would bring, and he could end everything at one time; although, as I have said, I hope to God that the matter will be decided this winter, and if I be free we can go back together; and if not, Your Honor can sail with very good succor, not only for the settled regions but for that of Pánuco.

You shall take as settlers and soldiers, many and good people, after which I shall be able to rest, having provided moderately in the one and the other for a good beginning, so that the Holy Gospel may be implanted in those provinces in perpetuity. And in order that that succor may be increased as much as possible, Your Honor shall bring me the greatest amount you can from the funds which are due me in Florida, and that belong to me from the munitions and supplies I have contributed and still contribute every day; and you shall deliver it all to Pedro del Castillo, so that by means of the order I shall give him, he may provide Your Honor with everything you may need.

You can come over in a short time with some swift frigate, with oars and sails, which will be able to weather storms; and arrived in these kingdoms, you can meet me wherever I may be, so that after we have been together, Your Honor may return alone with all speed, in case I cannot go so soon.

I kiss the hands of Señora Doña María; and since Your Honor has to come here, it is my opinion and advice that you leave her in Florida,

---

8 The wife of Pedro Menéndez. Marqués, María de Miranda.
where she will be better served and treated than in any other part of the Indies.

I am sending the duplicate of this letter to Don Diego de Velasco, and to Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, my nephew, so that in case Your Honor should not be in Florida, it may be forwarded to you wherever you may be, and you may receive it shortly, and decide from it what you have to do. I am not writing to Señores Bernaldo de Miranda and Diego Londonio de Otalora, for I have nothing to say; Your Honor will give them my compliments, and they will consider this letter as theirs, for I wish I might be able to do them a favor, and if I should be, I shall not fail to do so.

I kiss the hands of Señoras Doña Elvira and Doña Catalina, not forgetting Doña Magdalena, for as I am not in Florida, I regret to think of her as being there; I shall help her as though she were my own daughter, and shall do the same for Doña María de Solís, my niece, not forgetting those whom Don Diego de Velasco took with him. If from this letter it should appear to Your Honor that you should first take possession of Pánuco, and collect some of the subsidy due in Mexico in order to take with you a moderate sum of money, you may do so, providing that there be no delay because of this in the coming of Your Honor; and that in case you do not take possession, the period for establishing my pueblos does not expire.

Let Your Honor consider and reflect on the one and the other, and do what seems best to you, as I leave everything to you in this matter. And may Our Lord enlighten you so that you succeed in choosing the better [course], and may he protect and increase Your Honor's most magnificent person and house, as I desire it.

From Santander,
on the 8th of September, 1574.

* Probably meant for Hernando de Miranda, son-in-law of the Adelantado.
APPENDIX D.

*Capitulación y Asiento. The King's Agreement and Contract with Pedro Menéndez de Avilés for the Conquest and Settlement of Florida.*

The King:—Whereas we have given *asientos* at various times for the discovery and settlement of the provinces of Florida, and likewise charged Don Luis de Velasco, who was our Viceroy of New Spain, to send a certain number of people and religious to settle that country, and an *asiento* was last made concerning this with Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon; and efforts have been made by the persons to whom we gave the said *asientos*, as well as by the Viceroy aforesaid; never up to now has that land been colonized; nor has what we desired, which was the aforesaid settlement, been accomplished; nor the teaching and conversion of the natives of those provinces, and the bringing them into our Holy Catholic Faith; and as we have in mind the good and the salvation of those souls, we have decided to give the order to send religious persons to instruct the said Indians, and those other people who are good Christians and our subjects, so that they may live among and talk to the natives there may be in those lands and provinces of Florida, and that [the Indians] by intercourse and conversation with them may more easily be taught our Holy Catholic Faith and be brought to good usages and customs, and perfect polity. And to you, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, Knight of the Order of Santiago, have I offered and do offer, because of the desire you have for the service of God Our Lord, and for the increase to the Royal Crown of these kingdoms, that during the coming month of May of this present year, you shall hold ready and prepared to sail, in San Lucar de Barrameda, in the port of Santa Maria or in the Bay of Cadiz, in order to depart with the first opportunity, six shallops of fifty *toneles* each, more or less; and four swift *zabras*, with their oars, arms and munitions, laden with supplies and fully prepared for war; and that you shall take five hundred men,

one hundred of them farmers and one hundred sailors, and the rest of
them naval and military men and officials, others professional stone-
cutters, carpenters, sawyers, smiths, barbers, locksmiths; all of them
with their arms, arquebuses and crossbows, and helmets and bucklers,
and the other offensive and defensive weapons which you may see fit
and which may be suitable for the said voyage; and two priests; and
that you shall do other things declared above, all of this at your cost
and under your commission, without Our being obligated, or the Kings
who may come after Us, to pay or indemnify you anything thereof
other than what may be conceded to you by this Agreement, as you
have entreated me to make it with you and to grant you certain favors;
whereupon, because of the confidence and satisfaction we have in you;
because the qualities required are found in you, and because you have
served Us often and well; I commanded that with you, the said Pedro
Menéndez de Avilés, the following agreement and asiento be made:

Firstly, you, the said Pedro Menéndez, bind and commit yourself to
hold ready and prepared to sail, for the said month of May, in San
Lucar, Cadiz or the port of Santa Maria, the said six shallops of the
tonnage mentioned; and four swift zabras with their oars, arms, artill­
ery and munitions, laden with supplies and fully prepared for war;
and to take the five hundred men aforesaid, and among them seamen
and soldiers, priests and tradesmen, as has been said.

Item: You shall offer and bind yourself to hold ready for the said
time, the galleon you have, called San Pelayo, which has a capacity of
more than six hundred tonelos and is new, about to make her first voy­
age; and you shall load and sail her for whatever place in the Indies
you may choose, laden to half or two thirds of what she can carry, and
the remaining space you shall leave vacant to take over therein about
three hundred men of the five hundred aforesaid whom you must
carry thus, and any food and sustenance they may need, as far as
Dominica or the Cape of Tiburon, or the Cape of San Antón, as you
shall prefer, which is seventy leagues from Havana, more or less, and
as many more from Florida; because the said shallops being small and
open vessels, cannot carry the said people, and they would sicken and
die with the great heat from the sun and the heavy showers there are in
the said parts; nor could they take the supplies necessary for the men aforesaid, as the voyage is long. And on arriving at Dominica, or the place which may appear best to you, you shall transfer the men from the said galleon to the said shallops, and the said galleon shall continue her voyage, and you shall go with the said shallops and four zabras, and the said five hundred men, supplied and prepared for war as has been said, to the coast of Florida, where you pledge yourself to test and reconnoitre the best and most convenient places of the said coast, as it seems to you; coasting along by sea and searching and investigating on land where a harbor and place for a settlement can best be found; and you will try to obtain information as to whether there are on the said coast or [in the said] country, any settlers who are corsairs, or of any other nations not subject to Us, and you shall endeavor to cast them out by the best means that seem to you possible; you shall take the said land of Florida for Us and in our name, trying to attract the natives thereof to our obedience; and you shall explore from Los Ancones and the Bay of San Josepe, which is one league from Florida toward the west, as far as the Cape of Los Mártires, in twenty-five degrees; and thence as far as Terranova, which lies between fifty and sixty degrees [north latitude], east or west and north and south: the whole coast, in order to reconnoitre and test the harbors and currents, rocks and shoals and inlets there may be on the aforesaid coast; having them marked and indicated as accurately as you can by their latitudes and ships’ courses, so that the secret of the said coast and the harbors which may be thereon, shall be known and understood; and you must do what you can within this year, and the rest within three years, the period wherein by this asiento you obligate yourself to settle the aforesaid country.

Furthermore: You offer and pledge yourself to take over on the said voyage sufficient supplies for all the said five hundred men for one year, the time being counted from when the men shall be on the ships ready to depart.

2 "Y de allí hasta la Terranova, que está de cinquenta grados, hasta sesenta del Este ó Hueste y Norte Sur . . ." This would have brought him to Hudson Strait and the northeastern point of Labrador.
Item: You pledge yourself that in the three years following the
day you set sail, you will bring to the said land and coast of Florida
about five hundred men to be settlers thereof, two hundred of whom
shall be married, or one hundred at least; and the rest for the greater
part must be farmers and workmen, in order that the land may be
cultivated with more ease; and they shall be people of pure descent
and not of those who are prohibited.  

Item: You offer and pledge yourself that with the aforesaid people
you will build and settle, within the said three years, two or three
towns of at least one hundred inhabitants each, in the parts and places
which shall seem best to you; and that in each of them there shall be a
large house of stone, mud or wood, according to the nature and charac­
ter of the land, with its moat and drawbridge; the most substantial
that can be built according to weather and circumstances, so that in
case of need the residents may gather therein and shelter themselves
from the perils which may beset them from Indians, corsairs or other
people.

Furthermore: You offer and pledge yourself that within the said
time, and among the number of the said people whom you bind your­
self to take, you will include at least ten or twelve religious, of the
Order which may appear best to you: persons who are of a good life
and example; likewise four others of the Society of Jesus, so that there
may be religious instruction in the said land, and the Indians can be
converted to our Holy Catholic Faith and to our obedience.

Furthermore: You pledge yourself to bring to the said country
within the said time, one hundred horses and mares, two hundred
calves, four hundred swine, four hundred sheep and some goats, and
all the other cattle and live stock that shall seem proper to you.

Item: You offer that in all that is possible to you the said voyage
for discovery and settlement shall be with all peace and amity, and in
a Christian spirit; and you will carry on the government of the people
under your charge with the greatest Christianity and best treatment
that you can, so that in everything Our Lord and Ourselves may be

8 "Y que sea gente limpia y no de los prohibidos." There were to be no heretics
or other undesirable persons among the settlers.
served, in accordance with the instructions which shall be given you, and which it is customary to give to those who go to make similar settlements.

Furthermore: You pledge yourself to import to the aforesaid country, within the said three years, five hundred [negro] slaves for your service and that of the people you are to take over, and in order that the towns may be built and the land cultivated with greater ease; and for planting sugar cane for the sugar mills that may be built, and for building the said sugar mills.

Item: Inasmuch as there are shallops and zabras on the coasts of Biscay, Asturias and Galicia which are more suitable than [those] in Andalusia; likewise carpenters, smiths, stone-cutters and laborers; We declare and deem it well that the section of this armada and the people who may set out from those parts, shall go directly to the Canary Islands without proceeding to the said towns of San Lucar and Cadiz, being first examined before the magistrate, or person whom We shall appoint, of the port whence the people and vessels are going.

Furthermore: Under condition that the aforesaid armada which you have thus to assemble, as has been said, must first be inspected by one of our officials, according to the system which it is customary to follow, so that it may be ascertained that it goes by the order and in fulfilment of this asiento.

Item: You pledge yourself to give security which shall be legas, llanas y abonadas; that in case you shall not be ready to set sail in the first fair weather, in the coming month of May of this present year; and in case you should not have everything prepared which you are obligated to take over at the aforesaid time, in accordance with this asiento, you will return to us fifteen thousand ducats which we grant you and order to be given you, and you must give the said security at this court or in the city of Seville, and submit it to those [gentlemen] of our Royal Council of the Indies and to our other courts of Justice.

And as an aid to the great expenses, dangers and labors that you, the said Pedro Menéndez, must have in the said discovery and settle-

4 A legal term which signifies that the security shall be adequate in property and reputation.
ment, that which on our part shall be fulfilled with you is the follow-
ing:

And in order that you, the said Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, may the
more willingly accomplish and fulfil all the aforesaid, it is our will
and pleasure to appoint you our Governor and Captain-General of the
said coast and country of Florida, and of all the settlements you may
establish therein, for all the days of your life, and of that of a son
or son-in-law of yours; and you shall receive from Us each year a
salary of two thousand ducats, which are to be paid you from the
products and rents which may belong to us in the said country; but if
there be none, we shall not be obliged to give and pay you the said
salary.

Furthermore: In order to grant you more favor, we promise to give
you now fifteen thousand ducats, so that you can make yourself ready.
Furthermore: We shall give you license so that from these kingdoms
and dominions, or the kingdom of Portugal, or the Islands of Cape
Verde, or Guinea, you or whoever you may empower, may transport
to the said coast and country of Florida five hundred negro slaves, at
least one third of whom shall be females, free of any duty which may
belong to us from them; whom you must take registered for the said
coast and country, and not for any other parts, under penalty of your
losing them if you should take them to other parts.

Item: I shall grant you the favor of bestowing on you the title
of our Adelantado of the said coast and country, for you and your
heirs and successors in perpetuity.

Furthermore: I shall give you authority so that to those who may
go to settle in the said country, you can give repartimientos⁵ and lands
and estates, for their establishments, farm lands and pastures, in
accordance with the station of each one and what may appear best to
you, [but] without prejudice to the Indians.

Furthermore: If we establish a Royal Audiencia in the aforesaid
country of Florida, we shall grant you the favor of giving you the

⁵ Allotments of territory made by Spanish conquerors in the West Indies and
North and South America; but in Florida there was no enforced labor of Indians
included in the grants, as there was in the West Indies.
title of *alguacil mayor* of the said Audiencia, for you and for your heirs and successors, in perpetuity.

Item: Of what you shall thus discover and settle in the said country of Florida, we will grant you twenty-five square leagues, in one place or in two, as you may prefer; and it shall be good land and in a locality which shall be convenient to you, [but] without prejudice to the Indians; the which shall belong to you and your heirs and successors in perpetuity, forever and ever, [but] without your holding any jurisdiction therein, or owning any mines, because that must remain for Us. And inasmuch as you have begged Us to bestow on you the title of Marquis of those twenty-five square leagues, which we command to be given you, we say that when the expedition has come to an end, and you have fulfilled in all things what is contained in this *asiento*, we will grant you the favor that may be deserved in conformity with your services.

Furthermore: We grant you in perpetuity, free of costs, for you and your heirs and successors, one fifteenth part of all the income, mines of gold and silver, precious stones, pearls and products which We shall have from the said lands and provinces of Florida.

Item: We will grant you in the said lands of Florida, for you and your heirs and successors, in perpetuity, two fisheries which you shall choose, the one for pearls and the other for fish.

Item: We grant to you, the said Pedro Menéndez, and to the settlers and inhabitants of the country aforesaid, and to those who may go to it hereafter, that for the first ten years after the said country has been settled, you and they shall not pay any duties of *almoxarifazgo* on anything that you and they may bring over as supplies for your persons, wives, children and houses.

Furthermore: We grant to you, the said Pedro Menéndez, and to the residents and inhabitants who are settlers in the said country that from all the gold and silver, pearls and precious stones which may be discovered therein, you and they shall not pay us more than one tenth, for the period and space of ten years, which shall be counted from the day that the first smelting of metals shall take place.

*An ancient duty on imports or exports.*
Furthermore: We hold it to be well that in case you, the said Pedro Menéndez, should absent yourself from the said country and should wish to come to these kingdoms or navigate in the Indies, you shall be able to leave a lieutenant in your place, so that in everything he may have the same authority as yourself, providing that the lieutenant you appoint shall be a person possessing the qualities requisite therefor.

Furthermore: We think it well, and we so grant it to you, that during the whole of the three years wherein you must fulfil this asiento, you shall not pay to us or any other person, any duties of almoxarifazgo, or on galleys; nor any other charges or taxes, either on ships, or on supplies, arms and munitions, or on articles for barter with the Indians, or on any manner of food or beverages; for all the aforesaid nothing shall be paid, as has been said; it being understood from what is said that these things are to be taken to the said country of Florida.

Furthermore: We give you license and authority that in the first year following the day you shall depart from these kingdoms to go to the said land of Florida, you may have for the navigation of our Indies for the term of six years, two galleons of a capacity of from five to six hundred toneles, and two pataches of one hundred and fifty or two hundred toneles, armed and with mounted ordnance, either merchant vessels or armed, with the fleet or independently, as shall be and seem best for you; and that you may send them together or separately to any part or parts of our said Indies that you may desire, although they cannot go laden with any merchandise save supplies of food and drink; that for those that they may fetch and carry, and the freight charges and ship dues, you shall not be compelled to pay fleet duties for any armada or galleys, the which we give you as a help in the expenses and labors that you must have to encounter in the settlement and provisioning of the said land of Florida; and that on the return from the Indies you may bring the goods you choose, free from cost of port duties, as is said; but you cannot bring gold or silver, or pearls or precious stones; you may only bring the funds which may belong to you and be yours, and the proceeds from the freight charges of the
galleons and pataches, upon which, as has been said, no port duty shall be paid.

Likewise, we give you license and authority that for a period of six years you may take from these our kingdoms, and from whatever part thereof, to the islands of Puerto Rico, Santo Domingo and Cuba, and the said country of Florida, and from those parts to these, six shallops and four zabras, together or separately, with the fleet or independently, for the trade and commerce of the said country of Florida, and so as to fulfil the said asiento, and carry on board thereof what may seem best to you and be needful for the people who may be in the said country of Florida; wherefore if you should wish to unload in the aforesaid islands any provisions of food or drink that the said shallops and zabras may carry, you can do so, in order that in place thereof they may be laden with cattle and the things necessary for the said country of Florida; and that if any shallop or zabra of these should remain in those parts or be lost, you can take others in their place; which six years must be counted, and we so desire it, from the month of June of the coming year 1566; and we hold it well that if the masters and pilots who may go on those ships are natives of these our kingdoms, they may serve as such even though they have not been examined.

Item: We deem it well and we command that these shallops and zabras aforesaid, which must navigate during the said six years, as is said, shall not and must not pay any port duties on what they may bring the first time they sail on their voyage to the said country of Florida; but that if, during the period of the said six years, they should bring any goods to these kingdoms from the country of Florida, or the islands of Santo Domingo, or San Juan de Puerto Rico, or Cuba; or take over from these kingdoms supplies of food and drink, or other things needful for the aforesaid land of Florida; in such case they shall pay the fleet duties apportioned among the galleys that navigate along this western coast of Spain, whereof Don Alvaro de Bazan is Captain-General; and that if the said shallops and zabras go from our Indies under convoy of the armada which goes there, they must likewise pay the fleet duties on that; but that if the said shallops and zabras shall sail alone, and not under convoy of the said armada
which goes to the Indies, they shall not have to pay the fleet duties of
the said armada which goes there.

Furthermore: We think it well that in what concerns the ship's
clerk to be taken over, the order we have given be observed in what
relates to the two galleons and two pataches; but as to the six shallops
and four zabras, we hold it well and we command that not more than
one ship's clerk be appointed by Us, for all of them jointly, inasmuch
as they are your ships, and the whole cost of the arms, artillery, muni-
tions, supplies and all the rest they may or should take, must be yours
and at your risk; and inasmuch as they are small vessels, of little
tonnage, and it would be very expensive for you to carry a ship's clerk
on each one.

Item: We grant you the favor, as we do by these presents, of giving
you the commission of our Captain-General of all the said armada
and the ships and people that may belong thereto, and we shall com-
mand that a formal commission be given you to that effect.

Furthermore: We wish and deem it well that everything you may
capture from corsairs with the said galleons, zabras and pataches dur-
ing the term of the said six years shall be your property and that of
your heirs and successors; and the same shall apply to whatever prison-
ers you may take or seize from them without prejudice [to you arising]
from the tithe collector, as we do hereby grant this to you.

Item: It is stipulated and agreed that in no manner during the
period of the said six years, shall anyone place any embargo upon, or
detain for our service, in these kingdoms or in any of our Indies afore-
said, any of the said galleons, pataches, shallops or zabras; but that if
for any necessary or imperative reason, any of the said vessels should
be requisitioned, you shall have the right to put others of a like ton-
nage in their place; and in case you should not do this, you shall have
the right at the end of the said six years to use them in accordance with
this said asiento, for the whole period of time they shall have been
requisitioned or detained; and our Officials of Cadiz, or of the Casa de

The tercero was the official appointed to collect the taxes known as diezmos,
a tax of ten per cent levied on all merchandise which was transported from one
district to another, or brought through the ports into Spain.
la Contratación at Seville, and any other courts of justice of these kingdoms and of the Indies where the said vessels may stop, shall give them every assistance for the safe and speedy dispatch thereof, and shall give them their clearance papers with all promptness, so that they may not be detained for the aforesaid; likewise that they shall give all aid and protection to the captains and officers who may come on board thereof; and we command that the persons and courts of justice whom the contents of this paragraph may concern, shall so observe and fulfil it.

Furthermore: If perchance God Our Lord should remove you, the said Pedro Menéndez, from this present life before the expiration of the said three years, in such wise that you shall not have been able to carry out your part of what is contained in this said agreement, we deem it well, and so desire, that it shall be done by the person whom you shall name and appoint; and if you should not have appointed anyone, the heir of your house and property can name the person who shall fulfil [these conditions], in order that he may enjoy all the concessions contained in this asiento.

Therefore by these presents, if you, the said Pedro Menéndez, do carry out the aforesaid at your cost, according to what is contained in the aforesaid, in the manner thereof; and if you fulfil all that is included in this agreement, in the instructions which shall be given you, and in those which shall be given you later on; likewise the provisions and ordinances we shall make, and order to be observed, for the said country and settlements, and for the good treatment and conversion to our Holy Catholic Faith of the natives there, and of the settlers who may go there; I say and promise, by my faith and my Royal word, that this Agreement shall be observed in your favor, and everything therein contained, wholly and absolutely, according as it is therein contained, without your meeting any opposition thereto; but that if you should not so fulfil and accomplish that to which you oblige yourself, we shall not be compelled to keep with you and carry out the aforesaid [agreement], nor any part thereof; rather shall we order that you be punished, and we shall proceed against you as
a person who does not observe and fulfil, but trespasses against, the commands of his King and natural Master.

And we order that these presents be given to that effect, signed by our hand, and by the members of our Council of the Indies, and countersigned by Francisco de Eraso, our Secretary.

I the King.

By order of his Majesty,

Francisco de Erasso.

Done in Madrid, on the 20th of March, 1565.
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Three hundred and twenty-five copies of this book have been printed for the Florida State Historical Society by the Yale University Press under the direction of Carl Purington Rollins. This is No. 250.