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SANTA ELENA: A BRIEF HISTORY
OF THE COLONY, 1566-1587

by

Eugene Lyon

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PREFACE

For the past five years I have carried out archeological excavations on the site of the Spanish colonial city of Santa Elena (1566-1587). This work has been done with historical information published for the most part in the 1920s by Jeanette Connor, Mary Ross, and A. S. Salley, Jr. (Connor 1925, 1930; Ross 1925; Salley 1925), plus Eugene Lyon's Book, The Enterprise of Florida published in 1976, and a manuscript on the fortifications at Santa Elena by Paul Hoffman, which he prepared for the National Geographic Society in 1978.

In several of the reports I have prepared I have emphasized the need for research into the documentary sources relating to Santa Elena and her forts in a thorough manner. Finally, in 1983, a proposal was submitted to the National Endowment for the Humanities for funding for Eugene Lyon to transcribe and translate and annotate many of the surviving documents, now on microfilm, so that these data could be available for scholars in history, archeology, anthropology, etc. in addition to the traditional references now used. However, unfortunately, this research was not funded by NEH. Perhaps some day this important research into the documents will be accomplished through grant funding.

Meanwhile, this paper, written by Eugene Lyon in 1982, provides an excellent introduction and brief history of the Spanish colony of Santa Elena, filling an important need for those of us involved in research in the Spanish colonial period of American history. We are pleased to be able to present this paper in our Research Manuscript Series as a companion piece to those archeological reports on Santa Elena that have appeared in the same publication series (South 1979, 1980, 1982, 1983, 1984), funded by the National Geographic Society, The Explorers Club of New York, the U.S. Marine Corps, The National Endowment for the Humanities, and the National Science Foundation, in conjunction with the University of South Carolina's Institute of Archeology and Anthropology.

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May 1984

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SANTA ELENA:
A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE COLONY, 1566-1587

During the Southern Historical Association Conference held in November 1982, Paul E. Hoffman described the long-range concerns which led to the Spanish settlement at Santa Elena, Parris Island, South Carolina, now being excavated by Stanley South, of the Institute of Archeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina. This paper sketches the life and history of that colony and offers suggestions as to its significance.

After decades of projected settlement and evangelization of eastern North America, Spain came to the 1560s with its aims still unfulfilled. The Ribault settlement at Port Royal thoroughly alarmed King Philip II of Spain. On February 13, 1563, he notified the Cuban Governor and Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, his main fleet commander, to investigate and erase the intrusion. Before anything was done, the French had abandoned Port Royal, except for one man left, to be picked up later by Spaniards from Cuba. Thus, when the next Florida conquest-contract was granted on June 4, 1563, its focus was Santa Elena. The contractor, to be named Adelantado, was the second Lucas Vázquez de Ayllon, and he was to build an agricultural colony for married settlers. After that expedition proved abortive, Frenchmen under René de Laudonnière came to build Fort Carolina on the St. Johns River. This was, however, not known in Spain until after a new Florida contract was signed on March 22, 1565, this time with Pedro Menéndez. As conquest entrepreneur, Menéndez gained governmental control of Florida for two lives, the opportunity to grant lands to his followers, and to earn for himself a major landed estate and the title of Marquis like that of Cortez. He also received shipping privileges, tax exemptions, and the right to import 500 black slaves: all in return for funding and leading the Florida enterprise. The comparison is imprecise, but Spain's sixteenth-century conquest-contracts were more like the English royal patents issued to Gilbert, Raleigh and other proprietors than like the grants made to the Plymouth and London companies.

The limits of Menéndez' Florida jurisdiction extended along the Atlantic coast from the Keys to Newfoundland; it is clear, however, where he intended to make his main establishments. Menéndez' memorial of February, 1565, had urged settlement at Santa Elena. In other writings, he proposed colonies there and at the Bay of Santa Maria (the Chesapeake). The Adelantado's projected expansion lay not only northward; it was continental in scope. He believed Santa Elena, a good port, offered riverine access inland to the mountains 100 leagues away. From thence, Menéndez mistakenly reasoned, it was but another 250 leagues to the Zacatecas mines in Mexico. Like many of his contemporaries, he believed that a waterway led from Newfoundland to the South Sea; he also surmised that it ran near or into another strait which reached the Mexican mines. Menéndez obtained a copy of a Soto expedition narrative from a quarter-century before as he grappled with the concept of the northwest passage and the exploitation of a continent by land, river or strait. Pedro Menéndez had, in fact, inherited all the previous experience of Spanish North American exploration.

The Florida conquest was momentarily diverted from its wider purposes to the peninsula by the French incursion at Fort Carolina. Once the news

of its building reached Spain, the Crown added troops and supplies of its own to Menéndez' efforts and promised a major reinforcement in 1566.

After his whirlwind victory over Laudonnière and Ribault and the establishment of a Spanish town at St. Augustine, Pedro Menéndez went to Cuba seeking supplies and hoping to link up with his private reinforcements from Asturias. At Havana in January, 1566, he had news that a French ship believed to be that of Ribault's son, Jacques, had put into Guale on the present Georgia coast in the vicinity of St. Catherine's Island; they were said to be fortifying there. Rejoining his kinsman Esteban de las Alas, Menéndez commandeered an armada ship and returned to Florida. At the first of April, the Adelantado took a sizeable force northward to Guale and Santa Elena. At neither place did he find a French fort, but he determined to establish at Santa Elena. Near there he met with the cacique of the Orista grouping; it was a harmonious first contact, for Menéndez returned prisoners taken by the Guale. Still, Guale influence extended to the Edisto River. The Indians in the area spoke a similar language, and the possibility of confederation existed. A little removed from the Indians, upon Parris Island, the Spaniards began to make their town and fort. Possibly because the works were begun at the Passiontide (Easter in 1566 was on April 14), the fort, the first of six at Santa Elena, was named San Salvador. As garrison commander Menéndez left Alas with less than 80 men. Esteban de las Alas was but one among equals of Pedro Menéndez' lieutenants, as Santa Elena was only one of several power centers in Spanish Florida. The events of 1566 changed that.⁴

On June 4, a group of 43 soldiers--tough, independent Spanish infantry--mutinied at Santa Elena. Seizing a supply vessel, they fled to Cuba. Only 28 soldiers, disarmed and with little food, were left with Alas at Fort San Salvador.⁵

The arrival of the Royal reinforcement fleet from Spain rectified the situation at Santa Elena. Two of the vessels brought supplies and Captain Juan Pardo with his 250-man company. The troops mustered on July 11 and began immediately to build Fort San Felipe. Using iron bars and pickaxes to remove sod and sand from the fort site, they dug the moats and fashioned barrows from kegs to carry earth for the ramparts. They built a forge.

Pedro Menéndez also supplied Santa Elena by sea from the Antilles and Yucatan, shipping in hogs, biscuit, manioc, corn and salt meat. He sent hardware, tools, cooking utensils, extra pikes and cords for the crossbows. To call the whole town to work, worship or military duty, he sent a bronze bell. When Pedro Menéndez left Florida in October, 1566, for anti-corsair patrolling and the strengthening of Caribbean defenses, he named Esteban de las Alas as his principal lieutenant. The position of Santa Elena was also advanced.⁶

Pedro Menéndez had not forgotten his outreach. While planning fortifications northward to Newfoundland, he had built a subsidiary strongpoint at Guale and sent an unsuccessful expedition in August, 1566, northward seeking the Chesapeake. Santa Elena next became the springboard for two significant inland explorations: Juan Pardo's journey of 1566-1567 and 1567-1568. In leaving the Lowcountry, Pardo had to pass the coastal marshes and gain access to the interior by rivers and streams. Traversing

the Piedmont and crossing the Fall Line, he reached the Appalachians and passed beyond; on, as he thought, the route to Mexico. Juan Pardo built a major fort at Joada, several outposts and at least one mission. Review of the reports made of the Pardo expeditions discloses that his journeys were not frivolous. While the Spaniards sought precious stones and metals, they seriously enquired into the nature of the country traversed. One section ran: "the land which has been seen. . .is, in itself good for bread and wine, and all kinds of livestock. . .for it is a level country of many fresh rivers and good groves. . . also a land of much game. . . ."

Thus the Spaniards always kept an eye towards the products of their homeland: the wheat, sheep, hogs and wine of Castile; the fruits and sugar cane of the vegas and protected coastal enclaves of Andalusia. Pardo also reported finding fine "red soil," dark bottom lands, and clay for brick and tile manufacture. But to penetrate and exploit the rich southeastern interior required mastery of the problems of access, adaptation to vastly different climatic and rainfall patterns, and, above all, the establishment of peaceable relations with the Indians.

Still, after reading the Pardo reports, Pedro Menéndez prepared to move forward with his continental plan, with Santa Elena as its primary eastern anchor. He wrote the head of the Jesuit order, which had begun its mission in Florida, that it was about 500 leagues from the Florida ports to Mexico. He would, he stated, build another town 200 leagues west of Santa Elena and another 200 leagues further on. The towns along this chain would be settled by farmers, guarded by soldiers, and would serve as mission centers. In the Jesuit fashion, developed in the fight to regain the Holy Roman Empire for the Catholic Church, the children of Indian elites would be educated and Christianized at a school at Havana. Now Menéndez began to press the King for another royal contract to fill the gap between Florida and Mexico: the area of Panuco.

But a shortage of funds hampered the Adelantado's grand design. He sued the Crown for benefits arising out of his Florida service and received 10,000 ducats, the post of fleet admiral, and an encomienda in the Order of Santiago. It seems evident that Menéndez and his representatives also converted to their own use royal supplies intended for Florida. When his first contract expired, Philip II renewed it, allowing Menéndez to proceed with his mandated establishment of 500 settlers in Florida. The King also promised, but did not immediately deliver, a troop subsidy for the Florida garrisons.

From Cadiz on October 7th, 1568, the caravels Nuestra Señora de la Vitoria and Nuestra Señora de la Concepción sailed for the Indies and the distant province of Florida. The little ships carried 225 emigrants: men, women and children recruited from the uplands of Old and New Castile--labradores, of small farmers. There were families, most with children, widows, and single men. Pedro Menéndez had contracted to pay their passage and freight costs to America; he was to maintain them for two years, and agreed to provide them with cows and bulls, oxen, sheep, goats, chickens, and vineshoots. In return, they contracted to stay out their terms, or pay a quitrent for release of them, and sharecrop with the Adelantado.

Santa Elena had been designated the primary settlement area. By August 1, 1569, 193 settlers had arrived there. A city government, or concejo, had been formed, and one of Spain's oldest institutions--municipal liberties--had been implanted. The male immigrants and soldiers became citizens, or vecinos, and chose their representatives on the council, or cabildo. Although the concejo possessed judicial and regulatory functions, it served as an important means¹ of conquest through its powers to issue land: town lots and rural plots.

Soon the settlers had built 40 houses on their granted lots. One house held five bachelors who had come to Florida on the same ship; another was home for Diego Hernández, his wife Juana, and eight children. Hernández was a natural leader among the immigrants. A tailor, Alonso de Olmos, his wife and mother-in-law were crowded in with six children. The occupants of another house were a cut above the soldiers and other settlers: the letrado Doctor Juan de la Rosa, his wife Dona Antonia, three children and a nephew, and three servants¹². By the end of October, there were all told 327 persons in the town.

While the settlers were building their houses at Santa Elena, the Florida Jesuit mission was moving northward. The Jesuits had long considered Guale a promising mission field, and Father Juan Rogel had scouted the Santa Elena area in the summer of 1568. Rogel thought that the Orista and other Indians in the area were more tractable, honest, and less inclined to polygamy, sodomy and incest than those in south Florida, where the missions had failed.¹³

In June, 1569, the Jesuits arrived in Santa Elena; Father Rogel went to Escamazu, in Orista territory, some five leagues from the city. A small church and house were built for him, and he began to work assiduously to learn the Indian language. The Florida missionaries asked for other tools of salvation: Father Polanco's rules for confessors and St. Peter Canisius' catechism. They also asked for cloth tracts proven useful to other missions: now each Indian could see for himself the story of Creation, the awesome Trinity, the life of Christ, the raptures of Heaven and the burning torments reserved for those who died in mortal sin.

At first, the Indians seemed to heed Rogel's teaching. As he gained proficiency in their language, he pressed them with loving but fervent insistence to accept Christ's yoke. But shortly they scattered into the forests for their annual acorn harvest. The Indians were likely more culturally integrated than the priest recognized, but he tried to persuade them to change long-ingrained custom and plant enough corn to enable year-round permanent settlement where he wished. He brought and distributed mattocks and seed-corn for that purpose, but the Indians dispersed again, following their tradition of leaving used fields fallow. The intent to gather the Orista into a reducción, a procedure successfully followed elsewhere in the Indies, ran counter to these Indians' cultural pattern. Neither was he able to progress with doctrine; quite the opposite. As Rogel probed deeper, urging not only the acceptance of God but¹⁴ the rejection of Satan, he felt forced to oppose much of Indian ritual.

In the fall of 1569, missionaries, soldiers and settlers alike suffered severe privation at Santa Elena. The farmers with large families had

not yet been able to break enough ground to harvest enough to feed themselves. Although barley, wheat, grapes and vegetables had also been introduced, their yield was insufficient. Although some supplies were sent in, Pedro Menéndez was himself in financial straits again. He went to Madrid to ask the King for the promised subsidy for the Royal troops; no action was taken. Menéndez continued to sell the ship licenses he had been granted in his contract in order to better his cash position. Meantime, in Santa Elena, children cried for a bit of bread and the people were reduced to gathering oysters and foraging for roots and shrubs in order to eat. It became a tradition in Santa Elena that Jesuit Father Gonzalo del Alamo, reputed to be of great sanctity, was preaching near Christmastime to the whole community gathered in the church. He consoled them, saying that God would soon remedy their need, and adding, "I think I see a ship loaded with supplies and aid from Heaven, entering the bar." No sooner, the legend ran, had the people left the church when the fort bell was repeatedly struck, and the shout went up "A ship! A ship!" Relief had come, but the time of troubles had not ended.¹⁵

In the spring, Ensign Juan de la Bandera, commanding at Fort San Felipe, ordered neighboring caciques to send canoe loads of corn to help the fort; he also quartered 40 soldiers upon the Indians for sustenance. The Indians appealed to Father Rogel, who realized that this would bring them to the point of rebellion. His mission had borne no fruit, and he knew that retaliation would come to him if he remained and failed to take the Indians' side. Sadly, Juan Rogel dismantled his church and moved to Santa Elena. Although he knew that force and pressure could never convert the Indians, he felt grief and remorse at the failure of his mission. By mid-July, 1570, it indeed seemed that the military presence, the settlement intent and the mission impulse had alike foundered.¹⁶

The Florida settlers complained to the King that the land of Florida could not be worked profitably until it had been pacified. They said that Menendez' stewards had demanded payment for the livestock he had given them, and since they also had to pay¹⁷ for their scant rations, they felt themselves little better than slaves.

In his own frustration, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés forced the issue of Florida funding with his King: he ordered the evacuation of all troops in the Florida forts over the number of 150. Then he went to Spain to plead his case once more. At court, he met opposition from the highest officials on the Jesuit order. They had heard from Florida that the mission had not progressed, and that Menéndez' officials impeded the Jesuits' freedom of movement. Procurator General Gonzalo de Esquivel appealed to the Council of the Indies through Cardinal Espinosa. Finally, the Adelantado had to yield; he issued an order granting freedom of movement to any Jesuits in Florida. Now Philip II convoked four major councils--State, Indies, Finance and War--to settle the affairs of Florida. After their meeting in mid-October, 1570, a royal subsidy to support a 150-man garrison was approved. For their part, the Jesuits had sent a mission¹⁸ to the Chesapeake in one final attempt to win Indian souls in Florida.

In the meantime, on August 13, Esteban de las Alas departed Santa Elena, taking with him all the soldiers but 46. The hapless settlers had¹⁹ no choice but to remain. There were five months' rations left in the fort.

With the new royal initiative, the outlook for Spanish Florida immediately improved; soldiers and supplies were sent to bring the garrisons up to strength. The Adelantado also arranged with associates in Havana for more regular supply. But Pedro Menéndez faced a vacuum in leadership; his top echelon of lieutenants, except his two nephews, had left. His own personal dilemma of succession lay in the death in 1563 of his only son Juan. One of his daughters had been murdered in Asturias and another, María, had entered a convent there. Pedro Menéndez had another legitimate daughter, Catalina, and a natural daughter, also named María. He sought good marriages for both. Catalina was married to Hernando de Miranda of Asturias, and María to Don Diego de Velasco, grandson of the High Constable of Castile and a high nobleman. Menéndez signed two agreements with Velasco: a dower contract for 8,000 ducats (twice Miranda's) with 500 ducats a year more for each year served in Florida, and another 6,000 ducats for six years' service as Lieutenant Governor there.²⁰

By mid-July, 1571, Pedro Menéndez had arrived at his capital, Santa Elena, with Velasco, Menéndez' wife Dona María de Solís, their servants, and many luxurious household goods. These included embossed leather wall hangings, whole beds with scarlet fringed canopies and lace and carmine taffeta coverlets. He brought fine bed linen and table linens; carpets, a red satin bed, seven saddles and their tack. In a large barrel came a complete pewter table service for 36, candlesticks, a silver ewer, kitchenware, and a keg of flaxseed and hempseed. The Adelantado also brought a supply of the usual staples plus lentils, salt, garbanzos and rice to make up the typical Spanish cocido stew, and 90,000 nails in three sizes for construction.²¹

But the ship brought not only supplies; it brought disease, possibly typhus. Many in the fleet had died at sea, and the sickness spread rapidly through the town, until virtually all had fallen ill. No sooner had Santa Elena recovered from the effects of the epidemic when, in the early winter of 1571-1572, careless soldiers accidentally²² set Fort San Felipe afire, and its stores had to be replenished yet again.

Now Santa Elena began to assume the identity of its climax period. As a microcosm of the life and society of peninsular Spain, its material culture was determined by the regions from which its people had come--the Meseta, Andalusia, Vizcaya, Santander, Asturias. There were now "old" and "new" soldiers and settlers; 76 officers and soldiers, and 179 settlers by 1572. Although the military vocation dominated in the town, many of the trades and crafts of Castile were also present: mason, a tailor, seamen, a carpenter, notary, barber-surgeon, and smith. By now, the farmers had settled upon corn and hogs as primary crops, although squash and melons grew fairly well in the light soils of Parris Island, and grapes and barley had been introduced. The settlers had signed new 10-year agreements with Pedro Menéndez in which he cancelled their debts to him in return for renewal and the promise to build stockades to contain the livestock.²³

Santa Elena was a stratified community, a society mirroring that of the peninsula, presenting every class except that of grandee, from nobleman to servant. The town was dominated by an Asturian control-group comprised of interrelated families whose members held most of the important offices. Thus the Adelantado had named his nephews Pedro Menéndez the Younger and

Pedro Menéndez Márquez Treasurer and Accountant of Florida and Hernando de Miranda Factor. When Miranda could not take up his duties, his relative Diego de Londòno was appointed.²⁴

The all-pervading Church of Rome was continually felt in Santa Elena. The town's life was built around the feasts and processions of its calendar, and the daily calls to Mass and prayers punctuated its days. The local church itself must have been quite a plain structure, but it contained rich furnishings: a painted retable portraying a crucified Christ and other figures, a gilded cross, the gilt image of Santa Clara, an embossed leather canopy and frontal, fine linen altar cloths, altar ware, and costly vestments. Even though the Sacraments were often administered by regulars or, for long months, were not administered at all, there was a confraternity of laymen in Santa Elena who helped tend the church, comfort the sick, and bury the dead.²⁵

Although the subsidy became the financial motor of Santa Elena, there was considerable other economic activity. Pedro Menéndez had planned sugar, silk, wine and naval stores industries in Florida. Much of this would not be realized; some would await coming centuries, but some products did arise. Sarsaparilla root, gathered like cochineal with Indian labor, was shipped out to Spain by Captain Pardo, Pedro Menéndez, and others. Oak and cedar were also shipped. Indian trade, supposed to be official, often became rescate done by private persons or for officials not reporting it, even though they used royal goods in the trade.²⁶

The real beginning of the fur trade with the southeastern Indians was at Santa Elena. When the English later traded for furs from their Virginia or Carolina settlements, they were but following the sixteenth-century rescate carried out by the Spaniards.

There were moneylenders in Santa Elena, and some of its citizens invested modest sums in trading ventures in Havana or Vera Cruz. Small partnerships were formed to hunt for game or to fish. Carpenter Martín de Lezcano made wheels and carriages for the fort artillery, but also fashioned beds, tables, and writing desks. Chief smith Antón Martín forged locks, keys, and knives. Women of the town took in boarders from among the bachelor soldiers or settlers; thus Barolomé Martín, whose house adjoined the Olmos', took his meals there until his marriage. The Olmos house was a busy one indeed: father and son were tailors and did work on cotton escupiles (padded cotton armor) for the soldiery. Olmos also raised hogs, planted corn, loaned money, sold drygoods, and operated a tavern.²⁷

By far the largest financial activity in Santa Elena was the illegal trade conducted for the Adelantado, Don Diego de Velasco, and Pedro Menéndez the Younger through surrogates. Juan de Soto had acted for Pedro Menéndez; beginning as an ordinary soldier, he became a wealthy merchant. Diego Ruiz, also representing the Adelantado, brought swords, clothing and majolica to sell at Santa Elena. Menéndez also sent ordinary earthenware, axes, mill equipment and slop jars. Velasco and Menéndez the Younger greatly enlarged the trade. They became partners in using royal money from the subsidy to invest in goods to sell the Florida soldiers, against their pay.²⁸

The ruling families continued to live in some style. When the lady-in-waiting of the Adelantado's wife was married in Santa Elena to Captain Juan de Junco, her dowry included a trousseau of fine suits, skirts and dresses of white English wool, yellow satin, and taffeta trimmed with velvet.²⁹

Governor Velasco was a man of energy, but also of a high temper and pride. In February, 1572, he learned that French corsairs might attack the town; he issued a bando that all men turn out to help rebuild the burned fort. The new structure was large enough to hold the whole population. It had a moat, drawbridge, and two wells within to help withstand siege. But Alonso de Olmos refused to work; the settler said it would be getting into corn-planting time. Moreover, he said, he was a citizen and not a soldier; his rights were supported by ancient Spanish municipal privilege. At this defiance, Velasco knocked Olmos and Francisco Ruiz, the cabildo attorney, down and ordered a gallows made for their execution. But the Jesuits intervened, and the men served on the works in chains instead.³⁰

Another case which pitted Velasco against the Olmos family casts some light upon Santa Elena's social structure. Upon leaving church on Sunday, May 8, 1576, the Velasco party met María de Lara, Olmos' daughter, walking with her father. He called out to the girl that she was a "proven bitch," and allegedly taunted Alonso de Olmos with the cry: "See the Lutheran go along to the synagogue!" The tailor sued the nobleman, and local justice--in the form of Alcalde Diego Hernandez--saw that due process as it was seen then took place.³¹

At the trial, Velasco denied making the remark about Olmos but said that he was, after all, a man engaged in trade. With regard to María de Lara, he said that she had been putting herself above her station, using the honorific Doña when, in truth, her reputation was none too good. For his part, Olmos said that his people were Old Christians, and stated that "we hold ourselves, in our being, to be as honorable as he."

But arbitrary action--la mano dura--was, and is, an acceptable style in Spanish America, always in tension with rights under the law. Velasco's haughty demeanor was in keeping with his exalted position.

Of more lasting import was Governor Velasco's dealing with the Florida Indians. It reflected the two faces of Spanish policy. On the one hand, the rhetoric of evangelization and good treatment was based upon decades of religious pressure culminating in the New Laws and recently recodified in 1571. The other side was an increasingly hard-line view, shown at a 1569 meeting between representatives of the Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians with the Viceroy in Mexico. It was decided there that any just war against the Indians condoned the taking of slaves "in deposit," that is, in trust for a time. In Florida, Pedro Menéndez asked in 1573 for the right to clear the coasts of hostile Indians and sell them as slaves to the Antilles. Although this was denied, individuals in Santa Elena did hold Indian women as slaves.³²

A noted preacher, Fray Diego de Moreno, came to Santa Elena with other Franciscan missionaries and began to work in the Guale area as soon as the Jesuits, disheartened by the massacre of their Chesapeake missionaries,

pulled out. Moreno had success in Guale--he brought to conversion the Chief and his wife. The Indian pair came to Santa Elena, where a great feast was observed. But Velasco's relations with the Franciscans deteriorated. When they decided to leave Florida to go to Vera Cruz, Velasco refused permission. But the friars persuaded the owner of a small vessel to take them, and were evidently lost at sea in the fall of 1575.³³

In truth, the surface appearance of Spanish-Indian relations in Florida was an illusion. Although Velasco claimed that Indians paid no tribute, many witnesses testified that the opposite was true. Enforced tribute, in the form of corn, furs, shell money and other things, had been levied for many years, and was often given under duress. One witness noted that the Guale had been overwhelmed by the personality of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, whom they called "Mico Santamaría." Another averred that Velasco was so much the "Gran Señor" that they felt required to pay. For obvious reasons, the receipt of tribute was usually not recorded in the fiscal accounts of the colony. The Christian evangel had not been advanced from Guale to Escamazu. Even though the peace had generally been kept, it was an uneasy one, arising more out of fear than trust. A major outburst was brewing among the Indians.³⁴

Now Pedro Menéndez received royal assent to his Pánuco contract, intended to link Santa Elena with Mexico and the South Seas. His ship privileges were also renewed. But before he could spread his thin resources even more widely, Menéndez was sent by Philip II to a post of high responsibility. The Asturian was to prepare a fleet in Santander to sail to Flanders, where the Dutch war had proven an endless mire for Spain. There, on September 17, 1574, after the onset of a sudden illness, the Adelantado of Florida died. As his chosen seat, he had selected Santa Elena; his estate was to lie at Guatari, in the fertile inland Carolina territory. Some said that he was to be Marqués of Oristan, but he would never realize the benefits of the title, if indeed it was ever granted.³⁵

In his will, Pedro Menéndez attempted to provide for the Florida enterprise as well as for his heirs. As legitimate heir, Catalina received the title of Adelantado of Florida and its income; Velasco's wife Maria inherited the estate and title of Marquis. Hernando de Miranda acted quickly; persuading his wife to give him her power of attorney, he went to Court. Miranda's appearance in Madrid coincided with Philip II's second royal bankruptcy. The stresses of the fight against the Dutch rebels and continued involvement in the Mediterranean had told upon the treasury. For the moment, Philip II may have been content to allow the management of Florida to remain in proprietary hands. But he authorized Baltasar del Castillo to go to Florida to investigate its affairs.³⁶

It was October, 1575, before Hernando de Miranda left Spain, and he did not arrive in Santa Elena until February, 1576. It was soon clear that the new Adelantado had stepped into boiling controversy. The hostility between the two brothers-in-law (and probably between the two half-sisters as well) exploded immediately. Miranda reversed several of Velasco's decisions, including the Olmos fort case, and jailed the ex-governor for alleged misappropriation of some 20,000 reales in soldiers' bonuses.³⁷

Next, Miranda had to face a group of angry settlers. They were reduced in number to just over 20, but had to a degree merged with the soldiery through intermarriage and the co-option of many farmers into the garrison. At a called meeting of the cabildo, many farmers stated their desire to leave Florida, complaining that the rich lands and livestock Pedro Menendez had promised them had not materialized. Instead, they said, they found themselves exhausted by eking out a bare living working thin soils on a small island. Rainfall, they said often spoiled the spring planting, and milling enough corn to feed their large families consumed their labor. Like all farmers, they tended to remember only the famines and to forget the times of plenty--once two of them had sold 6,000 pounds of corn to the garrison. One settler said that he had planted garbanzos, wheat, barley and that only corn, squash and melons did well. Another testified that the goats and hogs Menéndez had imported had not thrived. There was no way, they complained, to reach better lands from Santa Elena with carts or wagons across the marshes and lagoons. Miranda heard their complaints and passed them along with their representative to be heard in Spain.³⁸

Actually, the new Adelantado seemed more interested in the commercial arrangements he had concluded with Menéndez the Younger than with affairs at Santa Elena. He soon left to intervene in the distribution of the subsidy, with an eye to profit. Just before his departure, word reached Santa Elena that Guale Indians had killed the Christian cacique there. Miranda dispatched Captain Alonso de Solís there to punish the guilty, offhandedly remarking that the death of one or two Indian leaders mattered not to him. Following orders, Solís sailed to Guale town, executed two principal Indians and cut the ears off another. One soldier who was on the expedition later told how the Spaniards' arbitrary action had infuriated many of the Indians. The Guale were angry, and spread word of their anger to the Orista in the north.³⁹

In the meantime, the subsidy ship had arrived in Havana from Vera Cruz, bearing powder, shot, monies, and foodstuffs. When Miranda and Menéndez the Younger reached the port, they bought another vessel and insisted that the cargo of the subsidy ship be off-loaded and put into it. A whole month was lost in this activity. By the time Miranda returned to Santa Elena, the Indians of the whole coast had made firm their confederation against the Spaniards. A small boat containing Menéndez the Younger and the other two treasury officials, coming north to make the soldiers' pay at Santa Elena, was waylaid near Sapelo Island. All the Spaniards were killed; the two interpreters who spoke the Guale language were burnt alive by the Indians.⁴⁰

At the same time, Sergeant Hernando de Moyano, a veteran of Juan Pardo's old company, took 21 men to the village of Escamazu. There he seized some corn gruel the Indians had cooked for their evening meal. Although they made no response, the Indians determined to revenge themselves for this and many previous acts, and to affirm solidarity with their brothers in Guale. They rose before dawn and killed all the Spaniards except one Andrés Calderón, who escaped to bring news of the massacre to the town. Now hostiles moved onto Parris Island itself.

One morning at eight, Captain Solís went to reconnoiter with an eight-man patrol and the war dogs the Spanish used to track down the Indians. Not long after he left the town, an arquebus shot was heard, then, nothing more. Later, a few sorely wounded dogs limped into the fort. Finally, a Christian Indian who had accompanied the party came to report that Solís and all his men lay dead of arrow wounds.⁴¹

Hernando de Miranda's brother Gutierre, a veteran soldier, saw that the situation was serious and attempted to repair the defenses. But, in the face of immediate danger and with a reduced garrison, Hernando de Miranda seemed unable to inspire confidence. He was able neither to plan nor to execute any definite means to save the colony. But it is too easy to charge the events of July, 1576, to Hernando de Miranda; he was not responsible for all that had gone on before, and many who later testified against him (Velasco, the visitor Castillo) were not objective.⁴²

The day after the killing of Captain Solís, all the people of Santa Elena deserted their homes and gathered in the fort. The Indians moved in closer; then they sacked and fired the houses, and surrounded the fort. One witness told how Miranda broke under the strain of the siege, shouting at the soldiers. In the storeroom there was enough powder and lead to withstand a siege of some days, but the community of Santa Elena had been erased. By common consent, evacuation began to the small boats moored nearby. As the Spaniards left in disorder, the Indians swarmed after them, firing arrows into the water. Then they set Fort San Felipe afire. As they sailed out of the sound, the last thing the surviving Spaniards saw was a smudge of smoke that marked the destruction of ten years of work and hope.⁴³

The trauma of 1576 was not yet complete, nor had the effects of Santa Elena's abandonment yet been fully felt. The evacuees came to St. Augustine, where Hernando de Miranda took a ship for Spain; he required Gutierre de Miranda to remain as commander of the augmented troop of soldiers. Some of the Santa Elena settlers remained in St. Augustine, some left for Havana, and others went to Mexico. When visitor Baltasar del Castillo arrived on November 27, Don Diego de Velasco was still jailed in St. Augustine for the charges brought against him by Miranda. The visitor began to explore the reasons for the loss of the fort and city of Santa Elena.⁴⁴

In the meantime, in December, 1576, a recurring Spanish nightmare was confirmed: the French came again to Port Royal. Nicolas Strozzi, cousin of the French Queen Mother, brought his ship Le Prince to the Santa Elena harbor entrance, where it was lost with more than 100 men. The Frenchmen built a small works in the area. After Indian troubles developed, a number were killed while others were held by Indians up the Coosawhatchie River and as far south as Guale.⁴⁵

When the Florida visitor's report of Miranda's desertion reached Madrid early in 1577, the Council of the Indies and the King put finish to the proprietary era in Spanish Florida. Although the new Governor, Pedro Menéndez Márquez, was related to the old Adelantado, he neither received that title nor did he inherit his uncle's conquest-contract. Further to assert royal control and to avoid the fiscal scandals of previous years,

Philip II moved to replace the old treasury officials with three outsiders.⁴⁶

Pedro Menéndez Márquez brought to Florida the brothers Hernando de Quiros and 23-year-old Tomás Bernaldo de Quirós. Learning of the French presence at Santa Elena, Menéndez Márquez sent Gutierre de Miranda from St. Augustine to command there and to begin rebuilding the presidio. The governor decided to avoid exposing his men to danger in cutting wood for the main body of the fort. Thus he shipped sawn and hewn timbers and planking from St. Augustine. The new fort, named San Marcos, was thus partly prefabricated.⁴⁷

On October 12, 1577, Pedro Menéndez Márquez was at Santa Elena, where he noted a garrison of 53 men. He located the fort the Frenchmen from the Prince had built and dismantled it. He urged the King to double the garrison to 300 soldiers. If that could not be done, he said, it was better to evacuate Florida altogether. Nevertheless, in early 1578, Menéndez Márquez sent Gutierre de Miranda to Havana to arrange the return of the Santa Elena settlers there; Cuban Governor Carreno refused to permit it, and the King had to order their release.⁴⁸

The Council of the Indies considered Menéndez Márquez' letter, and heard the report of Captain Rodrigo de Junco, whom he had sent. They recommended to Philip II that 150 troops be sent to Florida at once; the King scrawled his assent in the document margin. A month later, the authorities determined to send Captain Álvaro Flores de Quiñones to investigate the state of the Florida defenses; such visits were the Spanish way of tightening up hitherto lax governments and attempting to enforce the King's will in distant places.⁴⁹ In the fall, the King agreed to an increase in the subsidy of four million maravedís.⁵⁰

After rebuilding the two forts at Santa Elena and St. Augustine, Pedro Menéndez Márquez could take only limited military action to restore order until his reinforcements arrived. The first ship bearing soldiers was sunk off St. Augustine and almost 50 drowned. But he had clearly made his headquarters at St. Augustine. The three treasury officials were also stationed there. Santa Elena was no longer the capital of Spanish Florida.⁵¹

Tomás Bernaldo de Quirós had aided the governor in pacification of the area around St. Augustine; on August 20, 1578, he was ordered north to take command of Fort San Marcos. Quirós busied himself with the reconstruction of the town. When he arrived, he found only one house with four married men and the forge where they worked. Quickly they built a church and more than 30 houses. A good account of Santa Elena's military aspect is found in the reports of the two Álvaro Flores visits of that year.

Álvaro Flores' 1578 visits to Santa Elena (on October 12 and November 1) afford a view of the presidio's military aspect. Flores mustered the garrison, examined the fort, describing its platform with five bronze cannons, the south cavalier with two pieces, the northwest cavalier with three guns. Inside the fort, soldiers awaited inspection; Flores noted their sleeping area, wooden bunks built around a central storehouse. With Prudencio de Arrieta, the storekeeper, he examined the weights and measures, supplies and munitions. Ascending the ladder, he inspected the

second-story living and meeting spaces. There were 72 men in the garrison on his first visit, including Captain Quirós, an ensign and sergeant, and the priest, Chaplain Francisco de Castillo. One man, Pedro Valezquez de Solís, had been killed by Indians just ⁵²two weeks before. On his second visit, Flores brought six more soldiers.

Menéndez Márquez' expeditions of 1579 to Guale and Santa Elena, and the tribute treaties enacted thereafter reflected the harshness of the renewed Spanish presence. Now amply armed, Ménendez Márquez again acted out the role he had played in the 1560s, when he had served as the Adelantado's enforcer. First he swept through the northern peninsula into Guale, burning 19 towns, destroying the Indian food supplies and seeking out the Frenchmen secreted there. Then, on July 30, 1579, Ménendez Márquez left St. Augustine again. After paying the Santa Elena garrison he took 65 soldiers to the towns of Oristan. Three hundred Indian bowmen came against him, and he beat off their attacks, later returning to the fort. Then, on August 26, Menéndez Márquez led 200 Spanish arquebusmen against Cosapue, up the Coosawhatchie River northwest of Santa Elena. Menéndez Márquez knew that 40 fugitive Frenchmen were there, and at dawn of August 29, he assaulted the town. The Spaniards burned the houses and killed some Indians and Frenchmen. Upon his return, Menéndez Márquez entered at Guale, where he captured the French leader Captain Strozzi and took him to St. Augustine for execution. ⁵³

The Governor left careful instructions with Captain Quirós about the conclusion of treaties with the Indians, counselling a mixture of benevolences and hostage-taking to guarantee good behavior. After another raid upon Cosapue, its cacique came in to the fort to treat peace, bringing seven captive Frenchmen. On October 15, he agreed through an interpreter to be a loyal friend and vassal of King Philip II and to do no harm to Spaniards. As surety he left his own son. On February 14, 1580, the Mico Mayor of Oristan also rendered homage to Spain. Chiefs from ⁵⁴Guale, Tolomato, and Tipique also agreed to treaties of peace and tribute.

In the meantime, the Council of the Indies recommended that the Florida garrison increase be made permanent and be backed with a corresponding subsidy increase, due to "the great importance of maintaining those forts, so that corsairs should not enter and occupy that region...." ⁵⁵

When Pedro Menéndez Márquez reported to the King on March 2, 1580, he could describe how far the rebuilding of the town of Santa Elena had progressed; now there were 60 houses, many with flat roofs of lime. Captain Quirós described his surroundings as "salt-water marsh," but noted that the island yielded crops, and referred again to the fertility of the inland areas. These remained, of course, out of reach as long as Indian hostility continued. Late ⁵⁶in 1580, another uprising occurred, and many Indians surrounded the fort.

Gutierre de Miranda returned to Santa Elena to command and to build his own estate. The Crown authorized Pedro Menéndez Márquez to grant him town lots and sizeable country lands, allowing Miranda to bring two slaves duty-free. On November 10, 1580, in the colorful ceremony he took the keys of Fort San Marcos from Quirós and began a vigorous leadership. Miranda also planted gardens and built, at some distance from the fort, his hog and

cattle ranch. In 1582, using royal slaves, he reconstructed the central fort stronghouse. Earlier that year, severe disease again struck Santa Elena; at one point, only eight men had been well enough to guard the ramparts.⁵⁷

In 1582 Juan Mendes especially addressed the notion that two widely separated forts could not adequately defend Florida or prepare the way for colonists. Although Mendes suggested that both the Florida forts be abandoned and a new one built at the Chesapeake, his point about joining the garrisons into one struck its mark with the Council of the Indies.⁵⁸

In the meantime, in April, 1584, Walter Raleigh's advance fleet of two ships under Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlowe left for the Indies. They made their first landing on Hatteras Island and were followed by an expedition of settlement headed by Richard Grenville. By June, 1585, he had left a colony on Roanoke Island under the command of Ralph Lane. Early the next year, Pedro Menéndez Márquez noted that "Corsairs who had passed by Guatari had settled on this coast. . .where it is said that there is a passage to the South Sea."⁵⁹

By February, 1586, Pedro Menéndez Márquez sent Miranda an urgent letter from St. Augustine to report that Sir Francis Drake had scourged the Carribbean with a large force of ships and men, sacking Santo Domingo and Cartagena. The warning was clear; St. Augustine and Santa Elena had but a short time to prepare for a possible assault. Authorities in Spain sent two ships to Florida, but they did not arrive in time. Gutierre de Miranda labored incessantly with a force of Indians and soldiers to greatly enlarge Fort San Marcos. He strengthened the works by stockades and earthen glacis and built raised cavaliers to enable the artillery to rake the approaches to the fort. In six weeks the work was finished. In early June, Sir Francis Drake invested and burned St. Augustine and made his way northward, intending to reduce Santa Elena as well. But the English fleet stood too far out to sea to avoid the banks around Tybee Island or Hilton Head; thus Drake overshot the Santa Elena harbor entrance and unfavorable winds prevented his return. He anchored just north, probably in St. Helena Sound. Then, taking sail, Drake went on to Roanoke, where he removed the discouraged English colonists and sailed for home.⁶⁰

The immense impact of Sir Francis Drake's Caribbean sweep and the burning of St. Augustine was decisive in the fate of Santa Elena. As reports reached Spain, dramatic attention was called to the land fortifications and sea defenses of the Indies. On July 17, Pedro Menéndez Márquez wrote the King that the Florida garrisons should be joined into one at St. Augustine, for better future defense. Captain Juan Posada also recommended closing Santa Elena. The Council of the Indies met September 10, still in a state of shock over Drake's raid, and urged immediate action to protect the Indies against a feared repetition. While agreeing with Menéndez Márquez that two separated Florida forts made defense difficult, the council suggested dismantling both forts and building a new one near the Bahama Channel at Key Largo to aid shipwreck survivors and help defend the coasts. Philip II traced in the margin a comment reflecting his long preoccupation with denying North American foothold to his enemies. Look well first, he said, to see if the forts to be torn down are on ports where our departure might lead to enemy occupation.⁶¹

Pilot Vicente Gonzales had come to Spain on September 29 and also recommended uniting the two Florida fortifications at St. Augustine. On October 24, 1586, the King's council met again having considered all the pertinent reports. Maestre de Campo Juan de Tejada was ordered to examine each port and fort, including those of Florida and do what was necessary in each case. Strongly affected by Gonzales' testimony, the council noted that they now urged the King to follow his, Posada's, and Pedro Menendez Marquez' suggestions.

The momentous year of 1587 opened, and the Spanish King's dynastic and religious aims seemed at last in sight. Events were running in his favor in the Netherlands, as the Duke of Parma carried all before him. In France, after the Pact of Joinville, Philip's backing of the Catholic forces reached its peak. Elizabeth's execution of Mary in February led Philip II to commit himself irrevocably to the conquest of England. But he was also determined to assure his Indies against corsair assault. He ordered Pedro Menéndez Márquez to follow up the English settlement, rumored to be on a bay Gonzales had seen which had a mouth two leagues across and was alleged to lead to "the other sea."⁶³

On May 7, Menéndez Márquez undertook the voyage to the north but was driven back by bad weather as he neared Cape Henry. At the same time, John White led Raleigh's third⁶⁴ colonizing group from England. The English landed at Roanoke on July 22.

Ironically, shortly after they landed, the Spaniards were preparing to abandon their northernmost outpost. On August 16, 1587, Governor Menéndez Márquez appeared at Santa Elena with an order by Maestre de Campa Tejada to tear down Fort San Marcos and evacuate the town. Tejada had been strongly influenced by the governor and others, and Pedro Menéndez Márquez was obeying orders which reflected his own views. The entire garrison was to be concentrated in a stronger fort at St. Augustine. This severe blow aroused those who possessed homes, lands and other vested interests in Santa Elena. Gutierre de Miranda strongly protested, testifying of the rebuilt strength of the fort. He stated his belief that the King and Tejada had not been informed of the true strategic value of Santa Elena's fine port as compared to St. Augustine's shallow bar. He feared that the enemy would seize control of Santa Elena and profit by its cleared lands, wood suitable for shipbuilding, fruit trees and livestock. He pointed out that the Adelantado Pedro Menéndez, who had understood its importance, had made his capital there, and reiterated the old belief that the most abundant cultivation could only come in temperate latitudes. Miranda closed with an appeal that nothing further be done until the King and council could hear the matter.

Pedro Menéndez Márquez replied that the King was amply informed of the qualities of the land, and that no Indians had, up to now, been truly Christianized. He denied that Santa Elena was fit for settlement, and labelled St. Augustine superior to it. He stated that Tejada had full powers to make his determination, and he ordered Miranda not to stand⁶⁵ in the way, under a penalty of 500 ducats and being declared an open rebel.

Gutierre de Miranda had to yield. The fort was torn down, and the city burned yet again. Miranda carried his protest to Spain, where he presented a claim for destroyed houses, gardens, hog ranches, livestock and

other farm and cultivated property. One of his witnesses swore that Miranda's properties yielded an annual income of 4,000 to 5,000 ducats. Thirty-three Santa Elena farmers also sued for the loss of their homes and gardens.⁶⁶ Even though the disappearance of the Lost Colony ended the Raleigh initiatives, the Spaniards searched the middle coasts again in 1588 and planned to sweep them clean of English occupation. But, in the wake of the defeat of the Invincible Armada, this plan was forgotten. New instructions given to Tejeda late in 1588⁶⁷ show that Spanish Florida had evidently been reduced in strategic position.

Santa Elena was a casualty of seen urgent needs of imperial defense. But these were short-run aims, as Spaniards themselves well knew. They had a maxim: poblar es conquistar (to settle is to conquer). But settlement, "hiving out," penetration to the inland Carolinas, and economic "takeoff" were impossible without security. At Santa Elena, the dilemma turned upon itself; population awaited pacification, but pacification alone was no substitute for settlement. Given the nature of their Indian policies, the Spaniards lacked the sanctioning power to enforce their will until settlement and disease had reduced the Indians to manageability.

Perhaps the factor most lacking at Santa Elena after 1574 was that of the influence of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés. While he lived, Menéndez drew royal favor and private funds to the Florida enterprise. His vaulting ambition and the drive of his fervent obsession with Florida led to expansion beyond his means. Yet he did found Santa Elena, establish the colony there, and plan his own seat. Menéndez' immediate successors lacked his peculiar zeal and no longer held his privileges.

In 1764, at Havana, after Spain ceded Florida to England, there came a late echo of the meaning of Santa Elena. One Juan Josef Eligio de la Peunte wrote a history of Spain's discovery, conquest and possession of Florida. Referring back to arguments doubtlessly used when England had established the colony of Georgia, Puente claimed that Spain's northern limit on the Atlanta coast had been established in 1584 ten leagues north of Santa Elena, at the bar of Estanape. The line may⁶⁸ have been drawn but could not be maintained; the reality belied the claim.

The failure of the Santa Elena years was critical; it spelled Spain's inability to stake out by colonization the middle North American coast against the incursions of other nations. It also spelled the failure to make the continental link-up between Mexico, Pánuco, and the Atlantic.

Santa Elena was once spearhead and microcosm of sixteenth-century Spain. Now we must consult the written and archaeological record to see again the Hispanic past of this part of our South.

NOTES

1. See Paul E. Hoffman, "Why Santa Elena?" presented at the Southern Historical Association Conference, Memphis, Tennessee, November 3-6, 1982. cf. Stanley South, "The Search for Santa Elena on Parris Island, South Carolina," Institute of Archeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Research Manuscript Series 150 (August, 1979).
2. See cédulas (royal commands) to Diego de Mazariegos and Pedro Menéndez Avilés, sent from Madrid, from Archivo General de Indias (hereinafter AGI) Indiferente General (hereinafter IG) 427. The report on the Spanish expedition to pick up the Port Royal survivor was made at Havana on July 9, 1564, and is from AGI Santa Domingo (hereinafter SD) 99. The Vazquez Ayllon contract is from AGI Contratación (hereinafter CT) 3309, dated June 4, 1563. The fact that Philip II was not aware of Laudonnière's fort until March 30, 1565, is disclosed in his two letters of that date to Pedro Menendez sent from Madrid, and found in AGI Escribanía de Cámara (hereinafter EC) 1024-A. Menéndez' contract is discussed at length in Eugene Lyon, The Enterprise of Florida (Gainesville, University Presses of Florida, 1976), 43-56.
3. There is a signed copy of Menendez' contract, which describes his jurisdiction, in AGI EC 1024-A. The memorial, which internal evidence would date in February, 1565, is from AGI Patronato Real (hereinafter PAT) 19. The Adelantado's geographic concepts were outlined in his letter to the King dated October 15, 1565 at St. Augustine, from AGI SD 231, and are discussed by Louis-André Vigneras in "A Spanish Discovery of North Carolina in 1566," North Carolina Historical Review, XLVI (October 1969), 398-414. Menendez evidently saw the fragment of the relación of Sebastián de Cañete about the journey of Hernando de Soto, for it was attached to a copy of his contract copied in San Juan, Puerto Rico in 1565, and found in AGI PAT 19, No. 1, ramo 15. See also Eugene Lyon "Continuity in the Age of Conquest: The Establishment of Spanish Sovereignty in the Sixteenth Century," Symposium on Alabama and the Borderlands, Tuscaloosa, September 24-26, 1981.
4. Menéndez' action on the armada ship is described in AGI CT 4802; he advised the King of his belief that the French were building a fort in Guale in a letter dated at Havana January 30, 1566, from AGI SD 168. The pre-contact and Spanish periods on the Guale coasts are well described in David Hurst Thomas et al. "The Anthropology of St. Catherine's Island" Vol. 55, Pt. 2 (Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, 1978). The founding of Fort San Salvador is described by witnesses who had come from there after the mutiny at Santa Elena; see testimony at Havana, July 5-19, 1566, from AGI Justicia (hereinafter JU) 999, No. 2, ramo 9. See also the appointment of Esteban de las Alas as area Governor and Alcaide, AGI Contaduría (hereinafter CD) 941, fol. 2vo.
5. AGI JU 999, No. 2, ramo 9.
6. The fort named Fort San Felipe was identified with the one built in the time of Juan Pardo by Alonso de Almos; see AGI EC 154-A, fol. 1055vo. The tools, barrels, and other things used to break ground, dig moats and prepare the fort were listed in AGI JU 1001, No. 4, ramo 2. Also described

there were the use of containers to bring charcoal from the woods for the forge. Menendez' supply to Santa Elena is detailed in AGI CD 1174, in "despachos que se hicieron," AGI EC 1024-A, and in AGI JU 905, No. 7. The naming of Alas is found in AGI CD 941, fol. 2vo. The muster was cited by Alonso Sánchez in his petition of August 3, 1571, from AGI CT 2932, No. 4, R.10, fol. 2.

7. Menéndez discusses his Newfoundland plans in a letter to the King sent from St. Augustine, October 20, 1566, AGI SD 115. For the August, 1566 expedition, see Louis-André Vigneras, "A Spanish Discovery of North Carolina," op. cit., and the archival source, AGI PAT 257, No. 3, ramo 4. The Pardo journey reports, dated July 11, 1567 and January 23, 1569, are found respectively in Eugenio Ruidiaz y Caravia, La Florida: su conquista y colonización por Pedro Menéndez de Avilés (2 vol. Madrid: Hijos de J. Garcia, 1893-94), II, 474-480, and in AGI CT 58 and AGI EC 154-A, fol. 1-6vo, separate section.

8. Pedro Menéndez to Francisco Borgia, Madrid, January 18, 1568, from Felix Zubillaga, Monumenta Antiquae Floridae (Rome: Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, 1946), 228-234.

9. Menéndez' lawsuit with the Crown is in AGI EC 1024-A. Many charges were made against the Adelantado and his retinue by accountant Andrés de Eguino in his report from AGI PAT 257, No. 3, ramo 8. Renewal of the contract and the promised subsidy are discussed in Lyon, Enterprise of Florida, 207.

10. The list of settlers who boarded ship at Cadiz is found in AGI PAT 19, No. 1, ramo 15. Menéndez' plan to bring settlers and the arrangements he proposed with them were mentioned in his letter to the King dated at St. Augustine October 20, 1566, from AGI SD 115. See also settler data filed with an order dated July 26, 1568, from AGI IG 1220, and an agreement with Dr. Zayas, from AGI JU 980, No. 2, ramo 3.

11. See "memorial of the settlers. . . in these forts of Santa Elena," July 15, 1569, AGI CD 941 (microfilm in P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, frame 35).

12. Pedro Menéndez Márquez certified the Santa Elena population at the end of 1569 in AGI JU 980, No. 3, ramo 1.

13. Juan Rogel to Francisco de Borgia, Havana, July 25, 1568, in Zubillaga, Monumenta Antiquae Floridae, 317-328.

14. Juan Rogel to Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, Havana, December 9, 1570, in Zubillaga, Monumenta..., 471-479. The Jesuit aids to religious conversion were requested by Father Juan Bautista de Segura in a letter to Borgia dated at Santa Elena, on December 18, 1569; see Zubillaga, Monumenta. . . , 405-411.

15. Menéndez' petitions before the Council of the Indies were considered on November 21-22, 1569; this from Envío 25, H, Nos. 161-162, Archivo del Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan (Madrid) (hereinafter AIVDJ). The sales of Menéndez' ship-licenses were recorded on January 3 and some on July 18,

1569 in the escribania of Alonso de los Cobos, 1569, Archivo de Protocolos de Cádiz (hereinafter APC), fol. 9-15. The author is indebted to Professor Paul E. Hoffman for this citation. Menéndez also sought the collection of sums and claimed from the crown, and bid for the construction of eight fregatas. Conditions at Santa Elena in 1569 were described by Father Rogel in a letter to Juan de Hinestrosa dated at Santa Elena December 11, 1569, from Zubillaga, Monumenta. . . , 398-404. The tradition about Father del Alamo is recorded in Bartolomé Martínez' "Martirio de los Padres y Hermanos de la Compañía de Jesus. . .," in Zubillaga, Monumenta. . . , 584.

16. Rogel's dilemma in the summer of 1570 is described in his letter to Pedro Menéndez dated at Havana December 9, 1570, in Zubillaga, Monumenta. . . , 471-479.

17. The settlers' complaints were recorded in a piece marked "Fall, 1570," from AGI IG 1222.

18. Witnesses in the royal investigation about the coming of most of the Florida soldiers to Spain in the fall of 1570 described how Pedro Menéndez had ordered the evacuation; see AGI JU 1001, No. 2, ramo 1. The Jesuit leaders' dissatisfaction with affairs in Florida and their disputes with Menéndez and his lieutenants can be traced through two sources. Esquivel's letter to Borgia, dated September 26, 1570, is reprinted in Zubillaga, Monumenta. . . , 441-446. Esquivel's complaint was passed along to cardinal Espinosa in the memorial found in Envío 25, H, No. 167, AIVDJ, and identical to that reprinted in Zubillaga, Monumenta. . . , 441-446. In return, Menéndez read into the record a portion of a letter from Juan Rogel. (Envío 25, H. No. 168, AIVDJ). Esquivel described to Borgia how the Jesuits had missed an opportunity to have their case heard on October 20, 1570 in his letter dated at Madrid on October 21 from Zubillaga, Monumenta. . . , 454-456; he also mentioned the convocation of the four royal councils. The subsidy was approved in a cedula from the Crown to the royal officials of Tierra Firme sent from Segovia on November 15, 1570, from AGI SD 235 and also found in AGI CD 454.

19. AGI JU 1001, No. 2, ramo 1.

20. The Havana supply arrangements were detailed in AGI JU 817, No. 5, piece 4, in AGI CD 454, and in AGI CD 548, No. 8, No. 5. The royal reinforcement expense was listed in AGI CD 310-B. Pedro Menéndez was granted the privilege of taking 100 additional settlers to Florida; his request, found in AGI IG 1373, and the King's approval, from AGI SD 2528, were both dated March 5, 1571. Don Diego de Valasco's origins were mentioned in his petition dated at Mexico City on April 3, 1595, reprinted in Eugenio Ruidiaz y Caravia, La Florida: su conquista y colonizacion. . . (2 vol. Madrid: Hijos de J. A. Garcia, 1893-94), II, 590 et seq. His dower contract is found in AGI JU 928, No. 9, fol. 23vo-31vo., and in AGI EC 153-A, fol. 71-80, together with his contract for Florida service. Miranda's dower agreement is in AGI EC 1024-A, piece 4.

21. See Pedro Menéndez de Avilés to Crown, Santa Elena, July 22, 1571, AGI SD 231. The Adelantado's household goods, in boxes, bales, barrels and coffers, are listed in AGI JU 817, No. 5, piece 6. Arms for the horse of Menéndez were listed in AGI CD 548, No. 8, No. 5.

22. The disease, called modarra, was not precisely identified; it was described by Father Antonio Sedeño in his letter to Father Juan Polanco, sent from Santa Elena on February 8, 1572, and found in Zubillaga, Monumenta. . . , 492-506. Father Sedenó also describes the burning of the fort, following the epidemic in the town, in the same letter. Juan Gonzales de Cascos mentions the rebuilding of the fort in testimony in AGI ED 1024-A, fol. 5. Alonso de Olmos identified the burned fort with the one built when Juan Pardo governed in his testimony in AGI EC 154-A, fol. 1055vo. Paul E. Hoffman has prepared an excellent report on the Santa Elena forts in "Sixteenth Century Fortifications on Parris Island, South Carolina," (Baton Rouge: prepared for the National Geographic Society, 1978). Albert Manucy's report first identified materials taken from the site by Marine Corps personnel as Spanish in origin in his "Report on Relics from 1923 Excavations of Fortification Site on Parris Island, South Carolina" (St. Augustine: typescript, 1957). Louis-André Vigneras has described the Florida forts in "Fortifications de la Florida," Anuario de Estudios Americanos, Tomo XVI (1958), 533-552.

23. See settlers' list, Santa Elena, August 2, 1572, AGI EC 1024-A. The soldiers' list at the same time was itemized in AGI CD 548, No. 8, No. 5, data. Father Juan Rogel described the planting of grain and vineyards in Santa Elena in his letter to Francisco Borgia of July 25, 1568, from Zubillaga, Monumenta. . . , 317-329. Don Diego de Velasco described Menéndez' new ten-year agreement with the Santa Elena settlers in AGI EC 154-A, fol. 948 (question 44).

24. The author has described the Asturian control apparatus in The Enterprise of Florida, 71-77, and in "The Control Structure of Spanish Florida, 1580," (unpublished paper; St. Augustine: St. Augustine Restoration Foundation, 1978). The appointment of Ojalora as Factor was made July 25, 1571 by Menéndez; from AGI IG 1383; the King had confirmed the appointment of Ojalora, Pedro Menéndez the Younger as Treasurer, and Pedro Menéndez Márquez as Accountant by an order of March 5, 1571, found in AGI SD 2528. All were related by blood or marriage to the Adelanto.

25. The contents of the Santa Elena church were inventoried at St. Augustine by visitor Castillo; he also examined the records of the confraternity; see AGI EC 154-A, fol. 370vo. The image of Santa Clara and probably the gilded cross must have been donated by the Adelantado's wife, Dona Maria de Solís; record of their shipment to her is found in AGI JU 817, No. 5, piece 1 and in "Statement of Gómez," in AGI CD 454.

26. Menéndez discussed his projected pitch, sugar, silk and lumber industries with the Council of the Indies in Envío 25-H, No. 162, AIVDJ, evidently in November, 1569. An early shipment of Florida sarsaparilla was made illegally on one of the Royal Armada vessels; it is outlined in JU 892, No. 3. Six shipments of Florida sarsaparilla are found in AGI CD 1089, No. 2, ramos 1 and 2 for the 1580s. A shipment from Florida by Luiz Hernandez is mentioned in the Protocolo of Martin Calvo de la Puerta, Archivo de Protocolos de la Havana. Indian gifts, bordering upon rescate, were described by Don Diego de Velasco in his interrogatory in AGI EC 154-A, fol. 933vo (question 12), and the succeeding answers. Gifts to the Indians were detailed in AGI JU 1001, No. 4, ramo 2 and in AGI JU 1001, No. 2, ramo 1. Cedar, juniper and laurel shipments are found in AGI JU 1001,

No. 2, fol. 5vo, and an oak export is described by Captain Gregorio Ugarte under the date of January 29, 1567, from AGI CT 204, No. 1, ramo 2, fol. 64-64vo. The author is indebted to Professor Paul E. Hoffman for the oak shipment citation.

27. Promissory notes left by deceased persons at Santa Elena indicated the prevalence of money lending; see also the will of Diego Ruiz; these from AGI EC 154-Z, fol. 782-797vo. and fol. 771-780. Don Diego de Velasco had also loaned money; see *ibid.*, fol. 641-646. The seized goods described above also included the records of small business enterprises. Lezcano and Martin's work was described in AGI JU 1000, No. 2, fol. 5vo and 8vo. Bartolome Martin's boarding at Olmos' house is described in "Martirio de los Padres. . .," Potosi, October 4, 1610, in Zubillaga, Monumenta. . ., 600. See data cards, Olmos family, St. Augustine Restoration Foundation, Inc., St. Augustine, Florida.

28. See the will of Diego Ruiz, AGI EC 154-A, fol. 771-780, for listing of goods sold by him for the Adelantado and dealings through Juan de Soto. See also list of the Adelantado's goods held in Santa Elena for him by Captain Solís, from AGI EC 153-A, No. 1, fol. 2vo-4. The linkage between Velasco and Menendez the Younger is discussed in AGI EC 154-A, 222vo-223vo as well as by other witnesses; their contract was found by visitor Castillo among Velasco's papers; from AGI EC 154-A, fol. 644.

29. Dona María de Pomar's clothing and bedding is described in AGI EC 154-A, fol. 616vo-619.

30. Olmos' version of this affair is given beginning with fol. 1054, AGI EC 154-A. The Governor's defense is at fol. 937-938vo.

31. The Lara-Olmos case is from AGI EC 154-A, fols. 467-505.

32. An excellent appreciation of the doctrinal struggle between the Indian policies proposed by Bartolome de las Casas and Juan Gines de Sepulveda is found in Charles Gibson, Spain in America (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1966); 40-45. The 1571 recodification of "Codice de leyes y ordenanzas nuevamente hecha por Su Magestad para la governacion y buen tratamiento de los Indios...", is from Recopilacion de leyes de los reinos de las Indias (4 vol., Madrid: J. de Paredes, 1681), Lib. VI, titulo 9. The 1569 meeting is described by Philip W. Powell in Soldiers, Indians, and Silver (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1952). Pedro Menéndez' 1573 request was detailed in Madrid; this from AGI PAT: 257, No. 3, ramo 20. As example of prevailing attitudes in Florida, Baltasar de Siguenza believed that "Your Majesty can, in full conscience, reason and justice order the Indians to be slaves and make all possible war against them, considering all the times they have broken the peace and killed many principal Christians..." (AGI EC 154-A, fol. 340vo). The Indian slaves, brought to St. Augustine via Santa Elena, had come partly from inland areas; see AGI EC 154-A, fols. 65-68vo.

33. The conversions in Guale are described by Bartolome Martin in "Martirio de los Padres...", from Zubillaga, Monumenta, 586-588. The disputes between Governor Velasco and the Franciscans are found in AGI EC

154-A, fols. 505-540. See also the testimony of Juan Gonzales Cascos, AGI EC 1024-A, piece 15, fols. 5-5vo.

34. The issue of tribute was treated in AGI EC 154-A, on fol. 110vo, 125-125vo, 1067-1068; Menéndez' title was discussed in the last citation.

35. Royal approval of Menéndez' Panuco grant was found under date of 23 February 1573, from AGI SD 2528; clarification orders were issued June 1, 1574 and August 20, 1574, AGI SD 2528. The approval of the ship privileges was in a cedula dated at El Pardo on April 8, 1573; from AGI JU 928, No. 9, fol. 2-3. Menéndez' letter to his nephew Pedro Menéndez Márquez is reprinted in Edward H. Lawson, "Letters of Menéndez" (2 vol., typescript; St. Augustine: 1955), 523-527. The Marquisate is discussed in AGI EC 1024-A piece 15, fol. 8, and by Bartolome Martin in "Martirio de los Padres. . .," from Zubillaga, Monumenta, 577.

36. The Adelantado's will dated January 7, 1574 at San Lucar de Barrameda, is found in AGI EC 1024-A. Miranda's power-of-attorney from Catalina, dated at Avilés on October 1, 1574, is in Archivo de Protocolos de Cadiz (hereinafter APC), Escribania of Juan de Medina, 1575, fol. 277-281vo. The Castillo y Ahedo visit was authorized January 4, 1576; see AGI EC 153-A, fol. 42vo-et seq.

37. See "Documents about the succession of Hernando de Miranda to the title of Governor and Adelantado of Florida," AGI JU 817, No. 5, p. 3. Many legal cases were underway in Santa Elena in the first half of 1576; Dona Mariá Menéndez sued Gutierrez de Miranda; Hernando de Miranda sued Captain Alonso de Solís--in all, notary Ochoa listed more than ten major cases; see AGI EC 154-A, fol. 21-26. The soldiers' bonus case is in AGI EC 154-A, fol. 401-466vo.

38. The settlers' complaint is from AGI SD 231, No. 19. The sale of corn had occurred on October 23, 1575, when four citizens had sold 311 arrobas of corn to the treasury for 2180 reales.

39. The tie between Miranda and Menéndez the Younger is discussed in AGI EC 154-A, fol. 115-115 vo. Solís' actions were described by many witnesses, including Francisco Fernandez de Ecija; see AGI EC 154-A, fol. 141vo et seq. See also fols. 949 and 1066.

40. Inigo Ruiz de Castresana said his ship was off-loaded at Havana by Miranda and Menéndez the Younger; see AGI EC 154-A, fols. 1114-1116. See also fols. 115-115vo. Juan Lopez de Avilés described the death of the Royal Officials, the soldiers and the interpreters in 1576 in testimony taken September 3, 1602, from AGI SD 2533.

41. The events of the Moyano massacre and the death of Captain Solís were described in AGI EC 154-A, fols. 1039vo-40; 1066vo-1067.

42. Gutierrez de Miranda described his presence at Santa Elena in AGI JU 1002, No. 5. Baltasar de Siguenza felt that Hernando de Miranda was a man "not fit to govern nor to deal with the Indians, for he is man of little experience and speaks of things of which he knows little"; from AGI EC 154-A, fol. 340.

43. Events in Santa Elena before its abandonment were described by Dona Catalina Borbon in AGI PAT 75, ramo 4; this was testified to at Mexico City on March 24, 1577. Hernando de Miranda's behavior under stress is described by Francisco Dominguez Castellanos in AGI EC 154-A, fol. 342. See also fol. 1050vo for further data on the abandonment.

44. Gutierre de Miranda describes events in St. Augustine following the evacuation of Santa Elena in AGI JU 1002, No. 5. Baltasar del Castillo y Ahedo's entry into St. Augustine and his initial actions are described in the visita, AGI EC 154-A; the loss of Santa Elena is featured in "Probanza de las cosas de las provincias de la Florida," *ibid*; fol. 335-370vo.

45. The wrecking of the French ship at Santa Elena is noted by Havana Governor Francisco Carreno in letters dated December 10, 1577 and February 12, 1578, from AGI SD 99, and in a letter from Inigo Ruiz de Castresana to the King dated from Havana December 12, 1577, from AGI SD 125.

46. The visitor's letter of January 18, 1577, found in AGI SD 125, led to the Council's action of March 22; this was found in AGI IG 739, and Menéndez Márquez' appointment of that date was from AGI SD 2528. The appointments of the three new treasury officials, dated from April 4 to 16, 1577, are found in AGI SD 2528. See also Eugene Lyon, "Le visita de 1576 y la transformación en la Florida española," Congress on Impact of Spain in Florida, the Caribbean and Louisiana, 1500-1800, La Rabida, Spain, September, 1981.

47. Tomás Bernaldo de Quirós describes his appointments in AGI SD 125. Gutierre de Miranda's title as Santa Elena commander is dated at St. Augustine July 1, 1577, and is from AGI JU 1002, No. 5, fol. 12. Pedro Menéndez Márquez' letter about fabrication of the fort is reproduced in Jeannette Thurber Connor, Colonial Records of Spanish Florida, II, 264-266.

48. Menéndez Márquez' letter to the king was dated October 12, 1577 and is from AGI IG 739. Gutierre de Miranda tells of the settlers and Governor Carreno's refusal to return them in a letter to the King dated at Havana 13 February, 1578, from AGI SD 125.

49. The council's consultas about Florida are found in AGI IG 739 under the dates of February 15, and March 12, 1578. The King ordered Captain Alvaro Flores to visit Florida in a cedula dated from Madrid on April 21, 1578 and found, with the body of the visit, in AGI PAT 255.

50. The King and council agreed to the subsidy increase on October 20, 1578; this from AGI IG 739.

51. Menéndez Márquez described his desire to punish the Guale and Santa Elena Indians and the limitations of his forces in a letter to the King, sent from St. Augustine June 15, 1578, from AGI SD 231.

52. Quirós' activities at Santa Elena are noted in his petition in AGI SD 125 for reward for his services. He also described events there in a letter to the King dated from Santa Elena on September 6, 1580, from the same legajo.

53. Menéndez Márquez' 1579 expeditions are outlined in his letter to the King dated April 2, 1579, from AGI SD 168 and in a letter from Antonio Martínez Carvajal to the King dated at Havana November 3, 1579, from AGI SD 127.

54. Quirós petition, AGI SD 125.

55. Consulta, Council of the Indies, October 21, 1579, AGI IG 739. The Crown ordered the payment of the increased subsidy in a cédula to the treasure officials of New Spain dated January 24, 1580, from AGI CD 941.

56. Pedro Menéndez Márquez to Crown, Santa Elena March 25, 1580, from AGI SD 224 (cited in Connor, Colonial Records, II, 282-285). The version cited in the Buckingham Smith Collection, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, is dated March 2, 1580. This from I.2.51: 326-327. Captain Quirós' description is from his letter of September 6, 1580, AGI SD 125. Rodrigo de Junco advised the King in a letter sent from St. Augustine on October 30, 1580 that the arrival of French corsairs in Florida in the summer of 1580 had caused new Indian disturbances, and that they had surrounded Fort San Marcos; this from AGI CT 5106.

57. The King ordered Pedro Menéndez Márquez on July 6, 1579 to grant Gutierrez de Miranda two estancias and caballerias of (country lands and city-lots to plant and raise livestock); he also approved the slave-permission. This from AGI SD 2528. Miranda's act of taking command of Fort San Marcos was described in his petition to the Crown, AGI SD 231, No. 64, fols. 9-10. Miranda's private plantations and structures are described in his later "Information," dated at Havana February 27, 1588, from AGI SD 231. Juan Cevadilla noted the disease at Santa Elena in a letter to the King dated at St. Augustine January 22, 1582, from AGI SD 229.

58. The Mendes declaration, dated April 6, 1584, is from AGI SD 231. The Council of the Indies discussed the distance between the Florida forts on June 18, 1586; this from AGI SD 6.

60. Miranda's work on the fort before the Drake raid is described in his petition, op. cit. The Drake raid was described in letters from the House of Trade to the King, from AGI CT 5169. Juan de Posada told how Drake missed Santa Elena in his letter to the King dated at St. Augustine September 2, 1586, from AGI S nta Fe 89.

61. Menéndez Márquez' letter was from AGI IG 1887; Posada's was that of 2 September, op. cit. The Council of the Indies September 10 consulta is from AGI IG 741.

62. Gonzales' deposition of September 29 is from AGI IG 1887. The 24 October consulta is from AGI IG 741.

63. Philip II's order to Pedro Menéndez Márquez is from AGI IG 541.

64. The Florida Governor's report to his King on the northern voyage on June 22, 1587, from AGI CT 5108.

65. Events at Santa Elena when Menéndez Márquez appeared to destroy the fort and town, together with Gutierre de Miranda's futile protest, are found in Miranda's petition, AGI SD 231, No. 64. Maestre de Campo Tejeda's order is at fol. 24vo-25vo in the petition.

66. Miranda's claim was made at Havana February 27, 1588, from AGI SD 231; those of the farmers were ordered paid by the King in a cédula dated at Madrid February 21, 1590, from AGI SD 2528.

67. Tejeda's instructions were dated at Madrid November 23, 1588, from AGI IG 541.

68. "Manifiesto del descubrimiento, conquista y posesión de las provincias de Florida...", Havana, September 12, 1764, from AGI SD 1598-A. The writer is indebted to Professor Light Cummings for this citation.