

1999

## To Settle is to Conquer: Spaniards, Native Americans, and the Colonization of Santa Elena in Sixteenth-Century Florida

Karen Lynn Paar

Follow this and additional works at: [https://scholarcommons.sc.edu/sciaa\\_staffpub](https://scholarcommons.sc.edu/sciaa_staffpub)



Part of the [Archaeological Anthropology Commons](#), [Latin American History Commons](#), and the [Social History Commons](#)

---

### Publication Info

1999.

Copyright 1999 by Karen L. Paar

This Book is brought to you by the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology at Scholar Commons. It has been accepted for inclusion in Faculty & Staff Publications by an authorized administrator of Scholar Commons. For more information, please contact [digres@mailbox.sc.edu](mailto:digres@mailbox.sc.edu).

"To Settle is to Conquer": Spaniards, Native Americans, and the Colonization  
of Santa Elena in Sixteenth-Century Florida

Karen Lynn Paar

A dissertation submitted to the faculty of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the  
Department of History (Latin American History).

Chapel Hill

1999

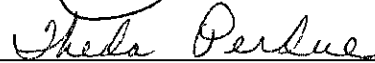
Approved by



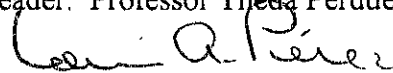
Advisor: Professor Sarah Chambers



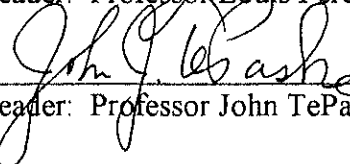
Reader: Professor John Chasteen



Reader: Professor Theda Perdue



Reader: Professor Louis Pérez



Reader: Professor John TePaske

© 1999  
Karen Lynn Paar  
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

## CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. INTRODUCTION . . . . .	1
A. Background to Settlement of La Florida . . . . .	15
B. The French in La Florida . . . . .	23
II. SPANISH STRUGGLES TO SHAPE THE CONQUEST OF FLORIDA SANTA ELENA'S FIRST SPANISH OCCUPATION, 1566-1576 . . . . .	30
A. The Soldiers . . . . .	33
B. The Jesuits . . . . .	48
C. The Settlers . . . . .	53
D. <i>Comuño</i> and Settler Conflicts . . . . .	66
E. Discord and Dissolution . . . . .	79
III. SPANISH WOMEN IN THE CONQUEST AND COLONIZATION OF LA FLORIDA . . . . .	88
A. Background to Women's Emigration . . . . .	91
B. Spanish Women in Colonization . . . . .	96
C. Women's Social Position and Questions of Honor . . . . .	108
D. Widowhood . . . . .	121
IV. EFFORTS AT ASSIMILATION AND THE LIMITS OF ACCOMODATION NATIVE AMERICAN AND SPANISH RELATIONS, 1566-1576 . . . . .	129
A. Efforts at Assimilation . . . . .	132

B.	Tribute .....	141
C.	Labor .....	159
D.	Encounters Along the “Gender Frontier” .....	175
E.	“Pacification” .....	184
V.	“WARS OF FIRE AND BLOOD” AND SUSTAINED RESISTANCE NATIVE AMERICAN AND SPANISH RELATIONS, 1577-1587 .....	189
A.	The Spaniards’ Return to Santa Elena .....	195
B.	“Wars of Fire and Blood” and an Uncertain Peace .....	205
C.	The Uprising’s Final Years .....	220
D.	An End to Hostilities .....	229
VI.	WITNESS TO EMPIRE AND THE TIGHTENING OF MILITARY CONTROL SANTA ELENA’S SECOND SPANISH OCCUPATION, 1577-1587 .....	235
A.	Santa Elena as Symbol of Spanish Rule .....	240
B.	The Tightening of <i>Comuño</i> Control .....	248
C.	<i>Comuño</i> Service to the King .....	263
D.	Drake’s Raid and Its Aftermath .....	270
E.	The Spaniards Dismantle Santa Elena .....	278
VII.	CONCLUSION .....	293
VIII.	BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	305

## ABSTRACT

KAREN LYNN PAAR: "To Settle is to Conquer": Spaniards, Native Americans, and the Colonization of Santa Elena in Sixteenth-Century Florida  
(Under the direction of Sarah C. Chambers.)

Sixteenth-century Spaniards believed that "to settle is to conquer," and they brought this tradition established during the Reconquest of the Iberian peninsula from the Moors to their conquest and colonization of the Americas. The Spaniards' multi-faceted approach to settlement proved remarkably enduring as shown by the mid-1560s effort of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés to claim La Florida, which then included much of the present-day southeastern United States. Within this territory Santa Elena, now known as Parris Island, South Carolina, came into the focus of French and Spanish monarchs as the political and religious battles raging in Europe in the mid-sixteenth century carried over to the Americas. As negotiations failed to resolve who would control La Florida, first Frenchmen, then Spaniards came to occupy the Parris Island site. This dissertation tells the story of the Spanish settlement of Santa Elena (1566-1587) as part of this contest between empires. In doing so it brings the consideration of Spanish efforts to establish an enduring presence in this conflicted region to the level of the struggles and daily interactions among the historical actors who shaped this process: settlers as well as soldiers, women as well as men, and Native Americans as well as Europeans. For whatever the Kings, Queens, and advisors in Europe thought, it was the events in the colony that ultimately determined the success or failure of their imperial claims. By taking

this approach, this dissertation provides a fuller picture of a little-known chapter of “United States” history. It also offers students of Spanish American history a window onto the important, but little-studied, transitional stage between initial contact and settlement efforts and the more fully documented colonial societies of later years.

## INTRODUCTION

Without settlement there is no good conquest, and if the land is not conquered, the people will not be converted. Therefore the maxim of the conqueror must be to settle.<sup>1</sup>

This quotation from Francisco López de Gómara, a historian in the service of Hernán Cortés, describes the philosophy behind the Spanish conquest of the Americas in the sixteenth century and succinctly captures the interrelated goals and strategies of the Spaniards as they sought to create a permanent presence in these lands. Settlement as an element of Spanish conquest had its roots during the long Reconquest of the Iberian peninsula from the Moors, when Castilian monarchs recruited families to occupy towns established in areas of territorial expansion.<sup>2</sup> The Spaniards' multi-faceted approach to colonization proved remarkably enduring as shown by the mid-1560s endeavor of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés to claim the land known as La Florida, which once included much of

---

<sup>1</sup> I have taken this quotation from John H. Elliott, "The Spanish Conquest and Settlement of America," in vol. 1, *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, ed. Leslie Bethell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 149. The phrase "to settle is to conquer" (*poblar es conquistar*) appears in Eugene Lyon, *Santa Elena: A Brief History of the Colony, 1566-1587*, Research Manuscript Series, no. 193 (Columbia, S.C.: Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, 1984), 16.

<sup>2</sup> See Heath Dillard, *Daughters of the Reconquest: Women in Castilian Town Society, 1100-1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 1, 12, 33-34, 214. For discussions of other Reconquest precedents for the conquest of the Americas, see Elliott, "Spanish Conquest and Settlement," 149-52; and John E. Kicza, "Patterns in Early Spanish Overseas Expansion," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 49 (April 1992): 229-53. Both these articles address other precedents for the Spanish conquest of the Americas as well.



the present-day southeastern United States.<sup>3</sup> Within this territory, a place now known as Parris Island, South Carolina came into the focus of French and Spanish monarchs as the political and religious battles raging in Europe in the mid-sixteenth century carried over to the Americas. As negotiations failed to resolve who would control La Florida, first Frenchmen, then Spaniards came to occupy this site known as Santa Elena. In my dissertation I tell the story of the Spanish settlement of Santa Elena (1566-1587) as part of this contest between empires. To do this most effectively, I bring my consideration of Spanish efforts to establish an enduring presence in this conflicted region to the level of the struggles and daily interactions among the historical actors who shaped this process: settlers as well as soldiers, women as well as men, and Native Americans as well as Europeans. For whatever the Kings, Queens, and advisors in Europe thought, it was the events in the colony that ultimately determined the success or failure of their imperial claims. By taking this approach, my work provides a fuller picture of a little-known chapter of “United States” history. It also offers students of Spanish American history a window onto the important, but little-studied, transitional stage between initial contact and settlement efforts and the more fully documented colonial societies of later years.

---

<sup>3</sup> While sixteenth-century Spaniards viewed La Florida as extending from the tip of present-day Florida to Newfoundland, they never established any sort of presence in these lands north of the Chesapeake Bay, although they protested other Europeans’ incursion into them. La Florida during this period effectively corresponded to the present-day United States Southeast. In this dissertation I use both Florida and La Florida to refer to this area according to its sixteenth-century definition, unless I indicate otherwise. The Spanish documents often refer to the “provinces of Florida.” Amy T. Bushnell, *Situado and Sabana: Spain’s Support System for the Presidio and Mission Provinces of Florida*, Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, no. 74 (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1994), 18, explains that these provinces were based on Native American languages. Sometimes documents use the term “language area of Guale” to mean “province of Guale.” The Spaniards’ references to these provinces are very imprecise and seem to refer to general areas.

Even though Pedro Menéndez de Avilés's conquest and colonization of Florida took place relatively late in comparison with many other parts of the Spanish American empire, the interrelated efforts at conquest, settlement, and conversion endured in this venture.<sup>4</sup> The King granted Pedro Menéndez a contract to settle Florida in the capacity of *adelantado* with these more traditional goals in mind, but wider strategic concerns soon played a role and eventually came to dominate King Philip's approach to this land.<sup>5</sup> During the first period of its Spanish occupation (1566-1576), Santa Elena was La Florida's capital, where Pedro Menéndez de Avilés brought his wife and family to live. Menéndez pursued a "good conquest" at Santa Elena by taking soldiers there initially, then Jesuit priests in 1568, and a large group of colonists from Spain in 1569. Eventually, the military aspect of the Spanish presence undermined settlement and evangelization efforts. Abuses by Spanish soldiers ignited a rebellion among Native Americans of the present-day Georgia and South Carolina coasts which led to the destruction of Santa Elena in 1576. When the Spaniards rebuilt Santa Elena in 1577, forces both internal and external to the colony were responsible for this settlement's change from Florida's capital to an existence as little more than a military garrison, symbol to both Native Americans and European corsairs of Spain's claim to these lands. Strategic concerns led King Philip

---

<sup>4</sup> See Elliott, "Spanish Conquest and Settlement" for an overview of the course of Spanish colonial expansion throughout the Americas. As I will discuss in the next section, there were several earlier unsuccessful Spanish conquest and colonization attempts in La Florida before Pedro Menéndez de Avilés arrived.

<sup>5</sup> Eugene Lyon, *The Enterprise of Florida: Pedro Menéndez de Avilés and the Spanish Conquest of 1565-1568* (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1976), 229, defines the term "adelantado" as "A Spanish and Spanish American colonial official, appointed to represent the King's interest in frontier areas in return for grants of authority and certain revenues and exemptions, as stipulated in the contract or articles of appointment. Originating during the period of the Spanish Reconquest, the institution was transmitted to the overseas jurisdictions of Castile in the last years of the fifteenth century and was still active in the early seventeenth century."

to order that the fort and town of Santa Elena be dismantled in 1587, but he may not have realized how profoundly personal agendas shaped the advice upon which he based this decision.<sup>6</sup>

The story of Santa Elena and the Florida colony is in some ways a very particular story, so particular that Eugene Lyon has been able to outline large parts of it through focusing on the deeds of one family, that of *adelantado* Pedro Menéndez de Avilés.<sup>7</sup> As Lyon has demonstrated, relatives of Pedro Menéndez governed La Florida throughout the period of this study and beyond through the “*comuño*,” a network of associated families from Menéndez’s home province of Asturias.<sup>8</sup> But while this family group plays no less central a role in the account I present here, giving more attention to the agendas and actions of the period’s other historical actors has led me to alter the narrative that Lyon presents in his overview, *Santa Elena: A Brief History of the Colony, 1566-1587*.<sup>9</sup> This

<sup>6</sup> See Chapter Five of this dissertation.

<sup>7</sup> See Lyon, *Enterprise* and the various articles and translations included in Eugene Lyon, ed., *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, vol. 24, *Spanish Borderlands Sourcebooks*, ed. David Hurst Thomas (New York: Garland Publishing, 1995).

<sup>8</sup> Eugene Lyon, “The Enterprise of Florida,” in *Archaeological and Historical Perspectives on the Spanish Borderlands East*, vol. 2, *Columbian Consequences*, ed. David Hurst Thomas (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990), 284-85, says, “Guiding the Florida enterprise through its patron Adelantado Menéndez would be what Asturians call a *comuño*—a grouping of families joined for social advancement and common profit through blood, marriage, or other association.” Lyon addresses the role of the *comuño* in this period of Florida history in “The Control Structure of Spanish Florida, 1580,” in *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, ed. Lyon, 129-37. See also Lyon, *Enterprise*, 71-77, where he discusses the role of these family members and associates in the early years of the Florida colony. See *Enterprise*, Appendix 3, 224-25, where Lyon charts the relationships between key *comuño* members.

<sup>9</sup> This work, published as no. 193 in the Research Manuscript Series of the Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology at the University of South Carolina, is so far the longest historical work about this settlement. In the course of twenty-five pages, Lyon presents an overview of this settlement’s history and some of the external forces shaping the course of its development. It is also reprinted in *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, ed. Lyon, 481-508 (page citations are to the reprint edition).

is especially true with regard to the history of the region's Native Americans. Eugene Lyon characterizes the 1576 uprising largely as an event unto itself, but I argue that the attacks of 1576 were only the beginning of a period of resistance which lasted until around 1583.<sup>10</sup> While Lyon mentions the disputes between *comuño* members and settlers during Santa Elena's first occupation, I have elaborated on the reasons behind the conflicts and how these and other agendas among the Spanish members of this community shaped the course of its history.<sup>11</sup> My discussion shows that due to various circumstances in the colony during Santa Elena's second occupation, the *comuño* members who made up Florida's appointed leadership moved to deny the privileges and status originally claimed by the "first settlers" and to remove their outlets to petition for redress of their grievances.<sup>12</sup>

No previous work on this period of Florida history has treated the role of Spanish women in the colony in any detail, but on the most basic level, these women's presence at Santa Elena was powerful evidence of the permanence that Pedro Menéndez intended for that town. As I argue in Chapter Two, Spanish women's involvement in this settlement had important practical aspects, even as it carried symbolic weight in this contested region. While these women were particularly vulnerable in this frontier environment due to the

---

<sup>10</sup> See Chapter Four.

<sup>11</sup> See Chapters One and Two. Inga Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquests: Maya and Spaniard in Yucatan, 1517-1570* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); and Steve J. Stern, "Paradigms of Conquest: History, Historiography, and Politics," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 24 (Quincentenary Supplement 1992): 1-34, have helped me to consider the ways that Spanish conquest was contested, not only between Native Americans and Spaniards, but among the various groups which made up the Spanish population in areas of colonial expansion.

<sup>12</sup> See Chapter Five.

nature of their society and culture, they shared their men's desire for social and economic advancement through participation in colonization. They joined their voices with other Florida residents to assert their families' rights as "first settlers." Overall, this dissertation's attention to the range of La Florida's historical actors points to a certain paradox apparent over the course of Santa Elena's history. Under *Adelantado* Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, who had more direct authority over the colony than any leader who was to follow, Santa Elena experienced the highest level of dissent among its Spanish residents as they asserted their different agendas. But when the *adelantado*'s nephew Pedro Menéndez Marqués came to govern La Florida in 1577 in a more limited role, he tightened his authority over the colony by suppressing dissension and bringing the residents under military order. By appointing Menéndez Marqués governor rather than renewing the contract for the *adelantamiento* in the aftermath of Santa Elena's destruction, King Philip did not significantly increase royal control over the colony. However, he did manage to remove the leadership's investment in La Florida's long-term development and well-being.<sup>13</sup>

It is my consideration of these other actors and their experiences that gives this study its wider relevance to both "United States" and colonial Spanish American history. By drawing background information and insights from the ethnohistorical literature on the Native Americans of Guale and the region farther north around Santa Elena, I bring a new approach to documents the anthropologists and ethnohistorians have not used before.<sup>14</sup>

---

<sup>13</sup> See Chapter Five.

<sup>14</sup> In David Hurst Thomas, ed., *Ethnology of the Indians of Spanish Florida*, vol. 8, *Spanish Borderlands Sourcebooks*, ed. David Hurst Thomas (New York: Garland Publishing, 1991), see in particular Grant D. Jones, "The Ethnohistory of the Guale Coast Through 1684," 229-66; and Lewis H.

This method allows me to explore more fully the ways these Native Americans sought to accommodate and even assimilate the Spaniards into their social and political structures until Spanish demands and abuses became so severe that several chiefdoms united to expel these intruders from their lands. I argue that the power structure of at least the Guale chiefdom remained intact in the face of increasingly brutal Spanish raids and that these Native Americans from a position of basic strength formed a strategic alliance with the French and resisted Spanish rule for much of the period 1576-1583. This is an important chapter in the history of these Native American groups, and one that has never been told in this way.<sup>15</sup> By the time Pedro Menéndez de Avilés and his men arrived on the Orista and Guale shores in 1566, these chiefdoms had already encountered Europeans and faced the effects of their diseases and warfare. The harm caused by these factors only intensified through contact with Spaniards over the next twenty-one years. These influences in combination with a severe drought had apparently taken their toll by late 1583, when Governor Pedro Menéndez Marqués announced the mass capitulation of the Indians in the Santa Elena area. This discussion contributes to filling in the gap between the work on initial encounters and early interactions and the literature on the later mission provinces,

---

Larson, Jr., "Historic Guale Indians of the Georgia Coast and the Impact of the Spanish Mission Effort," 362-82.

<sup>15</sup> See Chapters Three and Four. Jones, "Ethnohistory of the Guale Coast," 233-34, treats the 1576 rebellion as continuing until 1580, when he says, "the rebellion intensified." He goes on to say that "Indian attacks continued through at least 1582." The sources suggest there were ebbs and flows in the rebellion, such as in 1580, when the Indians actually emerged from a period of relative peace marked by a series of treaties recorded by the Spaniards at Santa Elena and then renewed, rather than intensified, their active resistance to Spanish rule. Jones also does not consider the role of the French in this rebellion. I believe the French presence was a key element to the Native Americans' strategy at this time.

where these Indians' descendants were "reduced" into settlements under Franciscan friars' control.<sup>16</sup>

My treatment of Spanish women's role in the settlement process has significance for studies of other regions of the Spanish American empire. The literature on women during this era is fairly scarce, for many historians have chosen to focus on later periods and questions with more abundant sources. Some scholars note the importance of women in colonization efforts in a long tradition dating back to the Reconquest, but often these works are so general as to make it difficult to comprehend what the Spanish women's experiences actually were.<sup>17</sup> Even given the challenge presented by a relatively limited documentary record, we can learn enough about these women to augment our understanding of Spain's conquest and colonization efforts. As in the Reconquest era, the conjugal household was the fundamental unit of settlement, and women were by definition an essential part of these households' function.<sup>18</sup> A focus on these women draws our attention to the daily efforts that sustained families and communities. While the taking of

---

<sup>16</sup> Jones, "Ethnohistory of the Guale Coast," 234, says that after Santa Elena was withdrawn in 1586 [*sic*], "Not until 1595 did the Franciscans again attempt to missionize the Guale coast, and none were stationed north of St. Catherines Island, which at that time was without a garrison." Charles Hudson and Carmen Chaves Tesser, eds., introduction to *The Forgotten Centuries: Indians and Europeans in the American South, 1521-1704* (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1994), 10, 12 discuss the enormous changes that occurred in the Native American population of the Southeast between the early sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Kathleen Deagan, "Spanish-Indian Interaction in Sixteenth-Century Florida and Hispaniola," in *Ethnology*, ed. Thomas, 278-79, discusses the dramatic decline of Florida's Native American population following contact with Europeans.

<sup>17</sup> For overviews of Spanish women's experiences during the period of conquest and colonization, see Analola Borges, "La mujer-pobladora en los orígenes americanos," *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* 29 (1972): 389-444; María del Carmen Pareja Ortiz, *Presencia de la Mujer Sevillana en Indias: Vida Cotidiana* (Seville: Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, 1994); and Carmen Pumar Martínez, *Españolas en Indias: Mujeres-Soldado, Adelantadas y Gobernadoras* (Madrid: Ediciones Anaya, S.A., 1988).

<sup>18</sup> Dillard, *Daughters of the Reconquest*, 214-15.

territory through military force was more dramatic, it was these domestic actions, through their sheer repetition, that established the deep social, linguistic, and cultural roots which endure in large portions of the Americas today.<sup>19</sup> An examination of women also draws attention to aspects of men's experiences during this period that have generally been overlooked, for men, too, saw conjugal duties as part of their service to the King. In petitions for reward, men included not just their participation in military campaigns but their efforts to establish and sustain households. Spanish men enhanced their status by having an extended group of relatives and servants under their charge. At times, they asserted their authority over other men, both Spanish and Native American, through attacks on the women associated with them. To date, the literature on colonial Spanish America has addressed the important issue of Spaniards' sexual abuse of Native American women, but I suspect that in other areas of the empire besides La Florida, men's assaults on Spanish women were more common than has been discussed.

My exploration of the experiences of Spanish and Native American women draws attention to the importance of gender both in the structure and functioning of Spanish society and in the Spaniards' exchanges with Native Americans.<sup>20</sup> This was particularly true in an area like Santa Elena, where Spaniards from a patriarchal culture came into contact with matrilineal Indian chiefdoms. In Chapter Two, I discuss the gender-based

---

<sup>19</sup> See Asunción Lavrín, "Women in Spanish American Colonial Society," in vol. 2, *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, ed. Leslie Bethell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 323-24.

<sup>20</sup> An examination of interactions between Spaniards and Native Americans draws attention to the importance of gender in these societies and encounters. Natalie Zemon Davis stresses the importance of considering gender groups in relationship to one another in "'Women's History' in Transition: The European Case," *Feminist Studies* 3 (1976): 90.



code of honor that was so important to Spanish interactions in this frontier town. Within this social system, a woman's personal honor depended largely on her own sexual behavior, while a man's honor was based on both his own reputation and actions and also on the purity or fidelity of the women in his charge. In some circumstances, men could enhance their own status by attacking the women under the dominion of others. Although women were clearly at a disadvantage in this patriarchal system, they actively sought the limited protections it gave them and called on the men with authority over them to be good patriarchs. And, as in other situations throughout history, Spanish women extended their roles as wives and mothers into new contexts as they managed their New World households and participated in the colonization of the Americas.<sup>21</sup>

In Chapter Three, I show how the Spaniards' early interactions with the Native Americans of Guale and the Santa Elena area were what historian Kathleen Brown calls encounters along a "gender frontier."<sup>22</sup> How these groups approached each other was fundamentally shaped by their own understanding of the behavior and roles of men and women, as can be seen in a variety of ways. Spaniards acting on their culture's assumptions in La Florida apparently failed to understand that the line of succession in the

---

<sup>21</sup> See, for example, Sylvia Arrom, *The Women of Mexico City: 1790-1857* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985); and Merry Wiesner, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, *New Approaches to European History*, ed. William Beik, T.C. W. Blanning, and R.W. Scribner, no. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 246-47. Studies which have influenced my thinking on gender issues (besides those cited elsewhere) include Joan W. Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *American Historical Review* 91 (December 1986): 1053-74; Joan W. Scott, "Women's History" in *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 15-27; and Judith M. Bennett, "Feminism and History," *Gender and History* 1 (Autumn 1989): 251-72.

<sup>22</sup> See Kathleen M. Brown, "Brave New Worlds: Women's and Gender History," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 50 (April 1993): 311-28, where she describes the usefulness of this concept of the "gender frontier." Brown applies this concept in her essay "The Anglo-Algonquian Gender Frontier" in *Negotiators of Change: Historical Perspectives on Native American Women*, ed. Nancy Shoemaker (New York: Routledge, 1995), 26-48.

matrilineal Native American chiefdoms passed to a male leader's sister's son rather than to his own children. By exacting certain forms of tribute and forced labor from the Indians in their area, those governing Santa Elena required Indian men to perform work normally assigned to women in their societies and thereby added to the affront of their demands. Furthermore, these Spaniards could not comprehend within their own definition of appropriate female sexual behavior the Native Americans' belief that an unmarried woman controlled her own sexuality, and so they likely misunderstood attempts at sexual diplomacy for lasciviousness. While Spaniards became increasingly concerned during the colonial period with the status of the "mestizo" children of Spanish men and Indian women, Native Americans would have seen them as belonging to their mother's clan. Ultimately, Spaniards sought to incorporate Native Americans into their patriarchal system on a range of levels, from that of servant in the household, or *casa poblada*, to that of vassal in the service of the Spanish King. In their efforts to bring young Native American men into their households and society, the Spaniards may have attempted not just to obtain their labor but also to undermine the influence of elders from the indigenous societies over their own youths. As I discuss in Chapter Three, this was a strategy used by *adelantado* Pedro Menéndez and Jesuit priests with *caciques'* sons as they sought to bring Florida's Native Americans to Catholicism and obedience of the Spanish King.

Finally, this study has relevance for examinations of the contest for power in the early stages of colonial Spanish American communities. While the particular circumstances of each case would necessarily be different, the basic set of actors--those whose duties were conquest, colonization, and conversion--would likely be the same. As I

show in Chapter One, some of the privileges the King granted to “conquerors and first settlers” were designed to encourage families to emigrate and establish a permanent presence in Spanish American communities. At times the rights granted to different groups proved contradictory, but these conflicts only ensured that no one faction would hold a monopoly on power and so threaten the Crown’s ultimate authority. In the early days of settlement and Jesuit missionary activity, Santa Elena and, more broadly, La Florida demonstrate how priests and colonists could temper the excesses of the family-based ruling elite and the military. However, this colony illustrates more vividly the failure of these checks and balances, as the Jesuits soon withdrew and the soldiers’ assaults on Native Americans ultimately inspired them to enter a period of sustained resistance and rebellion. La Florida’s early history may also suggest the conditions under which King Philip II was willing to abandon his efforts to limit the power and abuses of colonial authorities, for during Santa Elena’s second occupation Florida leaders tightened their control over the colony’s residents in arbitrary and authoritarian ways. Even though the King must have received the various requests for a Crown investigation which survive in the documentary record today, no royal inspector was ever sent, for by then strategic concerns had won out as his priority in the Florida colony.<sup>23</sup>

For a study of this period of transition between initial contact and colonization and the more settled colonial societies of later years, a community-level focus is essential. As during the Reconquest, Spaniards established towns in the Americas in order to secure

---

<sup>23</sup> See Chapter Five. This is in contrast to the investigation by the royal inspector Baltasar del Castillo y Ahedo of the governors during Santa Elena’s first period. He arrived in the Florida colony shortly after Santa Elena was abandoned in 1576 and conducted his investigation in St. Augustine and Havana.

territory in areas of expansion. In both the Reconquest and the conquest of the Americas, Crown policies sought to root individuals to a place by granting them certain rights. But in both contexts, they did this through the conjugal household, which served not only as a unit of production, combining the various skills and tasks to meet the residents' needs, but as a unit of reproduction, ensuring that future generations would have incentive to remain in the community.<sup>24</sup> In Spanish expansion throughout the Americas, the way towns appeared was also an important part of their function in this conquest and colonization process, as I discuss in Chapter Five.<sup>25</sup> Finally, as we attempt to understand the means through which Spaniards sought to establish roots in these lands, a community level study makes sense. It highlights the forces and interactions within the town that were part of the establishment of a more permanent presence, and it also shows how these communities formed networks with other Spanish and Native American towns in their colonies and with the other colonies in their region and beyond. Both documentary and archaeological evidence place Santa Elena within an active network within the Florida colony as well as the wider Spanish American empire.

As I discuss below, historian Paul Hoffman argues that an accident of history linked the point of Santa Elena with a legend from the early sixteenth century to inspire both Frenchmen and Spaniards to establish a presence there. Hoffman's book, *A New Andalusia and a Way to the Orient*, shows how Pedro Menéndez, no less than others who preceded him, was inspired by myth in his exploration and settlement along the Atlantic

---

<sup>24</sup> See Dillard, *Daughters of the Reconquest*, 12, 214-15.

<sup>25</sup> See Valerie Fraser, *The Architecture of Conquest: Building in the Viceroyalty of Peru, 1535-1635* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990) for her interesting discussion of this question.

Coast.<sup>26</sup> But the present-day Parris Island site where first the French and then the Spanish built forts between 1562 and 1587 had more practical attractions as well, such as a deep harbor suitable to accommodate large vessels. While it was not very close to the route that Spanish fleets took as they sailed up the Florida coast in the Bahama Channel before heading across the Atlantic for Spain, Spaniards feared the damage French corsairs could do to their ships if they established a base there.<sup>27</sup> In the sixteenth century, these circumstances drew the remote Santa Elena site into the struggles between the European monarchs of that day. Today, Santa Elena is testimony to the United States' contested past, for in that era it was far from certain that England would emerge as the dominant colonial power in those lands. The town of St. Augustine has endured much longer than Santa Elena, but its early military character does not demonstrate in the same way as Santa Elena's story that Spaniards came to La Florida with settlement in mind.<sup>28</sup> As historical investigation continues, archaeological excavations at the Santa Elena site have only begun to reveal their particular wealth for our understanding of this community and its place in La Florida and colonial Spanish America.

---

<sup>26</sup> See Paul Hoffman, *A New Andalusia and a Way to the Orient: the American Southeast During the Sixteenth Century* (Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University Press, 1990), 226-27, 236.

<sup>27</sup> Paul Hoffman, *The Spanish Crown and the Defense of the Caribbean, 1535-1585* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1980), 5-6. The "Bahama Channel" appears on modern maps as the "Straits of Florida."

<sup>28</sup> See the essays in Kathleen Deagan, ed., *America's Ancient City: Spanish St. Augustine, 1565-1763*, vol. 25, *Spanish Borderlands Sourcebooks*, ed. David Hurst Thomas (New York: Garland Publishing, 1991) for discussions of this community's history up until the end of its first Spanish period.

### Background to Settlement of La Florida

By the time King Philip II granted Pedro Menéndez de Avilés his contract to conquer and settle La Florida, Spaniards had already made several attempts to establish their presence in these lands. Most of these expeditions, like those of Juan Ponce de León in 1513 and 1521, Pánfilo de Narváez in 1528, and Fray Luis Cáncer de Barbastro in 1549 centered around the present-day Florida peninsula.<sup>29</sup> During Hernando de Soto's journey which wound through large parts of the interior of the North American southeast from 1539 to 1543, he and his men plundered the Indian chiefdoms in their path, leaving behind destruction and disease. The part of de Soto's route that extended into present South and North Carolina and Tennessee brought him to several Indian towns that Captain Juan Pardo and his men later visited on expeditions that departed from Santa Elena in 1566 and 1567.<sup>30</sup> One of the earliest attempts to settle La Florida brought Spaniards to the present-day Georgia and South Carolina shore when, in 1523, Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón secured a contract to explore this region and found a colony in the area of Winyah Bay, South Carolina. This was the first of several settlement efforts to be inspired by the so-called

---

<sup>29</sup> For an overview of these early exploration and settlement attempts, see David J. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1992), 33-34 (Ponce de León) and 42-45 (Narváez). Lyon, *Enterprise*, 7, gives a brief account of the Dominican priest Fray Luis Cáncer de Barbastro's attempts to convert the Indians at Tampa Bay who killed him. For a more detailed account of the Pánfilo de Narváez expedition, see Paul Hoffman, "Narváez and Cabeza de Vaca in Florida" in *The Forgotten Centuries*, ed. Hudson and Tesser, 50-73. Here Hoffman argues that Narváez initially intended to focus most of his efforts on the area in his contract that was part of present-day Mexico but that supply shortages forced him to land near present Tampa Bay and begin his overland voyage.

<sup>30</sup> See Weber, *Spanish Frontier*, 49-55, for a brief account of the de Soto expedition. For a more detailed discussion, see Charles Hudson, "The Hernando de Soto Expedition, 1539-1543," in *The Forgotten Centuries*, ed. Hudson and Tesser, 74-103. See Chester B. DePratter, Charles M. Hudson, and Marvin T. Smith, "The Route of Juan Pardo's Explorations in the Interior Southeast, 1566-1568," reprinted in *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, ed. Lyon, 283-316, for a discussion of Pardo's route that also brings in the places along that route that de Soto likely visited.

“Chicora legend,” which had its origin with an Indian man Spanish slave raiders captured from this area in 1521. Ayllón was an associate of these slavers, and he took this man, whom the Spaniards called “Francisco de Chicora,” to Spain as his servant. There, Francisco told fabulous tales about the richness of his homeland, and Ayllón used the interest in these stories to secure a colonization contract. When Ayllón’s ships finally arrived in the Winyah Bay area in 1526, Francisco de Chicora and the other Native Americans in the group fled. Realizing that the coast land there was too poor to settle, Ayllón and his group traveled south, perhaps to the Sapelo Sound in Georgia where they founded the settlement of San Miguel de Gualdape.<sup>31</sup> San Miguel did not last long, due to illness, hunger, and strife among the colonists, but according to historian Paul Hoffman, the “Chicora legend” would inspire exploration and colonization attempts by not only Spaniards but also other Europeans for the rest of the sixteenth century.<sup>32</sup>

The Chicora legend took on significance for Santa Elena’s history in 1552, when the publication of Francisco López de Gómara’s *General History of the Indies* revived the stories of Chicora’s mythological wealth and fixed its location on the Atlantic Coast at

---

<sup>31</sup> See Weber, *Spanish Frontier*, 36-37, for his account of the Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón expedition. Weber points out that San Miguel de Gualdape was “the first Spanish settlement in what is now the United States.” Weber also notes on p. 64 that “the first adelantados—Juan Ponce de León, Francisco de Garay, Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón, Pánfilo de Narváez, and Hernando de Soto—had orders to establish settlements as well as to explore.” He adds that Ponce de León and Vázquez de Ayllón took tools, seed, etc. for this, but that Narváez and De Soto did not try to establish settlements. For a more detailed account of the Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón expedition and his reasons for locating this settlement on the Sapelo Sound, see Paul Hoffman, “Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón’s Discovery and Colony,” in *The Forgotten Centuries*, ed. Hudson and Tesser, 36-49.

<sup>32</sup> In *A New Andalusia*, Paul Hoffman gives a still fuller account of the Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón expedition and discusses the significance of the “Chicora legend” for later exploration and settlement efforts. Hoffman also describes how in order to gain support for his expedition, Ayllón assigned Chicora the same latitude as the Spanish region of Andalusia, which Hoffman explains was known by Spaniards for its abundance. See Hoffman, *A New Andalusia*, 21.

thirty-two degrees north latitude. López de Gómara's description of Chicora placed it at the "point of Santa Elena," an area extending from around Tybee Island, Georgia north to the mouth of the South Santee River in South Carolina.<sup>33</sup> Paul Hoffman asserts that "The revival of the Chicora Legend and its identification with the Point of Santa Elena also brought into play the problem of Spanish claims based on a title other than occupation. Had Gómara not specified a latitude, the claim to the Point of Santa Elena might not have been pressed, but with a latitude and the legendary description of the resources of the Point, the Crown seems to have been compelled to act."<sup>34</sup> Throughout the 1550s, Spain's leaders tried repeatedly to get France to acknowledge their right to lands they claimed but did not occupy, but the French refused, even in the 1559 Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis which ended nearly half a century of hostilities between the Habsburg and Valois monarchs.<sup>35</sup> An important part of the Spaniards' concern over these issues was strategic, for the 1550s also saw a marked increase in attacks on the Spanish fleets by French corsairs, particularly in the Caribbean.<sup>36</sup> One of their fears was that the French would

---

<sup>33</sup> See Paul Hoffman, "Legend, Religious Idealism, and Colonies: The Point of Santa Elena in History, 1552-1566," *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 84 (April 1983): 63-64. In between these points is Port Royal Sound, the location of Parris Island, site of the Spanish settlement of Santa Elena from 1566-1587.

<sup>34</sup> Hoffman, "Legend, Religious Idealism, and Colonies," 66.

<sup>35</sup> See Hoffman, *A New Andalusia*, 130-36 and 139-43 for a summary of the diplomatic maneuvering of the 1550s and 159-68 for an account of the course of these negotiations from 1558-1560. Paul Hoffman also gives a summary of the course of French and Spanish negotiations during the 1550s in *Spanish Crown*, 103-107. Lyon, *Enterprise*, 18, says that when negotiations over these issues broke down in 1560, "both sides were left essentially where they had been. For their part, the Spanish maintained the integrity of the areas set aside for them by the Papal bulls and the Tordesillas treaty, while the French continued to insist that they might sail in and colonize any areas not actually occupied by the Spanish." See Richard S. Dunn, *The Age of Religious Wars, 1559-1715*, 2d ed. (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1979), 11 for a summary of the background to the Cateau-Cambrésis Treaty.

<sup>36</sup> Hoffman, *Spanish Crown*, 64-69.



become even more effective at attacking their ships in the vulnerable Bahama Channel if they had a base in La Florida.<sup>37</sup>

Historian David Weber argues that in the face of these threats and the failure of diplomacy to resolve territorial claims, King Philip decided that settlement of La Florida was essential.<sup>38</sup> Weber places the 1557 Tristán de Luna y Arellano expedition in this context and tells how even though the royal coffers were extremely low on funds at this time, King Philip ordered that the venture be supported by New Spain's royal treasury. Luna's instructions were to construct a town on the Gulf of Mexico, then to find an "overland route" from there to the point of Santa Elena.<sup>39</sup> Luna built the settlement on the Gulf of Mexico, but before he could launch the land journey to Santa Elena, he received word from the King that the French were on their way to settle somewhere along the Atlantic coast and that he was to go directly to build a settlement at Santa Elena. But Luna's attempt to do this failed, as did a subsequent attempt by Ángel de Villafañe, who was sent there by New Spain's Viceroy.<sup>40</sup> Both of these expeditions had been very costly

---

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 5-6 explains why the Spanish used this route and did so increasingly in the mid-sixteenth century due to both navigational ability and developments in ship design.

<sup>38</sup> Weber, *Spanish Frontier*, 65, 68-69.

<sup>39</sup> The inability to calculate longitude accurately in the sixteenth century contributed to the Spaniards' believing that this distance was much shorter than it actually was (see Weber, *Spanish Frontier*, 67). Paul Hoffman offers a more detailed account of this expedition and a somewhat different interpretation of its goals in "Legend, Religious Idealism, and Colonies." He discusses the Luna expedition in the context of the European diplomacy of its day in Chapter Seven of *A New Andalusia*, 144-68.

<sup>40</sup> See Weber, *Spanish Frontier*, 67-68. See Hoffman, *A New Andalusia*, 166 for his discussion of King Philip's 1559 order to go directly to Santa Elena and settle in the face of anticipated French colonization attempts and 169-81 for a more detailed account of the Santa Elena part of the Luna and Villafañe expeditions. On p. 169 Hoffman places all the Spanish attempts to settle the Atlantic Coast in the early 1560s (mostly centering around the Point of Santa Elena) in the context of the 1559-1560 failure of diplomacy.

to King Philip, so in 1562 he contracted with Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón's son to colonize the area around Santa Elena in the role of *adelantado*.<sup>41</sup> The younger Ayllón traveled no farther than Santo Domingo before he was forced to abandon his settlement plans.<sup>42</sup>

Following the failed Ayllón colonization attempt, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés wrote a report to King Philip, apparently at his request, on the threat posed by corsairs in Florida and how those who had already settled that land might be forced out "in order that Your Majesty might order to establish and preach the gospel in it." The King must also have expressed his concern to Menéndez that damage to Spanish fleets and ships coming from the Indies be avoided.<sup>43</sup> In his response, Pedro Menéndez described a couple of reported corsair sightings in Florida, then went on to comment on the danger their settlement along the Bahama Channel could cause Spanish ships passing through that area on their return to Spain. Menéndez spoke of his fear that the French or English had already had a chance to establish themselves at some point along the Florida coast and make friends with the

---

<sup>41</sup> See Lyon, *Enterprise*, 24-25 for the terms of Ayllón's contract. He notes that it made no mention of the French. Here Eugene Lyon places the destination for the younger Ayllón's settlement expedition as the Santa Elena area, but Paul Hoffman in *A New Andalusia*, 187-200 discusses this venture in more detail and gives his reasons for assuming that it was initially headed for the Chesapeake Bay area instead of the Point of Santa Elena.

<sup>42</sup> Weber, *Spanish Frontier*, 69. On pp. 187-200 of *A New Andalusia*, Hoffman discusses the reasons behind the various delays faced by Ayllón's expedition which meant that he did not even leave Spain until October, 1563 and then abandoned the project in Santo Domingo in 1564.

<sup>43</sup> Eugene Lyon, trans., "Pedro Menéndez' Memorial to King Philip II about the Necessity to Settle Florida" in *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, ed. Lyon, 73-74 from AGI Patronato 19. For a Spanish transcription of this document, see "Memorial de Pero Menéndez de Avilés respecto a las medidas que sería conveniente tomar para la segura posesión de la Florida y evitar que los franceses e ingleses pudieran causar perturbación en aquellos dominios," Appendix 3 of Eugenio Ruidíaz y Caravia, *La Florida: su Conquista y Colonización por Pedro Menéndez de Avilés* (Madrid: Hijos de J.A. García, 1893; reprint, Madrid: Colegio Universitario de Ediciones Istmo, 1989), 442-46 (page citations are to the reprint edition). In *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, 77, note 1, Lyon dates this document to sometime around late February to early March of 1565.

Indians. He commented that the longer they remained, the more difficult it would be to remove them and establish the Spaniards' own amicable relations with the Native Americans.<sup>44</sup> Pedro Menéndez also worried about the influence the presence of French or English corsairs in La Florida might have on African slaves in the nearby islands of Santo Domingo, Puerto Rico, and Cuba by inspiring them to rebel against the Spaniards. He stated that those who settled Florida would likely intend to seize these islands as well “and impede the Indies navigation.”<sup>45</sup> Menéndez's account claimed that the French probably knew of a water route from Newfoundland into Florida and on to an area near the Mexican silver mines of Zacatecas. He speculated that one of the rivers of this route eventually led to the “South Sea on the course for China and Molucca” and spoke of the harm for Spain if the French and English came to control this route by settling Florida.<sup>46</sup> Pedro Menéndez ended his report by proposing that the King send five hundred men, including priests and craftsmen, directly to Santa Elena. He said that between there and Newfoundland they should choose the best sites in terms of defense and potential for farming and establish two or three settlements. Menéndez stressed that this should be

---

<sup>44</sup> Lyon, trans., “Pedro Menéndez' Memorial,” 74. Menéndez claimed that the Protestants, or “Lutheran people” and the Indians had a particular affinity for one another as they were “almost of one law” (see Ruidíaz y Caravia, *La Florida*, Appendix 3, 444).

<sup>45</sup> Lyon, trans., “Pedro Menéndez' Memorial,” 75.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 75-76. The Molucca Islands are in Indonesia and are also called the Spice Islands. Hoffman, *A New Andalusia*, 226, says this statement is “the first clear evidence that he [Menéndez] believed in Giovanni da Verrazzano's concept of North America.” Hoffman explains this concept, which held that an arm of the Pacific Ocean extended relatively close to the Atlantic Ocean, and its influence in Chapter Five of *A New Andalusia*, 105-24.

done as quickly as possible, and that the King should undertake this venture at his own expense “because it would be done with more brevity, secrecy and diligence.”<sup>47</sup>

King Philip declined to fund such an expedition himself, but he granted Pedro Menéndez de Avilés a contract to conquer and settle La Florida as *adelantado*.<sup>48</sup> While the desire to occupy La Florida and therefore deny other European claims to these lands was the motivation behind Menéndez’s settlement venture, the terms of this agreement placed more emphasis on the interrelated goals of conquest, colonization, and conversion. According to the document King Philip signed on March 20, 1565, Pedro Menéndez was to search for settlements of corsairs when he arrived in Florida and then to expel them however he saw fit. Other than this point, the contract made no further mention of corsairs except to grant Menéndez permission to keep everything he had captured from them. The King instructed Pedro Menéndez during the three-year term of the agreement to explore this land from the tip of present-day Florida to Newfoundland in order to fill in gaps in the Spaniards’ knowledge about the Atlantic Coast. He was also to find the best two or three locations for settlements and build towns there. The document specified that initially Menéndez was to take with him five hundred men, including farmers, craftsmen, sailors, and military men, all of them armed. Over the following three years, he was to bring five hundred settlers, mostly farmers and preferably two hundred of them with their

---

<sup>47</sup> Lyon, trans., “Pedro Menéndez’ Memorial,” 76-77. Paul Hoffman discusses this document on pp. 224-27 of *A New Andalusia* and points out the ways in which it was derivative of others’ ideas.

<sup>48</sup> For the text of this contract, see AGI Patronato 19, *ramo* 15. Eugene Lyon’s translation of the version of this document that appears in Archivo de los Condes de Revillagigedo Canalejas 2, No. 5 appears in “Pedro Menéndez’ Contract for the Settlement and Pacification of Florida,” *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, ed. Lyon, 79-86. In *Enterprise*, 47-55, Lyon discusses this document and compares it with other contracts granted to Florida *adelantados*.

families. Menéndez's contract listed the numbers of various types of animals that were to sustain the Florida residents through their farming, as well as the exemptions on taxes that colonists were to enjoy on the items they imported. Another very important element of this venture was to be conversion of the Indians to Catholicism, and toward this goal, Menéndez was to bring ten to twelve priests with him, at least four of them Jesuits. This agreement also granted Pedro Menéndez a range of privileges and exemptions and named him and a son or son-in-law after him Governor and Captain-General of Florida for the duration of their lifetimes. Accompanying these titles was a two thousand *ducado* per year salary to be paid from the products of the land. The contract also gave Pedro Menéndez and his heirs the title of *adelantado* of Florida in perpetuity.<sup>49</sup>

By the time King Philip II granted Pedro Menéndez de Avilés his contract to conquer and settle Florida, Menéndez had already established the trust of his monarch through prior service. He had brought a number of his relatives into the ventures under his command as well.<sup>50</sup> As Eugene Lyon explains, Menéndez “came from seafaring stock in fair, green but crowded Asturias. In the sixteenth century, limited land forced ambitious Asturian youths out upon the sea to earn their living.”<sup>51</sup> Pedro Menéndez first attracted the attention of his King by capturing French corsair ships off the coast of Spain and later,

---

<sup>49</sup> AGI Patronato 19, *ramo* 15. On p. 50 of *Enterprise*, Lyon points out that the only direct expenditure of money by the Crown in this contract was a grant of fifteen thousand *ducados* which Menéndez could only keep if he sailed by the end of May, 1565. This was to change dramatically when, ten days later, the King learned of a French settlement in La Florida.

<sup>50</sup> See Eugene Lyon, introduction to *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, ed. Lyon, xvii-xviii. As I will discuss elsewhere, Lyon has shown that Pedro Menéndez de Avilés continued this reliance on family members through the power structure known as the *comuño* in his government of Florida.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, xvii.

in the Indies.<sup>52</sup> Eventually, Pedro Menéndez served as the captain general of various fleets and played a critical role in naval resupply efforts in 1557 during Spain's war with France.<sup>53</sup> In 1558, Pedro Menéndez was named to the religious-military order of Santiago as a reward for this deed.<sup>54</sup> Eugene Lyon writes that "Menéndez' lifelong *modus operandi*, learned early and followed until the day of his death, was to oppose Spain's enemies at sea and on the land. This activity, he believed, would enlarge his King's power while it enabled him to seek his advancement in royal service."<sup>55</sup> While Philip II's faith in Menéndez brought him certain privileges and favors for his Florida colony, it also meant that the King drew him away from La Florida for other military duties. Pedro Menéndez was preparing to launch a fleet for Spain against Protestants in the Netherlands when he died in Santander, Spain in September, 1574.<sup>56</sup>

### **The French in La Florida**

Pedro Menéndez de Avilés's expedition to conquer and settle Florida took on greater significance for King Philip when he learned on March 30, 1565, only ten days

---

<sup>52</sup> Lyon, *Enterprise*, 11-12.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 12-16.

<sup>54</sup> Lyon, introduction to *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, xvii. Lyon, ed., *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, 41-47, contains his translation of "The Application of Pedro Menéndez for the Grade of Cavalier in the Religious-Military Order of Santiago" from Archivo Histórico Nacional [Madrid], Ordenes Militares, Santiago 5512--Prueba de Caballeros, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés. As Lyon points out in "Aspects of Pedro Menéndez the Man," in *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, 20, he received the grade of *Comendador* in this order ten years later as a reward for defeating the French in Florida.

<sup>55</sup> Lyon, introduction to *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, xvii.

<sup>56</sup> Lyon, *Santa Elena: A Brief History*, 9.

after Menéndez's contract had been signed, that the French had established a fort there.<sup>57</sup> This was not the first French incursion onto this soil claimed by Spain. As mentioned above, France consistently refused to acknowledge Spain's possession of land it merely claimed but did not occupy. Paul Hoffman asserts that the French voyages to La Florida in the early 1560s were a posthumous execution of King Henri II's policy, the main purpose of which was "to create French settlements on the flanks of the Spanish Caribbean which might provide goods the Spanish empire ordinarily supplied France and that could serve as bases for attacks on the Spanish in time of war."<sup>58</sup> Hoffman places the 1562 expedition led by Jean Ribaut in the context of exploration to expand the French understanding of the geography of Florida's coast.<sup>59</sup> During the course of his travels, Ribaut built Charlesfort on present-day Parris Island, apparently to secure for France the best site he had seen.<sup>60</sup> Spain learned of this French presence on the point of Santa Elena around January, 1563, but a Spanish expedition only went to investigate it in May, 1564. By the time Hernán Manrique de Rojas arrived at Charlesfort, its starving inhabitants had

---

<sup>57</sup> Lyon, *Enterprise*, 56. See also Eugene Lyon, trans., "Pedro Menéndez Marqués Testifies about How the News about the French Establishment at Fort Caroline Reached Spain after the Royal Contract was Signed," in *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, ed. Lyon, 95-96 from AGI Patronato 19, *ramo* 15. Hoffman, *A New Andalusia*, 228-29, points out that the initial report the Spaniards received was that the French had settled at the "Point of Santa Elena," but that testimony of some men who had mutinied from this settlement and been captured by Spaniards soon revealed that it was farther south, "much closer to the mouth of the Bahama Channel, at a cited latitude of 29 1/2 degrees north." This was Fort Caroline on the St. John's River, in the area of present-day Jacksonville, Florida.

<sup>58</sup> Hoffman, *A New Andalusia*, 206-7.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 207-9. As further testimony to the power of the Chicora legend, Hoffman notes on p. 209 that "From the River of May [St. John's River], Ribault worked his way north inquiring after 'Chicore' until he came to a bay he named Port Royal."

<sup>60</sup> In 1996, the archaeologists who study Santa Elena discovered the French fort's location under the Spanish Fort San Felipe, which dates to Santa Elena's first Spanish occupation. See Hoffman, *A New Andalusia*, 208-9 for his discussion of whether Ribaut sailed for Florida with the intention of founding a colony there.

abandoned it.<sup>61</sup> Manrique de Rojas destroyed the fort, tore down the marble pillar the French left to mark their possession of this land, and returned to Havana to make his report.<sup>62</sup>

When King Philip II learned of a subsequent French settlement attempt in La Florida in March, 1565, he immediately ordered Menéndez to move up the date for his departure to Florida, then announced a series of measures which provided the financial and military assistance Pedro Menéndez needed in the face of this new threat.<sup>63</sup> In this case, Philip did not try diplomacy but urged Menéndez to keep his mission as secret as possible and to rout the French by force.<sup>64</sup> Relations between Spain and France at this time were complicated by the fact that Philip had married a French princess in 1559, and her mother Catherine de Medici governed for King Charles, who was still a child. Even while maintaining cordial relations with King Philip, the French Queen refused to acknowledge Spain's claim to the Florida coast and consented to these expeditions which

---

<sup>61</sup> For a discussion of Jean Ribaut's 1562 expedition and the fate of Charlesfort's French inhabitants, see Hoffman, *A New Andalusia*, 209-15; as well as Stefan Lorant, *The New World: The First Pictures of America* (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1946), 6-10. Contemporary accounts can be found in Jean Ribaut, *The Whole & True Discoverie of Terra Florida: A Facsimile Reprint of the London Edition of 1563. Together with a Transcript of an English Version in the British Museum with Notes by H.M. Biggar, and a Biography by Jeannette Thurber Connor* (Deland, Fla.: Florida State Historical Society, 1927); and René Laudonnière, *Three Voyages*, trans. Charles E. Bennett (Gainesville, Fla.: University Presses of Florida, 1975).

<sup>62</sup> Hoffman, *A New Andalusia*, 214-15. The report of his ship's pilot, Gonzalo Gayón, can be found in "Investigation relative to Gonzalo Gayón, pilot," July 13, 1564, Havana, AGI Santo Domingo 11 (Stetson Collection). See also Lucy L. Wenhold, trans., "Manrique de Rojas' Report on French Settlement in Florida, 1564," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 38 (July, 1959): 45-62.

<sup>63</sup> See Lyon, *Enterprise*, 56-63, for the changes the King made in Pedro Menéndez's orders, as well as the dramatic increase in support he gave the expedition. Hoffman, *A New Andalusia*, 215-17, tells how the Spanish had heard rumors of this next expedition, that of René Laudonnière, even before July, 1564.

<sup>64</sup> Lyon, *Enterprise*, 56.



challenged it. This latest colonization attempt was led by René de Laudonnière, who had served under Jean Ribaut on the voyage that founded Charlesfort. Laudonnière, along with three hundred men, several women, and some children arrived at the St. John's River in June, 1564 where they built Fort Caroline. The story of this troubled colony and its various mutinies--one of which ultimately revealed the renewed French presence in La Florida to the Spaniards--has been told elsewhere, along with the tale of how *adelantado* Pedro Menéndez de Avilés slaughtered Fort Caroline's male inhabitants soon after his arrival in September, 1565.<sup>65</sup> Menéndez took possession of the fort, which he renamed Fort San Mateo, and soon had the opportunity to kill many more Frenchmen when a couple of ships from a reinforcement fleet led by Jean Ribaut wrecked south of St. Augustine, where Menéndez had established his first settlement. Pedro Menéndez encountered these men in two separate groups at a small bay whose present name, Matanzas Inlet, memorializes the massacre there in which the *adelantado* spared the few Catholics but killed the majority of the men who were Protestant.<sup>66</sup>

Word of these killings did not reach Europe until early 1566, but when the French ambassadors and monarchs learned of them, they protested bitterly. King Philip was pleased with Pedro Menéndez's actions against the French, and Spain held firm in its position that the men who had been killed were corsairs and not regular soldiers; that they

---

<sup>65</sup> For accounts of René de Laudonnière's colonization venture at Fort Caroline, see Lorant, *New World*, 10-23; and Hoffman, *A New Andalusia*, 217-23. For a contemporary account, see Laudonnière, *Three Voyages*.

<sup>66</sup> See Lorant, *New World*, 24-26 for his account of these events. Eugene Lyon provides the most detailed account of all the events surrounding Pedro Menéndez de Avilés's defeat of the French in present-day Florida in *Enterprise*, 100-115, 119-29.

were heretics; and that Menéndez did not have enough food in Florida to feed the Spaniards and several hundred French prisoners.<sup>67</sup> But Paul Hoffman points out that even though “Philip II had his ambassador say that Ribault was a pirate sent by Admiral Coligny, and a heretic, and that Menéndez had lacked supplies and ships to send them to France . . . the Spaniards were uneasy about what they had done, because they knew, although they denied it, that Ribault had a commission from the king of France. As royal agents, Ribault and his men were not pirates outside the protection of the law, even Spanish law.”<sup>68</sup> France’s revenge came in 1568 when Dominique de Gourgues struck Fort San Mateo and, united with Native American allies, destroyed the fort and killed some Spanish soldiers, although most had already fled.<sup>69</sup> It would be ten years before the French made their presence felt again in La Florida, but after these events, the Spaniards seemed to be continually watching and waiting for their return.<sup>70</sup>

This bloody beginning to Pedro Menéndez de Avilés’s expedition to conquer and settle La Florida had several implications for the colony beyond Spain’s wider strategic concerns. The main one was that Florida took on greater significance for Philip II who began his military funding for the colony when he learned of the French presence there, then raised it over time as threats from his European enemies increased. This King’s

---

<sup>67</sup> See Lorant, *New World*, 27-29.

<sup>68</sup> Hoffman, *A New Andaluca*, 230, note 49.

<sup>69</sup> Lorant, *New World*, 29; and Lyon, *Enterprise*, 198-201.

<sup>70</sup> Lyon, *Enterprise*, 201, notes that even though the French and Indian victory at San Mateo was little more than symbolic, “The defense system erected and maintained at great cost and effort by the King and the adelantado of Florida had utterly failed its first test. If this was the manner in which the dominions of the King would be defended and in which the settlers now coming to Florida would be protected, it augured ill for the future of the enterprise.”

preoccupation with denying the French and English the opportunity to occupy lands claimed by Spain remained strong at least until 1586 when, in response to a Council of the Indies recommendation to dismantle the Florida forts, he commented that they should examine first whether these were locations that the enemy would want to occupy.<sup>71</sup> His instructions to expel the French at Fort Caroline took Pedro Menéndez de Avilés first to an area farther south than he had initially intended, which led him to found St. Augustine as his first settlement in La Florida. Finally, word of Menéndez's brutal defeat of the French traveled through the land's Native American population and apparently gave him a reputation for strength, if not ruthlessness, before he even met them. A number of groups, both in the region from St. Augustine and inland as well as north, had already had the experience of battling the French before Pedro Menéndez arrived on their shores. When Pedro Menéndez went to Guale, along the present-day Georgia coast, and then to the Santa Elena area in the Spring of 1566, knowledge of his deeds preceded him and apparently swayed the Indians toward establishing friendly relations with him.<sup>72</sup>

Historian James Axtell spoke to the significance of settlements such as Santa Elena when, in a survey of the literature inspired by the Columbian Quincentenary, he wrote:

What is emerging from the new scholarship is the crucial importance of the sixteenth century in North American history for both colonists and natives. That formative century was filled with Spanish activity--coastal explorations, *entradas*, mission foundations, failed and enduring colonies, town building, defensive wars with European competitors, and a long series of cultural engagements with native

---

<sup>71</sup> See "Consulta del Consejo Relative to Florida," September 10, 1586, Madrid, AGI Indiferente General 741 (Stetson Collection). Lyon, *Santa Elena: A Brief History*, 14 points out that the King made these notes on the Council's recommendation.

<sup>72</sup> Gonzalo Solís de Merás, "Memorial que Hizo el Dr. Gonzalo Solís de Merás de Todas las Jornadas y Sucesos del Adelantado Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, su Cuñado, y de la Conquista de la Florida y Justicia que Hizo en Juan Ribao y Otros Franceses," in *La Florida*, ed. Ruidíaz y Caravia, 198.

peoples, sometimes as sovereign allies or enemies, more often as tributaries and subjects. In the process, native societies were radically reshaped by warfare, enslavement, resettlement, disease, Christian proselytizing, material novelties, intermarriage, and a host of other acculturative forces. The French and English colonizers who followed later in the century found their tasks lightened or burdened by the conditions--geopolitical, demographic, and emotional--created by previous Spanish-Indian encounters. If the Spanish had magically disappeared from North America in 1599, that legacy alone would make the history of the borderlands a major key to the history of colonial America.<sup>73</sup>

In this quotation, Axtell could be talking about Santa Elena, for the pages that follow here show all these processes at work. As in Axtell's hypothetical case, Santa Elena did not endure, but by the time Florida officials destroyed the settlement in 1587, it had fundamentally altered this region, both for the Native American residents and for the English colonists who were to come. Even so, it is important to remember that while this town existed, its inhabitants believed they were making a permanent claim to these lands for the Spanish King and for Catholicism, and they acted with this belief in mind. My dissertation tells this part of the story of their lives and struggles.

---

<sup>73</sup> James Axtell, "Columbian Encounters: Beyond 1992," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 49 (April 1992), 351-52.

## CHAPTER ONE

### SPANISH STRUGGLES TO SHAPE THE CONQUEST OF FLORIDA SANTA ELENA'S FIRST SPANISH OCCUPATION, 1566-1576

Pedro Menéndez de Avilés arrived in Florida in September of 1565, but it was the Spring of 1566 before he traveled north from St. Augustine with three ships of soldiers and officers, exploring the coastline and establishing contact with the Guale and Orista Indians who lived along it.<sup>1</sup> He founded Santa Elena in April, 1566 on a site that the *cacique* of Orista helped him to choose and began immediately to build a fort there.<sup>2</sup> Messengers from the Orista went inland to tell other Native Americans of the arrival of these “true Christians” and their desire for friendship.<sup>3</sup> In the time that the *adelantado* remained at Santa Elena, he received many *caciques* with gifts and feasts, and he sent them home with the materials to build a cross and one or two Christians to instruct them

---

<sup>1</sup> Eugene Lyon, *The Enterprise of Florida: Pedro Menéndez de Avilés and the Spanish Conquest of 1565-1568* (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1976), 153-57, describes this voyage and the founding of Santa Elena. Gonzalo Solís de Merás, “Memorial que Hizo el Dr. Gonzalo Solís de Merás de Todas las Jornadas y Sucesos del Adelantado Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, su Cuñado, y de la Conquista de la Florida y Justicia que Hizo en Juan Ribao y Otros Franceses,” in *La Florida: su Conquista y Colonización por Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, ed. Eugenio Ruidíaz y Caravia (Madrid: Hijos de J.A. García, 1893; reprint, Madrid: Colegio Universitario de Ediciones Istmo, 1989), 194-205 (page citations are to reprint edition).

<sup>2</sup> Solís de Merás, “Memorial,” 200-201. This account says the *adelantado* named the fort “San Felipe.”

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 196. In his earliest encounters with the Guale, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés apparently referred to the French Protestants as “false Christians” (*cristianos de mentira*) and to the Spanish Catholics as “true Christians” (*cristianos de verdad*).

in Catholic doctrine.<sup>4</sup> When he sailed southward again, Pedro Menéndez left approximately one hundred soldiers with Captain Esteban de las Alas whom he named governor of the district of Santa Elena and the military governor of Fort San Felipe.<sup>5</sup> The men busied themselves with finishing the fort, for they expected the French to return to this area at any time. Besides the French threat, the soldiers worried about their lack of food, for Pedro Menéndez left them with few provisions, and the Indians had little to share due to a long drought.<sup>6</sup>

Soldiers were the first Spanish inhabitants of Santa Elena, but they were gradually joined by priests and settlers.<sup>7</sup> More than at St. Augustine, which retained the character of a military garrison during its early history, Pedro Menéndez seems to have pursued a strategy of conquest through settlement and the evangelization of the Native American population. The *adelantado* sought to establish deep roots in these lands in the tradition of other successful Spanish colonization efforts throughout the Americas. However, in the case of La Florida these elements of a “good” Spanish conquest soon proved contradictory. The additional soldiers sent by the King following word of the French presence at Fort Caroline arrived in late June, 1566, but it would be several years before

---

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 201-2.

<sup>5</sup> Esteban de las Alas is described as serving in these positions in the “Appointment of Captain Esteban de las Alas” dated August, 1566 at Fort San Felipe in Santa Elena from AGI Contaduría 941 (Center for Historic Research microfilm). The purpose of the document was to name Esteban de las Alas lieutenant governor and captain general of Florida in the absence of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, who had been summoned to fight corsairs in the area of Hispaniola. Varying accounts of the number of men Pedro Menéndez de Avilés left with Esteban de las Alas appear in Solís de Merás, “Memorial,” 201, 209; AGI Justicia 999, No. 2, *ramo* 9 (P.K. Yonge Library microfilm); and AGI Contaduría 941, No. 4 (Center for Historic Research microfilm).

<sup>6</sup> Solís de Merás, “Memorial,” 202.

<sup>7</sup> It is not clear if women traveled to Santa Elena on this first voyage.

royal support for these men was regularized. Even Jesuit priests complaining to their superiors about the soldiers' abuses of Florida's Native Americans acknowledged that these men had to seize food from the Indians to prevent their own starvation. But the Jesuits also realized that evangelization would never progress in such a climate and soon withdrew from La Florida. The large group of colonists who arrived at Santa Elena in the Spring of 1569 embraced their role as "first settlers." But when they asserted the privileges and status guaranteed them under Crown policy, the settlers faced conflict and derision from members of the *comuño*, the family-based power structure the *adelantado* had brought from his home region of Asturias to govern his colony. If Pedro Menéndez had spent most of his time in La Florida, he may have been able to maintain greater order among the soldiers and negotiate the conflicts among these groups.<sup>8</sup> Too often, however, King Philip drew Menéndez away from the colony for other duties, and the *adelantado* left in his place these trusted friends and family members who, one contemporary said, were more fit to govern on sea than on land.<sup>9</sup>

---

<sup>8</sup> Eugene Lyon, "The Florida Mutineers, 1566-67," in *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, ed. Eugene Lyon, vol. 24, *Spanish Borderlands Sourcebooks*, ed. David Hurst Thomas (New York: Garland Publishing, 1995), 268 talks about the "absence of the strong personal leadership of the *Adelantado*" causing mutinies.

<sup>9</sup> Account and Interrogatory of Domingo González de León, 1584, La Florida, in AGI Santo Domingo 231, fo. 291-91vo. See Lyon, *Enterprise*, 71-77; and Eugene Lyon, "The Control Structure of Spanish Florida, 1580," in *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, ed. Lyon, 129-37, for a discussion of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés's lieutenants.

## The Soldiers

*Adelantado* Pedro Menéndez recruited soldiers to serve in La Florida with contracts that promised both rations and a salary in exchange for their service.<sup>10</sup> But supply shortages plagued the Florida colony during its early years and spawned a climate of poor morale and even desperation among the soldiers. Ultimately, the lack of adequate support for these men would undermine the *adelantado*'s wider goals. In the early days, however, the soldiers' unrest threatened the young settlements' very existence. One instance nearly led to the destruction of Santa Elena soon after its founding. When Pedro Menéndez de Avilés departed from Santa Elena in early May of 1566, he promised to send provisions within a few days. But upon his arrival at St. Augustine, Menéndez learned that Indians had burned the fort there, further reducing the supplies available to the Florida forts.<sup>11</sup> No food shipments arrived at Santa Elena until early June, and by that time approximately twenty men had gone inland to search for Indians who would support them. They were never heard from again.<sup>12</sup> When the supply ship arrived at Santa Elena, forty-three of the remaining men mutinied. They tied up Esteban de las Alas, Captain

---

<sup>10</sup> See Lyon, *Enterprise*, 94-95, for the terms under which these men served in Florida. Marcelin Defourneaux in *Daily Life in Spain in the Golden Age*, trans. Newton Branch (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971), 190-211, provides a picture of a Spanish soldier's life during this period. Don Sancho de Londoño, *Discurso Sobre la Forma de Reducir la Disciplina Militar a Mejor y Antiguo Estado* (Brussels: Roger Velpius, 1589; reprint, Madrid: Blass Tipográfica, 1943) provides rules in effect during this period for all different areas of military life.

<sup>11</sup> AGI Justicia 999, No. 2, *ramo* 9 (P.K. Yonge Library microfilm). Solís de Merás, "Memorial," 202, says that Pedro Menéndez de Avilés arrived in Guale again on May 8.

<sup>12</sup> AGI Justicia 999, No. 2, *ramo* 9 (P.K. Yonge Library microfilm). AGI Contaduría 941, No. 4 (Center for Historic Research microfilm) lists soldiers who left Santa Elena "without permission" in May of 1566 and never were heard from again. While some names and marginal notes are, no doubt, missing due to the loss of text at the edges of these pages, it appears that at least twenty-eight men shared this fate. This list was signed by Esteban de las Alas.



Pedro de Larrandía, and Ensign Diego Flores and left them bound for over a day before seizing the ship and sailing away with most of the weapons and supplies.<sup>13</sup> The mutineers also forced five sailors to accompany them, but once they had arrived in Matanzas, Cuba, the sailors took the ship when the others went on land and sailed to Havana where they reported the revolt to the Cuban governor on July 5, 1566.<sup>14</sup>

Testimony given in the Santa Elena mutiny case provides some insight as to reasons for the soldiers' discontent besides the shortage of food. Witness Diego Álvarez, identified as a nobleman, had recently arrived from his post at Guale when he witnessed the confrontation between Esteban de las Alas and the soldiers on the morning of the mutiny. Álvarez said that he was staying with Alas when they were awakened by arquebus shots. According to Álvarez's account, Esteban de las Alas called out, "What is this? What is this?" The soldiers answered, "Come out here, Your Grace." When Esteban de las Alas asked what they wanted, the soldiers replied, "We want to eat, Señor." But when Alas said, "We will give it to you now," the soldiers stated, "We are not here [just] because we want to eat. We want to go to the land of Christians and see God, for we are here like Moors. Long live the King!"<sup>15</sup> The desire to live among Christians appeared in a couple of the mutineers' testimony as well. Used in this sense, the terms "Moor" and "Christian" seemed to carry not just religious, but cultural,

---

<sup>13</sup> AGI Justicia 1001, No. 4, *ramo* 2 (P.K. Yonge Library microfilm) itemizes some of the things the mutineers took and charges them to the *adelantado*, since the soldiers who arrived in La Florida with him were his financial responsibility in the division of costs between him and the Crown.

<sup>14</sup> AGI Justicia 999, No. 2, *ramo* 9 (P.K. Yonge Library microfilm).

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

overtones.<sup>16</sup> These recruits from various regions in Spain must have found this new land very foreign and remote before a larger Spanish presence was established there.<sup>17</sup>

Some of the mutineers also indicated that they were in Florida against their will, and the loss of many soldiers around this time lends some credibility to their claims.<sup>18</sup> One of these men was *Licenciado* Lorenzo Ruiz de Godoy who served as physician and surgeon in St. Augustine and, briefly, at Santa Elena.<sup>19</sup> In his testimony, Ruiz de Godoy stressed the hardship caused by supply shortages in Santa Elena and claimed that the officials there shared the mutineers' desperation and even cooperated in the uprising. Ruiz de Godoy told how a few days before the supply ship arrived, Esteban de las Alas had given his men permission to go inland to search for sustenance as twenty soldiers from the fort had done two weeks before. He also testified that Alas was walking around free while the mutiny was taking place and that the captain and the ensign asked to be placed in shackles so it would appear that they had been forced to allow the men's departure.<sup>20</sup> Ruiz de Godoy's account likely contained some element of truth, but he faced very serious

---

<sup>16</sup> As can be seen throughout the Spanish conquest of the Americas, the Spaniards' encounters with Native Americans in La Florida repeatedly show that Reconquest precedents were very much on their minds.

<sup>17</sup> Lyon, *Enterprise*, 93, observes that these soldiers must have been recruited in Andalusia, due to the speed with which they were gathered for Menéndez's expedition. He says, "An examination of a list of these men and their birthplaces, however, indicates that they came from villages and towns all over the peninsula. A few were from Catalonia, but most were Castilian; many places in Estremadura, the northern *meseta*, the north coast, and Andalusia were represented. These were professional soldiers, available because employment in Italy or elsewhere was not obtainable at the present."

<sup>18</sup> Lyon, *Enterprise*, 153, notes that "The desertions of 1565-66 and the deaths caused by illness, starvation, or Indian action had cut the original Spanish forces in Florida by almost one-half."

<sup>19</sup> Lyon, *Enterprise*, 231, defines a *licenciado* as "One who has, through study in a Spanish university, become lettered through the achievement of a certain degree (*licenciatura*)."

<sup>20</sup> AGI Justicia 999, No. 2, *ramo* 9 (P.K. Yonge Library microfilm).

charges as a leader of this rebellion. When Pedro Menéndez de Avilés wrote to the King about this incident in October, 1566, he reported that the governor of Cuba sent two of the most guilty mutineers back to Florida, where Menéndez ordered that they be hanged. The rest of these men dispersed to other Spanish American colonies.<sup>21</sup>

In the face of the early mutinies and desertions, the reinforcement fleet sent by the King under General Sancho de Archiniega to augment the Florida forces provided welcome relief by bringing additional men and supplies.<sup>22</sup> At Santa Elena, the forces were reduced to a few more than twenty soldiers when Captain Juan Pardo, whose company traveled with the Archiniega fleet, arrived there with approximately two hundred and fifty men in July, 1566.<sup>23</sup> The presence of these soldiers represented the beginning of direct Crown support for the Florida colony, although the *adelantado* continued to carry most of the expense for the “old soldiers” and others who arrived in La Florida under the terms of his contract.<sup>24</sup> Juan Pardo’s company was the only one of the fleet’s six companies posted

---

<sup>21</sup> “Pedro Menéndez de Avilés [to King Philip II],” October 20, 1566, St. Augustine, AGI Santo Domingo 115 (Stetson Collection).

<sup>22</sup> The Archiniega fleet constituted the additional support that King Philip II promised Pedro Menéndez de Avilés when he learned of the French presence in La Florida soon after signing the settlement contract with Menéndez in March, 1565. Lyon, *Enterprise*, 145-47, tells how the King scaled back the Florida support aspect of Archiniega’s mission and made it more a Caribbean-wide defense force once he had learned that Menéndez had already routed the French from Florida.

<sup>23</sup> Estimates of the number of men left at Santa Elena when the mutineers left appear in AGI Justicia 999, No. 2, *ramo* 9 (P.K. Yonge Library microfilm); and Solís de Merás, “Memorial,” 225. Estimates of the number of men who traveled to Santa Elena in Juan Pardo’s company appear in Lyon, *Enterprise*, 164; Solís de Merás, “Memorial,” 225; and AGI Contaduría 941, No. 4 (Center for Historic Research microfilm).

<sup>24</sup> Lyon, *Enterprise*, 61. The distinction between the “soldados viejos,” who had been brought to Florida by Pedro Menéndez de Avilés on his first voyage and were supported by him, and the men from the Archiniega fleet appears throughout the account records and audits of these records from this period in AGI Contaduría 941 (Center for Historic Research microfilm) which, in places, explains the differences between these groups.

to Santa Elena.<sup>25</sup> His men left St. Augustine on two ships on July 6, 1566 and arrived by July 18, 1566, when Esteban de las Alas and a notary certified that the soldiers had disembarked at the “city of San Salvador of the point of Santa Elena.”<sup>26</sup>

There was apparently some question as to who would be in charge at Santa Elena when the captain and soldiers sent to Florida by the King joined those serving under the *adelantado*. According to one account, Juan Pardo told Esteban de las Alas that General Archiniega had directed the two captains to alternate nights in naming the password. Alas replied that he was very happy about Pardo’s arrival at Santa Elena but that he had orders from *adelantado* Pedro Menéndez to protect and guard that fort and he and no one else would set the guards and choose the passwords. Esteban de las Alas then invited Juan Pardo and his men to come inside the fort under these conditions. Pardo deferred to Esteban de las Alas and turned a squad of soldiers over to him to assist in sentry duty. He intended to send other soldiers to Alas as needed, and in the meantime, Juan Pardo and the rest of his men would live outside the fort.<sup>27</sup> The captains’ arrangement followed the division of authority decided on by the King when he named General Sancho de Archiniega to head his reinforcement fleet. In a September 26, 1565 letter to Pedro Menéndez, King Philip assured Menéndez that he would be in charge in matters pertaining

---

<sup>25</sup> Lyon, *Enterprise*, 164, explains how Menéndez’s lieutenants at St. Augustine made this decision, since Pedro Menéndez de Avilés had not yet returned from Havana.

<sup>26</sup> Armada de La Florida, General Sancho de Archiniega,” 1566-1567, Seville, AGI Contratación 3259 (Stetson Collection) gives this departure date. The certification appears in “Investigation, Etc. Relative to Gonzalo Gayón, Pilot,” July 13, 1564, Havana, AGI Santo Domingo (Stetson Collection).

<sup>27</sup> Solís de Merás, “Memorial,” 224-25.

to Florida.<sup>28</sup> Once this issue was resolved, men from both groups began to work on making Santa Elena's fort more defensible.<sup>29</sup>

*Adelantado* Pedro Menéndez's second visit to Santa Elena took place in August, 1566, and on August 11th he mustered the troops who had arrived there with Captain Juan Pardo.<sup>30</sup> During this visit Menéndez ordered the soldiers to finish strengthening the fort as well as to construct a munitions house there.<sup>31</sup> He instructed Esteban de las Alas to remain in the positions of "governor of this coast and land of Santa Elena and its region and military governor of the fort of San Felipe" and named him lieutenant governor and captain general of the provinces of Florida. Pedro Menéndez was at this time preparing to leave Florida to fight corsairs in the area of Hispaniola upon orders from the King.<sup>32</sup>

While his stay at Santa Elena was brief, the *adelantado* also sought to reaffirm the loyalty of the region's Native American leaders to the Spanish King and to Catholicism.<sup>33</sup> When

---

<sup>28</sup> Lyon, *Enterprise*, 143.

<sup>29</sup> Solís de Merás, "Memorial," 225. Eugene Lyon, *Santa Elena: A Brief History of the Colony, 1566-1587*, Research Manuscript Series, no. 193 (Columbia, S.C.: Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, 1984), 2, says that Juan Pardo's "troops mustered on July 11 and began immediately to build Fort San Felipe." But both the Gonzalo Solís de Merás account and Pedro Menéndez de Avilés's letter to King Philip II, October 20, 1566, St. Augustine, AGI Santo Domingo 115 (Stetson Collection) sound like the defenses of the fort were improved, rather than that a new fort was built. The tools that Lyon cites from AGI Justicia 1001, No. 4, *ramo* 2 (P.K. Yonge Library microfilm) could be used for improvements and repairs rather than totally new construction. Most of the entries in this document refer to the fort being worked on as the "fuerte de San Felipe," but some mention the "fuerteras de San Felipe y Santa Elena."

<sup>30</sup> AGI Contratación 2932, No. 4, *ramo* 10, Lawsuit of the Arquebus Soldier Alonso Sánchez (P.K. Yonge Library microfilm), gives this date.

<sup>31</sup> "Pedro Menéndez de Avilés to Crown," October 20, 1566, St. Augustine, AGI Santo Domingo 115 (Stetson Collection).

<sup>32</sup> "Appointment of Captain Esteban de las Alas," August, 1566, Fort San Felipe, Santa Elena, AGI Contaduría 941 (Center for Historic Research microfilm).

<sup>33</sup> "Pedro Menéndez de Avilés to Crown," October 20, 1566, St. Augustine, AGI Santo Domingo 115 (Stetson Collection).

he left Santa Elena in mid-August, Menéndez took Captain Pedro de Larrandía, Ensign Diego Robles, and approximately twenty soldiers to serve at the fort in Guale.<sup>34</sup>

The difficulty of feeding these additional soldiers was already apparent, and partly as a solution to this problem, Pedro Menéndez ordered Captain Juan Pardo to take some of his men on the first of two expeditions into the interior.<sup>35</sup> Pardo and one hundred and twenty-five soldiers departed Santa Elena on December 1, 1566 and traveled northwest through present-day South Carolina and into North Carolina before returning to Santa Elena on March 7, 1567.<sup>36</sup> One reason for this first expedition may have been to make contact with the *caciques* who did not have time to travel to Santa Elena during the *adelantado*'s brief stay in August, 1566.<sup>37</sup> Accounts of these journeys show, however,

---

<sup>34</sup> Ibid. AGI Contaduría 941, No. 4 (Center for Historic Research microfilm) also indicates in the marginal notes the men who went with Captain Larrandía to Guale from Santa Elena on August 17, 1566.

<sup>35</sup> Solís de Merás, "Memorial," 226. Account and Interrogatory of Domingo González de León, 1584, La Florida, in AGI Santo Domingo 231, 292vo., states that the *adelantado* sent Pardo with about two hundred men, not for exploration but to distribute the men among the inland *caciques* to support. González tells how the *caciques* then killed most of these men, and he goes on to describe the rich land Pardo and his men found on their expeditions.

<sup>36</sup> While the various accounts of this expedition assign it somewhat different dates, these are the dates that Charles Hudson gives in *The Juan Pardo Expeditions: Exploration of the Carolinas and Tennessee, 1566-1568 with Documents Relating to the Pardo Expeditions Transcribed, Translated, and Annotated by Paul E. Hoffman* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990), 23. See the discussion of the route of Pardo's first expedition in present-day terms in Hudson, *Juan Pardo Expeditions*, 23-26. Hudson had previously written about the routes of Juan Pardo's expeditions in Chester B. DePratter, Charles M. Hudson, and Marvin T. Smith, "The Route of Juan Pardo's Explorations in the Interior Southeast, 1566-1568," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 62 (October 1983): 125-58, reprinted in *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, ed. Lyon, 283-316.

<sup>37</sup> Solís de Merás, "Memorial," 226, linked Pedro Menéndez de Avilés's not having time to see all the *caciques* to his instructions to Juan Pardo to go out to visit with them. According to Paul Hoffman, trans., "The Pardo Relation," in Hudson, *Juan Pardo Expeditions*, 311, from AGI Patronato 19, ramo 22 (document 1), the *adelantado* instructed him to go inland "to give understanding to the Indians how they live in error and that they should be under [obedience to] His Holiness and His Majesty." See also Hoffman, trans., "The 'Long' Bandera Relation," in Hudson, *Juan Pardo Expeditions*, 258-59.

that Pardo undertook not only political and religious outreach but exploration and the establishment of a supply network for Santa Elena as he proceeded inland.<sup>38</sup> Pedro Menéndez's May 25, 1567 orders for the second expedition instructed Juan Pardo to find the best route to the mines of Zacatecas in northern New Spain and to go directly there while continuing his diplomatic and evangelical efforts among the *caciques* who lived along the way. Captain Pardo was to return to Santa Elena by the following March to assist with defense should any French corsairs arrive there that summer.<sup>39</sup> On September 1, 1567, Juan Pardo set out again from Santa Elena with approximately one hundred and twenty soldiers and a notary, Juan de la Bandera.<sup>40</sup> The men proceeded basically along the same route that Pardo had taken on his first expedition, although this journey also took them across the North Carolina mountains into Tennessee.<sup>41</sup>

---

<sup>38</sup> Accounts of the Juan Pardo expeditions include one given by Pardo sometime after his second expedition from AGI Patronato 19, *ramo* 22 (document 1). It deals fairly briefly with both of the expeditions. The account of Jaime Martínez from AGI Patronato 19, *ramo* 22 (document 2) mainly discusses Sergeant Hernando Moyano's time in the interior between the expeditions. Charles Hudson, *Juan Pardo Expeditions*, 26, states that this is likely a secondhand account. There is also a shorter account by the second expedition's notary, Juan de la Bandera, from AGI Patronato 19, *ramo* 20 and a longer account by Bandera from AGI Santo Domingo 224. All of these accounts, as well as some short documents from AGI Contratación 2929, No. 2, *ramo* 7 pertaining to the supplies for the expedition, can be found in new transcriptions and translations done by Paul Hoffman in Part II of Hudson, *Juan Pardo Expeditions*, 205-342. Transcriptions of the Pardo, Martínez, and "short" Bandera accounts appear in *La Florida*, ed. Ruidíaz y Caravia, Appendix 7, 522-26, 528-33. Another Pardo account appears in Archivo de los Condes de Revillagigedo Canalejas 46 which Eugene Lyon has translated in *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, ed. Lyon, 279-81.

<sup>39</sup> See Hoffman, trans., "The 'Long' Bandera Relation," 256-57; and Solís de Merás, "Memorial," 226.

<sup>40</sup> See Hoffman, trans., "The 'Long' Bandera Relation," 256, which says that Pedro Menéndez de Avilés instructed Pardo to take with him "as many as one hundred and twenty soldiers, arquebusiers and crossbowmen" on his second journey.

<sup>41</sup> See Hudson, *Juan Pardo Expeditions*, 29-46, for a summary of the places visited by Juan Pardo and his men on the second expedition, as well as the sites' present-day locations.

Documents pertaining to both the Juan Pardo expeditions indicate that they were conducted with future settlement in mind.<sup>42</sup> Juan de la Bandera's short account of the second journey is a report on the land found in the different places Pardo and his men visited, almost all of which were Native American towns and villages. In this report Bandera described the lay of the land at the various sites and the rivers and creeks around them. He noted the type of soil and wild plants in these areas and told where crops such as wheat, barley, and vegetables could best be grown. In some cases, Bandera drew comparisons between these places and regions in Spain.<sup>43</sup> An island called Escamazu had an abundance of clay which, Bandera commented, would be good for "pots and roof tiles and other things that may be needed."<sup>44</sup> The proximity of these rich lands to friendly Indian groups was important to these men, for an ideal Spanish settlement at that time included a nearby source of Native American labor.<sup>45</sup> Presumably after he learned of Juan

---

<sup>42</sup> In a royal order dated February 23, 1573, the King granted Pedro Menéndez de Avilés permission to extend his area of settlement to the Pánuco river in New Spain. This order appears in *La Florida*, ed. Ruidíaz y Caravia, Appendix 4, 469-72. It also is included in "Cedulario de la Florida," 1570-1604, n.p., AGI Santo Domingo 2528 (Stetson Collection); and Eugene Lyon, trans., "Royal Order of 1573 Granting Pedro Menéndez a New Contract to Settle and Pacify Pánuco," in *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, ed. Lyon, 317-20. Pedro Menéndez never carried out the terms of this settlement contract, and in his will the *adelantado* left this contract to his nephew Pedro Menéndez Marqués and his heirs. See Eugene Lyon, trans., "Last Will and Testament of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés," in *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, ed. Lyon, 538, from Archivo de los Condes de Revillagigedo Canalejas 9, No. 21.

<sup>43</sup> See Hoffman, trans., "The 'Short' Bandera Relation," in Hudson, *Juan Pardo Expeditions*, 297-304. Hoffman, trans., "The Pardo Relation," 305-16, provides fewer details about these places, but it does make some comments about the quality of the land and the size of the rivers, as well as which of the places were uninhabited.

<sup>44</sup> Hoffman, trans., "The 'Short' Bandera Relation," 300-301.

<sup>45</sup> See Richard Morse, "The Urban Development of Colonial Spanish America," in vol. 2, *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, ed. Leslie Bethell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 77.



Pardo's findings, *adelantado* Pedro Menéndez chose the area of Guatari, near present-day Salisbury, North Carolina, to build an estate.<sup>46</sup>

On his first expedition, Juan Pardo began right away to bring these groups into a supply network for Santa Elena. In his own account, Pardo told how when he arrived in a new place, he would make "the customary speech on behalf of God and His Majesty" to the *caciques* and Indians who had assembled.<sup>47</sup> After the *caciques* declared their obedience to the Pope and to the King of Spain, Pardo would instruct them to build a house for the Spaniards and to grow and store corn for them.<sup>48</sup> Juan de la Bandera recorded a large degree of compliance with these orders on the second expedition. Much of his long account consists of documents in which Bandera, in the presence of witnesses, certified the receipt of the houses and the corn that Captain Pardo then ordered the Indians not to consume without permission from a representative of the King.<sup>49</sup> The importance that Pardo and his men placed on obtaining food from the Native Americans

---

<sup>46</sup> Eugene Lyon, introduction to *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, ed. Lyon, xx. This is the location given for Guatari in Hudson, *Juan Pardo Expeditions*, 26. In his last letter dated in Santander, Spain, September 8, 1574, the *adelantado* wrote his nephew Pedro Menéndez Marqués that ". . . 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." See Eugene Lyon, trans., "Pedro Menéndez' Last Letter," in *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, 532 from Archivo de los Condes de Revillagigedo Canalejas 2, No. 53.

<sup>47</sup> As I discuss in Chapter Three of this dissertation, it is unclear if this "customary speech" was the one known as the "Requirement" (*Requerimiento*).

<sup>48</sup> Hoffman, trans., "The Pardo Relation," shows Captain Pardo making this speech. In his brief summary of the second expedition, Pardo only mentions a house he found built "for His Majesty" according to his orders at Guiomae, near present Wateree, South Carolina (see p. 313). Hoffman, trans., "The 'Long' Bandera Relation" tells how Pardo had ordered the Indians to build houses. Bandera did not specifically say that they were instructed to grow corn for the Spaniards on the first expedition, but most seem to have some waiting for Pardo when he returned.

<sup>49</sup> See Hoffman, trans., "The 'Long' Bandera Relation."

can be seen in an incident where, traveling westward through Tennessee on the second expedition, they learned of an Indian plan to ambush them. In debating with his officers whether to turn back or fight their opponents and continue on their way toward Zacatecas, Pardo said, “We found that even though we might break the enemies we would not gain anything because of the foodstuffs that they themselves gave to us. Thus we determined to commend it to God and return.”<sup>50</sup>

Juan Pardo and his men built a network of Spanish forts on the trip back to Santa Elena. On the first expedition, they had constructed only Fort San Juan at Joara, near present-day Marion, North Carolina, where Pardo had left his sergeant Hernando Moyano in charge of thirty soldiers.<sup>51</sup> Moyano and his men remained in the interior, conducting further explorations and battling nearby Indian groups, when Esteban de las Alas summoned Pardo back to Santa Elena in anticipation of a French attack.<sup>52</sup> Sergeant Moyano also enslaved several Indian women who later lived in Santa Elena in the service of families there.<sup>53</sup> When Pardo headed east on his second expedition, he took Hernando Moyano from the Joara fort but left a Spanish presence there.<sup>54</sup> On this return journey Pardo’s soldiers constructed Fort San Pedro at Chiaha, or Olamico, near present-day

---

<sup>50</sup> Hoffman, trans., “The Pardo Relation,” 315.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 312.

<sup>52</sup> “The Martínez Relation,” in Hudson, *Juan Pardo Expeditions*, 317-21 described Moyano’s actions when he was left in the interior in the most detail, although it likely contains some exaggerations according to Hudson, *Juan Pardo Expeditions*, 26.

<sup>53</sup> See my discussion of these women in Chapter Three.

<sup>54</sup> Hoffman, trans., “The Pardo Relation,” 315, said that upon his return to Santa Elena he left his ensign Alberto Escudero with thirty soldiers at Joara.

Dandridge, Tennessee; Fort San Pablo at Cauchi, near present Marshall, North Carolina; Fort Santiago at Guatari; Fort Santo Tomás at Canos, or Cofitachequi, near Camden, South Carolina; and finally, Fort Buena Esperanza at Orista, on the coast about five leagues from Santa Elena.<sup>55</sup> Captain Pardo gradually dispersed his troops among these forts, in part to alleviate the food shortage at Santa Elena.<sup>56</sup> On this return journey, he also collected the corn that the Native Americans had grown for that town and fort.<sup>57</sup> When he arrived back in Santa Elena on March 2, 1568, Pardo only had about twenty soldiers with him.<sup>58</sup>

Among the tasks which *adelantado* Pedro Menéndez charged to Juan Pardo and his men was that of religious instruction. One of the reasons Pardo gave for building a fort at Joara on his first expedition was that the Indians there demanded that he leave Christians to teach them Catholic doctrine.<sup>59</sup> The *caciques* at Guatari made the same request, so Captain Pardo left the company chaplain, Father Sebastián Montero, there with

---

<sup>55</sup> The longer Bandera account mentions the construction of all these forts except for Fort Santo Tomás, but it does make reference to this fort at Canos or Cofitachequi. The present-day locations for these Indian towns and villages are taken from Hudson, *Juan Pardo Expeditions*. Pardo renamed all these Native American towns with the names of Spanish towns, although these names--along with the Spanish forts and soldiers assigned to them--were not very long-lived.

<sup>56</sup> The food shortage at the "city and forts" of Santa Elena was mentioned in Hoffman, trans., "The 'Long' Bandera Relation," 288, 291-92. On p. 292 Bandera told how Pardo sent some of his men inland to Fort Santo Tomás because of this shortage.

<sup>57</sup> Juan de la Bandera's longer account described the collection and transportation of the corn to Santa Elena. Hoffman, trans., "The 'Long' Bandera Relation," 289, told how even though Pardo's men were carrying large quantities of corn, they experienced a scarcity of food.

<sup>58</sup> See Charles Hudson's calculations as to the dispersal of Pardo's men among these forts in *Juan Pardo Expeditions*, 146-53.

<sup>59</sup> Hoffman, trans., "The Pardo Relation," 312.

four soldiers to assist him.<sup>60</sup> In his instructions to Juan Pardo for his second journey into the interior, Pedro Menéndez told him to ask the Indians he encountered if they would like priests to come to instruct them and that wherever he found a principal *cacique*, he was to “leave a cross and Christians who may teach them the Christian doctrine.”<sup>61</sup> From the early days of his conquest of Florida, Pedro Menéndez used soldiers in this role and even sought to convert *caciques* himself when he approached them for the first time.<sup>62</sup> Evangelization of the Native Americans was one of the *adelantado*’s major goals in settling La Florida.<sup>63</sup> He was a cavalier in the religious-military Order of Santiago and took his duties as a warrior of the Counter Reformation very seriously.<sup>64</sup>

The use of soldiers to extend evangelization efforts beyond the abilities of a small number of clergy made sense at least in theory, for the *adelantado* had very high standards for the conduct of his soldiers. Pedro Menéndez issued ordinances sometime around September, 1566 through which he sought to instill greater obedience in his men.<sup>65</sup>

---

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>61</sup> Hoffman, trans., “The ‘Long’ Bandera Relation,” 257.

<sup>62</sup> Pedro Menéndez de Avilés described this practice in “Pedro Menéndez de Avilés to Crown,” October 20, 1566, St. Augustine, AGI Santo Domingo 115 (Stetson Collection). Solís de Merás, “Memorial,” 196-201, shows this policy in action in Pedro Menéndez’s initial encounters with the peoples of Guale and Orista.

<sup>63</sup> See Eugene Lyon, “Aspects of Pedro Menéndez the Man” in *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, ed. Lyon, 21, where he discusses the *adelantado*’s role as “Mico SantaMaría (Holy Mary’s Chief of Chiefs).” In his last letter dated September 8, 1574, Pedro Menéndez wrote to his nephew Pedro Menéndez Marqués that “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.” See Lyon, trans., “Pedro Menéndez’ Last Letter,” in *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, 531. A transcription of this letter appears in *La Florida*, ed. Ruidíaz y Caravia, Appendix 1, 426-27.

<sup>64</sup> See this dissertation’s Introduction.

<sup>65</sup> Lyon, *Enterprise*, 170-71.

Among the measures he instituted were those requiring soldiers to attend mass on Sundays and feast days or face loss of rations and to learn the catechism within a year upon penalty of salary deductions.<sup>66</sup> In his instructions for Juan Pardo's second journey into the interior, Menéndez ordered the captain to ensure that his men "live in a Christian manner and in very good discipline."<sup>67</sup> But the *adelantado* clearly recognized the soldiers' limitations in the work of conversion. In a letter dated October 15, 1566 to the Jesuit provincial in Andalusia, Menéndez expressed his disappointment that no Jesuits or any other "learned priest" had arrived with the Archiniega fleet, saying that "it is a waste of time to think that the Holy Gospel can be planted in these lands with only the militia."<sup>68</sup>

Pedro Menéndez echoed these concerns in an October 20, 1566 letter to the King. After describing his practice of sending interested *caciques* "Christians to teach them the doctrine and some crosses to worship (*adorar*)," Menéndez added that he hoped the Indians would become good Christians once they had learned priests to teach them. He said that to imprint the Church's teachings on the Indians' souls, the instruction must come from men who were experts and lived exemplary lives.<sup>69</sup> The *adelantado* stated that he already had priests in Florida but that he did not dare send them to the Indians since

---

<sup>66</sup> See Eugene Lyon, trans., "Ordinances Which Pedro Menéndez . . . Instituted in These Provinces of Florida," in *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, ed. Lyon, 273-75, from AGI Justicia 999, No. 2, *ramo* 9.

<sup>67</sup> Hoffman, trans., "The 'Long' Bandera Relation," 257.

<sup>68</sup> *La Florida*, ed. Ruidíaz y Caravia, Appendix 1, 350-51. This letter, "Pedro Menéndez de Avilés to Father Diego Avellaneda," October 15, 1566, St. Augustine, also appears in Félix Zubillaga, S.J., ed., *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae, 1566-1572* (Rome: Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, 1946), 89-99.

<sup>69</sup> "Pedro Menéndez de Avilés to Crown," October 20, 1566, St. Augustine, AGI Santo Domingo 115 (Stetson Collection).

they were not educated.<sup>70</sup> Here Pedro Menéndez was no doubt referring to the four secular, or diocesan, priests who accompanied him on his first voyage to Florida and the five others who arrived in June, 1566 as chaplains of the companies in the Archiniega reinforcement fleet.<sup>71</sup> Despite what Menéndez said, some of these secular priests did labor to convert Florida's Native Americans to Catholicism, but their main duty was to minister to the spiritual needs of practicing Catholics.<sup>72</sup> This aspect of the colony's religious life was important to the Spanish Crown which placed responsibility for providing priests and well-supplied churches in the hands of its governors.<sup>73</sup> Pedro Menéndez, however, seems to have devoted most of his attention to the evangelization of the Florida Indians.

---

<sup>70</sup> Ibid. Pedro Menéndez made an exception in his characterization of the Florida priests with regard to two Dominican priests who had been sent to him by an official of the Council of the Indies.

<sup>71</sup> AGI Escribanía de Cámara 1024-A, *pieza* 2 (Center for Historic Research microfilm) lists among the people who traveled in the Pedro Menéndez's 1565 expedition to Florida four secular priests (*clérigos presbíteros*). Michael V. Gannon, *The Cross in the Sand: The Early Catholic Church in Florida, 1513-1870* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1965), 22, 29-31, briefly treats these early secular priests, focusing mainly on Father Sebastián Montero's mission efforts among the Guatari Indians. At least Father Francisco de Fromonte, one of the priests who arrived with the Archiniega fleet, had a university education, but secular priests were known at this time for not being as well-educated as their counterparts in various orders, particularly the Jesuit Order. See "Petition and Information of *Bachiller* Francisco de Fromonte," November 7, 1572, Havana, AGI Santo Domingo 235 (Stetson Collection). See Arthur Ennis, O.S.A., "The Conflict Between the Regular and Secular Clergy," in *The Roman Catholic Church in Colonial Latin America*, ed. Richard E. Greenleaf (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1971), 68, regarding the varying degrees of education between these groups.

<sup>72</sup> During this part of the sixteenth century, a battle was raging between the secular and the regular clergy over the powers accorded to each. See Ennis, "Conflict Between the Regular and Secular Clergy" for the origins of this conflict. As I discuss below, this was a recurring issue in the Jesuit documents from this period. See Robert C. Padden, "The *Ordenanza del Patronazgo*, 1574: An Interpretive Essay," *The Americas* 12 (1956): 333-54, for a history of the conflict between regular and secular clergy leading up to King Philip II's declaration of the *Ordenanza* in 1574.

<sup>73</sup> Royal Inspector Baltasar del Castillo y Ahedo asked about the Florida governors' management of the colony's spiritual affairs in the second and third questions of his Interrogatory Regarding the Governors and Captains, December, 1576, St. Augustine, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 109vo.-10.

### The Jesuits

Pedro Menéndez's contract for the settlement of Florida required him to take "at least ten or twelve religious of the Order which may appear best" to him, as well as "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."<sup>74</sup> When he wrote to the Jesuit vicar-general, Father Francisco de Borja, to ask for priests from his order for Florida, Menéndez cited the Jesuits' skill (*industria*) and knowledge (*doctrina*) as essential to his evangelization efforts.<sup>75</sup> Ultimately, though, these priests' presence only served to highlight the tensions inherent in the *adelantado*'s policy of promoting the conversion of Florida's Native Americans to Catholicism even while drawing heavily from their resources to supply the garrisons and using military means to "pacify" them. While the secular priests may have been more closely aligned with Pedro Menéndez's goals and policies, the Jesuits had their own agenda and answered more directly to authorities outside the colony. The contradictions in Menéndez's practices became increasingly clear, and on August 18, 1569, Pope Pius V wrote to the *adelantado* expressing his concern that the Spanish soldiers would impede efforts at evangelization and cautioning Pedro Menéndez that the most important thing for the conversion of the

---

<sup>74</sup> See Eugene Lyon, trans., "Pedro Menéndez' Contract for the Settlement and Pacification of Florida," in *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, ed. Lyon, 81 from Archivo de los Condes de Revillagigedo Canalejas 2, No. 5.

<sup>75</sup> "Pedro Menéndez de Avilés to Father Francisco de Borja," March, 1565, Madrid, in *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, ed. Zubillaga, 3.

Indians was to keep the “vices and wicked practices” of the Spaniards from offending them.<sup>76</sup>

The first Jesuit priests arrived in Florida in September, 1566, but only Father Juan Rogel and Brother Francisco Villarreal remained after Father Pedro Martínez was killed by Indians when he went on shore with several sailors to find the way to St. Augustine.<sup>77</sup> These men were joined in July, 1568 by Father Juan Baptista de Segura, who was named vice-provincial of the Jesuits in Florida, as well as two other priests, three brothers, and eight young catechists.<sup>78</sup> Despite *adelantado* Pedro Menéndez’s enthusiasm for a strong Jesuit presence in Florida, the priests faced numerous obstacles to their work from the soldiers and military officials.<sup>79</sup> Father Juan Rogel recounted these in a letter to Father Francisco de Borja dated July 25, 1568 in which he complained that the Devil was using

---

<sup>76</sup> “Pope Pius V to Pedro Menéndez de Avilés,” August 18, 1569, Rome, in *La Florida*, ed. Ruidíaz y Caravia, Appendix 2, 431-32.

<sup>77</sup> “Pedro Menéndez de Avilés to Father Diego de Avellaneda,” October 15, 1566, St. Augustine, in *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, ed. Zubillaga, 95-96; and “Father Juan Rogel to Father Diego Avellaneda,” November, 1566-January 30, 1567, Monte Christi, Hispaniola and Havana, in *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, 115, 119-22, give accounts of Father Martínez’s death.

<sup>78</sup> Frank Marotti, Jr., “Juan Baptista de Segura and the Failure of the Florida Jesuit Mission, 1566-1572,” *Florida Historical Quarterly* 63 (1985): 267-79, reprinted in *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, ed. Lyon, 418. According to “Father Diego de Avellaneda to Father Francisco de Borja,” March 11, 1568, Seville, in *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, ed. Zubillaga, 271, the priests who traveled to Florida with Father Juan Baptista de Segura were Father Antonio Sedeño and Father Gonzalo de Álamo, and the Jesuit brothers in this group were Brother Domingo Agustín [Vaéz] and Brother Juan de la Carrera. “Father Antonio Sedeño to Father Francisco de Borja,” November 17, 1568, Havana, 348, mentioned that three priests, three Jesuit brothers, and eight young catechists (*mancebos de la doctrina*) traveled in their group to Florida. The other brother who traveled in this group was Brother Pedro Mingot Linares (see *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, 246, note 22, in which Father Segura stated he was going and *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, 355, note 33, in which Father Sedeño shows that he arrived).

<sup>79</sup> Lyon, *Enterprise*, 196-97, describes the *adelantado*’s influence at Court and enthusiasm for a second group of Jesuits to travel to Florida. See *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, ed. Zubillaga, 212-18, for a anonymous account of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés’s December 16, 1567 visit to the Jesuit college in Seville to urge support for his Florida evangelization programs.



Christians in his work to impede the conversion of Native Americans, then proceeded to describe abuses by soldiers all over La Florida.<sup>80</sup> By the time Father Rogel wrote this letter, Indians had destroyed the Spanish forts built by Juan Pardo in the interior and killed almost all of the men in them. Father Rogel told Father de Borja that he was certain that abuse from the Spaniards was the cause for these uprisings.<sup>81</sup>

A couple of years later, Father Juan Rogel was living among the Orista when he learned that Juan de la Bandera, then lieutenant governor of Santa Elena, requested corn from several neighboring *caciques* and planned to quarter forty soldiers with the Orista until a supply ship arrived at the Spanish fort. In a letter dated December 9, 1570, Father Rogel told *adelantado* Pedro Menéndez that he knew the Orista would turn to him in the face of these demands and that he would not be able to protect them. Rogel said he was afraid these soldiers would treat the Indians “as they were accustomed to” and that the Orista would turn their anger towards him.<sup>82</sup> With great sorrow, Father Rogel withdrew

---

<sup>80</sup> “Father Juan Rogel to Father Francisco de Borja,” July 25, 1568, Havana, in *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, ed. Zubillaga, 317-29. Father Rogel was hopeful in this letter about the potential for the evangelization of Florida’s Native Americans. On p. 322 he told Father de Borja that he was describing these abuses so that they would come to the attention of the King and Council of the Indies and be remedied.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 321-22. On pp. 326-27 Father Rogel cited as evidence for this assertion the abuse of the Orista Indians that soldiers at the fort there committed one night within earshot of Captain Juan Pardo who was then visiting the nearby Indian village of Escamazu in the company of Father Rogel. In reference to this incident Father Rogel stated, “here is grounded the suspicion I have that the loss of the inland forts and the cause for the death of the soldiers [in them] was the mistreatment of the Indians by the soldiers. If these [soldiers] mistreated them this way so close to their captain, what would those who were one hundred and two hundred leagues inland away from their captain do?” Father Rogel reported that the people of Escamazu were very friendly to him even though they received injuries and affronts from the soldiers in the nearby fort at Orista.

<sup>82</sup> Margot Dembo, trans., “From Father Juan Rogel to Pedro Menéndez,” December 9, 1570, Havana, in *Ethnology of the Indians of Spanish Florida*, ed. David Hurst Thomas, vol. 8, *Spanish Borderlands Sourcebooks*, ed. David Hurst Thomas (New York: Garland Publishing, 1991), 11.

to Santa Elena on July 13, 1570. He told the Orista that if they ever wanted to become Christians, they could call him, and he would return to them. Father Rogel then reported that, just as he had anticipated, the Orista and Escamazu rose up when the soldiers from Santa Elena went to live among them. These Indians were only calmed when Pedro Menéndez Marqués and Esteban de las Alas went to them “with gifts and flattering words.”<sup>83</sup>

Increasingly, other Florida Jesuits and Jesuit officials complained that their order’s efforts to convert the Indians were impossible in the circumstances found in Florida. Their letters show that these priests generally seemed to keep their faith in the *adelantado*’s good intentions but that they clearly recognized the difficulties of the situation. Writing from Guale in March, 1570, Father Antonio Sedeño told Father Francisco de Borja of the great hunger and poverty in the Florida forts. Sedeño stated that this was the cause of many mutinies among the soldiers and alienation of the Indians, since the soldiers went to look for food among the Indians and “through kindness or through force” they ate the little the Indians had. Father Sedeño attributed these shortages and the resulting problems to the poverty of the *adelantado*; to shipping problems, since supplies had to be brought a long distance to Florida, and ships sometimes sank; and to the poor quality of the land. He described those in charge of the Florida forts as young men, inexperienced in war as well as government.<sup>84</sup>

---

<sup>83</sup> “Father Juan Rogel to Pedro Menéndez,” December 9, 1570, Havana, in *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, ed. Zubillaga, 474-75. This letter appears in translation in *Ethnology*, ed. Thomas, 10-13.

<sup>84</sup> “Father Antonio Sedeño to Father Francisco de Borja,” March 6, 1570, Guale, in *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, ed. Zubillaga, 425-26.

In this letter, Father Antonio Sedeño also alerted his superior that Pedro Menéndez was trying to use the Jesuits as chaplains for his forts, a duty which did not fall under their jurisdiction.<sup>85</sup> Father de Borja later explained to the *adelantado* that life among soldiers did not provide the conditions under which the Jesuits could live in conformance with the religious discipline of their order.<sup>86</sup> Jesuit authorities expressed deep concern upon learning that Captain Juan Pardo had prevented the Florida vice-provincial, Father Juan Baptista de Segura, from sending a Jesuit brother away from that province. Pardo told Father Baptista that if he allowed any “teatino” to leave Florida, the *adelantado* would hang him from a ship’s lateen yard and showed him written orders which stated this.<sup>87</sup> The Jesuits began to discuss whether their efforts were best expended elsewhere. Writing in August 1570, Father Dionisio Vázquez told the Jesuit Father General Luis de Mendoza that by then it was understood that evangelization efforts in Florida were useless because “no results can be achieved among these Indians” as well as inadvisable due to the harsh

---

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 426. Many examples exist in these letters of the Jesuit priests ministering to the spiritual needs of the Spanish population in the Florida forts, but here the question of jurisdiction of the regular versus the secular clergy arises. On pp. 426-27 of this letter, Father Sedeño went on to say that of the three diocesan priests who were in Florida at that time, one had “sneaked away,” and another had left the forts in Lent to get the Jesuits to go there. Father de Borja’s reply about this matter in “Father Francisco de Borja to Father Segura and Sedeño,” November 14, 1570, Rome in *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, ed. Zubillaga, 460-61, is likely a reflection of the conflicts of these times. He instructed Father Sedeño that the Florida Jesuits were to tell Menéndez and his lieutenants that “the Company cannot accept jurisdiction or care of souls in particular,” but then proceeded to state why Jesuits were qualified for these duties.

<sup>86</sup> “Father Francisco de Borja to Pedro Menéndez,” December 8, 1570, Rome, in *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, ed. Zubillaga, 470.

<sup>87</sup> This incident is mentioned several places in the Jesuit correspondence. This account comes from “[Father Dionisio Vázquez, ex. commiss.] to Father Luis de Mendoza,” August 7, 1570, Rome, in *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, ed. Zubillaga, 434-35. See also “Father Gonzalo de Esquivel to Father Francisco de Borja,” September 26, 1570, Madrid, in *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, 445. In *Situado and Sabana: Spain’s Support System for the Presidio and Mission Provinces of Florida*, Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, no. 74 (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1994), 41, historian Amy T. Bushnell explains the use of the term “teatino,” or “Theatine” here when she writes, “Laymen frequently confused the Jesuits with the Theatines, another order founded to combat Lutheranism.”

physical conditions in which the missionaries lived.<sup>88</sup> Pedro Menéndez countered the officials' accusations that their priests' work in Florida had been fruitless, but he had to concede the point about travel. On September 22, 1570, the *adelantado* granted the Jesuits freedom of movement in and out of the Florida colony.<sup>89</sup>

### The Settlers

When Father Juan Rogel reported the problems caused by the Florida soldiers to his superior in Rome, the solution he proposed was colonization. After telling Father Francisco de Borja how good the land in Santa Elena, Guale, and the interior was for growing various Spanish crops, Father Rogel wrote, "and so, if settlers come and populate the land with married people, we could very safely go in to preach the gospel; and if enough settlers come, your Paternity could send many [Jesuit] fathers and brothers, since there is an abundant harvest [of souls] for all."<sup>90</sup> Pedro Menéndez's contract with the

---

<sup>88</sup> "[Father Dionisio Vázquez, ex. commiss.] to Father Luis de Mendoza," August 7, 1570, Rome, in *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, ed. Zubillaga, 434. See *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, 447-48, for the statement issued by *licenciado* Gonzalo de Esquivel, a Jesuit priest, addressed to Cardinal Espinosa repeating Father Dionisio Vázquez's words about the fruitless nature of work among the Florida Indians and the difficult nature of life there for the missionaries. Father Esquivel concluded by asking the Cardinal if the Jesuit fathers' efforts would not be better employed in other parts of the Indies.

<sup>89</sup> See "Pedro Menéndez to Father Francisco de Borja," October 14, 1570, Madrid, in *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, ed. Zubillaga, 449-52; and "Pedro Menéndez to Father Luis de Mendoza," October 14, 1570, Madrid, in *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, 452-54, for the *adelantado*'s defense of his evangelization efforts in La Florida. The *adelantado* issued a statement on September 22, 1570 from Madrid saying that all the Jesuit fathers and brothers had the freedom to travel within Florida or to Havana and Spain provided they had permission from Father Juan Baptista de Segura (*Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, 440-41). On March 24, 1572, King Philip issued a royal decree guaranteeing unimpeded passage to the Jesuits between Spain and the various Spanish colonies, provided the priests traveled with the permission of a superior (*Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, 439-40).

<sup>90</sup> "Father Juan Rogel to Father Francisco de Borja," July 25, 1568, Havana, in *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, ed. Zubillaga, 327.

King required that within three years he would “bring to the 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.”<sup>91</sup> The *adelantado* also promised that during this time he would “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 him.<sup>92</sup>

Colonization was essential to guaranteeing a permanent Spanish presence in these lands in the face of repeated French incursions, but the Florida settlement effort took longer to launch than Pedro Menéndez had initially planned, due to a shortage of funds and other services to the Crown which kept him away from Florida for much of this period.<sup>93</sup> On October 7, 1568, royal officials in Cádiz made a list of the families to sail on the ships *Nuestra Señora de la Victoria* and *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción* before they left for the Canary Islands and then headed to Florida.<sup>94</sup> According to one account, the ships arrived in Florida on April 25, 1569, and 193 of the settlers were sent to Santa

---

<sup>91</sup> Lyon, trans., “Pedro Menéndez’ Contract,” 81.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid.

<sup>93</sup> See Lyon, *Enterprise*, 206-7, for his discussion of the controversy surrounding the departure of Menéndez’s first group of settlers from Cádiz. Since the three-year term of Menéndez’s contract had expired, Casa de Contratación officials demanded that the King stop his expedition. On p. 207, Lyon argues that the King’s granting permission for the colonists to sail, as well as for Pedro Menéndez de Avilés to take other settlers directly from the Canary Islands to Florida, “effectively renewed the Menéndez contract.”

<sup>94</sup> The list of the settlers on these ships is in AGI Patronato 19, *ramo* 15, fo. 97-98 (P.K. Yonge Library microfilm). People from both ships appear on the 1569 Santa Elena settler list in AGI Contaduría 941, no. 8 (Center for Historic Research microfilm).

Elena.<sup>95</sup> The settlers were in Santa Elena by May 1, 1569 when Esteban de las Alas, then lieutenant captain general of Florida, issued an instruction to the supplykeeper Juan de la Bandera for the provision of the 193 people who had arrived from Spain. A list signed in Santa Elena on July 15, 1569 by *Doctor* Juan Martínez de la Rosa, one of the settlers and lieutenant governor there for Captain Pedro Menéndez Marqués, gave the names of the colonists, grouping them by household.<sup>96</sup>

The Santa Elena settlers traveled to Florida under an agreement with Pedro Menéndez, the terms of which had been publicly proclaimed in their villages in Spain as part of the *adelantado*'s recruitment effort.<sup>97</sup> No copy of this document has been found, but clues as to its contents appear in other places. In a letter to King Philip dated October

---

<sup>95</sup> Solís de Merás, "Memorial," 252. Here Gonzalo Solís de Merás stated that of the 273 people who arrived in Florida on April 25, 1569, the *adelantado* placed 193 in the "city of San Felipe on the cape (*cabo*) of Santa Elena" and the rest in St. Augustine. In AGI Escribanía de Cámara 1024-A, *pieza* 2 (Center for Historic Research microfilm), Esteban de las Alas certified on January 1, 1573 in Seville that on April 15, 1569 when he was the lieutenant captain general for Florida, the ship *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción* brought 273 people to St. Augustine to populate the provinces of Florida. Alas went on to state that by order of the *adelantado*, he took them to Santa Elena and "other places" to settle this land. On January 29, 1573 in Seville, Pedro Menéndez Marqués as the Florida accountant (*contador*) certified that of these 273 people, 193 went to settle Santa Elena by order of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés and that the rest remained in the fort of St. Augustine.

<sup>96</sup> Esteban de las Alas's orders to Juan de la Bandera and the July 15, 1569 Santa Elena settler list appear in AGI Contaduría 941, no. 8 (Center for Historic Research microfilm). The supplies that Alas instructed Bandera to give the settlers appear to have been flour, vinegar, iron barrel hoops, casks, meat, and corn, although parts of these pages are missing or obscured due to fire damage. The settlers' letter of receipt for the flour and vinegar they received in May and early June follows Alas's order. The July 15, 1569 settler list stated that there were 193 people in Santa Elena at that time, but some of the names have been lost due to fire damage.

<sup>97</sup> See testimony of Juan Serrano from "The Settlers of Florida," February-March, 1576, Santa Elena; November, 1576-April, 1577, in *Colonial Records of Spanish Florida*, ed. Jeannette T. Connor, vol. 1 (Deland, Fla.: Florida State Historical Society, 1925), 156-57. Several Santa Elena settlers testified to hearing the royal public proclamation (*pregón real*) recruiting colonists for the settlement of Florida in the *maestrazgo* of Santiago in the region of Extremadura in the Petition of Gonzalo Sánchez, July, 1580, Mexico City, in AGI México 215, No. 23. See Ida Altman, *Emigrants and Society: Extremadura and America in the Sixteenth Century* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1989), 167 for her discussion of Francisco Pizarro's use of this method of recruitment to gather young men to go to Peru.

20, 1566, Menéndez described the arrangements he had made with a group of Portuguese settlers who ultimately did not come to Florida. Pedro Menéndez told the King that he would give the settlers their passage and food for the voyage and, once they had arrived in Florida, land for their farms. Within two years, the *adelantado* planned to give these families one dozen cows with a bull, two oxen for plowing, and two mares, as well as some goats, hogs, and chickens. He also intended to provide them with a house, a male and female African slave, and vine shoots for planting. Pedro Menéndez said he would support the Portuguese settlers for their first two years in La Florida, during which time they would plow the land and begin to cultivate it. Menéndez expected that the farmers would be able to reimburse his expenses from their first harvests and that merchants would grow interested in this area once they saw how rich the land was.<sup>98</sup>

Other clues as to what the *adelantado* promised the settlers who came to Florida can be found in the formal complaints they made to the King and his representatives.<sup>99</sup> In 1573, Martín Díaz testified in Madrid that provisions for the Santa Elena settlers came

---

<sup>98</sup> “Pedro Menéndez de Avilés [to King Philip II],” October 20, 1566, St. Augustine, AGI Santo Domingo 115 (Stetson Collection). For a discussion of the role of merchant houses in Spanish American colonization efforts, see John E. Kicza, “Patterns in Spanish Overseas Expansion” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 49 (April 1992): 242, 246-47. There appear to have been very few African slaves in Florida during this period, so I do not think this was a condition in the contract of the settlers that Pedro Menéndez brought to Florida in 1569. While pointing out the lower status of foreigners in sixteenth-century Peru, James Lockhart describes the Portuguese as the “least foreign.” See Lockhart, “Sailors and Foreigners,” in *Spanish Peru, 1532-1560*, 2d ed. (Madison, Wisc.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994), 146-48.

<sup>99</sup> “Interrogatory of Don Diego de Velasco,” April 24, 1577, Havana, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 947vo.-48vo. (questions 43-45). The witnesses’ answers to these questions provide further clues as to the contents of *adelantado* Pedro Menéndez’s understanding with these settlers. They seem to agree that Pedro Menéndez paid for the colonists’ passage to Florida and their provisions for the journey, although on fo. 994vo. Juan de Llera, who appeared on the 1569 Santa Elena settler list with his five children, said that he spent some of his own money and provisions for the trip.

from the accounts of Pedro Menéndez and not those of the King.<sup>100</sup> Díaz said that the first year they received rations when they were available, but after that they were given nothing.<sup>101</sup> He charged that the *adelantado* had not provided the colonists the livestock or any of the other things he had promised, nor had he placed them on good land.<sup>102</sup> In a February, 1576 complaint, other Santa Elena settlers stated that they had not received the livestock and rich land for farming and raising animals that Menéndez's representatives offered when they enlisted these families to come to Florida.<sup>103</sup> The colonists referred to the "many exemptions (*franquezas*)" granted to them in the settlement decree (*provisión*), but the only one named in this testimony is farmland free from all "taxes and tribute."<sup>104</sup> Rodrigo Menea, the Santa Elena blacksmith, testified that because of the settlement decree, he left his home in Spain and "sold his property at a loss and misspent it in order to enjoy that which the said ordinance promised."<sup>105</sup> These settlers also described how

---

<sup>100</sup> Audits of the accounts of this period in AGI Contaduría 941 (Center for Historic Research microfilm) show that any supplies given to the Florida settlers were the expense of *adelantado* Pedro Menéndez de Avilés. Testimony in "Interrogatory of Don Diego de Velasco," April 24, 1577, Havana, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm) shows that the witnesses were not always certain whether the food they had received was the property of the *adelantado* or that of the King.

<sup>101</sup> The witnesses in the "Interrogatory of Don Diego de Velasco," April 24, 1577, Havana, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm) gave a range of estimates as to how long the settlers received rations when they arrived in Florida. In "The Settlers of Florida," 180-81, Francisco Ruiz claimed that the *adelantado* had said that he would feed them for a year after bringing them to Florida.

<sup>102</sup> "Investigation Made in Madrid by Licentiate Gamboa on Matters Concerning Florida," February 4, 1573, Madrid, in Connor, ed., *Colonial Records*, vol. 1, 82-86.

<sup>103</sup> "The Settlers of Florida," 146-47.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, 146-47, 152-53.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, 161. See Ida Altman, *Emigrants and Society*, 189-92, for a discussion of "Financing the Move."



they had suffered because the agreement was not carried out and how these hardships had made them ill and old before their time.<sup>106</sup>

The Santa Elena settlers arrived at a time of great scarcity for the Florida forts. While soldiers received priority in the distribution of supplies, documents from 1569 and 1570 show them often going hungry and poorly clothed, and, as mentioned earlier, being sent to take food from Native Americans.<sup>107</sup> The *adelantado* did not have the funds to provide adequately for the colonists during this time, and the Jesuit priests expressed particular concern for their suffering.<sup>108</sup> In the fall of 1569, Father Juan Rogel painted a poignant picture from Santa Elena of children crying for bread and fathers not even having acorns to give them. Rogel said that the farmers needed to cultivate the land but that they did not have the strength for this due to hunger. He added that the food scarcity was so severe, the settlers “asked insistently that processions be held and masses said, so that the Lord would send us some assistance.”<sup>109</sup> Father Rogel also described the comfort that

---

<sup>106</sup> “The Settlers of Florida,” 148-49.

<sup>107</sup> “Diligencias Hechas en Sevilla con Motivo de la Venida de Esteban de las Alas con 110 Soldados de La Florida para Averiguar la Orden con que Vinieron y el Estado en que Quedaban Aquellas Fortificaciones,” Año de 1570, *Colección de Documentos Inéditos Relativos al Descubrimiento, Conquista, y Organización de las Antiguas Posesiones Españolas en América y Oceanía, Sacados de los Archivos del Reino y Muy Especialmente del de Indias*, vol. 13, 309-32. “Pedro Menéndez to the King,” January 4, 1570, Cádiz, in *La Florida*, ed. Ruidíaz y Caravia, Appendix 1, 377, talks about how there was a shortage of supplies among the soldiers in the Florida forts and how he had to use supplies intended for the settlers to support them. See Father Sedeño’s account of suffering in the Florida forts and the soldiers’ taking food from Indians in “Father Antonio Sedeño to Father Francisco de Borja,” March 6, 1570, Guale, in *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, ed. Zubillaga, 425-26. See also “Father Juan Rogel to Pedro Menéndez,” December 9, 1570, Havana, in *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, 474-75, for Father Rogel’s account of Santa Elena soldiers being quartered with the Orista in the summer of 1570.

<sup>108</sup> See Lyon, *Santa Elena: A Brief History*, 5, for a discussion of Pedro Menéndez’s financial problems during this time of shortage for the settlers.

<sup>109</sup> “Father Juan Rogel to Juan de Hinistroza,” December 11, 1569, Santa Elena, in *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, ed. Zubillaga, 401. William Christian, *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 63, says “As we saw in the case of droughts, the most common attempt to alleviate a disaster would be a petitionary procession, sometimes called a *rogativa*, to

Father Alamo offered the settlers through his sermons at Santa Elena and credited him with giving them the courage to endure their hardships.<sup>110</sup> Writing in March, 1570 from Tupiqui, Brother Francisco Villarreal described the Santa Elena settlers' poverty and their difficulty in finding good land on which to sow their crops.<sup>111</sup>

As with his evangelization efforts, Pedro Menéndez's early attempts to colonize La Florida were quickly subsumed by military concerns, hindering the settlement's ability to thrive in its early days.<sup>112</sup> In a letter dated December 31, 1569, Pedro Menéndez told the King that the farmers and settlers needed to live inland where the soil was understood to be very good and that "none will want to live in the ports or forts of the sea because of the great danger that they face from the Indians and because the land there is rendered unprofitable by them."<sup>113</sup> Threats from the neighboring Indians made it difficult to work the fields or raise livestock outside the fort. A Santa Elena soldier testified that when he left Florida in the summer of 1570, soldiers took risks even going to fish, as the Indians would wait for them and drown them.<sup>114</sup> The settlers soon were drawn into the military

---

a local chapel or district shrine. These processions sought help from saints who had shown their intercessory powers in the past."

<sup>110</sup> "Father Juan Rogel to Juan de Hinistrosa," December 11, 1569, Santa Elena, in *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, ed. Zubillaga, 402.

<sup>111</sup> Brother Francisco Villarreal to Father Francisco de Borja," March 5, 1570, Tupiqui, in *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, ed. Zubillaga, 419-21. For a translation of this letter, see Margot Dembo, trans., "From Brother Francisco Villareal to Father Francisco Borgia, Rome" in *Ethnology*, ed. Thomas, 7-9. Note 5 on p. 8 says Tupiqui was "in the western part of present-day St. Catherines Island, Georgia."

<sup>112</sup> "Pedro Menéndez to the King," January 4, 1570, Cádiz, in *La Florida*, ed. Ruidíaz y Caravia, Appendix 1, 377.

<sup>113</sup> "Pedro Menéndez de Avilés to the King," December 31, 1569, Cádiz, in *La Florida*, ed. Ruidíaz y Caravia, Appendix 1, 376.

<sup>114</sup> "Diligencias Hechas en Sevilla con Motivo de la Venida de Esteban de las Alas," *Colección de Documentos Inéditos*, vol. 13, 330.

effort in a variety of ways. They used their own possessions and labor to support the soldiers and tend to their needs, and some of the farmers even served in offensive military actions.<sup>115</sup>

Testimony presented on behalf of Gonzalo Sánchez, one of Santa Elena's early settlers, sheds some light as to the types of support these Spanish families provided the Florida soldiers. These witnesses, most of whom were other men who came to Santa Elena as settlers in 1569, told how Gonzalo Sánchez and his wife gave food, medicine, and clothing to the soldiers purchased with their own money "like good people and good Christians" and "good subjects of the King."<sup>116</sup> This couple also lodged soldiers in their home, and Sánchez's wife gave them medical care.<sup>117</sup> One of the questions in Gonzalo Sánchez's testimonial says that he gave his own property to the soldiers at Santa Elena when they were ready to abandon the fort because they had not been paid by the King. Through this action and others, he claimed to have saved the fort from being deserted. Only Diego Rueda confirmed this point in his testimony, but the other witnesses generally

---

<sup>115</sup> The Santa Elena settlers were issued crossbows with arrows, cords, and hooks for crossbows (*gafas*), and one settler, Hernando de Segovia, also received quilted body armor called an *escupil*. The list of settlers and various entries naming the items they received appear in AGI Contaduría 941, No. 8 (Center for Historic Research microfilm). "Pedro Menéndez de Avilés to Crown," October 20, 1566, St. Augustine, AGI Santo Domingo 115 (Stetson Collection) emphasized the great need for crossbows for the Spaniards to defend themselves from Indians, as well as to make war. See *ley 3, título 6, libro 4* in the 1680 *Recopilación de Leyes de los Reinos de las Indias*, vol. 2 (Madrid: La Viuda de D. Joaquín Ibarra, 1791; reprint, Madrid: Gráficas Ultra, 1943), 17, which comes from a 1530 decree.

<sup>116</sup> Petition of Gonzalo Sánchez, July, 1580, Mexico City, in AGI México 215, No. 23. Not all the settlers would have come to Florida with much property to distribute.

<sup>117</sup> Her name was María Hernández as shown on the 1569 settler list in AGI Contaduría 941, No. 8 (Center for Historic Research microfilm). María Hernández was also described as married to Gonzalo Sánchez in the Testimonial on the Services of Captain Alonso de Solís, March, 1577, Mexico City, AGI Patronato 75, No. 1, *ramo 4* (P.K. Yonge Library microfilm).

stressed the generosity of Gonzalo Sánchez and his wife in using their possessions to care for the soldiers. While Sánchez and his wife may have had more property to share than some of the other settlers, they were apparently not alone in their struggle to sustain the soldiers, as well as their friends and relatives, when provisions at Santa Elena were scarce.<sup>118</sup>

Gonzalo Sánchez and the other colonists went further than providing supplies and support for military efforts. Witness Gonzalo Martín stated that they served at Santa Elena as “soldiers and settlers,” and the actions these settlers described show them participating in various expeditions to “pacify” the Native Americans in this region. According to this testimony, Gonzalo Sánchez excelled as a soldier, even though he never received a salary for his military service. Sánchez and others told how he had gone to Orista with *adelantado* Pedro Menéndez de Avilés to assist with the pacification of the Indians there. He also went with Captain Alonso de Solís to help quell an uprising of the Guale and to seek food from them for the soldiers and settlers of Santa Elena. Gonzalo Martín testified that Sánchez then remained at the fort in Guale to help guard it.<sup>119</sup> At one point, Santa Elena was surrounded for forty days by Indians, and Gonzalo Martín and Juan Serrano told how Gonzalo Sánchez and the other settlers worked hard and suffered much hunger to protect the fort.<sup>120</sup> These men also assisted with defense in surprise

---

<sup>118</sup> Petition of Gonzalo Sánchez, July, 1580, Mexico City, in AGI México 215, No. 23.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.* This testimony states that Gonzalo Sánchez went to Guale with the “captain and lieutenant Alonso de Solís,” which would date this Guale expedition to either late 1572-early 1573 or the Spring and early Summer of 1576.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*

attacks from the French. The settlers' participation in sustaining the soldiers and even taking an active role in defense was no doubt necessary in these times of scarcity and danger. However, such activities drew them away from the work that was meant to contribute to the long-term development of the colony.

By the summer of 1570, the shortages and suffering in the forts had grown severe enough that Pedro Menéndez withdrew approximately one hundred and ten soldiers from the colony in a dramatic effort to collect the military assistance promised to him by the Crown.<sup>121</sup> King Philip had granted his support for a minimum of one hundred and fifty soldiers for Florida in a decree dated July 15, 1568.<sup>122</sup> A meeting of the Royal Councils in November, 1569 addressed various requests made by Pedro Menéndez and reaffirmed the commitment to support one hundred and twenty Florida soldiers, but these funds never arrived.<sup>123</sup> Finally, by order of the *adelantado*, Captain Esteban de las Alas set out from St. Augustine in July, 1570 in Menéndez's ship, *El Espiritu Santo*, with soldiers and officers from the fort there, leaving only fifty men. Alas traveled up the Florida coast, removing soldiers from Tacatacuru on present Cumberland Island, Georgia and Santa Elena, so that only one hundred and fifty soldiers remained in the Florida forts.<sup>124</sup> The

---

<sup>121</sup> See "Pedro Menéndez to the King," January 4, 1570, Cádiz, in *La Florida*, ed. Ruidíaz y Caravia, Appendix 1, 377. See Lyon, *Santa Elena: A Brief History*, 5, for this interpretation of the *adelantado*'s actions.

<sup>122</sup> Lyon, *Enterprise*, 207.

<sup>123</sup> See Eugene Lyon, trans., "Meeting of the Royal Council Concerning the Florida Royal Subsidy," in *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, ed. Lyon, 467-69 from Archivo del Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan (Madrid), *Envío* 25-H, No. 164, 21 and 22 November 1569.

<sup>124</sup> AGI Contaduría 310-B, No. 4 (P.K. Yonge Library microfilm) contains the December 20, 1572 certification of Esteban de las Alas naming some of the men who remained in Florida when he departed in the summer of 1570.

*Espiritu Santo* left Santa Elena for Spain on August 13, 1570.<sup>125</sup> Asked later who commanded the soldiers' withdrawal from Florida, men who traveled with Esteban de las Alas said they understood that he was acting on orders from Pedro Menéndez, who was carrying out the King's command that one hundred and fifty soldiers be left in the Florida forts and that any beyond that number should be removed.<sup>126</sup>

Menéndez succeeded in attracting the attention of Spanish authorities with his removal of the Florida troops. When an official of the Casa de Contratación reported the *Espiritu Santo*'s arrival in Cádiz to the King, it was clear that the monarch had not issued this command. On November 3, 1570, King Philip ordered an inquiry into who had initiated the removal of the one hundred and ten soldiers, the conditions they left behind in Florida, and what was needed to make the forts defensible.<sup>127</sup> This testimonial was not completed until December, 1570, but in a royal ordinance dated November 15, 1570, the King granted an annual subsidy, or *situado*, for the Florida colony which was to be paid from the Tierra Firme treasury for food and salaries for one hundred and fifty men, with an additional allowance for bonuses and munitions.<sup>128</sup> In a January 10, 1571 letter to Father

---

<sup>125</sup> In a certification dated May, 1571 in Seville, Esteban de las Alas stated that all the soldiers who came with him from Florida embarked with his permission at the fort of Santa Elena on August 13, 1570 and disembarked in Cádiz on October 23, 1570. See Archivo de los Condes de Revillagigedo Canalejas 47, No. 17, image 355vo. (P.K. Yonge Library microfilm).

<sup>126</sup> Testimony of Alonso Escudero in "Diligencias Hechas en Sevilla con Motivo de la Venida de Esteban de las Alas," *Colección de Documentos Inéditos*, vol. 13, 319-20. Other witnesses said that they understood that this was done ultimately with the King's orders. The version of this document which appears in *Colección de Documentos Inéditos*, vol. 13, comes from the Patronato section of the Archivo General de Indias. A slightly different version of this inquiry appears in AGI Justicia 1001, No. 2, *ramo* 1 A, *pieza* 4 (P.K. Yonge Library microfilm).

<sup>127</sup> See "Diligencias Hechas en Sevilla con Motivo de la Venida de Esteban de las Alas," *Colección de Documentos Inéditos*, vol. 13, 310.

<sup>128</sup> See Lyon, *Santa Elena: A Brief History*, 19, note 18; and Paul Hoffman, *The Spanish Crown and the Defense of the Caribbean, 1535-1585: Precedent, Patrimonialism, and Royal Parsimony* (Baton

Francisco de Borja, Pedro Menéndez expressed his confidence that the new *situado* would ease tensions between La Florida's Spaniards and Native Americans by alleviating the hunger which, he said, forced the soldiers to take food from the Indians.<sup>129</sup>

At this time of low morale and the loss of most of the colony's top leadership in the 1570 withdrawal of soldiers, Pedro Menéndez moved to assert his authority in La Florida more directly.<sup>130</sup> By that fall the *adelantado* spoke of his plans to bring his own wife and household to Santa Elena. Menéndez's October 14, 1570 letter to Father Francisco de Borja acknowledged the difficulties created by his long absences for the work of the Jesuits in Florida, and he said that to better serve the Lord, he would go to live there the following Spring and take his wife and household.<sup>131</sup> Pedro Menéndez discussed his family's presence in Santa Elena as improving the morale of the residents

---

Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University Press, 1980), 146. A copy of the November 15, 1570 decree can be found in "Cedulario de la Florida," 1570-1604, n.p., AGI Santo Domingo 2528 (Stetson Collection). The royal order granting this annual subsidy to La Florida was a major step in the colony's transition from an *adelantamiento* under the control of Pedro Menéndez toward being a colony supported by the Crown. See Bushnell, *Situado and Sabana*; and Engel Sluiter, *The Florida Situado: Quantifying the First Eighty Years, 1571-1651*, Research Publications of the P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, no. 1 (Gainesville: University of Florida Libraries, 1985) for discussions of the development of the *situado* and its role in Florida's history.

<sup>129</sup> "Pedro Menéndez to Father Francisco de Borja," January 10, 1571, Seville in *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, ed. Zubillaga, 481. On this page, Menéndez also said that he had sent additional farmers to Florida to "cultivate the land so that there would be an excess of food and that the natives (*naturales*) of that land would be very contented." I have seen no other record that a group of settlers of any significant size arrived in Florida during this time.

<sup>130</sup> See Lyon, *Santa Elena: A Brief History*, 6, for a discussion of this vacuum of leadership caused by the 1570 withdrawal and Pedro Menéndez's solution to this dilemma. Testimony in "Diligencias Hechas en Sevilla con Motivo de la Venida de Esteban de las Alas," *Colección de Documentos Inéditos*, vol. 13, 312, stated that the soldiers who stayed behind in Florida did so against their will.

<sup>131</sup> "Pedro Menéndez to Father Francisco de Borja," October 14, 1570, Madrid in *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, ed. Zubillaga, 450.

and providing incentive for others to come live there.<sup>132</sup> In a royal ordinance dated March 5, 1571, the King gave permission for *adelantado* Pedro Menéndez to take to Florida his “wife and household, with twelve male and female servants, married and single, and Doña María de Solís, wife of Captain Pedro Menéndez Marqués, with another six male servants and serving women.”<sup>133</sup> When Pedro Menéndez disembarked in July of 1571 in Santa Elena, Father Antonio Sedeño noted that he brought his whole household, as well as “some other people as soldiers and settlers.”<sup>134</sup>

When the *adelantado*'s ship arrived in Santa Elena, it brought an illness called “modorra” which, according to Father Sedeño, struck almost everyone in the town. Father Sedeño told the Jesuit secretary in Rome how sad it was to see people trying to recover from an illness on a diet of corn, saying there was little salted meat there. But the shortages at Santa Elena became worse when, around November, 1571, the fort caught on fire and burned not only munitions and gunpowder, but food as well.<sup>135</sup> Until he too fell ill, Father Sedeño was very busy with preaching and hearing confessions, since there had

---

<sup>132</sup> See “Pedro Menéndez to the King,” December 3, 1570, Seville, in *La Florida*, ed. Ruidíaz y Caravia, Appendix 1, 380, where the *adelantado* spoke of his efforts to recruit soldiers for Florida from Asturias and Vizcaya and said that, “seeing that I placed my household and my wife there, they will go with greater will, and they will serve your Majesty with more devotion.” See also “Pedro Menéndez to Father Francisco de Borja,” January 10, 1571, Seville in *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, ed. Zubillaga, 481, where Menéndez mentioned his plan to bring his wife and household to Florida and said that “other principal people” would bring theirs as well.

<sup>133</sup> Royal order dated March 5, 1571 in Madrid from “Cedulario de la Florida,” 1570-1604, n.p., AGI Santo Domingo 2528 (Stetson Collection).

<sup>134</sup> “Father Antonio Sedeño to Father Juan de Polanco,” February 8, 1572, Santa Elena, in *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, ed. Zubillaga, 495. “Pedro Menéndez to the King,” July 22, 1571, Santa Elena, Fort San Felipe, in *La Florida*, ed. Ruidíaz y Caravia, Appendix 1, 397, gives the date of his arrival there as July 22, 1571.

<sup>135</sup> “Father Antonio Sedeño to Father Juan de Polanco,” February 8, 1572, Santa Elena, in *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, ed. Zubillaga, 496.



not been a priest at Santa Elena for some time. He continued to confess those who were dying, even when he was weakened by fever, bleeding, and purging.<sup>136</sup> Most of the other Florida Jesuits, as well as Alonso de Olmos, a young catechist and son of Santa Elena settlers, had gone in September, 1570 with Father Juan Baptista de Segura to Ajacán on the Chesapeake Bay to open a new mission there with the assistance of an Indian named Don Luis de Velasco.<sup>137</sup> In February, 1572 Father Sedeño wrote Father Francisco de Borja that the settlers were calling for him to leave Santa Elena, since his presence there was the reason that *adelantado* Pedro Menéndez would not provide a parish priest (*cura*) to administer the sacraments to them.<sup>138</sup>

### ***Comuño and Settler Conflicts***

From his earliest days in Florida, Pedro Menéndez's most trusted officials and lieutenants came from the network of family and friends known in his home province of

---

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, 495-96.

<sup>137</sup> For accounts of the Jesuits' 1570 mission to the Chesapeake region, see Clifford M. Lewis, S.J. and Albert J. Loomie, S.J., *The Spanish Jesuit Mission in Virginia, 1570-1572* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1953); and Félix Zubillaga, S.J., *La Florida, La Misión Jesuítica (1566-1572) y La Colonización Española* (Rome: Institutum Historicum, S.I., 1941), 391-428. Frederic W. Gleach, *Powhatan's World and Colonial Virginia: A Conflict of Cultures*, Studies in the Anthropology of North American Indians, ed. Raymond J. DeMallie and Douglas R. Parks (Lincoln, Nebr.: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 90-97, offers a very different interpretation of the reasons for the Jesuits' martyrdom at Ajacán. See Louis-Andrés Vigneras, "A Spanish Discovery of North Carolina in 1566," *North Carolina Historical Review* 46 (1969): 398-414, reprinted in *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, ed. Lyon, 223-39, for an account of Don Luis's background and a previous Spanish mission attempt involving him.

<sup>138</sup> See "Father Antonio Sedeño to Father Francisco de Borja," February 8, 1572, Santa Elena, in *Monumenta Antiquae Floridæ*, ed. Zubillaga, 511, where Father Sedeño stated that he could not administer the sacraments to the settlers. "Father Juan Rogel to Father Francisco de Borja," March 10, 1572, Havana in *Monumenta Antiquae Floridæ*, ed. Zubillaga, 513, mentioned that the *adelantado* had Father Sedeño "somewhat forced to be parish priest, since there is no other [secular] priest in all of Florida."

Asturias as a “comuño.”<sup>139</sup> Historian Eugene Lyon has likened them to “stockholders in the Florida enterprise,” bound to the *adelantado* through personal and familial loyalty, as well as through the potential profit from their efforts.<sup>140</sup> Over the years, these men enjoyed not only power and privilege in Menéndez’s colony but financial gain, in part through various business ventures and the manipulation of royal funds. Some *comuño* members of lower standing rose to positions of power and responsibility through loyal service to key figures in the Florida colony.<sup>141</sup> But when most of Menéndez’s main associates departed in 1570, the *adelantado* faced the challenge of rebuilding Florida’s top leadership.<sup>142</sup>

Don Diego de Velasco traveled as the captain of the flagship of the fleet under Menéndez’s charge when the *adelantado* brought his wife and household to Santa Elena in 1571.<sup>143</sup> In a 1577 petition to the King, Velasco stated that following this voyage, Pedro Menéndez named him lieutenant governor and captain-general of the provinces of

---

<sup>139</sup> In “Control Structure,” 135, note 3, Eugene Lyon defines “comuño” as “a word which in the region of Asturias means a family-related power structure.” Lyon, *Enterprise*, 71-77, discusses the nature of this network and how Menéndez drew from it to build his Florida power structure. The chart in Lyon, *Enterprise*, Appendix 3, 224-25, shows the multiple links between the various families involved in Menéndez’s “Enterprise of Florida.” See also Lyon, “Control Structure,” 129-37, for a discussion of the various members of the *comuño* and its workings in Florida.

<sup>140</sup> Lyon, *Enterprise*, 76.

<sup>141</sup> Lyon discusses the advantages of membership in the *comuño* and various means of advancement in it in “Control Structure,” 131-35.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*, 130 addresses the 1570 withdrawal of Menéndez’s main lieutenants.

<sup>143</sup> See Lyon, *Enterprise*, 192, and Hoffman, *Spanish Crown*, 145 regarding the naming of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés in November, 1567 to the position of captain-general of the new Indies fleet. See John Frederick Schwaller, “Nobility, Family, and Service: Menéndez and His Men,” *Florida Historical Quarterly* 66 (January 1988): 298-310, reprinted in *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, ed. Lyon, 107-19, for Don Diego de Velasco’s background.

Florida.<sup>144</sup> Velasco served in these positions from August 13, 1571 until August 5, 1572 when he returned to Spain with Menéndez, leaving Captain Alonso de Solís as lieutenant governor at Santa Elena.<sup>145</sup> At the end of Velasco's first year as his lieutenant, the *adelantado* arranged for Don Diego to marry his illegitimate daughter María Menéndez, and the dowry agreement that Pedro Menéndez offered Don Diego linked payments to his continued service in Florida as the *adelantado*'s lieutenant.<sup>146</sup> This marriage of his daughter to a trusted deputy marked the beginning of Pedro Menéndez's efforts to bring the government of Florida into the hands of his immediate family. During this time, he seems to have increasingly used marriage of his female relatives as a key means of drawing new members into the *comuño* or strengthening their ties to the group.<sup>147</sup>

The *comuño* members' pursuit of their own interests often brought them into conflict with the soldiers and settlers under their charge. Juan de la Bandera, who remained as the lieutenant governor at Santa Elena when Esteban de las Alas departed in

---

<sup>144</sup> Petition of Don Diego de Velasco, December 12, 1577, in "Memorials Relative to Florida Matters," 1573-77, Madrid, AGI Indiferente General 1387 (Stetson Collection).

<sup>145</sup> These dates appear in AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 1130, in a document related to the "Interrogatory of Don Diego de Velasco." Don Diego de Velasco was formally named to the positions of military governor of Fort San Felipe and Pedro Menéndez's *maestre de campo*, lieutenant governor and lieutenant captain-general in a document dated November 23, 1571 in Santa Elena. The title and appointment of Don Diego de Velasco appears in AGI Escribanía de Cámara 153-A, fo. 71-72 (Center for Historic Research microfilm). See also Eugene Lyon, trans., "Agreement Between Pedro Menéndez de Avilés and Don Diego de Velasco for Service in Florida," in *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, ed. Lyon, 471-72.

<sup>146</sup> Velasco said this in his December 12, 1577 petition in "Memorials Relative to Florida Matters," 1573-77, Madrid, AGI Indiferente General 1387 (Stetson Collection). His dowry agreement with Pedro Menéndez appears on fo. 72vo.-75 of AGI Escribanía de Cámara 153-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), and portions of it are included in Lyon, trans., "Agreement Between Pedro Menéndez de Avilés and Don Diego de Velasco," 472-73. The dowry was dated September 30, 1573 in Seville.

<sup>147</sup> When the *adelantada* Doña María de Solís came to Santa Elena, she brought unmarried female relatives and ladies-in-waiting who then married Florida officials, as discussed in Chapter Two.

August, 1570, took advantage of his position and sold supplies intended for the people there. Martín Díaz, a Santa Elena settler, later testified that Bandera also conspired with the notary Juan Pérez to write false confessions when Bandera imprisoned the settlers so that he could seize their possessions as punishment.<sup>148</sup> In a testimonial taken by the royal investigator Baltasar del Castillo y Ahedo in late 1576 and early 1577, both soldiers and colonists stated that mistreatment by those who governed was very common and ranged from insults to physical assault and wrongful imprisonment to cheating soldiers of their salaries and rations.<sup>149</sup> Even *adelantado* Pedro Menéndez appeared in these complaints for excessively harsh punishment of soldiers, and witnesses spoke of him hanging people without a trial.<sup>150</sup>

During his time as lieutenant governor, Don Diego de Velasco's treatment of Santa Elena's residents brought the tension between *comuño* and settler interests into particularly sharp relief.<sup>151</sup> An incident that highlighted these differences came in

---

<sup>148</sup> "Investigation Made in Madrid by Licentiate Gamboa on Matters Concerning Florida," 84-87. See also testimony on pp. 94-95 of a soldier at the forts of St. Augustine and San Pedro who had heard that Juan de la Bandera had harmed some of the Santa Elena farmers by taking their possessions. A royal order dated June 16, 1572 refers to a complaint by the diocesan priest, Francisco de Merlo, that Juan de la Bandera had abused Merlo's brother, the Santa Elena settler Sebastián de Merlo. This order appears in "Cedulario de la Florida," 1570-1604, n.p., AGI Santo Domingo 2528 (Stetson Collection).

<sup>149</sup> Interrogatory Regarding the Governors and Captains, December, 1576, St. Augustine, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 126-26vo., 136, 150vo.-51, 176-77vo., 193-93vo., 202vo., 207vo.-209, 219-19vo., 236-36vo., 246-46vo., 257-57vo., 264vo., 271-71vo., 277-77vo.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.*, fo. 126, 142-42vo., 177.

<sup>151</sup> Don Diego de Velasco's abuse of the soldiers and settlers is probably better documented than that of some of his predecessors due to Crown investigator Baltasar del Castillo y Ahedo's inspection of the Florida government so soon after the end of Velasco's term, and the fact that some of the complaints against him were still pending at that time. Even so, in reading the documents pertaining to this investigation in AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A, it appears that Velasco's affronts and abuses were excessive. See Schwaller's discussion of Don Diego's illegitimate birth and later legitimization in "Nobility, Family, and Service," 111-12. Perhaps because of this, Velasco seems to have been unusually preoccupied with drawing lines of status between himself and his family and others in his community.

February, 1572 when Velasco received a warning from *adelantado* Pedro Menéndez that corsair ships were headed toward Santa Elena. According to Don Diego's own account, as governor and captain general of those forts, he issued an edict with the consent of the town council (*cabildo*) that all those present at Santa Elena, soldiers as well as settlers, were to help fortify the fort. Velasco stated that after the edict was issued, Santa Elena's tailor Alonso de Olmos held a meeting of as many people as he could, saying that by order of God and the King, they were not obligated to help with the fortification because they were settlers and that only the soldiers had to do what the captain ordered. Don Diego said that given the danger and the need for the fort, everyone helped, including two Jesuit brothers. Velasco claimed that he only shoved Olmos and did him no further harm and that everyone else complied with the edict of their own will.<sup>152</sup>

Alonso de Olmos's account of this incident portrayed Velasco as bypassing the proper procedures through which he was to appeal to the colonists' representatives and so obtain their labor. Olmos claimed that Diego de Velasco had issued the decree without the consent of the town council and councilmen (*regidores*) and that upon pain of death, it called for all of Santa Elena's inhabitants to tear down an old fort which was then in the sea and had been constructed when Juan Pardo governed there. Alonso de Olmos admitted to gathering with the other Santa Elena settlers as well as Francisco Ruiz, the town members' representative (*procurador general*). He said, though, that they went to

---

<sup>152</sup> See "Interrogatory of Don Diego de Velasco," April 24, 1577, Havana, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 937-38 (questions 19-21), for his version of these events. "Father Antonio Sedeño to Father Juan de Polanco," February 8, 1572, Santa Elena, in *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, ed. Zubillaga, 505, mentioned that they were on their way to Havana again and that the *adelantado* left at Santa Elena two completed fortified houses (*casas fuertes*).

the houses of the notaries to take these men and a copy of their contract with the *adelantado* to show Don Diego that, according to this document, they did not have to do what his edict ordered. Olmos and the others shouted that even if the contract required them to comply, they would only do so through the desire to protect their houses, wives, and children and be obedient to the King “like good Christians.”<sup>153</sup>

At that point Juan Serrano, Santa Elena’s town magistrate (*alcalde ordinario*), arrested Alonso de Olmos and thirteen or fourteen other settlers and took them to the jail, calling them “traitors” and “mutineers.”<sup>154</sup> They demanded to be taken before Don Diego de Velasco and said that they wanted the terms of their contract fulfilled, but Serrano replied that he would only take them to the work that Velasco had ordered and that those who did not comply would pay a penalty of one *ducado* and remain prisoners. The settlers tried to appeal the magistrate’s order to Don Diego de Velasco, then to *adelantado* Pedro Menéndez and the King, but Velasco said there was no appeal, except before God. According to Olmos, Velasco then punched and slapped the faces of Olmos and Francisco Ruiz, who were in shackles, kicked them, knocking them to the ground, and called them “dogs, Moors, Indians, and Lutherans.” Velasco issued an edict ordering that Olmos be hanged, although the Jesuits intervened to save him. Alonso de Olmos and Francisco Ruiz wound up working against their will on the fort in shackles for more than

---

<sup>153</sup> “Interrogatory of Don Diego de Velasco,” April 24, 1577, Havana, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 1055-56.

<sup>154</sup> Juan Serrano was himself a settler who traveled to Florida with those who arrived at in April, 1569. See AGI Patronato 19, *ramo* 15, fo. 98 (P.K. Yonge Library microfilm) where Serrano and his family appear on the list of people who traveled on the ship *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción*.

fifteen days. Olmos added that following a trial for these actions, a subsequent governor fined Don Diego de Velasco thirty-six *ducados*.<sup>155</sup>

This incident shows the magistrate Juan Serrano siding with the *comuño* representative and against his fellow colonists. In theory, however, the town council, or *cabildo*, was a way for settlers to promote their interests in the government of Santa Elena.<sup>156</sup> Spanish law in place at the time of Santa Elena's founding required that officials of the town council be elected from among the *vecinos*, defined as those who had a *casa poblada*, or the sort of household composed of various family members and servants.<sup>157</sup>

Soon after the settlers arrived at Santa Elena, the first *alcalde* and councilmen were named

---

<sup>155</sup> Alonso de Olmos's account of these events appears in "Interrogatory of Don Diego de Velasco," April 24, 1577, Havana, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 1056-57vo. This governor, Hernando de Miranda, was the husband of the *adelantado*'s daughter Doña Catalina Menéndez, and therefore the brother-in-law of Diego de Velasco (they were married to half-sisters). Miranda was an enemy of Velasco, whom he no doubt viewed as competition for the *adelantado*'s inheritance.

<sup>156</sup> Lyon, "Control Structure," 133, lists Juan Serrano as one of the *alcaldes* who served the will of the Florida *comuño*. However, see testimony in Interrogatory Regarding the Governors and Captains, December, 1576, St. Augustine, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 258, where Juan Serrano appears as a *procurador* imprisoned by Don Diego de Velasco for having taken a testimonial to send to the King against Velasco's wishes. The *cabildo* was an institution of fundamental importance for the Spanish American city. In making this point, Constantino Bayle in *Los Cabildos Seculares en la América Española* (Madrid: Sapientia, 1952), 31, uses the quotation, "Donde no hay alcalde y regidores, no se puede llamar pueblo." For discussions of the importance and Spanish background of this institution see Bayle, *Los Cabildos Seculares*, and John Preston Moore, *The Cabildo in Peru under the Hapsburgs: A Study in the Origins and Powers of the Town Council in the Viceroyalty of Peru, 1530-1700* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1954).

<sup>157</sup> The size of a man's household was one indication of status in these colonial Spanish American communities, as I discuss in Chapters Two and Three. See *ley 6, título 10, libro 4*, of the 1680 *Recopilación*, vol. 2, 34, from a royal order dated April 21, 1554. The explanation of this law states "el que tuviera casa poblada, aunque no sea Encomendero de Indios, se entienda ser vecino." This distinction of "vecino," or "citizen," carried important social and economic ramifications. Other people in these Spanish American towns, including Santa Elena, were designated as "estantes" or "habitantes," indicating, as James Lockhart says, "various degrees of temporary residence." See his chapter on "Transients" in *Spanish Peru*, 155. See also Morse, "The Urban Development of Colonial Spanish America," 78, for a definition of these different groups; and Moore, *Cabildo in Peru under the Hapsburgs*, 15-16, for the historical background of the distinction between citizens and less permanent residents.

to the town council, and an account record listing the consumption of thirty-two *azumbres* of wine on this occasion suggests a celebration.<sup>158</sup> A July 29, 1569 document provides the first listing of men who held these positions.<sup>159</sup> After the initial naming of people to the town council by the governor, these positions were filled through annual elections held by those leaving the council.<sup>160</sup> The elected officials of this group included the *alcalde ordinario*, or municipal magistrate who exercised juridical authority as well as presiding over the *cabildo*, and the councilmen, or *regidores*, who varied in number at different times.<sup>161</sup> Santa Elena's council also included a *procurador*, or person empowered to represent the inhabitants of the town.<sup>162</sup> These offices apparently remained in the hands of members of this initial group of settlers throughout Santa Elena's first period.<sup>163</sup>

---

<sup>158</sup> This record appears in AGI Contaduría 941, No. 8 (Center for Historic Research microfilm). Moore, *Cabildo in Peru*, 81, describes the ceremony in which new members were inducted into the *cabildo* following an election. In his account, the *alcaldes* received *varas*, or staves, which served as a symbols of the officials' authority. Testimony in Interrogatory Regarding the Governors and Captains, December, 1576, St. Augustine, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 236, mentions some Santa Elena *alcaldes* laying down their *varas*, since various governors and lieutenant governors would not allow them to carry out justice.

<sup>159</sup> See the letter of receipt of the Santa Elena officials in AGI Contaduría 941, No. 8 (Center for Historic Research microfilm) which listed Juan de Llera as *alcalde ordinario*, Francisco Ruiz as *regidor*, and Juan Serrano as *procurador*. All were from the first settler group.

<sup>160</sup> See Bayle, *Los Cabildos Seculares*, 111-53 and Moore, *Cabildo in Peru*, 77-98 for discussions of these elections and how they were conducted. Testimony in Interrogatory Regarding the Governors and Captains, December, 1576, St. Augustine, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 271vo., refers to annual elections of *cabildo* officials.

<sup>161</sup> See Moore, *Cabildo in Peru*, 99-100, for a discussion of the *alcalde ordinario*'s duties. His translation of "regidor" appears on p. 17. As Moore notes on p. 99, larger towns had two *alcaldes* on their town councils, but Santa Elena usually seems to have had only one during this period. Bayle, *Los Cabildos Seculares*, discusses *alcaldes* on pp. 159-69 and *regidores* on pp. 175-88. See *título 10, libro 4*, "De los Oficios Consejiles," of the 1680 *Recopilación*, vol. 2, 33-37 for laws regarding the functioning of these offices.

<sup>162</sup> Moore, *Cabildo in Peru*, 107 translates "procurador" as "municipal procurator" and describes his duties as those of serving as an advocate for the town's inhabitants and an intermediary between them and the *cabildo*. Bayle's discussion of *procuradores* appears in *Los Cabildos Seculares*, 225-51. At least in Santa Elena, the *procurador* was not necessarily someone with any legal training, or even someone who was literate. See *título 11, libro 4*, "De los Procuradores Generales y Particulares de las Ciudades y



Baltasar del Castillo y Ahedo investigated the Florida governors' efforts to interfere with the independent functioning of the *cabildos* when he arrived in Florida in 1576.<sup>164</sup> The witnesses he questioned generally reported that the municipal officials had tried to do their jobs but that they often did not dare do anything besides the will of the governors.<sup>165</sup> Don Diego de Velasco's name appeared frequently in these answers, but most of the other Florida governors and their lieutenants from this period were there as well. The consequences for displeasing the governors in the few examples the witnesses gave included insults, physical assault, and imprisonment, and some unnamed lieutenant governors were accused of interfering with the *cabildo* elections.<sup>166</sup> Many complaints centered around the governors' efforts to impede the exit of unauthorized letters and

---

Poblaciones," in the 1680 *Recopilación*, vol. 2, 37-39, for laws pertaining to this position (only *ley* 1 in this section dates to the sixteenth-century, however).

<sup>163</sup> In a document dated February 27, 1576 at Santa Elena, these offices were apparently still held by members of this first group of settlers. See Eugene Lyon, trans., "Complaints of the Settlers at Santa Elena" in *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, ed. Lyon, 515. In this document, the *alcalde ordinario* was Diego Hernández; the *regidores* were Gonzalo Sánchez and Gonzalo Martín; and Alonso Martín was the *procurador*. Testimony in the Interrogatory Regarding the Governors and Captains, December, 1576, St. Augustine, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm) lists various men who held these positions at Santa Elena. All of those listed were men from this first group of settlers.

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*, fo. 111vo.-112 (question 9). The witnesses' answers to other questions also touched on this issue, however.

<sup>165</sup> Santa Elena soldier Pedro García de Salas told Castillo y Ahedo that the *alcaldes* did not dare do anything other than what the governors ordered them to do. See testimony in *ibid.*, fo. 271. Other witnesses made similar statements on fo. 126 and 236. See also fo. 159, 170-70vo., 203vo., 237-37vo., 247vo., 265, 278-78vo.

<sup>166</sup> See *ibid.*, fo. 258-58vo., 272, for accounts of the punishment of the officials Francisco Ruiz, *alcalde*, and Juan Serrano, *procurador*, as well as the notary Domingo de León when they tried to send testimonials regarding conditions in the Florida colony to Spain. See fo. 257vo.-58 for mention of unnamed lieutenant governors attending *cabildo* elections and influencing the choice of candidates through their presence.

testimonials from the colony.<sup>167</sup> At this time all Spanish subjects had the right to appeal directly to the King for assistance and redress of grievances.<sup>168</sup> The Santa Elena settlers knew this and individually and collectively made these appeals, although they were not always successful.<sup>169</sup> The soldiers and colonists also used lawsuits to challenge abuses by officials, and royal investigations such as the one conducted by Baltasar del Castillo y Ahedo offered a rare, but fairly direct way to report problems to the King.<sup>170</sup>

Through their complaints, the settlers were not apparently trying to undermine their leaders' authority but to call them to a responsible exercise of power. They spoke of the letters and testimonials they prepared to send to the King as being done for the

---

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*, fo. 144vo., 161vo.-62, 195-95vo., 237vo.-38vo., 258vo.-59vo., 272-72vo. Folio 162 mentions that Hernando de Miranda would only allow the Santa Elena settlers to make a testimonial if they did so before him, and apparently they complied. See "The Settlers of Florida," 156-57, where Hernando de Miranda said he would not allow the questioning to take place unless the testimony could be reviewed and authorized by him before it went to Spain.

<sup>168</sup> See Lewis Hanke, "Free Speech in Sixteenth-Century Spanish America," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 26 (May 1946): 135-49 for a discussion of the importance and prevalence of these direct appeals to the King during this period.

<sup>169</sup> See Interrogatory Regarding the Governors and Captains, December, 1576, St. Augustine, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 259vo., where Alonso de Olmos reported that when Diego de Velasco called Ruiz, Serrano, and the settler Rodrigo Menea "traitors" for trying to send a testimonial to Spain, they replied that they were doing what they were obligated to do in informing the King what was going on in Florida. One testimonial consisting of complaints by Santa Elena's settlers is the document titled "The Settlers of Florida," 144-85. The Santa Elena colonist Martín Díaz gave testimony in Spain as to conditions in Florida in "Investigation Made in Madrid by Licentiate Gamboa on Matters Concerning Florida," 82-87. Díaz said that the *adelantado* only allowed him to come to Spain because he told him he was going to his wife's homeland to recruit more farmers for Florida.

<sup>170</sup> Some of the lawsuits which challenged various Florida governors appear in AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A. Doctor Alonso de Caceres was supposed to conduct an royal investigation of affairs in Florida in 1574, but he claimed that Pedro Menéndez Marqués, then the governor of Cuba, refused to take him there. See "Testimony to Show that Pedro Menéndez Marqués Refused to Take Doctor Alonso de Caceres to Florida," June 31 [*sic*], 1574, Havana, in Connor, ed., *Colonial Records*, vol. 1, 102-11. Caceres had investigated Pedro Menéndez Marqués's governorship of Cuba and had made many charges against him which can also be found in Connor, ed., *Colonial Records*, vol. 1, Appendix G, 338-49.

“common good” (*bien común*).<sup>171</sup> Despite the hardships, shortages, and abuse by officials in these early years, the settlers agreed to a new ten-year contract with *adelantado* Pedro Menéndez sometime during the early 1570s.<sup>172</sup> While not all of the colonists consented to this agreement willingly, they had some incentive to remain in Santa Elena. Under Spanish law, first settlers, along with discoverers and pacifiers, received precedence over others in the town, and King Philip’s 1573 “Ordinances for the Discovery, New Settlement, and Pacification of the Indies” made these privileges hereditary.<sup>173</sup> The town of Santa Elena was socially and economically stratified from the beginning, but the status granted to first settlers had a leveling effect, at least in their eyes. The colonists actively engaged in the struggle to assert the rights promised to them by their King.<sup>174</sup>

In the years following the first settlers’ arrival, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés tried repeatedly to bring more families to live in La Florida. A letter and memorial written by

---

<sup>171</sup> See Interrogatory Regarding the Governors and Captains, December, 1576, St. Augustine, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 126vo. The witnesses also spoke more generally of the *cabildo* officials working for the *bien común* and facing punishment from the governors for this.

<sup>172</sup> “Interrogatory of Don Diego de Velasco,” April 24, 1577, Havana, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 888 (question 45) refers to this agreement in which, according to Velasco’s account, the *adelantado* forgave the settlers the money he spent to bring them to Florida and to feed them there for two years. In exchange, the colonists agreed to live in Florida for nine or ten more years, to build fences for livestock, and to repay the *adelantado* for bringing them to Florida and feeding them there should they decide to leave the province before they had completed the term of their contract.

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.*, fo. 995, 1060-61vo. For laws that gave precedence to first settlers, see *título 6, libro 4*, “De los Descubridores, Pacificadores, y Pobladores,” in the 1680 *Recopilación*, vol. 2, 17. See also *Ordenanza 92 (ley 8, título 5, libro 4)*, in the 1680 *Recopilación*, vol. 2, 16. A translation of the 1573 Ordinances appears in Axel I. Mundigo and Anna Mercedes Mundigo, trans., “Ordinances for the Discovery, New Settlement and Pacification of the Indies,” in *Hispanic Urban Planning in North America*, ed. Daniel J. Garr, vol. 27, *Spanish Borderlands Sourcebooks*, ed. David Hurst Thomas (New York: Garland Publishing, 1991), 3-31. In the Mundigo and Mundigo translation, this appears as Ordinance 93.

<sup>174</sup> This can be seen particularly clearly in the honor cases I discuss in Chapter Two.

Menéndez to the King, as well as royal orders written in response to the *adelantado*'s requests, show several attempts to gather settlers at various Spanish ports for departure to the colony.<sup>175</sup> King Philip's support for these efforts was clear, as he instructed local and Casa de Contratación officials to cooperate with Menéndez in making his preparations, reminding them of his desire for the "settlement and ennoblement of the said provinces of Florida."<sup>176</sup> Most of these people apparently never arrived in La Florida, however.<sup>177</sup> Pedro Menéndez provided some explanation for this to the King, saying that one year when he had received permission the cost of biscuit was too high, and an epidemic was raging in Cádiz, so the people who were prepared to go to Florida never embarked.<sup>178</sup> In a letter dated in Cádiz on January 17, 1570, Pedro Menéndez complained to the King

---

<sup>175</sup> "Pedro Menéndez de Avilés to the King [Date and place those of enclosed royal decree]," March 5, 1571, Madrid, AGI Indiferente General 1373 (Stetson Collection). "Memorial of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés," 1573, Spain, AGI Indiferente General 1383 (Stetson Collection).

<sup>176</sup> The King gave these instructions in a royal order dated February 23, 1573 in Madrid included in "Cedulario de la Florida," 1570-1604, n.p., AGI Santo Domingo 2528 (Stetson Collection). See also the decrees dated March 5, 1571 in Madrid; January 26, 1573 in Madrid; March 3, 1573 in Madrid; July 3, 1573; and March 1, 1574 in Madrid. All of these appear in "Cedulario de la Florida," 1570-1604, n.p., AGI Santo Domingo 2528 (Stetson Collection).

<sup>177</sup> "Pedro Menéndez de Avilés to the King [Date and place those of enclosed royal decree]," March 5, 1571, Madrid, AGI Indiferente General 1373 (Stetson Collection) reported that after the *adelantado* had received permission for fifty settlers to go to Florida, they did not go because bread was so expensive that year. The royal order dated March 1, 1574 in Madrid from "Cedulario de la Florida," 1570-1604, n.p., AGI Santo Domingo 2528 (Stetson Collection) noted that the settlement efforts for which King Philip had issued decrees in 1573 had not been carried out. However, *adelantado* Pedro Menéndez must have brought at least some settlers with him to Florida when he brought his household to Santa Elena in July, 1571, according to "Father Antonio Sedeño to Father Juan de Polanco," February 8, 1572, Santa Elena, in *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, ed. Zubillaga, 495. A list of the members of three families who departed from Cádiz for Florida in May of 1573 appears in AGI Patronato 257, *ramo* 16 (P.K. Yonge Library microfilm). The list gives the names, ages, and physical descriptions of nine men, women, and children. Men with two of these names later show up in St. Augustine in the Muster and Review of the People Who Were Serving in Santa Elena and St. Augustine, November 28, 1576, St. Augustine, in AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 40vo. (Francisco López) and 43 (Lorenzo García). Both are listed as coming to St. Augustine as settlers and serving as soldiers.

<sup>178</sup> "Memorial of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés," 1573, Spain, AGI Indiferente General 1383 (Stetson Collection).

about the Casa de Contratación officials who were holding up the ships he had ready to go to Florida, saying he could not afford to support the farmers and settlers during the delay. Menéndez described the predicament of these people if their voyage was canceled, saying that they would return, “lost, to their homelands, having sold the poverty that they had from their inheritances to make the journey,” as had happened to others the previous year.<sup>179</sup>

Instead of the influx of settlers needed to meet the numbers required in Pedro Menéndez’s contract, immigration to Florida during this period was gradual. People came to live in the Florida colony in other ways, such as through marriage, recruitment for service by Florida officials, and as the “servant-supporters,” or *criados*, of *comuño* members.<sup>180</sup> Despite Crown measures to ensure that the people who left Spain for Florida arrived there and then remained, settlers also trickled out of Florida. In the official review of his term as governor, Don Diego de Velasco faced charges that he had sold permission for settlers to leave Florida.<sup>181</sup> These people included Diego Rueda and his wife and children, settlers at Santa Elena, as well as two unnamed older widows from St.

---

<sup>179</sup> “Pedro Menéndez a S.M. . . .,” January 17, 1570, Cádiz, AGI Indiferente General 1096 (Stetson Collection). See Altman, *Emigrants and Society*, 189-92.

<sup>180</sup> Eugene Lyon in “Control Structure,” 134, describes how being a *criado* for a *comuño* member was a way some people advanced their social and financial position in Florida. He notes that “There appear to be two levels of *criados*: those of noble blood and higher position . . . and those of lower degree.” See Altman, *Emigrants and Society*, 173-89, 191-92, for a discussion of financing the journey to the New World through service as a *criado*.

<sup>181</sup> In the Interrogatory Regarding the Governors and Captains, December, 1576, St. Augustine, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), the answers to question 13, which appears on fo. 112vo.-13, indicate that most of the Florida governors at some point sold permission for people to leave Florida.

Augustine.<sup>182</sup> In his defense, Don Diego stated that the money these people paid him for permission to leave Florida was reimbursement for what the *adelantado* had spent in bringing them to Florida and supporting them the first two years there. He claimed that such payments were part of the *adelantado*'s agreement with the settlers if they left the colony before the term of their commitment was over.<sup>183</sup> When soldier and blacksmith Antón Martín wanted to leave Florida, he faced some complications. He had married María Hernández, the daughter of a Santa Elena settler, and so could not take her from the province without posting a bond that the couple would return to fulfill her obligations to the *adelantado*.<sup>184</sup> The King issued a *cédula* February 23, 1573 in an attempt to prevent soldiers and settlers from leaving Florida, noting that their departure was an obstacle to settlement there.<sup>185</sup>

### **Discord and Dissolution**

The first phase of Spanish occupation at Santa Elena ended in July, 1576, when an uprising of the Orista, Guale, and Escamazu Indians forced the evacuation of the fort. Many documents following this event sought to find the reasons for the rebellion and the loss of Fort San Felipe, and they generally looked to the behavior of the Spaniards to do so. As Chapter Three explains, contemporaries believed that one major cause for the

---

<sup>182</sup> Diego de Velasco's representative answered this charge along with others in the "Pleas of Diego de Velasco," April, 1577, Havana, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 886vo.-91vo. (number 14).

<sup>183</sup> *Ibid.*, fo. 887-87vo.

<sup>184</sup> *Ibid.*, fo. 889-92.

<sup>185</sup> See royal order dated February 23, 1573 in Madrid from "Cedulario de la Florida," 1570-1604, n.p., AGI Santo Domingo 2528 (Stetson Collection).

Native American revolt lay in Captain Alonso de Solís's brutal treatment of some Guale leaders who had killed the Guale *cacique* who converted to Catholicism. Captain Solís's actions may have angered the Guale, not only because of their cruelty, but also because of the interference in their line of succession which these executions likely represented.<sup>186</sup>

But several years before these events took place, the military's abuses of Native Americans had contributed to the withdrawal of the Jesuit order from La Florida in spite of the protests of *adelantado* Pedro Menéndez de Avilés. The soldiers' actions also fueled the Indians' unrest and anger in no small way, as can be seen in Chapter Three.

The Jesuits left Florida in 1572.<sup>187</sup> By then, officials of the Order had discussed for a couple of years whether Florida was fertile enough ground for their missionary efforts among the Indians, and, as discussed earlier in this chapter, they were keenly aware of the limits the soldiers' behavior placed on their success.<sup>188</sup> In one last evangelization attempt, they sent a group of Jesuits to Ajacán in the Chesapeake Bay area in the fall of 1570 without the accompaniment of soldiers. This mission effort, led by Father Juan Baptista de Segura, the vice-provincial for Florida, included five priests and four young catechists, including the son of Santa Elena settlers, Alonso de Olmos.<sup>189</sup> The group arrived at

---

<sup>186</sup> See Chapter Three. Testimony regarding Captain Alonso de Solís's actions and their role in the 1576 uprising appears in "Probanza de las Cosas de las Provincias de la Florida," October 28, 1576, Havana, in AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 335-70vo. passim.

<sup>187</sup> "Relatio de Missione Floridae a Patre Ionne Rogel Inter Annos 1607-1611 Scripta," in *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, ed. Zubillaga, 615-16, describes the process through which the Florida Jesuits came to leave Havana for New Spain.

<sup>188</sup> See Félix Zubillaga, *La Florida, La Misión Jesútica (1566-1572) y La Colonización Española* (Rome: Institutum Historicum, S.I., 1941), 379-90, 412-14.

<sup>189</sup> "Father Juan Rogel to Pedro Menéndez," December 9, 1570, Havana, in *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, ed. Zubillaga, 478.

Ajacán on September 10, 1570 in the company of Don Luis de Velasco, an Indian from that region who had left for New Spain with the Angél de Villafañe expedition in 1561.<sup>190</sup> In February, 1571 Don Luis and some other Indians killed the Jesuit priests and brothers, as well as the catechists, leaving only Alonso de Olmos alive.<sup>191</sup> A supply ship that went to Ajacán in the Spring of 1571 learned from Indians it captured that the priests were dead, but only in August, 1572 did an expedition that included Father Juan Rogel, soldiers, and *adelantado* Pedro Menéndez de Avilés find Alonso de Olmos, who had been living with the Indians, and learn the story of the Jesuits' end.<sup>192</sup> After this, the remaining Florida Jesuits withdrew from Florida to Havana and eventually moved to New Spain.<sup>193</sup>

When Franciscans arrived in La Florida in late 1573, they apparently renewed the effort to evangelize the colony's Native Americans.<sup>194</sup> Following their visit to the towns of Guale and Tolomato, the Guale *cacique* and his wife came to Santa Elena where they were baptized in February, 1575.<sup>195</sup> The Franciscans seem to have focused much of their

---

<sup>190</sup> See Paul Hoffman, *A New Andalusia and a Way to the Orient: The American Southeast During the Sixteenth Century* (Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University Press, 1990), 183-87, 200, 244-45, 261-64, for a discussion of Don Luis de Velasco's history with the Spaniards.

<sup>191</sup> Gleach, *Powhatan's World*, 91-92, gives these dates for the Jesuits' arrival and death.

<sup>192</sup> See Zubillaga, *La Florida*, 414-20, for his account of these events and Menéndez's punishment of the Indians he held responsible for the Jesuits' murders.

<sup>193</sup> Zubillaga, *La Florida*, 421-24.

<sup>194</sup> Bushnell, *Situado and Sabana*, 42, tells about the two Franciscan priests and the lay brother who arrived in late 1573 "conducted by Fray Alonso de Reinoso." "Memorial of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés," 1573, Spain, AGI Indiferente General 1383 (Stetson Collection) asked for a royal order to take six Franciscans to Florida for the purpose of working with the Indians of Guale.

<sup>195</sup> Grant D. Jones, "The Ethnohistory of the Guale Coast Through 1684," in *Ethnology*, ed. Thomas, 254, observes that Guale and Tolomato were at this time the principal towns of the Guale chiefdom. Bartolomé Martínez, "Martirio de los Padres y Hermanos de la Compañía de Jesús que Martirizaron los Indios del Jacán, Tierra de La Florida, de que Trata Brevemente el Padre Pedro de Ribadeneira en el Libro 3, Capítulo 6 de la Vida del B. P. Francisco de Borja," in *Monumenta Antiquae*



efforts on ministering to Florida's Spaniards, although this may be an impression created by the surviving records. Much of the existing documentation about the Franciscans' service in Florida during this period pertains to their work in the Spanish forts and settlements and is the result of their conflicts with Don Diego de Velasco, then lieutenant governor and captain general of those provinces.<sup>196</sup> While Velasco was charged by the Crown investigator, Baltasar del Castillo y Ahedo, with treating the Franciscans with disrespect, impeding the efforts of their commissioner *Fray* Diego Moreno to write to the King, and obstructing their free movement, he described their failings and presented witnesses to testify about these matters.<sup>197</sup> Don Diego's main objection to these men was the challenge to his authority that they represented, as can be seen in a lawsuit brought against Velasco for his ill treatment of Brother Moreno when Moreno sought to assert the independent voice of the Church in the settlement's affairs.<sup>198</sup> Given this hostile climate, it is perhaps not surprising that when they learned of *adelantado* Pedro Menéndez's death, the Franciscans left Florida.<sup>199</sup> One Santa Elena resident wrote in his account of these

---

*Floridae*, ed. Zubillaga, 586-87, described the Franciscans' visit to Guale and Tolomato and the resulting conversion of the *cacique* and his wife.

<sup>196</sup> These pieces appear in AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm).

<sup>197</sup> "Pleas of Diego de Velasco," April, 1577, Havana, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 866-66vo. (number 4), 867-69 (number 5), 881, 883vo.-84 (number 13). "Interrogatory of Don Diego de Velasco," April 24, 1577, Havana, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 930 (question 3), 938-40vo. (questions 22-27).

<sup>198</sup> See the Lawsuit Regarding Don Diego de Velasco's Mistreatment of *Fray* Diego Moreno, March 14, 1577, Havana, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 505-40.

<sup>199</sup> "Diego de Velasco to the King," St. Augustine, end of August, 1575, in *Colonial Records*, ed. Connor, vol. 1, 142-43.

years that the small boat that the Franciscans embarked on without governor Diego de Velasco's permission was lost off the coast of Florida and never arrived in Havana.<sup>200</sup>

Despite Pedro Menéndez's intention to strengthen his presence in the Florida colony in the early 1570s, the King called him away again for assistance with his war efforts in Europe. The *adelantado* died in Santander, Spain on September 17, 1574 preparing a fleet to go to Flanders. The son-in-law Menéndez had chosen to serve as his trusted lieutenant in La Florida only contributed to the strife in the colony, at least among the Spanish population, and this strife turned into a contest for power within the *adelantado*'s family after he died. Word of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés's death apparently did not reach La Florida until April 30, 1575.<sup>201</sup> Don Diego de Velasco was governing at Santa Elena then and seized some of the *adelantado*'s property after learning this news, claiming that what he took was owed to him.<sup>202</sup> Meanwhile, Hernando de Miranda, the husband of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés's heir, Doña Catalina Menéndez, had begun procedures in Spain to claim the title of *adelantado* in the name of his wife.<sup>203</sup> In a royal order dated May 27, 1575, the King stated that he would extend the terms of *adelantado*

---

<sup>200</sup> Martínez, "Martirio de los Padres y Hermanos," in *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, ed. Zubillaga, 587. The Franciscan order must have returned to La Florida fairly soon after this, for Franciscans served as the fort chaplains during the period of Santa Elena's second occupation (1577-1587).

<sup>201</sup> "Diego de Velasco to the King," 136-37.

<sup>202</sup> The date of Velasco's return to govern at Santa Elena, March 28, 1574, appears in AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 1130, in a document related to the "Interrogatory of Don Diego de Velasco." This piece says he governed at Santa Elena then until February 25, 1576 when Hernando de Miranda arrived to take these positions as the *adelantado*'s successor.

<sup>203</sup> See "A Petition of Hernando de Miranda," March 7, 1575, Madrid [Council date], in *Colonial Records*, ed. Connor, vol. 1, 114-31.

Pedro Menéndez's contract to Hernando de Miranda.<sup>204</sup> Miranda arrived in Santa Elena on February 24, 1576.<sup>205</sup>

One Florida resident later claimed that the main reason for the loss of the fort at Santa Elena was discord among those who governed. He said that these people who were so opposed and had so little trust for one another had "more of an eye on their vengeance than on serving the King."<sup>206</sup> The events leading up to the 1576 uprising give some credence to this interpretation, for Hernando de Miranda, who had little experience in Florida affairs, seems to have devoted his energies mostly to asserting his position in the colony rather than learning from those who could guide him.<sup>207</sup> Soon after Miranda arrived at Santa Elena, he began a review of the government of Don Diego de Velasco, as well as the other lieutenant governors and supplykeepers of Florida. He also inquired into the condition of the settlers and their willingness to remain in Florida.<sup>208</sup> Miranda jailed Velasco, his brother-in-law, for seizing some of the *adelantado*'s property.<sup>209</sup> Hernando

---

<sup>204</sup> See royal order dated May 27, 1575 from "Cedulario de la Florida," 1570-1604, n.p., AGI Santo Domingo 2528 (Stetson Collection).

<sup>205</sup> "Bartolomé Martínez to the King," February 17, 1577, Havana, in *Colonial Records*, ed. Connor, vol. 1, 238-39, gives this date.

<sup>206</sup> "Domingo González, His Services, Etc.," 1584, St. Augustine?, AGI Santo Domingo 14 (Stetson Collection).

<sup>207</sup> While many factors that fueled the Native Americans' growing discontent were obviously well underway by the time Miranda arrived in the colony, his inexperience and unwillingness to take the advice of others appears as one reason for the deepening of the crisis in testimony given in "Probanza de las Cosas de las Provincias de la Florida," October 28, 1576, Havana, in AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 335-70vo. *passim*.

<sup>208</sup> "Bartolomé Martínez to the King," 238-39, describes Hernando de Miranda's actions upon his arrival at Santa Elena. "The Settlers of Florida," 144-85, mentions Hernando de Miranda's asking this question, then goes on to give their testimony.

<sup>209</sup> "Bartolomé Martínez to the King," 238-39.

de Miranda then went to Havana to collect the *situado* payment and buy supplies for the Florida forts on April 3, 1576, leaving as his lieutenant Captain Alonso de Solís.<sup>210</sup> In Miranda's absence, tensions with the Native Americans quickly began to build. While he was in charge, Alonso de Solís killed several important Indians in the Guale region. On June 17, 1576, before Hernando de Miranda returned to Santa Elena, Ensign Hernando de Moyano had taken approximately twenty soldiers to Escamazu to lodge with the Indians and be fed by them. When the *cacique* told Moyano that they had no food for him, the soldiers seized the food they were preparing for their own meals. At this, most of the Indians from this town fled into the woods. After their leader talked Moyano into extinguishing the fuses of the Spaniards' arquebuses as a gesture of peace, some Indians emerged from the woods and killed all of Moyano's men but Andrés Calderón, who reportedly swam eight leagues back to Santa Elena to tell what had happened.<sup>211</sup>

Approximately one month after Moyano and his men were killed, news arrived in Santa Elena that the Florida treasury officials had been killed by the Indians of Guale on their way from St. Augustine to pay the soldiers at Santa Elena.<sup>212</sup> Soon after this, the son of Santa Elena blacksmith Rodrigo Menea went out to tend the family's hogs and never

---

<sup>210</sup> Ibid. Eugene Lyon, trans., "Questionnaire about the Actions of Hernando de Miranda at the Time When Santa Elena Was Abandoned in 1576," in *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, ed. Lyon, 553-58 from Archivo de los Condes de Revillagigedo Canalejas 47, No. 22, images 451-55.

<sup>211</sup> As I discuss in Chapter Three, some accounts say this happened at Orista and some say Escamazu. Both *caciques* were likely present. "Bartolomé Martínez to the King," 238-39 gives this date. See also the testimony of the sailor Pedro Gómez, in "Report on the Uprising of the Indians of Florida and Loss of the Fort of Santa Elena," in *Colonial Records*, ed. Connor, vol. 1, 194-97. Lyon, trans., "Questionnaire about the Actions of Hernando de Miranda," 558 (question 16) addresses these killings. This account says that Miranda ordered no soldiers to leave the fort, but this contradicts the testimony of several others.

<sup>212</sup> See the testimony of the sailor Domingo Martín in "Report on the Uprising of the Indians of Florida," 198-201.

returned. Hernando de Miranda sent Captain Alonso de Solís with eight soldiers and seven dogs to look for the youth and to see if there were Indians on the island.<sup>213</sup> Santa Elena residents later testified that they heard arquebuses fire shortly after the men left and knew they had been killed.<sup>214</sup> Only two dogs, one of them badly wounded by arrows, returned from this group.<sup>215</sup> In his testimony before the Crown inspector, one soldier of Santa Elena said that he and the other soldiers had begged Hernando de Miranda not to send Captain Alonso de Solís and his soldiers out of the fort in the belief that this would be a certain death for them. They suspected there were many Indians around the fort at that time, judging from the number of footprints that had been left after it rained.<sup>216</sup>

By this point the number of fighting men and good weapons were greatly reduced at Santa Elena.<sup>217</sup> Hernando de Miranda later claimed that the Indians had counted the number of soldiers in the fort based on the number they had killed and that they were emboldened to attack the fort and burn the huts where the soldiers lived, as well as the house where the meat was stored.<sup>218</sup> Domingo Martín, a sailor who happened to be at

---

<sup>213</sup> See Lyon, trans., "Questionnaire about the Actions of Hernando de Miranda," 559, (question 18); "Report on the Uprising of the Indians of Florida," 200-201; and "Probanza de las Cosas de las Provincias de la Florida," October 28, 1576, Havana, in AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 337, 343vo.

<sup>214</sup> Domingo Martín mentioned that he heard arquebuses fire and suspected they were dead in "Report on the Uprising of the Indians of Florida," 201. See also the accounts given in the "Testimonial on the Services of Captain Alonso de Solís," March, 1577, Mexico City from AGI Patronato 75, No. 1, *ramo* 4 (P.K. Yonge Library microfilm).

<sup>215</sup> "Probanza de las Cosas de las Provincias de la Florida," October 28, 1576, Havana, in AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 343vo.

<sup>216</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>217</sup> *Ibid.*, fo. 337vo.-39, 344-45, 351-52vo., 357-58vo., 364vo.-66. Lyon, trans., "Questionnaire about the Actions of Hernando de Miranda," 559 (question 20) discusses this.

<sup>218</sup> *Ibid.*, 559 (question 19).

Santa Elena during this time, described a two-hour battle the day after Captain Solís and his men were killed in which the Spaniards fired arquebuses and artillery at a large number of Indians who stayed until their arrows ran out.<sup>219</sup> After this happened, the women and children of Santa Elena began to shout and cry in fear and begged Hernando de Miranda to take them all away from there, since many of their husbands and fathers had been killed, and they faced great danger. When he refused, the women began to load supplies from the fort, as well as their own possessions, onto the ships, even though Hernando de Miranda beat them and commanded them to desist. According to Miranda's account, the soldiers were only limited help in stopping them, partly because the women outnumbered them, and also because the men agreed that they should abandon Santa Elena. Finally, thirty women seized Hernando de Miranda, carried him on board one of the ships and cut the mooring lines.<sup>220</sup> The ships crossed the bar, but had to wait for good weather to sail for St. Augustine. From their vantage point across the harbor, the remaining soldiers and settlers of Santa Elena watched as Guale, Escamazu, and Orista Indians descended upon the town and burned their houses and fort, thus bringing the first period of Spanish settlement at Santa Elena to a fiery close.<sup>221</sup>

---

<sup>219</sup> "Report on the Uprising of the Indians of Florida," 200-201.

<sup>220</sup> *Ibid.* Lyon, trans., "Questionnaire about the Actions of Hernando de Miranda," 559 (question 20).

<sup>221</sup> Both sailors in "Report on the Uprising of the Indians of Florida," 198-99, 200-201, testify as to this delay in sailing.

## CHAPTER TWO

### SPANISH WOMEN IN THE CONQUEST AND COLONIZATION OF LA FLORIDA

When Governor Hernando de Miranda gave his account of the loss of Santa Elena, he stressed the women's actions in forcing the town's abandonment. He told how he had ordered that the women and children be taken away from the settlement due to their terror in the face of repeated Indian attacks and the loss of many men. But, Miranda said, the women refused to obey him and then launched an escalating campaign with the surviving men to persuade the governor to evacuate everyone. The women carried the soldiers' supplies onto the ships, but Miranda told how he beat them and forced them to unload the goods. He stated that the Spanish women and men then buried the two cannons too large to take away and burned buildings inside the fort. These "annoyances" failed to persuade him to abandon Santa Elena, and Hernando de Miranda said that finally, while he slept after a night on guard, thirty women seized him and carried him on board a waiting ship. Miranda expressed his certainty that the women would have thrown him into the sea if he had prevented the soldiers and residents from embarking at that point. He blamed the men for the women's taking such actions and stressed that the soldiers and male settlers wanted the women to disobey the governor because they agreed that the town should be evacuated.<sup>1</sup> But the women would have had their own reasons for ensuring that everyone

---

<sup>1</sup> See Eugene Lyon, trans., "Questionnaire About the Actions of Hernando de Miranda at the Time When Santa Elena Was Abandoned in 1576," in *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, ed. Eugene Lyon, vol.

left the Santa Elena fort. The men these women colluded with included husbands, sons, and other male relatives whom they would not have wanted to leave to a certain death. In taking extreme measures to bring about the abandonment of this fort under siege, the Spanish women were doing what they did everyday in a range of contexts--working to protect and care for their families. The fulfillment of this role was, after all, one of the reasons that made their participation in the conquest and colonization of the Americas so valuable to their contemporaries. Even in forcing their governor to leave Santa Elena, these women were not ultimately challenging his power to govern them. They did, however, guide Hernando de Miranda toward what they apparently saw as the proper exercise of his authority.<sup>2</sup>

Drawing on a long tradition, the Spanish Crown viewed the participation of married women as essential to the colonization of the Americas and encouraged their emigration with their husbands. Historians have generally seen these Spanish women as playing most essentially a biological and cultural role in this context, and they credit these

---

24, *Spanish Borderlands Sourcebooks*, ed. David Hurst Thomas (New York: Garland Publishing, 1995), 559-61 (questions 20-25) from Archivo de los Condes de Revillagigedo Canalejas 47, No. 22. Accounts of the 1576 evacuation of Santa Elena vary, and some do not mention women playing the role of forcing the fort's abandonment, leading some scholars to question that it happened. At least one other account does mention this course of events, with some variations. See the account of the sailor Domingo Martín in "Report on the Uprising of the Indians of Florida and Loss of the Fort of Santa Elena," January 19, 1577, La Yaguana, Hispaniola, in *Colonial Records of Spanish Florida*, ed. Jeannette T. Connor, vol. 1 (Deland, Fla.: Florida State Historical Society, 1925), 200-201.

<sup>2</sup> Hernando de Miranda apparently resumed command of his forces and the Florida residents once the ships reached St. Augustine if not before, for even his own account describes the arrangements he made for the government of the colony before leaving. It is, of course, impossible to know exactly what these women were thinking, if they even took this action. But, in other contexts throughout Spanish American history, women united--not to overthrow the existing social or economic order--but to call whatever patriarch had authority over them to a responsible exercise of his power. In the situation at Santa Elena, a good patriarch would have had the safety and well-being of those under his charge in mind.



women with establishing the Spanish language and culture's deep roots in areas of colonial rule.<sup>3</sup> The Spanish women at Santa Elena appear to have served such functions in their community as well, but in this contested region, their presence had both symbolic as well as more practical aspects. While Spanish women's participation in the colonization of La Florida was clearly valued by their contemporaries, they also were the targets of particular abuse in the colony due in no small part to their culture's gendered honor system. In this situation where men faced a high mortality rate, women were frequently widowed, giving them additional reason to guard their honorable status so they could remarry and protect and provide for their children.<sup>4</sup> The tendency for women to live longer may also have given them a disproportionate influence in some aspects of the colony's life, but in any event, what comes across in the documents from this period is that Spanish women, no less than their men, came to this colony for their own reasons.<sup>5</sup> They shared the desire for social and economic advancement that would not have been available to them in Spain and

---

<sup>3</sup> See James Lockhart, *Spanish Peru, 1532-1560: A Social History*, 2d ed. (Madison, Wisc.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994), 169; and Asunción Lavrin, "Women in Spanish American Colonial Society," in vol. 2, *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, ed. Leslie Bethell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 321, 323. See also María del Carmen Pareja Ortiz, *Presencia de la Mujer Sevillana en Indias: Vida Cotidiana* (Seville: Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, 1994), 70-75, 143, 189; and Carmen Pumar Martínez, *Españolas en Indias: Mujeres-Soldado, Adelantadas, y Gobernadoras* (Madrid: Ediciones Anaya, 1988), 20-28.

<sup>4</sup> While the female members of soldiers' and settlers' families seem to have been particularly vulnerable to abuse, elite women also shared this concern to some degree, as they were also frequently widowed and tended to remarry fairly quickly.

<sup>5</sup> Richard Konetzke, "La Emigración de Mujeres Españolas a América Durante la Época Colonial," *Revista Internacional de Sociología* 3 (January-March 1945): 146. The relatively higher mortality rate for men is only one of the factors he lists as making women's emigration more significant than it might appear based solely on the numbers.

joined their men in asserting their families' status as either members of the ruling elite or as "first settlers."<sup>6</sup>

### **Background to Women's Emigration**

When Spanish women traveled to La Florida, they were acting in a tradition with roots in the centuries-long Reconquest of the Iberian peninsula from the Moors, when Castilian monarchs recruited families to occupy towns established in areas of territorial expansion. In describing this time, historian Heath Dillard writes that "Women, above all, were the indispensable agents of transformation in the process by which a mere fortress of soldiers became a permanently inhabited town."<sup>7</sup> During the Reconquest, the presence of a man's wife in a community was seen as evidence of his commitment to it and made him eligible for privileges not accorded to those without households.<sup>8</sup> The Spanish Crown valued women's participation no less in the conquest and colonization of the Americas but also issued orders designed to control it. Restrictive measures were not unique to women's emigration, but these policies reflected a particular concern with encouraging women's presence in areas of expansion while recognizing the potential disruption they represented in places where men greatly outnumbered women. Married women had to

---

<sup>6</sup> Here I am, of course, talking about the settler and *comuño* women. As discussed in Chapter One, their struggles are the most visible in the surviving records. Santa Elena was in this period a socially and economically stratified community. Even the settler group contained people with a range of wealth. Some of these were more closely allied with the *comuño*, while others were the ruling group's staunchest opponents. On the lower end of the Spanish social scale, there would have been the female family members of soldiers as well as servants, such as those on the July 15, 1569 Santa Elena settler list in AGI Contaduría 941, no. 8 (Center for Historic Research microfilm).

<sup>7</sup> Heath Dillard, *Daughters of the Reconquest: Women in Castilian Town Society, 1100-1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 214.

<sup>8</sup> Dillard, *Daughters of the Reconquest*, 21-24.

depend upon their husbands to receive official permission for their passage.<sup>9</sup> For parts of the sixteenth century, single women could only travel to the Indies with a license from the King, after the Casa de Contratación's more liberal distribution policies had caused problems in some parts of the New World.<sup>10</sup> By 1554, women as well as men had to present evidence of their "purity" before they could emigrate by providing a testimonial that they were not recent converts to Catholicism or that they had other "taints" against them, such as being the child of a recent convert or someone who had been burned for heresy.<sup>11</sup>

The regulation of women's emigration occupied the attention of Spanish rulers throughout the sixteenth century, but many more decrees were directed at married men in an attempt to keep them with their wives and families during the conquest and colonization of the Americas. As during the Reconquest, the Spanish Crown preferred married colonists, and some royal orders and settlement contracts sought to encourage

---

<sup>9</sup> Konetzke, "La Emigración de Mujeres Españolas," 135 observes that married women had no legal personhood (*capacidad*) and so could not make their own requests to emigrate. On p. 135, notes 40 and 41, he cites royal orders dated March, 1539 and July, 1555 pertaining to these restrictions. See also *ley 25, título 26, libro 9* in the 1680 *Recopilación de Leyes de los Reinos de las Indias*, vol. 3 (Madrid: La Viuda de D. Joaquín Ibarra, 1791; reprint, Madrid: Gráficas Ultra, 1943), 314 (page citations are to reprint edition), which comes from royal decrees dated November 9, 1554 and July 17, 1555.

<sup>10</sup> According to Konetzke, "La Emigración de Mujeres Españolas," 135-37, the emigration of single women to the Indies was not generally regulated until a May 23, 1539 decree which took the power to grant licenses from the Casa de Contratación and gave it to the King. In December, 1554 the requirement of a royal license was withdrawn but then reinstated by a royal order dated February 8, 1575 which appears in Diego de Encinas, *Cedulario Indiano*, vol. 1 (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1596; reprint, Madrid: Ediciones Cultura Hispánica, 1945), 401 (page citation is to reprint edition). These *cédulas* were later incorporated into *ley 24, título 26, libro 9* of the 1680 *Recopilación*, vol. 3, 313-14.

<sup>11</sup> See the letter of King to the officials of Seville dated 1554 in Encinas, *Cedulario Indiano*, vol. 1, 400-401.

marriage in New World communities by granting certain privileges only to married men.<sup>12</sup> Most of this legislation focused on keeping existing families together, however.<sup>13</sup> It included measures such as those requiring married men to emigrate with their families or to send for them within two years, as well as instructions to priests and government officials to find out which men had wives back in Spain and deport them on the next available ship.<sup>14</sup> Laws even required the Casa de Contratación to verify if the couples who

---

<sup>12</sup> José María Ots Capdequí, *Manual de Historia del Derecho Español en las Indias y del Derecho Propiamente Indiano* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Losada, 1945), 408, states that some aspects of the doctrine established at the Council of Trent were adapted to the situation in the Indies. On p. 409 Ots Capdequí says that the “principle of liberty in the arrangement of the celebration of marriages” was sometimes ignored for the purely political reason of encouraging the increase in the population of conquered territories. As one example he cites *ley 5, título 5, libro 4* (1680 *Recopilación*, vol. 2, 15) which comes from a royal order dated August 23, 1538. It says “Que los vecinos solteros sean persuadidos á casarse.” While it like other laws and decrees links marriage to the holding of Indians in *encomienda*, this law gives as part of its justification for ordering government officials to encourage single men to marry “si su edad and calidades lo permitieren” that “es muy justo, que todos vivan con buen ejemplo, y crezcan las poblaciones.” Richard Konetzke in “La Emigración de Mujeres Españolas,” 142, tells how Diego Colón and Hernán Cortés both made declarations giving single men a set period of time in which to marry. He notes, however, that King Ferdinand did not approve of Diego Colón’s policy. The preference given to married men is particularly clear in the laws and decrees linking marriage to the privilege of holding Indians in *encomienda*, which was not practiced in La Florida during the period of my study. Konetzke, in “La Emigración de Mujeres Españolas,” 139-41, discusses how married men received preference in land distribution, the granting of government positions, and tax privileges.

<sup>13</sup> Ots Capdequí, *Manual de Historia del Derecho Español*, 413, notes that this principle of keeping families together was traditional in the *Derecho Castellano* and not an innovation in the *Derecho Indiano*. The emigration to the Indies, however, opened up opportunities for abuse and created the need for new laws to enforce this principle.

<sup>14</sup> Many royal orders address aspects of this issue from the beginning of the sixteenth century into the seventeenth century and beyond. Their number and contents testify to the difficulties that Spanish rulers throughout this period faced in enforcing this policy. See Konetzke, “La Emigración de Mujeres Españolas,” 124-27, 134, for a summary of the earliest of these orders and settlement contracts going back to 1501. Other decrees refer to the policy that married men should take their wives with them when they emigrate or address various aspects of the enforcement of this policy. See Encinas, *Cedulario Indiano*, vol. 1, 400, 404-5, 407-8, 415-22. In the 1680 *Recopilación*, the decrees from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were compiled into laws which addressed these issues more generally. The entire section (*título*) 3 of *libro 7* of the 1680 *Recopilación* is devoted to “the married and betrothed men in Spain and the Indies who are absent from their wives” (*Recopilación*, vol. 2, 354-58). *Leyes* 1, 2, and 8 of *título 3, libro 7* and *leyes* 29 and 30, *título 26, libro 9* of the 1680 *Recopilación* contain provisions for enforcement within their text. *Ley* 14, *título 7, libro 1* of the 1680 *Recopilación*, vol. 1, 57-58 required prelates to find out whether there were any married men in their dioceses with wives in Spain and tell government officials so that they could force the men to embark at once for Spain to live a married life with their wives.

had applied for emigration were married in the eyes of the Church, as some men attempted to emigrate with women posing as their wives.<sup>15</sup>

There were good reasons for men not to take their families with them to the Americas, such as the uncertainty of life in a frontier region and the dangers men faced with military duties.<sup>16</sup> However, royal officials were aware of the plight of women and children living without protection and sustenance from husbands and fathers both in Spain and in the New World colonies.<sup>17</sup> Crown policy also reflected concern with upholding the laws of the Church, calling men's failure to fulfill their marital obligations by living with their wives an "offense" or "disservice" to God.<sup>18</sup> Most important in this legislation appears to have been the desire for successful colonization, with royal orders claiming that such men were a "great obstacle" to these lands' "good settlement and perpetuity."<sup>19</sup> An October 19, 1544 decree explained that married men living for many years in the Indies

---

<sup>15</sup> See royal order dated September 21, 1546 in Encinas, *Cedulario Indiano*, vol. 1, 400. An April 5, 1552 decree in Encinas, *Cedulario Indiano*, vol. 1, 397, sought to tighten this procedure further by describing more explicitly the types of testimonials those couples who wanted to pass to the Indies were to provide, because people had been presenting false testimony in order to obtain licenses.

<sup>16</sup> Konetzke, "La Emigración de Mujeres Españolas," 133.

<sup>17</sup> One example is a letter written by King Phillip II to the Viceroy of Peru dated December 2, 1578 in which he explains that sending men back to live a "vida maridable" with their wives was done ". . . con fin de remediar el daño, necesidades y trabajos que las susodichas padecen, con la ausencia de sus maridos y otros inconvenientes que dello se siguen . . ." This letter appears in Encinas, *Cedulario Indiano*, vol. 1, 417.

<sup>18</sup> See October 19, 1544 decree in Encinas, *Cedulario Indiano*, vol. 1, 415; letter dated July 7, 1550 in *Cedulario Indiano*, vol. 1, 416; July 29, 1565 decree in *Cedulario Indiano*, vol. 1, 420; and May 10, 1569 decree in *Cedulario Indiano*, vol. 1, 419.

<sup>19</sup> This quotation comes from a letter from the King to the *audiencia* of New Spain, dated July 7, 1550 in Encinas, *Cedulario Indiano*, vol. 1, 416-17. Another decree which mentions this concern about obstacles to settlement is dated May 10, 1569 in *Cedulario Indiano*, vol. 1, 419.

without their families served as a “large obstacle to the settlement of this land because such people never live permanently in it, and so never . . . attend to building, planting, nor raising animals, nor sowing, nor doing other things that good settlers are in the habit of doing, such that the towns of these places do not achieve the growth that [they would otherwise have] . . . .”<sup>20</sup>

As during the Reconquest, the fundamental unit of colonization at this time was the conjugal household.<sup>21</sup> These households were the building blocks around which communities were organized in areas of expansion, and Spanish women were by definition an essential part of their function. As discussed in Chapter One, Spanish law guaranteed the first settlers in an area certain status in their communities as well as privileges reserved in Spain for nobles. In 1573, King Philip II declared as part of his “Ordinances for the Discovery, New Settlement, and Pacification of the Indies” that first settlers would be considered *hidalgos*, or noblemen in the Indies, and he made this status hereditary, providing Spaniards with further incentive to remain in the areas they had colonized.<sup>22</sup> In light of such privileges, men saw building and sustaining families in the Americas as part of their assistance to the Spanish Crown. One Florida soldier, Pedro Luis de Páez, claimed his efforts included not only his military duties in Captain Juan Pardo’s company and later,

---

<sup>20</sup> Encinas, *Cedulario Indiano*, vol. 1, 415. This royal order is dated October 19, 1544 in Valladolid.

<sup>21</sup> See Dillard, *Daughters of the Reconquest*, 214-15, for a discussion of this Reconquest precedent. As discussed in Chapter One of this dissertation, a “vecino” was defined under Spanish law as someone with a “casa poblada.”

<sup>22</sup> This ordinance appears as *ley 8, título 5, libro 4 (ordenanza 92)* in the 1680 *Recopilación*, vol. 2, 16.

in the fort at St. Augustine, but also marrying to make his service to the King more enduring. Pedro Luis said, “to be more calm and in repose and to serve his Majesty better, I married . . . and from here on I am in these said provinces with my household in the service of his Majesty.”<sup>23</sup> Even poorer settlers claimed these rights, but a man’s social standing was enhanced by having a large household composed of his immediate and extended family, as well as servants and other dependents.

### Spanish Women in Colonization

Spanish women and children traveled with Pedro Menéndez de Avilés on his first expedition to Florida in 1565 as well as in the reinforcement fleet of General Sancho de Archiniega in 1566.<sup>24</sup> The first women to arrive at Santa Elena likely traveled there with Juan Pardo’s company from the Archiniega fleet, but in the early days of the colony, most of the Spanish women remained in St. Augustine. The record survives, however, of a piper who took his wife and young daughters with him on one of the Pardo expeditions

---

<sup>23</sup> “Services of Pedro Luis de Páez,” June 28, 1585, Madrid, AGI Santo Domingo 231 (Stetson Collection).

<sup>24</sup> As noted in Chapter One, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés’s contract for the conquest and colonization of La Florida required him to take at least one hundred married men as settlers. Some of the women in the groups who traveled to Florida with the *adelantado* and Sancho de Archiniega are listed in AGI Contaduría 941, No. 2 (Center for Historic Research microfilm). This list was likely made in 1569, several years after the women had arrived in Florida, so some of the information had changed due to widowhood, remarriage, and the birth of children. According to Gonzalo Solís de Merás, “Memorial que Hizo el Dr. Gonzalo Solís de Merás de Todas las Jornadas y Sucesos del Adelantado Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, su Cuñado, y de la Conquista de la Florida y Justicia que Hizo en Juan Ribao y Otros Franceses,” in *La Florida: su Conquista y Colonización por Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, ed. Eugenio Ruidíaz y Caravia (Madrid: Hijos de J.A. García, 1893; reprint, Madrid: Colegio Universitario de Ediciones Istmo, 1989), 136 (page citation is to reprint edition), twenty-six married “vecinos” traveled to Florida with the *adelantado*. On p. 218, Solís de Merás states that fourteen women came to Florida in the Archiniega fleet. The AGI Contaduría 941, No. 2 list does not show Juan Pardo’s company, so I am continuing to search for a list of the women who accompanied his soldiers.

and stayed in the interior at Guatari, near present-day Salisbury, North Carolina.<sup>25</sup> Most of the Spanish women who came to Santa Elena during the first period of its occupation arrived as part of the large group of settlers in late April of 1569.<sup>26</sup> By this time the residents of Santa Elena were an economically and socially stratified group. These distinctions only became sharper when Governor Pedro Menéndez de Avilés brought his wife Doña María de Solís and their household, including ladies-in-waiting and female relatives, to live in Santa Elena in July, 1571. More colonists traveled with this group as well, and other women came to the town in subsequent years in various roles, such as servants or the brides of men with established Florida careers. Hernando Moyano, who accompanied Juan Pardo on his first journey inland then remained in the interior exploring and battling Native Americans between expeditions, returned to Spain after that time and married Doña Isabel de Quiñones. She was then a “youth of fine appearance and lineage.” He was at least in his mid-forties. Moyano brought his young bride to Santa Elena where she gave birth to a daughter before he was killed in 1576.<sup>27</sup>

---

<sup>25</sup> Account and Interrogatory of Domingo González de León, 1584, La Florida, in AGI Santo Domingo 231, fo. 292. Women may have been present from the founding of the Spanish presence at Santa Elena. Even though the records often do not mention them, women and children apparently accompanied their husbands and fathers in dangerous situations. In describing sixteenth-century military life in Spain, Marcelin Defourneaux, *Daily Life in Spain in the Golden Age*, trans. Newton Branch (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971), 206 writes “As for the women who followed the camp, they were often the lawful wedded wives of the soldiers or officers, who brought their children along with them; but for the most part they were women of bad repute.” So far, I have seen no mention of Spanish prostitutes in the Florida documents from this period.

<sup>26</sup> See the 1569 settler list from Contaduría 941, No. 8 (Center for Historic Research microfilm). Chapter One of this dissertation contains an overview of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés’s efforts to bring colonists to Santa Elena. While he tried several times, the 1569 group appears to have been the largest that ever arrived in the Florida colony during this period.

<sup>27</sup> “Petition of Doña Isabel de Quiñones and Doña Isabel de Morales, her daughter,” 1602, Havana, Santo Domingo 129 (Stetson Collection). In the lawsuit Alonso de Olmos and María de Lara brought against Don Diego de Velasco, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 474vo., Hernando Moyano gave his age on May 9, 1576 as “fifty-three years, a little more



Spanish women played a variety of roles in the conquest and colonization of La Florida. Religious leaders apparently hoped that bringing more women to the colony would serve as an ameliorative influence on the behavior of men in this frontier region. In July, 1568, Jesuit Father Juan Rogel wrote that evangelization of La Florida's Native Americans could only go forward in the Guale and Santa Elena areas with colonization of these lands by married settlers.<sup>28</sup> The Chaplain and Vicar Francisco López de Mendoza had different concerns when he wrote Pedro Menéndez de Avilés from St. Augustine on August 6, 1567 with a request to send women to Florida. After describing a case in which the priest Antón de Campos "committed the sin of sodomy" with a Spanish youth in his service, López de Mendoza urged, "and I charge you, by the love of Our Lord, for preventing other greater injuries like that which I have set down here, to command that there be provided some service of women to these people because to them, and to me, it appears to be very necessary."<sup>29</sup>

---

or less." The few settler lists for Santa Elena that survive are likely both inaccurate as well as imprecise. However, the 1569 list from AGI Contaduría 941, No. 8 (Center for Historic Research microfilm) shows approximately thirty-nine women and forty-four daughters, and the 1572 list from AGI Escribanía de Cámara 1024-A, *pieza* 2 (Center for Historic Research microfilm) lists approximately fifty-seven women and thirty-two daughters. "Pedro Menéndez Marqués to the King," October 21, 1577, Santa Elena, in *Colonial Records*, ed. Connor, vol. 1, 271, reported that soon after the Santa Elena fort was rebuilt in 1577, it had forty-four women and sixty-two children (numbers of males and females not stated). In *Spanish Peru, 169-70*, James Lockhart writes of the difficulty of coming up with an accurate figure for Spanish women in that colony. Some of the same difficulties seem to apply to the Florida case.

<sup>28</sup> Father Rogel wrote this before the first group of settlers arrived. See "Father Juan Rogel to Father Francisco de Borja," July 25, 1568, Havana, in *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae, 1566-1572*, ed. Félix Zubillaga, S.J. (Rome: Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, 1946), 327.

<sup>29</sup> "Letter of Chaplain and Vicar Francisco López de Mendoza to Pedro Menéndez," August 6, 1567, St. Augustine, in Edward W. Lawson, "Letters of Menéndez, 1555," TMs (photocopy), pp. 330-31, St. Augustine Historical Society, St. Augustine.

On the most basic level, Spanish women's presence at Santa Elena symbolized the enduring claim that Spain made to these lands.<sup>30</sup> *Adelantado* Pedro Menéndez de Avilés appears to have been particularly aware of the symbolic aspects of bringing his own household to Santa Elena. As discussed in Chapter One, he took this action at a time when soldiers in the Florida garrisons were demoralized due in part to severe supply shortages and the governor's extended absences from the colony. Menéndez also faced the doubts of Jesuit leaders who questioned whether their priests could ever have any success with the evangelization of Native Americans due to ill treatment from the soldiers. By placing his household at Santa Elena, the *adelantado* demonstrated to the Spanish residents of Florida, the Native American population, his French enemies, and his King that this was the seat of his authority and that there it would remain. Pedro Menéndez also likely hoped to serve as an example to his men in encouraging them either to marry or bring their wives from Spain.<sup>31</sup> The *adelantado* seems to have taken his duties as a patriarch very seriously, as he arranged for his children's inheritance and brought the succession in the Florida government inside his immediate family.<sup>32</sup> Pedro Menéndez also showed an interest in the marriage of his nieces and other female relatives and dependents

---

<sup>30</sup> Kathleen Brown, "The Anglo-Algonquian Gender Frontier," in *Negotiators of Change: Historical Perspectives on Native American Women*, ed. Nancy Shoemaker (New York: Routledge, 1995), 36-37, discusses how the lack of women in early English exploration and settlement attempts supported English claims to the Algonquians that they did not intend to establish a permanent presence in their lands. But, she notes, the absence of women also likely raised the Algonquians' suspicions that the English had hostile intentions.

<sup>31</sup> Some of these men apparently lived in "open concubinage," probably with Native American women, judging from the wording of testimony in Interrogatory Regarding the Governors and Captains, December, 1576, St. Augustine, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 143.

<sup>32</sup> For an overview of these issues, see the introduction to Eugene Lyon, trans., "Last Will and Testament of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés," in *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, ed. Lyon, 535-36.

and even left money in his will for their dowries.<sup>33</sup> He was attentive to the women in his care, sending greetings to them by name in his final letter that he wrote to his nephew Pedro Menéndez Marqués in September, 1574.<sup>34</sup> According to Gonzalo Solís de Merás, the *adelantado* even took the time to welcome the women who arrived with the Archiniega fleet in June, 1566.<sup>35</sup> For patriarchal authority, when properly exercised, carried with it not only power and privileges, but a large measure of responsibility to those under the patriarch's charge.

Spanish women ran households of all sizes at all levels of Santa Elena's social and economic scale, although written records only survive for that of *adelantado* Pedro Menéndez and his wife, Doña María de Solís. At Santa Elena, the couple sought to establish a home worthy of their position in the colony, for material display was an important way that Spaniards in this period asserted their elite status.<sup>36</sup> When Doña María traveled to the Florida capital, she and her husband brought ornate beds with luxurious

---

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 538. Providing a dowry was an important investment in a young woman's future and guaranteed her a measure of security on a variety of levels. Pareja Ortiz, *Presencia de la Mujer Sevillana en Indias*, 215, writes that one charitable act of the sixteenth century was to leave money in wills for the dowries of young girls.

<sup>34</sup> See Eugene Lyon, trans., "Pedro Menéndez' Last Letter," in *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, ed. Lyon, 533 from Archivo de los Condes de Revillagigedo Canalejas 2, No. 53. In this letter, the *adelantado* first sent his greetings to Pedro Menéndez Marqués's wife, then wrote regarding some of his other female relatives, "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."

<sup>35</sup> Gonzalo Solís de Merás, "Memorial," 218, says that "ellas se alegraron mucho con la visita e favor que el Adelantado les hizo."

<sup>36</sup> Mark A. Burkholder, "Honor and Honors in Colonial Spanish America," in *The Faces of Honor: Sex, Shame, and Violence in Colonial Latin America*, ed. Lyman Johnson and Sonya Lipsett-Rivera (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998), 22.

canopies and bedclothes, rich table linens, and fine clothing.<sup>37</sup> Doña María de Solís later told how she took with her as part of this move to the colony “many women, housekeepers, lady’s maids, daughters of important men, and many other people for the service of her house in order that they would serve her and accompany her in accordance with the rank of her person and whose wife she was.”<sup>38</sup> Doña María’s household accounts show that she had around eleven people in her home from 1574 to 1576.<sup>39</sup> In addition to cloth, tools, housewares, and imported foods—including more than one thousand pounds of flour per month—these records show gunpowder and lead used by the two men who hunted for the household’s meat. Corn, a New World food, was reserved for chickens and serving girls in this household, although soldiers and settlers ate corn in other Santa Elena homes.<sup>40</sup> One entry shows two Biscayan axes traded with Indians for a canoe. Doña María left the official side of her accounts to her son-in-law and to another male relative, “because she was a woman.”<sup>41</sup> She also was illiterate.<sup>42</sup> But the items used in

---

<sup>37</sup> See the translation of list from AGI Justicia 817, No. 5, *pieza* 6 in Appendix G of Eugene Lyon, “Richer Than We Thought: The Material Culture of Sixteenth-Century St. Augustine,” *El Escribano* 29 (1992): 78-80.

<sup>38</sup> Lawsuit of Hernando de Miranda Against Doña María de Solís, 1589, in Archivo de los Condes de Revillagigedo Canalejas 47, No. 22 (P.K. Yonge Library microfilm), im. 449vo.

<sup>39</sup> This document does not specify who these people were. The 1572 list of Santa Elena residents from Escribanía de Cámara 1024-A, *pieza* 2 (Center for Historic Research microfilm) names thirteen women and children in the *adelantado*’s home.

<sup>40</sup> At least some of these serving girls were likely the Native American slaves who served in Doña María de Solís’s home, as discussed in Chapter Three.

<sup>41</sup> Lawsuit of Hernando de Miranda Against Doña María de Solís, 1589, in Archivo de los Condes de Revillagigedo Canalejas 47, No. 22, im. 449vo. (P.K. Yonge Library microfilm).

<sup>42</sup> In *ibid.*, im. 450, Doña María de Solís stated that she did not know how to sign her name.

Doña María's home were charged to her, and payments to merchants and craftsmen--mostly to the tailor--were made in her name.<sup>43</sup>

Pedro Menéndez's efforts to marry the female relatives in the charge of his household were apparently designed, not only to provide for these young women but also as a means of strengthening his colony's family-based power structure.<sup>44</sup> Doña Catalina Menéndez, niece of the *adelantado*, was one of the relatives who traveled to Santa Elena with Menéndez. Doña Catalina later told how her uncle had married her to one of the colony's treasury officials, *factor* Diego de Ojalora.<sup>45</sup> After Don Diego de Velasco had governed at Santa Elena as the *adelantado*'s lieutenant for a year and presumably gained his approval, Menéndez arranged for Velasco to marry his only remaining single daughter, Doña María Menéndez. As noted in Chapter One, the *adelantado* used this dowry agreement to link his fulfillment of its terms with Velasco's continued service as his lieutenant in La Florida.<sup>46</sup> The *adelantada*, Doña María de Solís, apparently collaborated

---

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> See Eugene Lyon, "The Control Structure of Spanish Florida, 1580," in *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, ed. Lyon, 131, which mentions "the accession of individuals to the *comuño* by co-optation through marriage." Lockhart, *Spanish Peru*, 175-76 discusses the strategic nature of most Spanish marriages during this period.

<sup>45</sup> "Petition of Doña Catalina Menéndez, Twice Widowed," January 30, 1593, St. Augustine, AGI Santo Domingo 231 (Stetson Collection). Catalina Menéndez was the sister of Pedro Menéndez Márquez. Diego de Ojalora was one of the treasury officials killed with the group on its way from St. Augustine to pay the soldiers at Santa Elena around July, 1576. One of three royal treasury officials in La Florida, the *factor*'s duties included the procurement of goods and supplies for the colony. Doña Catalina's petition stated that after Ojalora died, she and their children were left "muy pobres lo qual visto por sus deudos la casaron segunda vez con el capitán Juan de Posada."

<sup>46</sup> "Petition of Diego de Velasco," December 12, 1577, in "Memorials Relative to Florida Matters," 1573-1577, Madrid, AGI Indiferente General 1387 (Stetson Collection). His dowry agreement with Pedro Menéndez was dated September 30, 1573 in Seville and appears in AGI Escribanía de Cámara 153-A, fo. 72vo.-75 (Center for Historic Research microfilm).

with Menéndez in the task of arranging marriages for the female dependents who traveled to La Florida under her charge. After Pedro Menéndez died, Doña María provided a dowry in her own name for one of her ladies-in-waiting, Doña María de Pomar, when she married Captain Juan de Junco. This dowry consisted not only of the three hundred *ducados* the *adelantado* had left in his will to aid in Doña María de Pomar's marriage but also many rich articles of clothing that Doña María de Solís said she was giving on her own behalf.<sup>47</sup>

Pedro Menéndez de Avilés and Doña María de Solís arranged the marriages mentioned above either to bring men into the *comuño* or strengthen their ties to this group. The men under Menéndez's charge may have seen making such marriages as part of their service to him and therefore worthy of some reward. Antonio Martínez Carvajal, Florida's chief pilot, wrote to the King in November, 1579 to ask for a raise in his salary because he had a wife and three daughters to support. In this appeal, Martínez added that "the *adelantado* brought about my marriage in the said Florida."<sup>48</sup> Antonio Martínez's wife was Doña Antonia de Guevara, who appeared as a member of the *adelantado*'s household on the 1572 list of Santa Elena residents.<sup>49</sup> Pedro Menéndez de Avilés also seems to have envisioned a more purely procreative role for these couples as he sought to

---

<sup>47</sup> Dowry Doña María de Solís Gave to Doña María de Pomar, January 17, 1576, Santa Elena, in AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A, fo. 617-19v. (Center for Historic Research microfilm). This copy of the dowry appears here as part of an appeal by Doña María de Pomar to have this clothing returned to her when it was seized along with all of Juan de Junco's possessions.

<sup>48</sup> "Antonio Martínez Carvajal to the King," November 3, 1579, Havana, in *Colonial Records*, ed. Connor, vol. 2, 251.

<sup>49</sup> "Información Relative to a Soldier Who Dishonored the Wife of the Chief Pilot of Florida," October 10, 1582, Havana, AGI Santo Domingo 146 (Stetson Collection). The 1572 list appears in AGI Escribanía de Cámara 1024-A, *pieza* 2 (Center for Historic Research microfilm).

build an elite population in his colony. He encouraged the married men in his service to bring their wives to Florida and described the benefits of this in a letter to the King about the treasury officials he had appointed. Menéndez wrote:

All three are persons of confidence and principal people who have served Your Majesty many years in my company--all three are married to noblewomen and by virtue of their offices and for love of me, it could be that they might bring their wives and houses and because of this, married people will come, which is a great beginning for the population of those provinces of Florida with noble people.<sup>50</sup>

Some male *comuño* members apparently lived in long-term relationships of “concubinage” with Native American women before taking a Spanish wife. Other Spanish men, mostly soldiers, married Native American women according to the rules of the Catholic church. But a Spanish wife would have been essential for Spaniards to create the sort of household (*casa poblada*) that contributed to a man’s social standing in his community.<sup>51</sup> In either type of family, the home would have been the environment where the most intensive cultural exchanges took place between Spaniards and Native Americans. As discussed in Chapter Three, Spaniards brought Native Americans into their households mostly to secure their labor, but in this process they also sought to convert the Indians to Catholicism and to teach them Spanish ways. Some lessons must have gone the other direction as well, as Indian women spoke in their own languages while caring for Spanish children. They also undoubtedly taught Spanish women about

---

<sup>50</sup> Lyon, “Control Structure,” 130. The letter quoted is “Pedro Menéndez to Crown,” December 5, 1565, Matanzas, AGI Santo Domingo 115 (Stetson Collection).

<sup>51</sup> Lockhart, *Spanish Peru*, 174-75. He tells how this would have been true particularly for the establishment of advantageous familial ties. Having a Spanish wife would also ensure adherence to Spanish social and cultural practices in the household which was very important to the claim of a certain status.

the foods in their new land and the tools used to prepare them.<sup>52</sup> Spanish women's involvement with the Native Americans in their homes went beyond domestic concerns to the realm of public politics when those involved were Indian leaders. In 1575, Lieutenant Governor Don Diego de Velasco and Doña María Menéndez served as the godparents of a Guale leader and his wife after they housed him during an illness.<sup>53</sup> The *adelantado*'s niece, Doña Catalina Menéndez, also aided and sheltered Native Americans at times, held banquets for them in her home, and gave them gifts.<sup>54</sup> As discussed in Chapter Four, in the 1580s Doña Catalina housed a Native American leader and her sister from the Santa Elena area who were the hostages of Doña Catalina's brother, then the governor of La Florida.

It is difficult to know what women's participation was in the various crafts that Santa Elena's residents practiced during this time, although most of these these trades took place in the context of households where, presumably, almost everyone was involved in some way. Ironically, the women's work as caregivers at Santa Elena is most visible in the written record when it extended outward into the community. As discussed in Chapter One, Spanish men and women provided essential support for the soldiers of Santa Elena during the frequent supply shortages, even as they labored to sustain their own

---

<sup>52</sup> See Chapter Three of this dissertation where I mention archaeologist Kathleen Deagan's findings about the combination of Native American and Spanish artifacts in the "Spanish" homes of St. Augustine.

<sup>53</sup> See Chapter Three for a discussion of this incident and its repercussions, as well as what the Spanish elite hoped to gain by forming such alliances.

<sup>54</sup> "Petition of Doña Catalina Menéndez, Twice Widowed," January 30, 1593, St. Augustine, AGI Santo Domingo 231 (Stetson Collection).



households. One man told how before he was married, he ate his meals with the family of Marina de Lara and Alonso de Olmos, Santa Elena's tailor.<sup>55</sup> In 1575, the Santa Elena settlers collectively filed a complaint when Don Diego de Velasco, then lieutenant governor, ignored the soldiers' debts to them but paid the money the soldiers owed the town's more influential residents. The colonists claimed to have aided the soldiers in a time of great need with clothing and food, as well as services such as mending and washing their clothes and preparing their meals. The complaint and its accompanying testimony do not say who did this work, but surely much of it was done by women.<sup>56</sup> Among the colonists who provided aid to the soldiers were Gonzalo Sánchez and María Hernández, the married couple described in Chapter One as feeding and clothing soldiers and even taking them into their home. María Hernández also provided medical care for these men in treating broken and dislocated arms and legs as well as illnesses.<sup>57</sup> Doña Catalina Menéndez, the *adelantado*'s niece, was another woman who gave food and medical care to soldiers both in Santa Elena and later in St. Augustine, where she spent her married life.<sup>58</sup>

---

<sup>55</sup> Bartolomé Martínez, "Martirio de los Padres y Hermanos de la Compañía de Jesús que Martirizaron los Indios del Jacán, Tierra de La Florida, de que Trata Brevemente el Padre Pedro de Ribadeneira en el Libro 3, Capítulo 6 de la Vida del B. P. Francisco de Borja" in *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, ed. Zubillaga, 600. Martínez said that Alonso de Olmos, the family's son who was the sole survivor of the Jesuit mission at Ajacán, used to tell him stories of his days among the Indians there.

<sup>56</sup> Complaint of the Santa Elena Settlers Against Don Diego de Velasco, 1576, in Archivo de los Condes de Revillagigedo Canalejas 47, No. 10, fms. 650-66 (Center for Historic Research transcription).

<sup>57</sup> Accounts of their services to these soldiers appear in Petition of Gonzalo Sánchez, July, 1580, Mexico City, in AGI México 215, No. 23.

<sup>58</sup> "Petition of Doña Catalina Menéndez, Twice Widowed," January 30, 1593, St. Augustine, AGI Santo Domingo 231 (Stetson Collection).

Given that husbands from all levels of Santa Elena society were drawn away from the town at times for various reasons, particularly military service, the degree to which women provided continuity at all levels of the community's life is a tantalizing question. Spanish women likely continued their public caregiving roles and practiced some of the crafts that served Santa Elena in their husbands' absence, for even male colonists were called away on military expeditions to places such as Orista and Guale.<sup>59</sup> The *adelantada* Doña María de Solís apparently acted in an official capacity when her husband was not present in the colony. In one instance, she recruited a priest to serve at Santa Elena when the town was without one, and both the *adelantado* and Diego de Velasco, the lieutenant governor, were away. Doña María may have done this because she wanted to have a priest in the town, but providing for the spiritual well-being of the colony's Catholics would also have been a leader's responsibility.<sup>60</sup> It is also likely that Doña María de Solís played a ceremonial role as the wife of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés. One of the *adelantada's* ladies-in-waiting, Doña María de Pomar, testified to being present when *caciques* came to Santa Elena to give and receive gifts, although she did not describe the capacity in which Spanish women attended such meetings.<sup>61</sup> The *adelantada* and her ladies in their rich clothing of silk, satin, and velvet, some of it embroidered or trimmed

---

<sup>59</sup> See Chapter One of this dissertation and the testimony of former Santa Elena settlers in Petition of Gonzalo Sánchez, July, 1580, Mexico City, in AGI México 215, No. 23.

<sup>60</sup> "Pleas of Diego de Velasco," April, 1577, Havana, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 856.

<sup>61</sup> "Interrogatory of Don Diego de Velasco," April 24, 1577, Havana, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 1080-81.

with ornate braid, would have formed an impressive display on such occasions.<sup>62</sup> Even though the documents from this period omit any mention of women from most aspects of the colony's life, women were apparently expected to be familiar with their husbands' affairs. The royal inspector Baltasar del Castillo y Ahedo questioned the widows of the slain Florida treasury officials in his investigation of their terms of office.<sup>63</sup> One of these widows, Doña Mayor de Arango, even took principal responsibility for settling the Florida accounts under her husband's charge.<sup>64</sup>

### **Women's Social Position and Questions of Honor**

All settlers faced certain risks and hardships when they traveled to a remote area such as La Florida. Before these colonies were able to raise their own food, they were dependent upon provisions brought in from the outside, and *adelantado* Pedro Menéndez's assistance to them was uneven at best in these early days.<sup>65</sup> The Crown's distribution of supplies favored those with a direct military function, and so women and children had to rely on what was available to them. Sometimes local officials shared the royal provisions with the women and children anyway, but in his audit of the Florida records, accountant Andrés de Eguino stated that these rations were for the "soldiers in

---

<sup>62</sup> See the Dowry Doña María de Solís Gave to Doña María de Pomar, January 17, 1576, Santa Elena, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 617-19vo. for a list of various articles of clothing likely worn by a woman in this group.

<sup>63</sup> Order That the Wives of the Slain Treasury Officials Appear Before Royal Inspector Baltasar del Castillo y Ahedo, November 2, 1576, Havana, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 27-28.

<sup>64</sup> These accounts appear in AGI Contaduría 944 (Center for Historic Research microfilm). Doña Mayor's husband was the treasurer Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, nephew of the *adelantado*.

<sup>65</sup> See Chapter One.

his Majesty's service in the defense of this fort" and reprimanded the officials for giving them to "gente inútil." His list of the "useless people" who had received these supplies in St. Augustine included married women, children, Indian servants, and some Frenchmen. Eguino even thought it necessary that "people useless for fighting" should leave Florida, and he asked a notary to grant licenses for women, children, and "soldiers who are sick or maimed" to travel to Havana.<sup>66</sup>

Andrés de Eguino's report also suggested a method that families may have used to survive on a soldier's ration. He investigated why there was always plenty of bread and wine for sale in St. Augustine's taverns and bakeries, when the only flour and wine coming into town then were the King's rations for the soldiers. Eguino found that some soldiers were selling these rations to buy corn. Some men sold their flour and wine for money to gamble, but exchanging these more valuable items for corn would also have allowed a soldier with a family to feed more people.<sup>67</sup> As discussed in Chapter One, Jesuit priests expressed their concern about the lack of sustenance for the Florida colonists. Several years later, Martín Díaz, one of the first settlers at Santa Elena, told officials in Spain about his wife's death from hunger during the colony's early days. Many of these women were in their child-bearing years, and pregnancy and nursing would have caused extra strain to hungry bodies. In his testimony about conditions in Florida, Díaz attributed the

---

<sup>66</sup> "Memorial Dado por Andrés de Eguino de las Cosas que de las Cuentas que Tomo en la Florida Resultaron Perjuicio de la Real Hacienda de su Majestad," 1570, Havana?, AGI Patronato 257 (Stetson Collection), charges 13 and 20. These quotations and the list of people whom Andrés de Eguino remembered as receiving supplies appear in a piece labeled "Requerimientos."

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, charge 6.

shortage of food not only to the barrenness of the land but also to the abuses of Juan de la Bandera, then the lieutenant governor of Santa Elena, who sold the supplies meant for the settlers and took their possessions from them.<sup>68</sup>

In this frontier environment, Spanish women were vulnerable in ways beyond the hardship and physical danger common to all settlers. Some of the threats they faced were from Spanish men. Chaplain and Vicar Francisco López de Mendoza wrote to Pedro Menéndez de Avilés on August 6, 1567 about a mutiny plot that had been uncovered in St. Augustine. According to López de Mendoza, one hundred and fifty men had planned to “spike the artillery, capture the principal persons and carry off all the money and women,” but the plot was discovered and the leaders put to death.<sup>69</sup> Women without the protection of a man faced particular harrassment from the Florida officials who took advantage of their power in remote settings. Sometimes this abuse took a sexual form, such as when Juan de la Bandera, while serving as lieutenant governor of Santa Elena, sent a woman’s husband to Spain. Martín Díaz told how Bandera then took this married woman to a “blockhouse near the houses of the settlement” and lived with her there awhile before expelling her from his house and going off with one of his neighbors. According to Díaz, when the first woman’s husband returned, he subjected his wife to severe physical abuse (*muy mala vida*).<sup>70</sup>

---

<sup>68</sup> See “Investigation Made in Madrid by Licentiate Gamboa on Matters Concerning Florida,” February 4, 1573, Madrid, in *Colonial Records*, ed. Connor, vol. 1, 82-87.

<sup>69</sup> “Letter of Chaplain and Vicar Francisco López de Mendoza to Pedro Menéndez,” August 6, 1567, St. Augustine, in Lawson, “Letters of Menéndez,” 328.

<sup>70</sup> “Investigation Made in Madrid by Licentiate Gamboa,” 86-87, testimony of Martín Díaz. Steve J. Stern, *The Secret History of Gender: Women, Men, and Power in Late Colonial Mexico* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 268, defines “mala vida” as “chronic

When the royal inspector Baltasar del Castillo y Ahedo arrived in 1576 to investigate all of La Florida's governors and lieutenant governors up until that point, one of the questions he asked his witnesses was if any of these men, military officials, or ministers of justice had raped married women, widows, or maidens (*doncellas*).<sup>71</sup> All of the men questioned said that they knew nothing of such occurrences. Sergeant Francisco Hernández de Ecija said that the closest he had heard to this was when Bartolomé Menéndez, one of the military governors of the fort at St. Augustine, had been chased from a married man's home wearing only his shirt and no pants. Hernández said that Bartolomé Menéndez subsequently had to imprison the husband several times for hitting his wife.<sup>72</sup> Whether or not these witnesses were completely forthright in their responses, the actions of a Franciscan priest at St. Augustine may suggest an effort to protect young girls in a dangerous situation. One of the charges Don Diego de Velasco made against the Franciscans to justify his conflicts with them was that one of the friars had performed marriages for girls as young as nine years old.<sup>73</sup> Velasco's witnesses said it was true that

---

maltreatment." Richard Boyer, *Lives of the Bigamists: Marriage, Family, and Community in Colonial Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995), 132-33, states that "Probably more than is usually thought, violence was part of the day-to-day content of married life . . . . When women talked about beatings as an element of the *mala vida*, they were therefore making a distinction between the slaps, cuffs, and rough language that constituted everyday 'correction' and the sustained, full-fledged attacks with weapons as well as fists and feet that threatened life and limb."

<sup>71</sup> Interrogatory Regarding the Governors and Captains, December, 1576, St. Augustine, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 112vo. (question 12).

<sup>72</sup> Interrogatory Regarding the Governors and Captains, December, 1576, St. Augustine, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 144vo.-45, testimony of Francisco Hernández de Ecija. All the other witnesses in their answers told of Don Diego de Velasco's dishonoring "very honorable women" with "injurious words" (these quotations come from Antonio Martín de Carvajal's testimony, fo. 129vo.).

<sup>73</sup> "Interrogatory of Don Diego de Velasco," April 24, 1577, Havana, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 939-39vo. (question 24). He identified them as the

the two girls mentioned were younger than twelve and married to soldiers, although their responses gave no reasons for the priest's actions.<sup>74</sup> Assuming that Inspector Castillo y Ahedo's question about sexual assault against Spanish women in the Florida colony was grounded in specific complaints like his other questions were, this may have been a preemptive effort by the priest to protect these girls' "virtue."<sup>75</sup>

The Franciscan friar could certainly have had other reasons for violating the civil and ecclesiastical rules of his day to perform the marriage ceremony for girls younger than twelve.<sup>76</sup> But assaults on a woman's honor, which rape was apparently then understood to be, could have serious consequences for her very survival.<sup>77</sup> Within the Spanish gender-based code of honor, male and female honor was linked such that rape or any

---

daughters of Pedro López and Pedro Manuel Tristán, who was originally one of Santa Elena's settlers, although he and his family had apparently moved to St. Augustine by this time.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, fo. 972, 1025vo.

<sup>75</sup> In documents from this period, rape seems to have generated more concern as a serious assault on honor rather than as a crime in its own right. Therefore, the rape of "honorable women" was taken more seriously than when this act was committed against a woman who did not hold such status (if it was even mentioned). See Antonia Castañeda, "Sexual Violence in the Politics and Policies of Conquest: Amerindian Women and the Spanish Conquest of Alta California," in *Building with Our Hands: New Directions in Chicana Studies*, ed. Adela de la Torre and Beatriz M. Pesquera (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 26-28, for a discussion of the Spaniards' "sex/gender ideology." Domingo de León to the King, October 13, [1584], Madrid, in AGI Santo Domingo 231, fo. 312vo., shows the Franciscan priests coming into conflict with *comuño* members at St. Augustine for chastizing them for their abuse of women, referred to here as "pecados públicos."

<sup>76</sup> See Daisy Rípodas Ardanaz, *El Matrimonio en Indias: Realidad Social y Regulación Jurídica* (Buenos Aires: Fundación Para la Educación, la Ciencia, y la Cultura, 1977), 97-101, for a discussion of the laws surrounding the minimum age for marriage during this period (twelve for girls and fourteen for boys).

<sup>77</sup> See Chapter Five which shows Spanish women facing some of the more severe consequences for affronts to their honor by the Florida officials. Here the officials tried not only to turn society against these women, but they tried and sometimes succeeded in turning the women's husbands against them as well. This could mean not only physical abuse from the husband, but also potentially the loss of whatever support and protection a marriage could provide.

“improper” sexual behavior by a woman harmed, not only her status, but that of her male relatives.<sup>78</sup> The seclusion of women essential to this honor system was virtually impossible for all but the wealthiest families to achieve. It was even more difficult to practice under these frontier conditions, where men were often away on military or other duties and so could not protect the women in their families.<sup>79</sup> In such circumstances another side of this honor code came to the fore. While the protection and seclusion of a man’s female relatives maintained his honorable status, attacks on the women of other men’s families could enhance a man’s social position or power.<sup>80</sup> At Santa Elena, some officials appear to have used affronts to women as a tactic in seeking to undermine the settlers’ claims to privilege and rank.

Even verbal attacks were taken very seriously in colonial Spanish American society, for a decline in a family’s honorable status could have wide-ranging consequences. Two cases that have survived in the Florida records show Don Diego de Velasco, son-in-law of *adelantado* Pedro Menéndez de Avilés and one-time lieutenant

---

<sup>78</sup> See Ramón Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500-1846* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1991), 212-13.

<sup>79</sup> At Santa Elena, even the *adelantada* Doña María de Solís, her ladies-in-waiting, and the other female members of her household apparently participated in public religious processions, as mentioned below. Lyman Johnson and Sonya Lipsett-Rivera, introduction to *Faces of Honor*, 9, observe that even elite women faced insults when they went out in public, but “If they were particularly wealthy, they only walked out with servants and slaves and thus took the mantle of home and honor with them.” See Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away*, 215.

<sup>80</sup> Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away*, 213 states, “Men of honor enforced female purity in mother, wife, daughters, and sisters and protected it from assault. Concurrently, though, men enhanced their honor through the conquest of another man’s woman. It was precisely in this contradiction that positioning in the virtue hierarchy occurred. Precedence was determined by how these two imperatives, female sexual protection within the family and sexual conquest over other women, were reconciled.” See also Boyer, *Lives of the Bigamists*, 150.



governor of Santa Elena, being investigated by the royal inspector Baltasar del Castillo y Ahedo for insulting women.<sup>81</sup> These incidents appear to have been part of wider power struggles in the town as Don Diego de Velasco, a member of the *comuño*, sought to contain the colonists' efforts to assert their status as "first settlers." Velasco thought that these women did not deserve the social positions which they had claimed for themselves, and he made his insults in very public settings. In one case, Velasco approached Mari López, wife of the soldier Antonio Rodríguez, as she was walking in a procession of the Holy Sacrament in 1575, pushed her, and called her "shameless." López testified that this exchange took place publicly in very loud voices and greatly offended those present. She added that most of them then left to avoid quarreling with Don Diego de Velasco, who had a reputation for insulting "very honorable women" and that many people did not want to participate in processions after that.<sup>82</sup>

In her testimony, Mari López appears to have been genuinely confused as to why Don Diego de Velasco insulted her. Nineteen years old when she gave her testimony in 1577, López was the daughter of blacksmith Rodrigo Menea, one of Santa Elena's early settlers.<sup>83</sup> Velasco later defended his treatment of Mari López by saying that he and the *adelantado*'s wife, Doña María de Solís were in the place in the procession where

---

<sup>81</sup> "Charges Against Diego de Velasco," 1577, St. Augustine, in AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 3vo., charges 6 and 7 (first set of folio numbers).

<sup>82</sup> Testimony of Mari López Against Diego de Velasco, February 28, 1577, Havana, in AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 286vo.-87vo.

<sup>83</sup> The 1569 Santa Elena settlers list in AGI Contaduría 941, No. 8 (Center for Historic Research microfilm) shows a Mari López as one of Rodrigo Menea's daughters. Alonso de Olmos mentions a "daughter of Rodrigo Menea married to Antonio Rodríguez" who received this treatment from Velasco in Interrogatory Regarding the Governors and Captains, December, 1576, St. Augustine, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 259vo.-60.

“governors are accustomed to walk” and that López tried to situate herself between Doña María de Solís and Velasco’s wife, Doña María Menéndez. Diego de Velasco said he told Mari López to go elsewhere, since her husband had served as one of his grooms.<sup>84</sup> The tensions between Velasco and the colonists, as well as the links between male and female honor within a family, appear more clearly in the long trial between the Olmos family and Don Diego de Velasco.<sup>85</sup> Crown inspector Baltasar del Castillo y Ahedo drew this connection himself in his accusation that Velasco insulted Doña María de Lara by saying that Velasco’s treatment of Lara caused “great harm to her husband,” Miguel Delgado.<sup>86</sup> *Licenciado* Delgado, who served in various public offices over the years at Santa Elena, was not present when, one Sunday after Mass in May, 1576, María de Lara and her family encountered Don Diego de Velasco in the street outside the church. According to their account, Don Diego called María de Lara a “whore rather than a good woman,” and he said her sister-in-law was “shameless,” blaming the woman’s husband, Antón de Olmos, for not chastising her. In addressing their father, Alonso de Olmos, Velasco told the “Lutheran” to “go to the synagogue” and said “other ugly words.”<sup>87</sup> The Olmos family

---

<sup>84</sup> “Pleas of Diego de Velasco,” April, 1577, Havana, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 869-70vo. (number 6). See Burkholder, “Honor and Honors in Colonial Spanish America,” 29 for the importance of such rituals in maintaining a town’s social hierarchy.

<sup>85</sup> Lawsuit of Alonso de Olmos and María de Lara Against Diego de Velasco, December 23, 1576, St. Augustine, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 467-505.

<sup>86</sup> “Charges Against Diego de Velasco,” 1577, St. Augustine, in AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 3vo.

<sup>87</sup> Lawsuit of Alonso de Olmos and María de Lara Against Diego de Velasco, December 23, 1576, St. Augustine, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 468-68vo., 472vo. The name of Antón de Olmos’s wife does not appear anywhere in this document, although at one point he identifies her as the daughter of Juan Viejo and his wife.

sought financial reward for this public humiliation, stating that they valued their honor at more than 10,000 *ducados*.<sup>88</sup>

Don Diego de Velasco's testimony in this case made clear that his quarrel with this family centered on questions of social precedence in the community. In justifying his words to Antón de Olmos's wife, Velasco said that she was a person of low rank and that she did not deserve to be friends with the wife of a gentleman. He also asserted that Antón de Olmos had treated Doña Catalina Barbón, the wife of Captain Alonso de Solís, disrespectfully by insisting that his own wife walk in front of her.<sup>89</sup> Velasco used the Olmos men's occupations as evidence of the low status they deserved, calling attention to both father and son's work as tailors and the father's selling of bread and wine.<sup>90</sup> But Antón de Olmos sought to turn Velasco's claims to a more honorable status back on him by using behavior rather than birth as his measurement of gentility. In defending his wife against Velasco's assertion that she was "ill bred and of a low social position (*poca calidad*)," Antón de Olmos said that she was "the legitimate daughter of Juan Viejo and his wife and old Christians and farmers" and that her father "exhibits the privilege of gentleman which he has from the King." Olmos went on to say that those who affront women when their husbands are not there and call them "whores" in the plazas and streets may claim to be gentlemen but never are.<sup>91</sup>

---

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, fo. 478vo.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, fo. 483-83vo., 492vo. By that time Alonso de Solís was the governor of Santa Elena.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, fo. 479-79vo., 492.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, fo. 485-485vo.

Most of Don Diego de Velasco's efforts to justify his affronts to this family centered on exposing in great detail the dishonorable behavior of Doña María de Lara before she was married.<sup>92</sup> Her changing her name, which he and his witnesses claimed was "María de Jesús," and adopting the title "Doña" when she married apparently enraged him.<sup>93</sup> One witness mentioned Velasco's anger when he heard María de Lara ask one of his female servants about the blows with a clog (*chapinazos*) he had given the woman.<sup>94</sup> But in addition to any desire to discredit Doña María, the details which Velasco presented reflected badly on the male members of her family. He told how she fled from her father in Cádiz where her family boarded a ship to travel to Florida. In Spain, she bore two children out of wedlock with different men before her father returned to find her and bring her to Santa Elena where she married one of the men, Miguel Delgado. Don Diego and some of his witnesses claimed that Doña María was living in concubinage with Delgado when her father found her. They also testified that Miguel Delgado was a clergyman who had taken a religious vow of celibacy and that he had violated Church law by marrying María de Lara. Finally, these witnesses stated that Doña María was married in the Church with the full blessings accorded to someone who had never been married only because her mother persuaded the priest to do so.<sup>95</sup>

---

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, fo. 479-79vo., 491-94vo.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, fo. 479-79vo., 492. María de Lara probably had not changed her name, as her mother's name was Marina de Lara.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, fo. 478.

<sup>95</sup> See *ibid.*, fo. 479-79vo. and the testimony of Velasco's witnesses in fo. 491-505 *passim*.

Whatever effect Don Diego de Velasco expected this information to have, what appeared to matter in the end was not María de Lara's sexual past, but Velasco's bad behavior in publicly exposing it. While Don Diego had witnesses who spoke to his side of the story, other Santa Elena residents condemned his harsh treatment of these women as unjustified.<sup>96</sup> As long as the settlers at Santa Elena were fairly united and had a measure of institutional authority, they may have served as a moderating voice in defining "proper" behavior. The María de Lara case suggests that some aspects of honor were negotiable at this time such as when her mother persuaded the priest to treat Doña María as someone who had never been married, even though there may well have been ample evidence of her sexual experience. Florida officials appear to have been inconsistent in their enforcement of women's "public sins."<sup>97</sup> While this may have been due to a lack of concern for this aspect of their duties, the governors' behavior also reflected the exigencies of life in this frontier situation. For a woman who was supported and protected by a man, even if he was not her lawful husband, was less likely to become a burden to them and a drain on the colony's resources.

The Spanish Crown, however, cared deeply about enforcing these standards of behavior in the colonies. When the King's representative, Baltasar del Castillo y Ahedo, came to Florida to conduct his inspection, he investigated Gerónima Hurtada's bigamy case, as well as charges that two married women had been living in public concubinage in

---

<sup>96</sup> In addition to the charges brought by Baltasar del Castillo y Ahedo, public opinion condemned Velasco's behavior. See Interrogatory Regarding the Governors and Captains, December, 1576, St. Augustine, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 129vo.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, fo. 111-111vo. (question 7) asked about a range of "pecados públicos" and the governors' vigilance in punishing them.

St. Augustine. The inspector then moved to expel all these women from the colony without apparently taking any action against the men involved with the women or other men living in concubinage, presumably with Native American women. Castillo y Ahedo described his actions as a service to both God and the King, but he also seems to have been concerned with preserving social order. He conducted both investigations out of the public eye and kept his ruling in the concubinage case secret “because of the scandal which the order to leave could cause in other people.”<sup>98</sup> Ana Pérez and María Tomé were the married women who had been living in Florida without their husbands “for a long time,” even though royal policy then in effect sought to prevent men from abandoning their wives not only in Spain, but also in the Indies. Whatever their reasons for living with other men, survival for these women without their husbands must have been difficult, and women with the names “Ana Pérez” and “Mari Tomé Canaria” appear on a list of those receiving alms (*limosna*) from *adelantado* Pedro Menéndez de Avilés in 1572.<sup>99</sup> Baltasar del Castillo y Ahedo’s ruling provides no details about these women’s lives, other than that they were to leave Florida for Havana on Iñigo Ruiz’s ship within eight days and that they were to arrange with him for their fares. María Tomé responded that she was ready to go, but Ana Pérez said that she was a poor woman who did not have money for her passage.<sup>100</sup>

---

<sup>98</sup> Order Regarding Two Married Women Living in Public Concubinage, December 17, 1576, St. Augustine, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 69vo.

<sup>99</sup> Accounts of Diego Ruiz, 1572, in AGI Justicia 817, No. 5, *pieza* 6 (P.K. Yonge Library microfilm). Both women received fifty *reales*, and they appear next to each other on this list.

<sup>100</sup> Order Regarding Two Married Women Living in Public Concubinage, December 17, 1576, St. Augustine, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 69-70.

Bigamy was one of the Crown's main concerns behind laws designed to determine the marital status of travelers to the Indies and to encourage husbands to emigrate with their wives. It is unclear how Gerónima Hurtada managed to accompany a man named "Haro," a squad leader for Captain Juan Pardo in General Sancho de Archiniega's reinforcement fleet, or what became of him once they arrived in Florida.<sup>101</sup> Hurtada's December, 1576 testimony before Baltasar del Castillo y Ahedo told how she lived in Seville with her first husband for six months after being wed by a priest there. Gerónima Hurtada stated that she left her husband when she traveled to Florida with Haro, and that her second husband, Juan Hernández, was also a soldier in the Archiniega fleet. Hernández testified that he and Gerónima Hurtada had known each other for one year before they were betrothed and married "in conformance with the order of the Holy Mother Church" in St. Augustine. Hurtada claimed she had been told that her first husband was dead and only learned that he was alive on the day she became betrothed to Juan Hernández. Gerónima Hurtada told Hernández about her first husband after several months of marriage, but they lived together for four years before Hurtada confessed this to the priest Juan Rogel. Father Rogel then informed the fort's governor Juan de Junco, and the authorities separated the couple. Gerónima Hurtada was arrested following this secret investigation by Baltasar Castillo y Ahedo and taken to Havana.<sup>102</sup>

---

<sup>101</sup> A list of Juan Pardo's men from AGI Contaduría 941, No. 4 (Center for Historic Research microfilm) shows a "Miguel Haro."

<sup>102</sup> Inquiry Into Whether Gerónima Hurtada Is Married Twice, December 16, 1576, St. Augustine, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 298-303.

Women who entered into illicit relationships did so, no doubt, because of affection as well as the need for sustenance and some degree of protection. But whatever the reason for their actions, women who were labeled “dishonored” exposed themselves and their children to even greater vulnerability. Not only were they less likely to marry and establish some degree of stability in their lives, but rules which protected women from some degree of ill treatment no longer applied to them. Once Gerónima Hurtada had been accused of bigamy and separated from her husband, she found herself at the mercy of the Florida officials. Approximately six months after the separation, Diego de Velasco, then lieutenant governor of La Florida, sent an order from Santa Elena instructing the treasurer Pedro Menéndez de Avilés to arrest Hurtada and sequester her possessions. He and the magistrate Miguel Moreno did so before the notary Diego Enríquez. Gerónima Hurtada was imprisoned for one day, but after she was released, the officials kept most of her possessions, even though she asked repeatedly that they be returned. Hurtada also testified that she had seen some of her possessions in the house of Miguel Moreno. The officials took Gerónima Hurtada to Santa Elena and Havana as part of this dispute, and she only arrived back in St. Augustine with great effort.<sup>103</sup>

### **Widowhood**

Widowhood was a fact of life for women in all socio-economic groups in this frontier environment where men faced so many dangers. Lists of the women who came to La Florida on *adelantado* Pedro Menéndez de Avilés’s first voyage as well as in General

---

<sup>103</sup> Ibid., fo. 300vo.-301.



Sancho de Archiniega's fleet show that many of them were widowed within the first few years of life in the colony. These women seem to have remarried fairly quickly, with those from the Archiniega fleet marrying men from the companies of their first husbands.<sup>104</sup> Writings on women in Spain and Spanish America discuss the social and economic liberty enjoyed by widows who, for the first time in their lives, enjoyed full legal rights.<sup>105</sup> Some describe the widows' tendency to delay or avoid remarriage because of this freedom, even though widows were sometimes viewed with suspicion when they lived outside the supervision of men for too long.<sup>106</sup> This pattern may have been most common in Spain and for later periods and more settled parts of colonial Spanish America, however. During this early period of Florida history, most widows seem to have remarried at least once, and their petitions for aid from the Crown tend to request support based on the services of two husbands.

Writing about women in early modern Europe, Merry Wiesner points out that whatever laws may have dictated, a variety of factors determined whether or not a widow remarried. Wiesner states that younger widows were more likely to marry again than older widows, and women whose husbands left them with many children were less likely to remarry than women with fewer children.<sup>107</sup> In colonial Spanish America, the

---

<sup>104</sup> See AGI Contaduría 941, No. 1 and No. 2 (Center for Historic Research microfilm).

<sup>105</sup> See Pareja Ortiz, *Presencia de la Mujer Sevillana en Indias*, 106; and Ots Capdequí, *Manual de Historia del Derecho Español*, 424.

<sup>106</sup> See Stern, *Secret History*, 117; and Merry Wiesner, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, New Approaches to European History, ed. William Beik, T.C.W. Blanning, and R.W. Scribner, no. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 75. Lockhart, *Spanish Peru*, 178, notes that a widow with an *encomienda* was not allowed to stay unmarried for long.

<sup>107</sup> Wiesner, *Women and Gender*, 75.

patriarchal nature of the relationship between the Crown and its subjects brought other pressures to bear on a woman in this position, particularly when she asked for royal assistance to support herself and her children following the death of a husband. Royal authorities may have expected a woman to remarry at least once before asking for the Crown's support, as in a case from 1614 where they intervened to find a husband for María del Corral, the widow of the Florida accountant, Juan de Arrazola, who left her with seven children ages thirteen and under and pregnant with an eighth child. María del Corral traveled to Spain, giving birth on board the ship, to request that her thirteen-year-old son be granted his father's position along with permission for someone else to do the work until the boy was old enough to do it himself. With this salary, Corral stated, her son could support his mother and siblings. Instead, royal officials decided to give María del Corral a one-time grant of five hundred *ducados* and offer the position of Florida accountant to whomever would marry either Corral or her daughter. Ultimately, a man named Francisco Ramírez married María del Corral and received this position.<sup>108</sup>

In testifying about the situation of Doña Catalina Barbón following her husband's death in the 1576 uprising at Santa Elena, María Hernández stated that because Doña Catalina had been left a widow, she considered her a "poor and needy woman."<sup>109</sup> It was the nature of widows' petitions to stress their suffering following the deaths of their

---

<sup>108</sup> See "Petition of María del Corral," March 14, 1614, Spain?, AGI Santo Domingo 25 (Stetson Collection); "Consejo de Indias Relative to Claim of Doña María del Corral, Widow of Juan de Arrazola," May 17, 1614, Madrid, AGI Santo Domingo 6 (Stetson Collection); and "Consejo de Indias Relative to Petition of María del Corral, Widow of Arrazola, the Accountant," July 10, 1614, Madrid, AGI Santo Domingo 6 (Stetson Collection).

<sup>109</sup> Testimonial on the Services of Captain Alonso de Solís, March, 1577, Mexico City, AGI Patronato 75, No. 1, *ramo* 4 (P.K. Yonge Library microfilm).

husbands in the service of the Crown, but many women were indeed left in difficult circumstances. Given the tendency for older, established men to marry much younger women, some were teenagers when their husbands died. In reviewing Doña Catalina's request for assistance in 1577, *audiencia* officials in New Spain stressed not only her virtue and nobility, but also her youth.<sup>110</sup> At that point, Doña Catalina had been married at least since 1572 and had two young children, with a third due at any time.<sup>111</sup> She lost everything in the destruction of Santa Elena and was able to travel to New Spain only through the charity of others.

Older widows often had more children to raise and additional concerns, such as providing dowries for daughters of a marriageable age. Francisca de Leyba had seven children under age twelve and nothing to sustain them upon the death of her husband, Gaspar Fernández Perete, who served in St. Augustine and Santa Elena in military and administrative posts.<sup>112</sup> When Isabel de Quiñones's second husband died, she was left a "widow and poor, with a daughter to marry and little help for this."<sup>113</sup> Isabel de Salas, daughter of Alonso García de la Vera, an early Florida settler and notary, stated in her petition for assistance that when her husband died, her youngest daughter was unable to

---

<sup>110</sup> Ibid.

<sup>111</sup> The 1572 Santa Elena settler list in AGI Escribanía de Cámara 1024-A, *pieza* 2 (Center for Historic Research microfilm) shows "Captain Alonso de Solís and wife." Several witnesses testified to seeing the couple marry in Santa Elena in Testimonial on the Services of Captain Alonso de Solís, March, 1577, Mexico City, AGI Patronato 75, No. 1, *ramo* 4 (P.K. Yonge Library microfilm).

<sup>112</sup> "Memorial, Etc. of Francisca de Leyba, Widow of Gaspar de Fernández," April 28, 1605, St. Augustine, Santo Domingo 24 (Stetson Collection).

<sup>113</sup> "Petition of Doña Isabel de Quiñones and Doña Isabel de Morales, her daughter," 1602, Havana, Santo Domingo 129 (Stetson Collection).

marry because of the family's great poverty.<sup>114</sup> Doña María Menéndez de Posada, the niece of Pedro Menéndez Marqués, had nine children when her husband died, including five daughters of a marriageable age, and nothing for their dowries. She said she had sold the little furniture that they had to travel from Florida to make her petition for assistance in Spain.<sup>115</sup>

While stressing the difficulty of supporting a family in La Florida, women who lost their husbands tended to remain there, although some requested permission to return to Spain or move to other parts of the Indies. Some widows simply did not have the money to leave, whereas others likely faced contractual obligations to remain in the colony for a certain period of time.<sup>116</sup> These women's appeals for assistance, however, reveal an awareness that as the "first settlers and conquerors" of La Florida or as their descendants, they and their children enjoyed a certain status in this colony that they would not have anywhere else. Often these petitions recount the government and military records of husbands as well as other male relatives, but sometimes these documents also describe the services of women in La Florida. In documents separated by a number of years, a royal order regarding Doña Catalina Menéndez, the sister of Pedro Menéndez Marqués, and the petition of her daughter, Doña María Menéndez de Posada, mention Doña Catalina's medical attention to soldiers in St. Augustine during a time when there was no hospital there. While a royal decree shows that the King granted Doña Catalina assistance based

---

<sup>114</sup> "Petition of Isabel de Salas, Viuda," AGI Santo Domingo 234.

<sup>115</sup> "Petition of Doña María Menéndez de Posada," November, 1629, Madrid, AGI Santo Domingo 6 (Jeannette Thurber Connor microfilm).

<sup>116</sup> See Chapter One.

on her own efforts as well as those of her two husbands and other male relatives, Doña María claimed that her mother never received anything and died in great poverty.<sup>117</sup> The widow Catalina de Valdés based her request for support, not only on the service of her husband, the soldier Gabriel Hernández, but also that of her mother, an Escamazu *cacica* who served as a spy for the Spaniards during Sir Francis Drake's 1586 invasion of St. Augustine.<sup>118</sup>

Some of the widows' requests for assistance stated that their husbands had spent their dowries in the service of the King, and they made their petitions at least implicitly as requests for reimbursement of their money and possessions. In this period a husband had use of a wife's dowry during his lifetime, but at his death, she was to receive goods or money equal to her dowry's original value. Writings on the dowry during this time stress that, instead of serving as a "bride price," this gift from a woman's parents or guardians was meant to offer her and her children some security in widowhood.<sup>119</sup> Whether it was her dowry she spent or not, Doña Catalina Menéndez apparently used her own money in treating soldiers in her home.<sup>120</sup> María del Corral, whose second marriage was arranged

---

<sup>117</sup> "Real Cédula Concediendo . . . [Doña Catalina Menéndez, Viuda]," October 12, 1613, Lerma, AGI Santo Domingo 2529 (Stetson Collection). "Petition of Doña María Menéndez de Posada," November, 1629, Madrid, AGI Santo Domingo 6 (Jeannette Thurber Connor microfilm).

<sup>118</sup> "Catalina de Valdés . . .," 1606?, St. Augustine; March 6, 1606, Madrid, AGI Santo Domingo 232 (Stetson Collection). "Petition of Catalina de Valdés," 1612, n.p., AGI 53-2-4 (Jeannette Thurber Connor microfilm). See Chapter Four of this dissertation.

<sup>119</sup> See Pareja Ortiz, *Presencia de la Mujer Sevillana en Indias*, 111. See also Eugene Korth, S.J. and Della M. Flusche, "Dowry and Inheritance in Colonial Spanish America: Peninsular Law and Chilean Practice," *The Americas* 43 (April 1987): 395-410; and Asunción Lavrin and Edith Couturier, "Dowries and Wills: A View of Women's Socioeconomic Role in Colonial Guadalajara and Puebla, 1640-1790," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 59 (May 1979): 280-304.

<sup>120</sup> "Petition of Doña María Menéndez de Posada," November, 1629, Madrid, AGI Santo Domingo 6 (Jeannette Thurber Connor microfilm).

by royal officials, stated in her petition for assistance that her husband, the accountant Juan de Arrazola, had spent her dowry in the service of the King.<sup>121</sup> Doña Isabel de Quiñones was perhaps most vocal of all these women in discussing her husbands' use of her dowry money. She told how both Hernando Moyano and Pedro Guerra de la Vega spent her "patrimony" and dowry in the King's service and how she had to use her "dowry goods" to bury her second husband.<sup>122</sup>

The surviving documents from this period of Florida history offer relatively scarce information about the lives of its Spanish female inhabitants, but it is impossible to understand Spain's conquest and colonization of these lands without a consideration of women's role in this undertaking. Studying these women draws our attention away from the more dramatic conquest of territory through military force to the daily efforts that sustained families and communities. These actions, through their sheer repetition, became the processes by which Spain established the deep social, linguistic, and cultural roots which endure in large portions of the Americas today. Focusing on women also draws attention to aspects of men's experiences that have generally been overlooked in studies of this period. For men included not just their participation in military campaigns, but their efforts to establish and sustain households in describing their services to the King. Consideration of the relationships between these men and women is important, not just for understanding Spanish American society at this time, but also the beliefs and expectations

---

<sup>121</sup> "Consejo de Indias Relative to Claim of Doña María del Corral, Widow of Juan de Arrazola," May 17, 1614, Madrid, AGI Santo Domingo 6 (Stetson Collection).

<sup>122</sup> "Petition of Doña Isabel de Quiñones and Doña Isabel de Morales, her daughter," 1602, Havana, Santo Domingo 129 (Stetson Collection).

that Spaniards brought to their interactions with Native American men and women. For, as I will discuss in Chapter Three, Spaniards acting on the assumptions of their patriarchal society encountered matrilineal Indian chiefdoms in the area around Santa Elena. These groups' understandings about gender roles were to have profound personal, as well as political, consequences in shaping these encounters and the history of this region.

## CHAPTER THREE

### EFFORTS AT ASSIMILATION AND THE LIMITS OF ACCOMODATION NATIVE AMERICAN AND SPANISH RELATIONS, 1566-1576

When *adelantado* Pedro Menéndez made his way north from St. Augustine in the Spring of 1566, he found the Guale *cacique*, whose principal town at that time was near the Savannah River, at war with the *cacique* of Orista, whose people lived in the area north of present-day Parris Island, South Carolina.<sup>1</sup> The *adelantado* quickly brokered a peace between them, and then these Native Americans and Spaniards began the process of negotiating relations between themselves. Pedro Menéndez took the customary direct approach in requesting the Indians' loyalty to the Spanish King and their conversion to Catholicism.<sup>2</sup> The Spaniards also apparently exacted tribute payments and labor from the

---

<sup>1</sup> Gonzalo Solís de Merás, "Memorial que Hizo el Dr. Gonzalo Solís de Merás de Todas las Jornadas y Sucesos del Adelantado Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, su Cuñado, y de la Conquista de la Florida y Justicia que Hizo en Juan Ribao y Otros Franceses," in *La Florida: su Conquista y Colonización por Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, ed. Eugenio Ruidíaz y Caravia (Madrid: Hijos de J.A. García, 1893; reprint, Madrid: Colegio Universitario de Ediciones Istmo, 1989), 197 (page citation is to reprint edition). See Grant D. Jones, "The Ethnohistory of the Guale Coast Through 1684," in *Ethnology of the Indians of Spanish Florida*, ed. David Hurst Thomas, vol. 8, *Spanish Borderlands Sourcebooks*, ed. David Hurst Thomas (New York: Garland Publishing, 1991), 254, where he gives the location for the Orista as "on Beaufort River, north of Parris Island near Coosaw River." On this page Jones says that an analysis of the French and Spanish sources suggests to him that "the *mico* of Guale had his principal town either along the inland waterway of Skidaway Island (the French descriptions favor this location) or the Ossabaw Island along the Bear River (favored by the Spanish descriptions)."

<sup>2</sup> It is not clear if the *adelantado* used the speech known as the "Requirement" (*Requerimiento*) as he approached various Native American groups in La Florida, but as the Gonzalo Solís de Merás account shows, the issues of conversion to Catholicism and loyalty to Spain seem to have come up soon after Menéndez met these leaders. For a discussion of the Requirement, see Patricia Seed, "The Requirement: A Protocol for Conquest," in *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 69-99.



Native Americans, although the institution of *encomienda* was not practiced, and officials often denied that they received tribute.<sup>3</sup> But while the Spaniards may have thought the Indians had acceded to their terms, these residents of the present-day Georgia and South Carolina coasts pursued their own strategies to assimilate the newcomers into their political, economic, and social systems. They, too, may have expected success from their efforts, for the Spanish and Mississippian Indian cultures shared surface similarities which likely masked some differences in the groups' early interactions.<sup>4</sup> Finally, however, the level of Spanish demands surpassed the limits of the Indians' fairly flexible system. This in combination with abuses by members of the military and some of the governing elite brought the Indians of this region to the point of rebellion. At the heart of all these interactions were the very different understandings of gender which shaped relations between the patriarchal Spanish culture and these matrilineal Indian chiefdoms in important ways.

While the documentation of encounters between these groups comes exclusively from the Spanish point-of-view, it is possible to infer some of the Native Americans' motivations, as well as their interpretations of the Spaniards' behavior through these sources examined in conjunction with ethnological studies which describe these societies

---

<sup>3</sup> Charles Gibson, "Indian Societies under Spanish Rule," in vol. 2, *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, ed. Leslie Bethell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 386, says regarding *encomienda* that "Its basic and universal feature was the assignment of groups of Indians to selected Spanish colonists (*encomenderos*) for tribute and labour." See pp. 386-87 of this essay for Gibson's discussion of various aspects of this institution and its change over time.

<sup>4</sup> Charles Hudson and Carmen Chaves Tesser, eds., introduction to *The Forgotten Centuries: Indians and Europeans in the American South, 1521-1704* (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1994), 5-6. On p. 7 they note, however, that "Mississippian culture was not everywhere the same."

and cultures.<sup>5</sup> By the time of his initial meetings with the Orista and the Guale, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés had already encountered the Indians of present-day southern Florida. The Orista and the Guale had most recently had extensive dealings with the French, but earlier Spanish expeditions had also come to their coasts.<sup>6</sup> The French apparently played a role in the hostilities between these groups that were underway when Pedro Menéndez and his men arrived.<sup>7</sup> The surviving account of the *adelantado*'s first encounter with the Orista and the Guale does not state the reasons for their war, but it provides clues as to factors which would have exacerbated any tensions between them. Both groups were suffering food shortages due to an extended drought, and the French had allied themselves with the Guale, burned a town of the Orista chiefdom, and captured some of its people.<sup>8</sup> At the time of Menéndez's arrival in Guale, the *cacique* there held two leaders allied with the Orista leadership and planned to kill them soon.<sup>9</sup> Pedro Menéndez began his efforts to negotiate peace between these groups right away and, urging the Guale to release the

---

<sup>5</sup> See James Axtell, "Ethnohistory: An Ethnohistorian's Viewpoint" in *Ethnohistory* 26 (Winter 1979): 1-13.

<sup>6</sup> Some of these Indian groups encountered Spaniards before Pedro Menéndez's 1566 expedition through the earlier Spanish exploration and colonization attempts along this coast which I discuss in the Introduction; slave raids; or visits such as that of Hernán Manrique de Rojas to investigate the reported French presence at Santa Elena. See Lucy L. Wenhold, "Manrique de Rojas's Report on French Settlement in Florida, 1564," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 38 (July, 1959): 45-62. The *adelantado*'s initial exchange with the Frenchman the Guale sent to investigate the arriving party suggests the Guales' prior awareness of the Spaniards, whether from the Frenchmen or from direct experience. See Solís de Merás, "Memorial," 194.

<sup>7</sup> Jones, "Ethnohistory of the Guale Coast," 253, observes that the Orista and Guale sometimes formed a "loose federation" and that "In 1566, the federation was in a state of collapse, but vigorous Spanish exploitation led to its revival by the time of the 1576 rebellion." This is what I have observed in my research as well. The Spanish documents I have seen report no further conflicts among the Native American groups of Guale and the Santa Elena region through the end of my period of study.

<sup>8</sup> See Solís de Merás, "Memorial," 194-205, for an account of Pedro Menéndez's initial encounters with the Guale and the Orista.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 195-96. This account calls the hostages "indios principales."

prisoners as a gesture of good faith, he left several of his own men as replacements for these hostages.<sup>10</sup> Ten years later, an alliance of the Orista and the Guale with other Native Americans of this region would destroy the fort and town of Santa Elena which Menéndez was then on his way to establish.

### **Efforts at Assimilation**

When Pedro Menéndez founded Santa Elena in April, 1566, the Orista were the dominant group in the area of Port Royal Sound.<sup>11</sup> Anthropologist Grant D. Jones says that during the period from 1526 to 1586, there were either two chiefdoms in this area, that of Escamazu-Ahoya and that of Orista, or that the former two towns were part of a larger single chiefdom dominated by the Orista.<sup>12</sup> Whatever this chiefdom's structure, the leaders of these three towns distributed food to the others through joint feasts held for this purpose.<sup>13</sup> The political organization of these chiefdoms and the Guale-Covecxis (Guale-Tolomato after 1575) chiefdom to the south was centered around two principal towns whose leaders, called "micos," governed together and alternated in serving as the supreme leader of the chiefdom.<sup>14</sup> In addition to these principal towns, chiefdoms included

---

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 197, reports the joy of the Guale Indians about Menéndez's efforts to make peace with the Orista because "los indios de Santa Elena eran mas poderosos e mataban muchos indios a este cacique Guale."

<sup>11</sup> Jones, "Ethnohistory of the Guale Coast," 255, makes this claim but then says "this appearance may be due to its proximity to French and Spanish settlements on Parris Island."

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 254.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 247, 255.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 251. Grant Jones notes that sometimes one of these two principal leaders was called the "mico mayor" and the other "mico" or else one was called the "mico" and the other "cacique." He also observes that "mico" was "apparently an indigenous Creek term" and that "cacique" "had been imported to the Guale coast from the Caribbean." David Hurst Thomas, introduction to *Ethnology of the Indians of*

secondary towns and “lesser settlements.” The *micos* governed in cooperation with a council whose members, sometimes referred to in Spanish sources as “principales,” were leaders from the other communities in the chiefdoms.<sup>15</sup> Leadership in these cultures was based on matrilineal succession.<sup>16</sup>

Archaeological and documentary evidence suggests that these coastal chiefdoms maintained contact with chiefdoms of the interior, including those that Juan Pardo visited on his journeys inland from Santa Elena to present South and North Carolina and Tennessee.<sup>17</sup> In his book *The Juan Pardo Expeditions*, anthropologist Charles Hudson

---

*Spanish Florida*, xv, says, “Primary leadership of each chiefdom was rotated between the two principal towns.”

<sup>15</sup> Jones, “Ethnohistory of the Guale Coast,” 251. Jones notes that the secondary leaders were also sometimes called “caciques” in Spanish documents which, he says, “repeatedly list a number of *caciques* ‘subject’ to the *micos*.”

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*; Thomas, introduction to *Ethnology*, xv. Randolph J. Widmer, “The Structure of Southeastern Chiefdoms,” in *Forgotten Centuries*, ed. Hudson and Tesser, 127, says, “Chiefdoms are first and foremost kin-based societies. All of their social, political, and economic activities operate within the framework of kinship. The corporate unilineal descent group is the most common form of this kinship system and is probably the type that characterized chiefdoms of the sixteenth-century southeastern United States. These unilineal descent groups were matrilineal in the agriculturally based chiefdoms of the Southeast.”

<sup>17</sup> See Charles Hudson, *The Juan Pardo Expeditions: Exploration of the Carolinas and Tennessee, 1566-1568 with Documents Relating to the Pardo Expeditions Transcribed, Translated, and Annotated by Paul E. Hoffman* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990), 111, 141 (photo of a conch shell found at a Tennessee site). On p. 111 Hudson writes, “Some of Pardo’s transactions suggest that he participated in a Southeastern trade arrangement that has long been thought to have existed.” Jones, “Ethnohistory of the Guale Coast,” 248 lists items traded between coastal and inland regions. John E. Worth, *Assimilation*, vol. 1, *The Timucuan Chiefdoms of Spanish Florida*, Ripley P. Bullen Series, ed. Jerald T. Milanich (Gainesville, Fla.: University Press of Florida, 1998), 12-13, discusses the importance of trade among leaders of Mississippian chiefdoms. On p. 12 Worth notes, “The trappings of chiefly office were numerous and varied in Mississippian chiefdoms, including a wide range of articles of clothing, adornment, and other regalia. . . . there is good archaeological evidence that one of the primary activities of chiefs and other nobles was establishing and maintaining comparatively long-distance trading relationships in which exotic luxury items were exchanged between chiefs for purposes of ostentatious display within their own chiefdoms.” “Father Juan Rogel to Father Juan de Hinistrosa,” December 11, 1569, Santa Elena, in Félix Zubillaga, S.J., ed., *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae, 1566-1572* (Rome: Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, 1946), 400, described the Orista as “muy mercaderes, saben muy bien comprar y vender y van a sus tratos la tierra adentro, llevando cosas que allá no ay y trayendo las que no ay por acá.”

discusses the coastal Indians' trade of conch shells for "high-quality deerskins" with the Indians of the interior.<sup>18</sup> He also mentions evidence for a Native American salt trade in accounts from both the Pardo and de Soto expeditions.<sup>19</sup> The chiefdoms inland shared a Mississippian social and economic structure with those of the coast, and many of them apparently had language similarities as well.<sup>20</sup> Native Americans of the interior had experienced less contact with Europeans than the Orista and the Guale, although in 1540 the Hernando de Soto expedition visited several of the same inland towns as the Juan Pardo expeditions.<sup>21</sup> Still, by the middle of the sixteenth century, the indigenous population of these interior regions had already begun to decline due to the introduction of European diseases. By the late seventeenth century many of these towns had ceased to exist.<sup>22</sup>

Pedro Menéndez de Avilés believed he was claiming these lands and their peoples for the Spanish King and Catholicism, but he was also being claimed and literally and

<sup>18</sup> Hudson, *Juan Pardo Expeditions*, 111. Hudson notes, "The readiness with which the Indians could supply deerskins to Pardo suggests that they were regularly used as a medium of tribute. This confirms observations made by members of the Soto expedition. . . . Both at the mouth of the St. Johns River and at Port Royal Sound, Indians gave gifts of deerskins to Jean Ribaut in 1562."

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 111-12.

<sup>20</sup> See *ibid.*, 52-61, for Charles Hudson's discussion of "The Mississippian Transformation." As noted above, there was some variation in the cultures structured along these same basic social and economic patterns. On p. 52 Hudson observes that the language Juan Pardo's interpreter used to communicate with the Indians of the interior was "the language spoken by the Orista Indians or else a Creek lingua franca." On pp. 68-109 Hudson traces the language differences in the places Juan Pardo visited.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 51. In the discussion that follows on pp. 62-109 of the places Pardo visited, Hudson brings in evidence from the Soto chronicles.

<sup>22</sup> See Hudson and Tesser, introduction to *Forgotten Centuries*, 10. Also see Marvin T. Smith, "Aboriginal Depopulation in the Postcontact Southeast," in *Forgotten Centuries*, ed. Hudson and Tesser, 257-59, 272.

symbolically incorporated into these chiefdoms' power structure. Pedro García de Salazar, a Santa Elena soldier, testified in 1577 that the Guale called the *adelantado* "'mico Santamaría' which in their language means principal chief (*cacique mayor*)."<sup>23</sup> In an inquiry into the reasons behind the 1576 uprising and destruction of Santa Elena, ensign Baltasar de Sigüenza stated that after the Indians "learned that the said *adelantado* was dead, they never were on what seemed friendly terms because it was understood by them that the men remaining were not great lords such as he was."<sup>24</sup> Whether through his own efforts or those of the Indians, Menéndez was apparently able to establish a strong identification between himself and the leaders of the northern Florida chiefdoms. One factor which likely helped in this was the elaborate network of communication between Native American leaders described in the Gonzalo Solís de Merás account, not only in this region, but south toward St. Augustine and inland from the coast. Solís de Merás told how, through this network, word had spread "from *cacique* to *cacique*" of the *adelantado*'s victory over the French, and he said that the Indians were afraid of Menéndez.<sup>25</sup> When the *mico* of Orista allied himself with the Spanish and declared his intention to become a "true Christian," he sent runners inland to inform other leaders of the chiefdom that the Spaniards were their friends.<sup>26</sup>

---

<sup>23</sup> "Interrogatory of Don Diego de Velasco," April 24, 1577, Havana, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 1068. Eugene Lyon, "Aspects of Pedro Menéndez the Man," in *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, ed. Eugene Lyon, vol. 24, *Spanish Borderlands Sourcebooks*, ed. David Hurst Thomas (New York: Garland Publishing, 1995), 21, translates "Mico SantaMaría" as "Holy Mary's Chief of Chiefs."

<sup>24</sup> "Probanza de las Cosas de las Provincias de la Florida," October 28, 1576, Havana, in AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 336vo.

<sup>25</sup> Solís de Merás, "Memorial," 198.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 201.

Pedro Menéndez likely interpreted the reception he received on the Orista and Guale coasts as a declaration of loyalty by vassals to their lord. But he and the other Florida Spaniards did not apparently realize the highly conditional nature of authority in these chiefdoms. Charles Hudson points out that in these cultures, “chiefs possessed no more than rudimentary means of sanctioning or repressing their people, so that typically they reigned more than they ruled.” This, Hudson remarks, was likely the reason why “instability was a fact of life in Mississippian chiefdoms.”<sup>27</sup> While the *micos* possessed the ability to raise a military force, these leaders also exerted control over the redistribution of some of the resources within the chiefdom.<sup>28</sup> Scholars have noted how the *micos* expended much effort in ceremonial activities designed to legitimize their authority, including mound construction in many of them.<sup>29</sup> Another important aspect of these

---

<sup>27</sup> Hudson, *Juan Pardo Expeditions*, 60.

<sup>28</sup> Thomas, introduction to *Ethnology*, xv-xvi, discusses the chiefs' role in the regional economy as “collectors and redistributors of food and other products” then says, “The most common mode of redistribution was the periodic ritual feast . . . .” Jones, “Ethnohistory of the Guale Coast,” 247, says that “The implications of resource distribution and settlement location are of critical importance for an understanding of the economic functions of chiefdom political organization, for it is apparent that the chiefs (*micos*) were collectors and redistributors of at least the horticultural products.” Worth, *Timucuan Chiefdoms*, vol. 1, 5, states, “The degree to which this hierarchy corresponds to unequal access to resources (both subsistence and luxury goods), including the extraction of chiefly tribute and the control of redistribution, is a much-debated point; but some link clearly exists between the sociopolitical centralization displayed by chiefdoms and their underlying economic infrastructure.” On pp. 9-11 Worth elaborates on these links and winds up discussing on p. 11 how tribute was one of the things that cemented these chiefdoms. Widmer, “Structure of Southeastern Chiefdoms,” 137-42, explains the significance of redistribution to chiefly power. On p. 142 he discusses the importance of military power in maintaining authority.

<sup>29</sup> Hudson, *Juan Pardo Expeditions*, 55, discusses the “mythological charter” showing that chiefs and their kin were “direct descendants of the sun,” and on p. 56 he speculates about the role of the mounds in reinforcing the chief's authority. See Worth, *Timucuan Chiefdoms*, vol. 1, 11-12, where he says, “One essential element of the Mississippian social system was the public legitimization of hereditary rank ascribed to the noble matrilineage. Many activities associated with the Mississippian culture were directly tied to ostentatious public display by members of the chiefly clan, which served to reinforce and affirm the traditional social ranking (and associated inequalities) associated with the Mississippian chiefdoms.”

chiefdoms' leadership was governing through the council and recognizing the authority of the *caciques* of the constituent towns.<sup>30</sup> Within this system, a leader's power tended to fluctuate over his or her lifetime, and even the towns that were the centers of power tended to rise and fall in importance.<sup>31</sup>

The Orista welcomed *adelantado* Pedro Menéndez in elaborate ceremonies and granted him a position of respect and some degree of authority in their chiefdom, even as they limited the amount of real power he could exercise among them. Once the Orista captives that Menéndez was returning from the Guale assured their countrymen that these Europeans were not their enemies, they made "a great show of respect" for the *adelantado* and sent messengers on foot and by canoe to inform the other towns and *caciques* of the Spaniards' arrival. As Pedro Menéndez and his men feasted with the Indians from this unnamed first town, three *caciques* who were subject to Orista arrived and directed Menéndez to join Orista and some of his other captains and *caciques* for a feast at a town one league from there the next day.<sup>32</sup> In addition to accepting the offer of peace that the *adelantado* brought from the Guale, the Orista leader and his council

---

<sup>30</sup> Jones, "Ethnohistory of the Guale Coast," 253, discusses this and says, "While individual *micos* occasionally wielded considerable influence, it appears that they required broad support from other leaders." Solís de Merás, "Memorial," 199, shows the leader of Orista meeting with his "principales." Worth, *Timucuan Chiefdoms*, vol. 1, 10, talks about the structure of the chiefdoms.

<sup>31</sup> See Hudson, *Juan Pardo Expeditions*, 54, 60.

<sup>32</sup> Eugene Lyon, "Continuity in the Age of Conquest," in *Alabama and the Borderlands: From Prehistory to Statehood*, ed. R. Reid Badger and Lawrence A. Clayton (University, Ala.: University of Alabama Press, 1985), 159, says "a Spanish league of the sixteenth century was approximately 3 miles." Roland Chardon, "The Elusive Spanish League: A Problem of Measurement in Sixteenth-Century New Spain," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 60 (May 1980): 294-302, describes the confusion surrounding this unit of measurement and gives an estimate of around  $5.572 \pm 0.02$  kilometers for the *legua común*, which he says was commonly used in New Spain at least as the measure of travel distances. This figure converts to closer to 3.5 miles.



apparently told Menéndez that they wanted to become “true Christians,” and that they wanted him to live among them as their “eldest brother in order to do what he directs them to do.” They also pledged that the “false Christians” would be their enemies.<sup>33</sup> After these negotiations came a ceremonial feast, and many Indian women brought corn, cooked fish, oysters, and acorns. The *adelantado* contributed wine and ship biscuit dipped in honey-water from his provisions. Gonzalo Solís de Merás reported that there was “great rejoicing and happiness” during this celebration.<sup>34</sup>

Once the food was finished, the Indians sat Pedro Menéndez in the *cacique*'s seat and then, “with various displays,” the Orista leader approached the *adelantado* and took his hands, followed by the rest of the *caciques* and Indians. The mother and relatives of the hostages Menéndez returned from Guale also caressed the Spaniard and cried with pleasure. After this, the Indians began to sing and dance, while the *caciques* and some of the “principal Indians” remained with Menéndez as this celebration continued half the night. The next day the Indians apparently made many public proclamations in this town not to harm the Spaniards, and then the *adelantado* traveled with the Orista leader and his wife to their town, where the Indians reportedly performed a ceremony like that in the previous town and ordered that the same pronouncements be made.<sup>35</sup> Gonzalo Solís de Merás stated that the Guale also adopted Pedro Menéndez as their “eldest brother,” but

---

<sup>33</sup> Solís de Merás, “Memorial,” 200. According to p. 196 of this account, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés had used the term “false Christians” (*cristianos de mentira*) to refer to the French Protestants when he explained why the Spaniards were their enemies.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 199-201.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

Menéndez probably did not understand what this meant within the Oristas' matrilineal society.<sup>36</sup> In these cultures, power resided in one dominant family lineage, and membership in this lineage passed through the mother.<sup>37</sup> For the Orista and the Guale, the role of "eldest brother" would have been that of a protector, rather than that of a figure who held power within the dominant lineage.<sup>38</sup> Security from the French was clearly what the Orista needed at this time, and Pedro Menéndez had already proven himself capable of defeating them. The Indians' expectations of protection must have been communicated to Pedro Menéndez. According to Gonzalo Solís de Merás, when the Orista leader sent word to the *caciques* inland about his friendship with the Spaniards, his messengers informed them that Orista and some other leaders had taken Pedro Menéndez as their "eldest brother" (*hermano mayor*) "in order to defend them from their enemies."<sup>39</sup>

If the Guale did indeed call Pedro Menéndez de Avilés "mico Santamaría," then this is an interesting title for several reasons. The "mico" part seems to indicate a degree

---

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 202.

<sup>37</sup> Worth, *Timucuan Chiefdoms*, vol. 1, 5 says, "... perhaps the most diagnostic feature of chiefdoms is that they are what anthropologists call rank societies, meaning that social status and political power are determined by genealogical nearness to a single noble family lineage from which the heirs to the principal chief's office are always drawn. Access to status and power are determined at birth (ascribed rank as opposed to achieved rank), resulting in a strictly formalized social hierarchy based not on personal achievements or wealth, but rather on kin relationships."

<sup>38</sup> Patricia Galloway, "'The Chief Who Is Your Father': Choctaw and French Views of the Diplomatic Relation," in *Powhatan's Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast*, ed. Peter H. Wood, Gregory A. Waselkov, and M. Thomas Hatley, *Indians of the Southeast*, ed. Theda Perdue and Michael D. Green (Lincoln, Nebr.: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), 255-56, discusses the roles of men in these matrilineal Southeastern Indian cultures and, on p. 263, states that "the Choctaws did consciously use the kinship metaphor in diplomacy." On p. 269, Galloway tells how in the Choctaws' use of the metaphorical title of "brother" to describe their relationship with the French, "... kin and nonkin were separated terminologically, and a 'brother' could fall on the side of the father, as nonkin." See Worth's discussion of the functioning of this kinship system in *Timucuan Chiefdoms*, vol. 1, 8-9.

<sup>39</sup> Solís de Merás, "Memorial," 201.

of respect if not authority for Menéndez, and his receipt of tribute from these Indians appears to confirm that they saw him in some sort of a leadership role.<sup>40</sup> In Spanish accounts, the *micos* and *caciques* carried the names of their groups, which the Spaniards also used to refer to their towns and their lands.<sup>41</sup> The use of the name “Santamaría” in this title may have been in contrast to the ruling lineage’s claim to power as descendants of the sun, which the Guale apparently worshiped. For from the *adelantado*’s first encounters with the Guale, he linked himself to Catholicism.<sup>42</sup> When the Guale *cacique* asked Menéndez why he was at war with the “other Christians,” Menéndez described his conflict with the French in religious terms, saying that they were his enemies because they were “rebellious to God.” The *adelantado* told the Guale about the “power and goodness of God” then made what appears to have been a great show of having a large cross driven into the ground, gathering everyone for the singing of the litany, then kneeling to adore and kiss the cross. Solís de Merás said that “the *cacique* and all the Indian men and women did the same.”<sup>43</sup> In his subsequent encounters with the Orista *cacique* and the

---

<sup>40</sup> As I mention above, there was a tradition of exchanges between Native American leaders, and some of their giving of items to the Spaniards seems to have fit into this category. The tribute payments collected by Captain Juan Pardo more closely resembled those secondary leaders would give to a higher authority.

<sup>41</sup> Hudson, *Juan Pardo Expeditions*, 62, observes, “Like oratas [another Native American leadership position], *micos* generally took their name from the societies they governed.” It is impossible to know how closely the Spaniards’ usage reflected the Native American practice. Jones, “Ethnohistory of the Guale Coast,” 254, gives an example in which the location of a town changed, but the name remained the same.

<sup>42</sup> Hudson, *Juan Pardo Expeditions*, 55, says, “Historical evidence from the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Southeast shows that one device used to reinforce this difference was a mythological charter, which held that the chief and his blood kin were direct descendants of the sun, a principal upper-world deity in the belief system of many--perhaps all--Southeastern Indians.” “Father Juan Rogel to Father Francisco de Borja,” November 10, 1568, Havana, in *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, ed. Zubillaga, 332.

<sup>43</sup> Solís de Merás, “Memorial,” 196-97.

leaders from towns subject to Orista, Pedro Menéndez continued to promote this strong identification between himself and the symbols and rituals of Catholicism.<sup>44</sup>

### Tribute

Pedro Menéndez's first encounters with the Orista chiefdom involved the exchange of food and other gifts. Gonzalo Solís de Merás tells how, on Menéndez's first night in a town subject to the leader of Orista, the Indians there made a big fire and cooked shellfish for the *adelantado* and his men. The following night, Orista and other leaders of the chiefdom held the feast described above, to which Menéndez contributed some food from his ship's stores. When Orista sent word to the inland *caciques* that he and some of the chiefdom's other *caciques* had adopted Pedro Menéndez as their "eldest brother" and wanted to become Christians, the messengers reportedly also said that the *adelantado* would be waiting to receive them in order to give them "some of the things that he brought." Many *caciques* then arrived at the Santa Elena site and held feasts through which they took Pedro Menéndez as their "eldest brother."<sup>45</sup> In addition to the Christians and tools for building a cross which Menéndez sent home with these men, he also gave them "trade goods (*rescates*) and an ax apiece, with which they were very contented."<sup>46</sup>

---

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 201-2. When Menéndez sent "one or two Christians" and tools to make a cross with each of the inland *caciques* who visited him at Santa Elena, he instructed the Spaniards to "everyday, in the morning and afternoon, say the Christian catechism and adore the holy cross in order that the Indians [learn] it and [imitate] them."

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 199-201.

<sup>46</sup> The word "rescate" could have several meanings in these documents. In this sense, "rescate" means "trade goods for barter," the definition given by John Worth in *Timucuan Chiefdoms*, vol. 1, 183. He writes, "Examples of these items disbursed from the royal warehouse in St. Augustine in 1685 for dispatch to Guale for just such transactions included knives, hoes, axes, adzes, glass beads, bedspreads,

The *caciques* gave the *adelantado* “well-tanned deerskins (*gamuzas*) and some pearls of which there are many in that land, although of little value, being scorched.”<sup>47</sup>

The gift-giving was more one-way than reciprocal in Pedro Menéndez’s initial meetings with the Guale. Solís de Merás described how the *adelantado* gave some ship biscuit, dried figs, and trade goods to the first Indians he encountered on the Guale coast. This account made no mention of the Guale *mico* holding a feast or giving any gifts to the Spaniards until after Menéndez had returned from his trip to the Orista chiefdom. Then, he only gave “many *gamuzas*, which are tanned deer skins, and corn and fish” to the young catechists (*niños de la doctrina*). They told the Guale leader that they would pray for rain when he was sad because Pedro Menéndez told him that God was very angry with him and would not send rain.<sup>48</sup> The reason that Guale apparently did not offer more gifts may have been the severe drought which had dried up the fields and left the Indians there “sad because of the little food that they had.”<sup>49</sup> The Orista chiefdom was also facing a shortage of rainfall and food during this time, but a more powerful chief would have had the resources to hold feasts even during a time of scarcity.<sup>50</sup> The Guale *mico* may also

---

and cloth.” As I discuss below, many of these things were used as *rescate* during my period of study over one hundred years earlier.

<sup>47</sup> Solís de Merás, “Memorial,” 202. The pearls were scorched because Native American women used fire to open the oysters containing them. See Amy T. Bushnell, *Situado and Sabana: Spain’s Support System for the Presidio and Mission Provinces of Florida*, *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, no. 74 (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1994), 72, note 1.

<sup>48</sup> Solís de Merás, “Memorial,” 203.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 197.

<sup>50</sup> See Worth, *Timucuan Chiefdoms*, vol. 1, 11, for a discussion of how a chief’s control of tribute items translated into access to power. Solís de Merás, “Memorial,” 202, stated that it had been “many months” since it had rained in the area included in the Orista chiefdom.

have delayed exchanging gifts with the Spaniards because he seemed more reluctant to commit his chiefdom to friendship with them, no doubt because of his existing alliance with the French.

Reciprocity was at the heart of peaceful exchanges on many levels in these Indian cultures.<sup>51</sup> In his book *The Roots of Dependency*, Richard White notes that for the Choctaw Indians, “politics, social life, and economics were inseparable, and reciprocity and redistribution made up the glue holding them together.”<sup>52</sup> He writes that the Choctaw chiefs in their encounters with the French “believed that they were establishing an alliance based upon the obligations of generosity and reciprocity that ordered their own society. Like brothers, the two allied nations should meet each other’s needs . . . . Without generosity there was neither friendship nor alliance; peaceful contact would give way to bloodshed and theft.”<sup>53</sup> White also states that the Choctaw chiefs “maintained power not by hoarding goods but rather by giving them away.”<sup>54</sup> White could be speaking about the Guale and Orista chiefdoms here. In the literature on these Mississippian chiefdoms, there appears to be some debate as to the nature and function of redistribution within them.<sup>55</sup>

---

<sup>51</sup> See Richard White, *The Roots of Dependency: Subsistence, Environment, and Social Change among the Choctaws, Pawnees, and Navajos* (Lincoln, Nebr.: University of Nebraska Press, 1983), 42-43. White’s discussion of redistribution and reciprocity in Choctaw culture could stand for the cultures under consideration in my study.

<sup>52</sup> White, *Roots of Dependency*, 42.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 42-43.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 42.

<sup>55</sup> Widmer, “Structure of Southeastern Chiefdoms,” 137, says that “Redistribution is the economic mechanism by which chiefs pool resources in a central location in order to later return them to their constituents in times of need.” He alludes to “critics of redistribution theory” on this page and says that evidence of redistribution exists in sixteenth-century documents. On p. 139, however, Widmer says that he does not believe that “there is specialization of resource procurement in local territories within chiefdoms,” unlike Thomas, introduction to *Ethnology*, xv-xvi, and Jones, “Ethnohistory of the Guale

Scholars seem to agree, however, that tribute was part of the obligation members of these societies owed to those of higher rank, and that the *mico*'s ability to redistribute resources was a significant factor in determining the amount of power he could exercise.<sup>56</sup>

For a time, the Spanish behavior could be understood as reciprocity, for even as the Spaniards demanded tribute, they offered the Indians a range of gifts.<sup>57</sup> The items Pedro Menéndez and his men gave the Indians included garments, in part because their nudity bothered the Spaniards, who associated the wearing of clothing with the state of being Christian.<sup>58</sup> Account records from the period register hats, long coats, doublets, shirts, breeches, knee-stockings, shoes, and blankets that were given to various *caciques*. On one occasion, some Indian women received several coarse canvas (*anjeo*) sacks to use in making themselves aprons (*devantales*), and other listings show fabric for clothing

---

Coast," 247, which talks about the variability of resources both within and between the chiefdoms in this area.

<sup>56</sup> Widmer, "Structure of Southeastern Chiefdoms," 137, says, ". . . the major process of economic integration in chiefdoms is redistribution, and it is from this process that ranking is financed." Worth, *Timucuan Chiefdoms*, vol. 1, 11, states that "Tribute represented the goods or services owed to the high-ranking individual or lineage (such as the village headman or the head chief and his or her noble matrilineage) and constituted an important linkage between the settlements within the broader chiefdom." After explaining how this payment of tribute worked, Worth goes on to say that "In this way, leaders were able to amass an often considerable quantity of surplus foodstuffs and other items under their direct control, amounting to a real wealth and thus real power." He then observes, "While one primary function of chiefly storehouses was presumably to provide a readily accessible reserve of food and other supplies in cases of dire need (such as local or regional crop loss due to drought, freeze, and flood damage), surplus wealth was undoubtedly used by chiefs for a variety of functions associated with the legitimization and maintenance of their social and political power."

<sup>57</sup> This appears most clearly in the documents from the Juan Pardo expeditions which I list in Chapter One.

<sup>58</sup> See Solís de Merás, "Memorial," 194, where Pedro Menéndez de Avilés told Guillermo Frances, who was living among the Guale, that it hurt him to see the Frenchman running around naked. See "Interrogatory of Don Diego de Velasco," April 24, 1577, Havana, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 934vo. (question 14), which says, "y para mas los convidar a ser cristianos les dio de vestir a los dichos caciques a su costa . . ."

*caciques*.<sup>59</sup> Among the gifts the Spaniards frequently gave Native American leaders were iron tools, such as hoes, pickaxes, and shovels.<sup>60</sup> At least some of these tools were made from iron bands on wooden barrels, and one account entry lists iron spades that were used to make chisels, wedges, and knives for Indians.<sup>61</sup> The Spaniards held some of the corn the Indians gave them at the fort at Santa Elena and served it to the *caciques* when they visited.<sup>62</sup> They also gave their Native American guests imported Spanish foods such as flour, biscuit, and wine and so, to the Indians, these meals may have resembled the redistributive feasts which they expected from a leader to whom they paid tribute.<sup>63</sup>

In the long Juan de la Bandera account regarding the second Juan Pardo expedition, Spanish gifts and Indian tribute appear as explicitly linked. On his first expedition, Captain Pardo had instructed the many Indian leaders he encountered on his journey inland to gather corn for the Spanish King and to construct houses in which to

---

<sup>59</sup> See records in "Account Given by Juan de la Bandera, Supplykeeper of Fort San Felipe," 1568, AGI Contaduría 941, No. 8 (Center for Historic Research microfilm); "Account of the Supplies, Artillery, Arms, Munitions Received by Juan de Junco, Supplykeeper of the Fort of St. Augustine of La Florida," 1566-1569, AGI Contaduría 941, No. 3 (Center for Historic Research microfilm); and "Relación de los Cargos Contra el Adelantado Pedro Menéndez," 1573, AGI Justicia 1001, No. 4, *ramo* 2 (P.K. Yonge Library microfilm). See also "Interrogatory of Don Diego de Velasco," April 24, 1577, Havana, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 969-69vo.

<sup>60</sup> "Relación de los Cargos Contra el Adelantado Pedro Menéndez," 1573, AGI Justicia 1001, No. 4, *ramo* 2 (P.K. Yonge Library microfilm); "Interrogatory of Don Diego de Velasco," April 24, 1577, Havana, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 933-33vo. (question 11) and fo. 964-64vo. (question 79).

<sup>61</sup> "Relación de los Cargos Contra el Adelantado Pedro Menéndez," 1573, AGI Justicia 1001, No. 4, *ramo* 2 (P.K. Yonge Library microfilm).

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.* "Interrogatory of Don Diego de Velasco," April 24, 1577, Havana, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 932vo.-933 (question 9), 969-69vo., 1040.

<sup>63</sup> Records of other foods being distributed to the Indians appear in "Account Given by Juan de la Bandera, Supplykeeper of Fort San Felipe," 1568, AGI Contaduría 941, No. 8 (Center for Historic Research microfilm); and "Relación de los Cargos Contra el Adelantado Pedro Menéndez," 1573, AGI Justicia 1001, No. 4, *ramo* 2 (P.K. Yonge Library microfilm).



store it.<sup>64</sup> When the leaders known as *Emas orata* and *Pasque orata* reported that they had gathered the corn Pardo had instructed them to grow when he visited them on his first expedition and would soon build the houses he had ordered constructed, Juan Pardo gave each of the *caciques* an axe and some enameled (*ataujia*) buttons.<sup>65</sup> The Bandera account goes on to record further gatherings in which the Indian leaders reported their compliance with Captain Pardo's directions and promised not to remove any of the corn from the storehouse, except by order of the Spanish King or one of his representatives. After these discussions Pardo usually distributed gifts such as hatchets, chisels, knives, wedges, conch shells, necklaces, mirrors, red and white silk decorative braid (*pasamanos*), red and green taffeta, satin, woolen cloth (*pañó de londres*), and linen (*lienzo*), as well as more axes and enameled buttons. Juan de la Bandera repeatedly mentioned the Indians' contentment with their gifts. At Gueca, Captain Pardo told a gathering of Indian leaders that those who had no corn were to give deerskins or salt.<sup>66</sup> Pardo was apparently very successful in his efforts to gather corn for Santa Elena.<sup>67</sup> Charles Hudson attributes this to the existing tribute network that was already in place, and he speculates that most of these Indian

---

<sup>64</sup> Paul Hoffman, trans., "The 'Long' Bandera Relation," in Hudson, *Juan Pardo Expeditions*, 259, implies that this order to gather corn and to construct a house in which to store it was given on the first Pardo expedition.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 259-60. An "orata" was an Indian leader below the level of *mico* as Hudson discusses in *Juan Pardo Expeditions*, 61.

<sup>66</sup> Hoffman, trans., "The 'Long' Bandera Relation," 261-62.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 288-94, discusses Pardo's efforts to get as much of this corn as possible back to Santa Elena. On pp. 288-89, Bandera mentioned the deerskin sacks that Pardo had made for this purpose. Towns of different sizes apparently gave different amounts of corn as explained in "Interrogatory of Don Diego de Velasco," April 24, 1577, Havana, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 1001vo.

leaders may have seen Pardo as a paramount chief.<sup>68</sup> I would argue, however, that it is more likely that they saw Juan Pardo as the representative of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, whose reputation apparently had spread inland.<sup>69</sup>

The Indians' tribute payments continued under various lieutenant governors at Santa Elena, according to testimony given in interrogatories made following the 1576 uprising. Some of these witnesses downplayed the amounts and significance of this tribute or described these items as presents given voluntarily by the Indians in accordance with their customs.<sup>70</sup> Others said that some of Pedro Menéndez's lieutenants forced the Guale and Orista to give them tribute out of fear.<sup>71</sup> Each of these characterizations likely contained an element of truth. Particularly in earlier encounters, the Indians probably did give presents willingly, as they would have been accustomed to do with one another. There seems to be little doubt, however, that Spanish demands for Native American products and services increasingly involved coercion. Pedro García de Salazar, a Santa Elena soldier, stated that most of the governors at Santa Elena had received tribute from

---

<sup>68</sup> Hudson, *Juan Pardo Expeditions*, 109-10.

<sup>69</sup> There was, for example, the position of "mandador," which Jones, "Ethnohistory of the Guale Coast," 251, says was "an individual who usually accompanied a *mico* or principal *cacique*; Geiger . . . thus considered this position as the 'lieutenant of a *cacique*.'"

<sup>70</sup> For testimony from this point-of-view, see Interrogatory Regarding the Governors and Captains, December, 1576, St. Augustine, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 125; and "Interrogatory of Don Diego de Velasco," April 24, 1577, Havana, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 968vo.-69vo., 1038vo., 1040, 1078vo.-79, 1080-80vo.

<sup>71</sup> For testimony from this point-of-view, see Interrogatory Regarding the Governors and Captains, December, 1576, St. Augustine, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 142, 158, 191vo., 207, 235, 256-56vo., 270-70vo. See also "Interrogatory of Don Diego de Velasco," April 24, 1577, Havana, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 989-90, 1001-1001vo., 1024-24vo., 1067vo.-68.

the Indians and even claimed that he had collected corn and “conch shell money” (*moneda de caracoles*) for Juan de la Bandera and Captain Alonso de Solís during their terms as governor there.<sup>72</sup> The various testimonies name a range of items that the Indians gave the governors and other Spaniards, including corn, deerskin covers, deerskins (*gamuzas*), matchcoats of bobcat and otter skins, pots (*ollas*), pearls, conch shells, and “hogs that the *cacique* had put out in the woodlands.”<sup>73</sup>

These witnesses generally assessed the items Spaniards received from Native Americans as being of “little value,” including the corn and the treated deerskins. At least some of these items were the product of women’s labor, which would have given them less value in Spanish eyes as well.<sup>74</sup> The Spanish accounts repeatedly described the Florida pearls as blackened and therefore virtually worthless to Spaniards. These pearls acquired their dark hue when Indian women used fire to open the oysters containing them.<sup>75</sup> Sometimes Spanish assessment of these items as having little value was due to their poor condition. Pedro García de Salazar said that the pearls were “more perforated” than those the Spaniards were used to and that some of the deerskins were old and losing

---

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, fo. 1067vo.-68. Here Pedro García de Salazar named the various governors at Santa Elena who received tribute from the Indians, and his list included most of them.

<sup>73</sup> Interrogatory Regarding the Governors and Captains, December, 1576, St. Augustine, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 142, 158, 191vo.-93, 207-207vo., 235-35vo., 256-56vo., 270-70vo.; and “Interrogatory of Don Diego de Velasco,” April 24, 1577, Havana, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 968vo.-70vo., 990-91, 1001vo.-1002vo., 1067vo.-68, 1081vo.-82.

<sup>74</sup> In these cultures, the cultivation of corn was mostly women’s labor, although men helped out with tasks such as preparing the ground. See G. Melvin Herndon, “Indian Agriculture in the Southern Colonies,” *North Carolina Historical Review* 44 (July 1967): 288-90.

<sup>75</sup> Bushnell, *Situado and Sabana*, 72, note 1.

their hair.<sup>76</sup> Still, judging from the demand for these items that surfaces repeatedly in these documents, the Spaniards found some value in them. Juan López, a soldier at Santa Elena, commented that the pearls were to the Indians “like doubloons to us” and said he saw Captain Juan Pardo return from the interior with a large sack of pearls weighing more than ten or twelve *libras*.<sup>77</sup> Spaniards recognized the conch shells which, as Doña María de Pomar said, “can be used to drink” as “money of the Indians” and collected these in tribute.<sup>78</sup> Several of these Spanish witnesses echoed Don Diego de Velasco’s claim that he was the “tributario” in his relationship with Native Americans, and that the items the former governor gave the Indians were of greater value than those he received.<sup>79</sup>

Spanish testimony about Native American gifts and tribute tended to focus on the relative value of the items exchanged. But, perhaps without truly understanding what they observed, these witnesses also reported the importance of these exchanges to their Indian neighbors and the need for Spaniards to receive items graciously, as well as to reciprocate with their own gifts, in order to preserve the peace.<sup>80</sup> Doña María de Pomar told how sometimes Indians would present Don Diego de Velasco with some things of “little value,” such as a clay pot and other “trifles,” such as a dozen chestnuts. She said that

---

<sup>76</sup> “Interrogatory of Don Diego de Velasco,” April 24, 1577, Havana, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 1068vo. However, as noted above, some of the documents specifically describe skins as “well-tanned.”

<sup>77</sup> Interrogatory Regarding the Governors and Captains, December, 1576, St. Augustine, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 192vo.

<sup>78</sup> “Interrogatory of Don Diego de Velasco,” April 24, 1577, Havana, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 1081vo.-82.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, fo. 933-33vo. (question 11), 1002-1002vo., 1040vo.-41vo., 1080vo.

<sup>80</sup> “Interrogatory of Don Diego de Velasco,” April 24, 1577, Havana, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 1024vo., 1041, 1093.

Don Diego accepted all these items with good will, expressing friendship to the Indians since the Spanish interpreters had advised him that if he did not receive these things, he would anger the Indians and cause war.<sup>81</sup> Pedro García de Salazar made a similar observation regarding the importance of graciously receiving the Indians' gifts and added that if a *cacique* presented a gift to a Spaniard, the Indian leader liked for the Spaniard to give this item to "other Indians, poor servants (*criados*) of the said *caciques*."<sup>82</sup> Such a gesture may have furthered a *cacique*'s power among his or her people, but it appears to have been more common for the Spaniards to give gifts to the *caciques* themselves.<sup>83</sup> The fact that these witnesses' testimony focused particularly on the period of Don Diego de Velasco's governorship which ended several months prior to the 1576 uprising indicates that the reciprocity system remained important to these Indians, not only in exchanges among themselves, but in their dealings with the Spaniards even ten years after their initial encounters.

For the Spaniards, tribute was part of what Native Americans owed as vassals of the Spanish King.<sup>84</sup> This was never more clear than in the long Juan de la Bandera account of the Juan Pardo expeditions where, following Pardo's initial speech to a new group of Indians and their giving the "yaa" to indicate--at least in Spanish eyes--their

---

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, fo. 1081.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, fo. 1068-68vo.

<sup>83</sup> The account records mostly show gifts given to *caciques*.

<sup>84</sup> "Relación de los Cargos Contra el Adelantado Pedro Menéndez," 1573, AGI Justicia 1001, No. 4, *ramo* 2 (P.K. Yonge Library microfilm) uses the term "vasallos" in reference to the Florida Indians. See Gibson, "Indian Societies under Spanish Rule," 399, regarding the Indians' payment of tribute as "vassals" of the Spanish King.

agreement with submission to the King of Spain, he instructed the Indians to gather corn for use by the Spaniards and construct a house in which to store it.<sup>85</sup> Gifts to the Indians were for the Spaniards little more than bribes to win their favor and loyalty. In response to an audit of his supply records, *adelantado* Pedro Menéndez explained that he sent food supplies (*bastimentos*), clothing, blankets, fabric, and tools to *caciques* and Indians friendly to the French “in order to win them as friends” and to others who had pledged obedience to King Philip in order to preserve their esteem. He added that giving these gifts was for the benefit and honor of God and of the King and that because of the presentation of these items, the *cacique* and Indian allies of the French “lutherans” had become vassals of the Spanish King and wanted to become Christians.<sup>86</sup> Later Spanish accounts continued to describe gifts to Native Americans as serving this dual purpose of bringing them to Catholicism and the service of the King.<sup>87</sup> Even Jesuit priests apparently used gifts as one of their tools in the conversion of the Indians.<sup>88</sup> On at least one

---

<sup>85</sup> Hoffman, trans., “The ‘Long’ Bandera Relation,” 255, states that Pardo was ordered by Pedro Menéndez de Avilés “that with all possible care he should try to pacify (*allanar*) and calm (*quietar*) the caciques or Indians of all the land and to attract them to the service of God and of his Majesty and likewise to take possession of all the land in his royal name . . . .” On p. 259 Bandera’s account tells how on his first expedition, Pardo was sent out by Menéndez “into the interior of the land of Florida to subject (*sujetar*) and pacify (*allanar*) the caciques and Indians of the land in order that they may be under the dominion and obedience of His Holiness and of the king, Don Philip, our lord.” Other than general references such as this, it is not known what Pardo’s speech contained or how closely it resembled the “Requirement” (*Requerimiento*), the speech Spaniards generally gave in conquest situations. See Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession*, 69-99.

<sup>86</sup> “Relación de los Cargos Contra el Adelantado Pedro Menéndez,” 1573, AGI Justicia 1001, No. 4, *ramo* 2 (P.K. Yonge Library microfilm). Note that “Christians” here means, of course, “Catholics.”

<sup>87</sup> This is articulated particularly in “Interrogatory of Don Diego de Velasco,” April 24, 1577, Havana, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 935vo.-36 (question 16), 964-64vo. (question 79), and 1003.

<sup>88</sup> See “Father Juan Rogel to Father Jerónimo Ruiz del Portillo,” April 25, 1568, Havana, in *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, ed. Zubillaga, 297; “Father Juan Rogel to Father Francisco de Borja,” July 25, 1568, Havana, in *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, 321; “Father Juan Rogel to Father Francisco de Borja,” November 10, 1568, Havana, in *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, 339; “Father Antonio Sedeño to

occasion, the Florida Spaniards gave presents in an attempt to pacify various Native American groups during an uprising.<sup>89</sup>

Because these indigenous cultures defined the cultivation of crops as women's work, Spanish demands for corn as tribute may have caused unexpected tensions in their relationships with the Orista, Guale, and other Indians in this region. Here, an article by historian Kathleen Brown on early encounters between the Algonquian Indians and the English in present-day Virginia may prove instructive. In "The Anglo-Algonquian Gender Frontier," Brown discusses changes in the meaning of tribute that had already begun as part of the Indian leader Powhatan's effort to undercut his culture's system of matrilineal succession and assert his own authority. Kathleen Brown notes that, as an element of this, the "central military force under his command created opportunities for male recognition in which acts of bravery, rather than matrilineal property or political inheritance, determined privileges. Traditions of gift-giving to cement alliances became exchanges of tribute for promises of protection or non-aggression."<sup>90</sup> Brown describes the many ways that interactions between Algonquian and English understandings of male and female gender roles shaped the early encounters between these groups in present-day Virginia, but she observes that the overall direction of the English demands for corn was to "feminize" the Algonquian population by placing both men and women in a role reserved

---

Father Francisco de Borja," November 17, 1568, Havana, in *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, 352. All of these examples refer to Native Americans of the southern part of La Florida.

<sup>89</sup> "Father Juan Rogel to Pedro Menéndez," December 9, 1570, Havana, in *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, ed. Zubillaga, 475.

<sup>90</sup> Kathleen Brown, "The Anglo-Algonquian Gender Frontier," in *Negotiators of Change: Historical Perspectives on Native American Women*, ed. Nancy Shoemaker (New York: Routledge, 1995), 31.

for women in their culture, that of growing and providing food.<sup>91</sup> Brown discusses the many ways that the Algonquians resisted this role and sought to assert their authority over the English. Ultimately, Brown argues, “On both sides, male roles intensified in ways that appear to have reinforced the patriarchal tendencies of each culture.”<sup>92</sup>

Although the Spanish sources from this part of the sixteenth century do not address women’s particular role in horticulture among the Native American populations of the Orista and Guale coasts or in the inland regions that Juan Pardo visited, women likely held the main responsibility for growing their communities’ food.<sup>93</sup> Jesuits Father Juan Rogel, Father Antonio Sedeño, and Brother Francisco Villarreal noted that the Guale and Orista grew corn, and Father Rogel even called the Guale “good farmers [who] cultivate the land and sow and harvest corn in its time.”<sup>94</sup> Brother Villarreal specifically mentioned women only as grinding corn and preparing food.<sup>95</sup> It is unclear why the Jesuits would

---

<sup>91</sup> Most of Brown’s article elaborates on each culture’s gender roles and how they shaped the actions between these groups. Then on “Anglo-Algonquian Gender Frontier,” 41, Brown says, “Using sexual hospitality to ‘disarm’ the strangers and exploiting English needs for food, Algonquians were drawn into a female role as suppliers of English sexual and subsistence needs.”

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>93</sup> Brown, “Anglo-Algonquian Gender Frontier,” 29, explains that “Like indigenous peoples throughout the Americas, Virginia’s Algonquians invoked a divine division of labor to explain and justify differences between men’s and women’s roles on earth.” Then on pp. 29-30, Brown says, “Indian women’s labor centered on cultivating and processing corn, which provided up to seventy-five percent of the calories consumed by residents of the coastal plain. Women also grew squash, peas, and beans, fashioned bedding, baskets, and domestic tools, and turned animal skins into clothing and household items.”

<sup>94</sup> “Father Juan Rogel to Father Francisco de Borja,” November 10, 1568, Havana, in *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, ed. Zubillaga, 332. See also “Father Juan Rogel to Father Francisco de Borja,” July 25, 1568, Havana, in *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, 325; “Brother Francisco Villarreal to Father Francisco de Borja,” March 5, 1570, Tupiqui, in *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, 417; “Father Juan Rogel to Pedro Menéndez,” December 9, 1570, Havana, in *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, 472-74.

<sup>95</sup> “Brother Francisco Villarreal to Father Francisco de Borja,” March 5, 1570, Tupiqui, in *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, ed. Zubillaga, 418, wrote that the *caciques* in the regions of Guale and



have failed to mention women's agricultural labor in describing these Indian groups, for while the Orista and Guale men likely assisted with certain aspects of the cultivation of corn and other crops, their principal responsibilities would have lain elsewhere, such as in hunting and defending their communities.<sup>96</sup> One place in these documents where a clear distinction between Indian women's and men's work was drawn by Spanish observers was when in Cauchi, near present-day Marshall, North Carolina, Captain Juan Pardo and his men noticed a man who went among the women dressed like them with an "apron in front" (*mandile delante*) and doing what the women did. When the Spaniards asked the *cacique* of the town about this man, he replied that the man was his brother and that "because he was not a man for war nor carrying on the business of a man, he went about in that manner like a woman, and he did all that is given to a woman to do."<sup>97</sup>

Whether agricultural work had been familiar to the Indian men of this region prior to the Spaniards' arrival, Spanish witnesses testified that Don Diego de Velasco and

---

Santa Elena had "many wives, three and four and more" and that the *caciques* said they did this so the women would grind their corn and prepare food for them.

<sup>96</sup> See Brown, "Anglo-Algonquian Gender Frontier," 29-30. "Father Juan Rogel to Father Francisco de Borja," November 10, 1568, Havana, in *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, ed. Zubillaga, 332, observed about the Guale that ". . . y los inviernos que no se puede cultivar la tierra danse a caza de venados . . . ."

<sup>97</sup> Hoffman, trans., "The 'Long' Bandera Relation," 267. According to this document, this took place on October 3, 1567. Hudson, *Juan Pardo Expeditions*, 96, gives the present-day location of Cauchi as "in the vicinity of present-day Marshall, North Carolina." As Hudson notes on p. 98, after the description of this exchange with the *cacique* of Cauchi follows the possibly sarcastic note, "The captain, having learned the above, commanded me, Juan de la Bandera, notary, to write it in the above form in order that it may be known and understood how warlike are the Indians of these provinces of Florida in order to give it as truth and testimony whenever I am asked for it." Sarah H. Hill, *Weaving New Worlds: Southeastern Cherokee Women and Their Basketry* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 66, mentions this incident and comments, "It is a slender thread of history suggesting that among Cherokees, as among many native peoples, gender and labor interwove to create identity."

Captain Alonso de Solís forced the Indians to work in their fields.<sup>98</sup> According to Alonso de Olmos, the Indians objected because these men did not pay them anything, but he said that they wanted to serve the other Santa Elena residents who compensated them for their labor.<sup>99</sup> Pedro García de Salas also observed that the Indians complained because these men made them work on their *haciendas* without giving them anything.<sup>100</sup> While the concern for some sort of reciprocity or “payment” may well have been part of Native American men’s objections to being forced into agricultural labor, these Spanish observers would also be unlikely to record any objections by the Indians that this was “women’s work.” Farming was, after all, the reason that many of the witnesses in these interrogatories had been recruited to live and work at Santa Elena. Besides direct coercion such as in the situations described here, Indian men may have been forced into growing corn to meet Spanish demands for tribute in addition to their own populations’ needs for these items. The sources are, however, silent on these questions.

Even when seen through Spanish documents, the Indians’ growing frustration with Spanish demands for goods and their means of extracting them is clear. The Jesuit accounts acknowledged that Spanish soldiers took food from this region’s Native Americans because of the shortage of supplies in their forts. These priests also noted the Indians’ poverty and the hardship this extraction of food, as well as the soldiers’ cruelty,

---

<sup>98</sup> Interrogatory Regarding the Governors and Captains, December, 1576, St. Augustine, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 158, 257, 270vo.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, fo. 257.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, fo. 270vo.

caused them.<sup>101</sup> The disappearance of any sense of reciprocity was likely another main reason for the Native Americans' objections to tribute payments and, eventually, their rebellions. The use of military means to assert authority would not have been unfamiliar to these Indians, but generosity was an even more important quality among them, particularly for a leader whose followers were as greatly outnumbered as the Spaniards. Father Juan Rogel told of an incident around July, 1570 in which Ensign Juan de la Bandera, then lieutenant governor at Santa Elena, went to a feast at Escamazu and demanded that the *caciques* of Orista, Escamazu, and Ahoya bring canoeloads of corn to Santa Elena by a certain day. Bandera also sent forty soldiers to live among the Indians until a Spanish supply ship arrived. After this, the Orista, Escamazu, and neighboring Indians rebelled until Esteban de las Alas and Pedro Menéndez Marqués arrived to calm them "with gifts and flattering words."<sup>102</sup>

There are varying accounts of an incident with the Guale *cacique* who came to Santa Elena with his wife and was baptized there in a February, 1575 ceremony in which Don Diego de Velasco and Doña María Menéndez, his wife, served as their godparents.<sup>103</sup> According to Diego de Velasco and his supporters, when the Guale *cacique* first arrived in Santa Elena, he became seriously ill and was nursed back to health at Don Diego's

---

<sup>101</sup> See "Father Antonio Sedeño to Father Francisco de Borja," March 6, 1570, Guale, in *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, ed. Zubillaga, 426; and "Father Juan Rogel to Pedro Menéndez," December 9, 1570, Havana, in *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, 474-75.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>103</sup> See "Diego de Velasco to Philip II," August, 1575, Florida, in *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, ed. Zubillaga, 533-34; and Bartolomé Martínez, "Martirio de los Padres y Hermanos de la Compañía de Jesús que Martirizaron los Indios del Jacán, Tierra de La Florida, de que Trata Brevemente el Padre Pedro de Ribadeneira en el Libro 3, Capítulo 6 de la Vida del B. P. Francisco de Borja," in *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, 587.

expense in his own home. When the *cacique* recovered, Don Diego apparently instructed him and his wife in Christian teachings, clothed them, and gave them many gifts until they agreed to be baptized. In gratitude, this *cacique* then gave Don Diego a large string of pearls, as well as other gifts.<sup>104</sup> Doña María de Pomar, who had served as a lady-in-waiting to the *adelantada*, Don Diego's mother-in-law, testified that the items the Guale *cacique* gave Don Diego as thanks for curing him included a bobcat matchcoat (*manta de gatos*), two trunks made of cane "that serve as cases to protect clothing," and two conch shells.<sup>105</sup> The questioning about this incident centered around this string of pearls which some witnesses claimed was of little value.<sup>106</sup> Other Spanish witnesses claimed that the string of pearls was taken against the *cacique*'s will and that this incident contributed to the Indians' anger against the Spaniards. According to Alonso de Olmos, the Guale *cacique* told him that the Spaniards had only converted him to Christianity to take his property and make him serve them. Olmos stated that, after this, the Indians began to be estranged from the Christians.<sup>107</sup>

The most dramatic example of the Indians refusing to meet Spanish demands for food came a couple of weeks before the July, 1576 uprising when Hernando Moyano and a company of about twenty men reached the town of Escamazu when a regional feast was

---

<sup>104</sup> This version of the story appears in "Interrogatory of Don Diego de Velasco," April 24, 1577, Havana, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 934-35vo. (questions 13-15), 990vo.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, fo. 1081vo.-82.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, fo. 934vo.-35 (question 14).

<sup>107</sup> Interrogatory Regarding the Governors and Captains, December, 1576, St. Augustine, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 256-56vo.

apparently in progress.<sup>108</sup> According to testimony in one interrogatory, when Ensign Moyano and his men arrived one night, tired, at this town, the Indians did not want to give them something to eat as they had other times. When Moyano and his men took some pots that held porridge (*gacha*) by force, the Indians rose up the next day and killed them.<sup>109</sup> As it turned out, this event was one of the precursors to the 1576 rebellion. Several factors contributed to the eventual outbreak of this uprising, and Spanish observers recognized that an important one was Hernando de Miranda's failure to give gifts to the Indians as his predecessors dating back to *adelantado* Pedro Menéndez de Avilés had done. Two of the five witnesses testifying in an interrogatory about the uprising mentioned this as one of the reasons for the rebellion. When asked about the Indians' grievances against the Spaniards, Ensign Baltasar de Sigüenza stated that Hernando de Miranda had not given the Indians gifts, "the iron tools which they value highly," or food when they visited the fort at Santa Elena.<sup>110</sup> Head pilot Antonio Martín elaborated on this in his answer, saying that the Orista *cacique* was at that time the one whom all the surrounding *caciques* obeyed and that Hernando de Miranda did not present the Orista *cacique* with gifts. Martín echoed Sigüenza's concern that Miranda

---

<sup>108</sup> See the testimony of Pedro Gómez, in "Report on the Uprising of the Indians of Florida, and Loss of the Fort of Santa Elena," January 19, 1577, La Yaguana, Hispaniola, in Jeannette T. Connor, ed., *Colonial Records of Spanish Florida*, vol. 1 (Deland, Fla.: Florida State Historical Society, 1925), 194-97, which says that this incident took place at Orista. Eugene Lyon, trans., "Questionnaire about the Actions of Hernando de Miranda at the Time when Santa Elena Was Abandoned in 1576," in *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, ed. Lyon, 558 (question 16) from Archivo de los Condes de Revillagigedo Canalejas 47, No. 22, images 451-55, also says Orista. "Interrogatory of Don Diego de Velasco," April 24, 1577, Havana, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 931vo.-32 (question 7), describes this incident as taking place at Escamazu.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, fo. 1001, 1066vo.-67.

<sup>110</sup> "Probanza de las Cosas de las Provincias de la Florida," October 28, 1576, Havana, in AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 336.

had not given food to the *caciques* who visited the fort, as the Spanish leaders usually did.<sup>111</sup>

### Labor

Given the Spaniards' view of the Indians as their King's vassals, it was a short step for them to go from demanding goods to labor and personal service. As in other parts of Spanish America, those who came to La Florida sought to live near a settled indigenous population.<sup>112</sup> Pedro Menéndez de Avilés's settlement contract did not specifically mention whether or not he had permission to grant *encomiendas*, but this institution was apparently never practiced in La Florida.<sup>113</sup> There, Spaniards were not able to harness Indian labor on a large scale until the late sixteenth century when a form of *repartimiento*, or labor draft, was instituted.<sup>114</sup> Testimony from Juan de Junco, who served in various military positions and offices at St. Augustine and Santa Elena, showed the kinds of help

---

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, 362vo.-63.

<sup>112</sup> Richard Morse, "The Urban Development of Colonial Spanish America," in vol. 2, *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, ed. Leslie Bethell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 77, says, "The broad reach of the settlement pattern reflected the colonizers' need for centres of control over prospective Indian workers and tributaries. Without Indians, the adage ran, there are no Indies."

<sup>113</sup> See Eugene Lyon, *The Enterprise of Florida: Pedro Menéndez de Avilés and the Spanish Conquest of 1565-1568* (Gainesville, Fla.: University Presses of Florida, 1976), 25, 50. Lyon notes that Menéndez's settlement contract did not mention *encomienda* but that it referred to the terms of the 1563 ordinances regarding conquest and colonization, which did allow for *encomienda*. See Kathleen Deagan, "Sixteenth-Century Spanish-American Colonization in the Southeastern United States and the Caribbean," in *Archaeological and Historical Perspectives on the Spanish Borderlands East*, vol. 2, *Columbian Consequences*, ed. David Hurst Thomas (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990), 229.

<sup>114</sup> See Deagan, "Spanish-Indian Interaction in Sixteenth-Century Florida and Hispaniola," in *Ethnology*, ed. Thomas, 281-82. She claims on p. 281 that "During the early years of colonization, however, tribute was extracted only in the form of material commodities (Lyon 1976: 118-119)." See Worth's discussion of the *repartimiento* labor system in *Timucuan Chiefdoms*, vol. 1, 187-97.

that Spaniards received from the Indians outside formal labor relationships. Junco told how, when he was lieutenant governor of Florida and needed to relay messages or other documents between the forts, he would send one or two soldiers who “passed through the land of the Indians where it is sixty leagues from one fort to the other, and the Indians gave them canoes and food, and the Indians accompanied them as friends.” Junco reported that he had made this trip once and found “good accompaniment and friendship among the said Indians.”<sup>115</sup> The Jesuit Brother Francisco Villarreal described the difficulty of traveling in Indian canoes from *cacique* to *cacique* in Guale, as these canoes were hollowed-out logs and easily overturned.<sup>116</sup> Such references are not numerous in the surviving documents from this period of Florida history, but this is more than likely because Spaniards took certain types of assistance from Indians for granted.

When Don Diego de Velasco faced the charge at the end of his governorship in Florida that he had placed an Indian youth (*mozo*) in his own service on the King’s payroll, he told of other Florida officials who had had young Indian male servants who received a soldier’s pay.<sup>117</sup> Witnesses in an interrogatory prepared on behalf of Diego de Velasco testified as to the names of these youths and the tasks they performed for their masters, who included *adelantado* Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, Captain Alonso de Solís, Ensign Hernando Moyano, Captain Juan de Junco, and Captain Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, the

---

<sup>115</sup> “Interrogatory of Don Diego de Velasco,” April 24, 1577, Havana, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 1022.

<sup>116</sup> “Brother Francisco Villarreal to Father Francisco de Borja,” March 5, 1570, Tupiqui, in *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, ed. Zubillaga, 421.

<sup>117</sup> Diego de Velasco’s representative answered this charge along with others in the “Pleas of Diego de Velasco,” April, 1577, Havana, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 898-901 (number 24).

nephew of the *adelantado*.<sup>118</sup> While Diego de Velasco claimed he had had only one Indian youth serve him, a young man whom *adelantado* Pedro Menéndez had taken to Seville where he was baptized, the witnesses said there were one or two others.<sup>119</sup> The Indian youths who assisted these officers received Spanish names, in some cases those of their masters, and some were called Christians.<sup>120</sup> Their duties apparently varied. The youths linked with Hernando Moyano and Alonso de Solís were described as helping their masters and serving in the fort at Santa Elena.<sup>121</sup> Bartolomé Flores, one of the young Indian men employed by Diego de Velasco, was said by witnesses to have performed sentry duties, while Pedro Menéndez, another youth under Velasco's charge, did not.<sup>122</sup> Juan de Junco worked as a translator at the fort of St. Augustine under Captain Juan de Junco. Captain Junco, in justifying this young man's payment as a soldier, said that he gave him this salary to placate the *caciques* of that province and the neighboring areas in order to bring them to Catholicism and to the service of the King. Junco did not, he added, do this for his own personal interest, since he had spent more on this young man than the pay contributed by the King.<sup>123</sup>

---

<sup>118</sup> "Interrogatory of Don Diego de Velasco," April 24, 1577, Havana, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 957-58vo. (questions 65-67).

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, fo. 982, 1111vo., 1049, 1074vo.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, fo. 982vo., 1088.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, fo. 982vo.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, fo. 982-82vo., 1049, 1074vo.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, fo. 1034.



While the reasons the Spanish witnesses gave for the value of these young men's service to the Florida governors and officers no doubt carried some truth, there were also likely other unstated reasons for this practice, which must have been fairly common.<sup>124</sup> According to the various testimonies contained in this interrogatory, the youths' time on the King's payroll ranged from several months to one and one-half years. Diego de Velasco justified giving these Indians soldiers' pay by explaining that he did not always have enough men to occupy the one hundred and fifty soldier positions funded by the King, so he sometimes filled these with "poor and useful people."<sup>125</sup> The secular authorities were not the only ones with young Indian men in their service. Account records from this period also show a youth named "Diego," presumably a Native American, who assisted the Jesuits at the Gualle *doctrina*. There Diego received various items of clothing, as well as a sword belt.<sup>126</sup> *Adelantado* Pedro Menéndez, in promoting the education of the southern Florida *caciques'* sons in Havana, stated that this policy had the dual purpose of helping with the conversion of these Indian groups to Christianity and

---

<sup>124</sup> These young men's service may have fit somehow into the Spanish understanding of apprenticeship. In La Florida, the young Spanish catechists (*niños de la doctrina*) were apprentices to the missionaries. At this time Spain also had a tradition of youths serving in the military. See Sancho de Londoño, *Discurso Sobre la Forma de Reducir la Disciplina Militar a Mejor y Antiguo Estado* (Brussels: Roger Velpius, 1589; reprint, Madrid: Blass, Tipográfica, 1943), 44 (page citation is to the reprint edition) for rules surrounding the service of youths (*mozos*) in the military.

<sup>125</sup> "Pleas of Diego de Velasco," April, 1577, Havana, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 898-901 (number 24).

<sup>126</sup> "Account Given by Juan de la Bandera, Supplykeeper of Fort San Felipe," 1568, AGI Contaduría 941, No. 8 (Center for Historic Research microfilm). Here Diego was described as a "mancebo" or "mozo" "in the service of the Gualle *doctrina*." A *doctrina* was one of the stages of missionization. Bushnell, *Situado and Sabana*, 21, writes, "As soon as conversion showed signs of permanence, it proceeded to the phase of doctrina, a kind of preparochial grace period during which the neophytes, or catechumens, were exempt from civil and ecclesiastical taxes and their ministers were free from the investigations and claims of bishops. Intended to last no longer than ten years, the doctrina phase, for various reasons, was often extended."

providing the Spaniards with valuable hostages.<sup>127</sup> There may well have been larger power issues at work in the incorporation of young Native American men into various areas of Spanish society, however. Youth were more likely to be adaptable to Spanish ways than adult Indian men, and this left them open to Spanish efforts to undermine men's authority in the Native American cultures. In his discussion of evangelization in sixteenth-century New Spain, Richard Trexler argues that indigenous youth could advance their social and economic positions by allying themselves with Spanish priests instead of the elders in their own society. By taking children and youth into friary schools in New Spain, the Spaniards sought to undercut traditional lines of authority and further their conquest of these cultures.<sup>128</sup> For the Spanish leaders at Santa Elena, these young servants would also have been valuable additions to their households. Having a *casa poblada*, literally "peopled house," with a number of servants and other dependents enhanced a man's status in a Spanish American community and increased his access to the goods and services that contributed to wealth.<sup>129</sup>

Sometimes the line between goods and labor blurred for these Spaniards who were practitioners of African slavery. Enslavement of Indians was illegal during this period,

---

<sup>127</sup> See the anonymous account of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés's December 16, 1567 visit to the Jesuit college in Seville, in *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, ed. Zubillaga, 217.

<sup>128</sup> Richard C. Trexler, "From the Mouths of Babes: Christianization by Children in Sixteenth-Century New Spain," in *Religious Organization and Religious Experience*, ed. John Davis, Association of Social Anthropologists Monograph Series, no. 21 (London: Academic Press, 1982), 115-35.

<sup>129</sup> Paul Charney, "The Implications of Godparental Ties Between Indians and Spaniards in Colonial Lima," *The Americas* 47 (January 1991): 298. Here he is talking about *encomenderos*, but I think the same would apply to these Florida men.

except when a “just war” had been declared against them.<sup>130</sup> There were, however, at least a few Native American slaves in La Florida during this period, for, when Baltasar del Castillo y Ahedo was sent to investigate the government there, his instructions from the King and the Council of the Indies included freeing the six Indian women whom Sergeant Hernando Moyano had brought from the interior and distributed as slaves among the residents of Santa Elena.<sup>131</sup> These women must have traveled to St. Augustine on the ships which evacuated the residents of Santa Elena, for Baltasar del Castillo addressed them there. According to testimony given in this case, three of the women, identified as Francisca, Marina, and Luisa, served in the household of *adelantado* Pedro Menéndez and his wife, which also was the home of Don Diego de Velasco at that time. By December of 1576, Luisa had married the soldier Juan de Ribas, and Marina had married the drummer Francisco González.<sup>132</sup> Francisca had gone to serve in the home of then Governor Gutierre de Miranda. Another woman, Teresa, had married a soldier named Francisco

---

<sup>130</sup> See Eugene H. Korth, S.J., *Spanish Policy in Colonial Chile: The Struggle for Social Justice, 1535-1700* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1968) for a discussion of early sixteenth-century debates over the enslavement of indigenous populations, as well as how colonial Chileans faced these issues in their battles with the Araucanians. See Philip Wayne Powell, *Soldiers, Indians, and Silver: The Northward Advance of New Spain, 1550-1600* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1952) for another context in which colonial officials and theologians debated the policy of enslavement of Indians during this period.

<sup>131</sup> “Auto sobre Dar Libertad a las Indias Que Se Tenían por Esclavas y Les Hacían Servir por Fuerza,” in AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 65-69. On fo. 66, after talking about Francisca, Marina, Luisa, Teresa, Juana, and Isabel, the report of the testimony says “estas seis son de la tierra adentro.” An appeal on behalf of Moyano’s widow and daughter mentioned him bringing these Indian women from the interior. See testimony of witnesses in “Petition of Doña Isabel de Quiñones and Doña Isabel de Morales, her daughter,” 1602, Havana, Santo Domingo 129 (Stetson Collection). Hoffman, trans., “The ‘Long’ Bandera Relation,” 276, shows Captain Juan Pardo on the return journey of his second expedition and says that on November 2, 1567, “[while] the captain was resting with his company in Tocahe, Cauchi Orata came there. He had taken certain captive Indian [women] to Joara by command of the captain.”

<sup>132</sup> “Auto sobre Dar Libertad a las Indias Que Se Tenían por Esclavas,” AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 65vo.-66.

Camacho.<sup>133</sup> A woman named Juana served Bartolomé Martín, and Isabel served Ensign Baltasar de Sigüenza, who was one of the witnesses giving this testimony. Another Native American slave not from the area of St. Augustine was a youth (*muchacho*) from Guale named Francisco who served Antonio de Olmos.<sup>134</sup> The other enslaved Indians in St. Augustine at that time were a woman from that area named Catalina, whom Juana de Morales, widow of the slain Florida account Miguel Moreno, had sold to Alonso de Olmos, and Catalina's son, a youth named Juan, whom Antonio Martín had taken to Havana.

After receiving the testimony identifying the enslaved Indians present in St. Augustine, Baltasar del Castillo gathered the Indian women, their Spanish husbands, and the youth from Guale and told them that the King and the officials of the Council of the Indies did not want any Indian men or women to be slaves, but to be free. He said the King wanted them to be treated well and that he only desired that they be converted to Catholicism. The Indians replied that they were ready to do this, and then Castillo y Ahedo ordered that a public proclamation be made in the plaza that, by order of the King, the unmarried Indian women, the youth, and any children they had or might have were free. According to the proclamation, all the citizens and residents of this town were to treat them well and try to bring them to Catholicism, and anyone who did otherwise would

---

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, fo. 66, lists Teresa's husband as "Camacho soldado." No Camacho is listed as serving at Santa Elena, but Baltasar del Castillo's muster of the soldiers at St. Augustine in EC 154-A, November, 1576, fo. 40vo. shows a "Francisco Camacho soldado."

<sup>134</sup> Eugene Lyon, trans., "Papers, Attestations, and Accounts of Captain Thomas Bernaldo de Quirós . . . Presented to His Majesty's Royal Council of the Indies," in *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, ed. Lyon, 347 from AGI Santo Domingo 125, No. 150-D (Stetson Collection) lists Francisco de Olmos as an interpreter for the Indians.

be fined five hundred *ducados* on behalf of the King and imprisoned for thirty days. The notary then described a scene in the plaza of St. Augustine with Baltasar del Castillo, the single Indian women, and the youth present, and “many other people” shouting “in loud, unbearable voices.” The drummer made the announcement ordered by Castillo y Ahedo, after which the Indian women and youth chose to go home with the masters they had lived with, except for Catalina, who did not want to return to the house of Alonso de Olmos. Instead, she went with “the said [Francisco] Camacho,” who probably was the husband of Teresa, one of the Indian women who came from the interior regions.<sup>135</sup>

The testimony given in the case of these enslaved women also mentions a Native American woman from the “language area (*lengua*) of St. Augustine” named Isabel de la Parra whom Doña Mayor de Arango, the widow of Florida treasurer Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, took away with her in her service.<sup>136</sup> Another Indian woman identified as the slave of Doña Mayor was at the center of a lawsuit in which the King’s prosecutor (*fiscal*) accused the admiral of the Indies fleet, Don Francisco de Eraso, of taking a Florida *cacica* to Spain clandestinely and against her will in disregard of the King’s laws and royal ordinances.<sup>137</sup> The Crown’s representative claimed that the Florida governor planned to return the young woman, named only as “Ana india” in this document, from Havana in

---

<sup>135</sup> “Auto sobre Dar Libertad a las Indias Que Se Tenían por Esclavas,” AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 66-68vo.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, fo. 66. This Pedro Menéndez de Avilés was the nephew of *adelantado* Pedro Menéndez de Avilés.

<sup>137</sup> Lawsuit Between the King’s *Fiscal* and Admiral Don Francisco de Eraso Over Having Brought to these Realms a Florida *Cacica*, 1578, AGI Justicia 1002, No. 4, *ramo* 2 (P.K. Yonge Library microfilm). In the Interrogatory Made on Behalf of Don Francisco de Eraso, December, 1577, Madrid, shipmaster Pedro de Haro Maseda described the woman as “una india que era de Doña Mayor mujer que fue de Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, tesorero de La Florida.”

order to calm the Florida Indians in revolt because of her removal as well as that of other Indians who had been taken from the province. Because of the seriousness of this offense, the royal prosecutor urged that criminal charges be brought against the admiral.<sup>138</sup> Diego de Velasco testified that this woman had been a slave of *cacique* Cazacolo of Guale who sold her to the treasurer Pedro Menéndez de Avilés.<sup>139</sup> Velasco said that in order to teach her “policía,” Menéndez took her to Havana to the home of a woman named María Melena.<sup>140</sup> There she remained until Doña María de Barreda, the wife of the Cuban governor, Don Gabriel de Montalvo, asked the treasurer Pedro Menéndez for this slave, and he gave her to Doña María until she could be sent another slave from Florida. Velasco added that he saw this Indian woman working in the home of Doña María in Havana. Other witnesses mentioned seeing Ana in the Cuban governor’s home among his wife’s servants.<sup>141</sup>

Outwardly at least, Ana appears to have learned her lessons of “policía” well. The question of who this young woman was and what group she belonged to occupied much of the testimony in this case, for Don Francisco de Eraso pleaded ignorance as to her being an Indian. He claimed that when his ship, the last one in the fleet to depart, was

---

<sup>138</sup> Charges Brought by the King’s *Fiscal Licenciado* Antolínez against Don Francisco de Eraso, October 16, 1577, Madrid, in AGI Justicia 1002, No. 4, *ramo* 2 (P.K. Yonge Library microfilm).

<sup>139</sup> Lyon, trans., “Papers, Attestations, and Accounts of Captain Thomas Bernaldo de Quirós,” 340 shows *cacique* Cazacolo as being from Guale.

<sup>140</sup> Valerie Fraser, *The Architecture of Conquest: Building in the Viceroyalty of Peru, 1535-1635* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 23, says that the word “policía” implied “a broad range of attributes of civilized life such as politeness, cleanliness and rationality.”

<sup>141</sup> Interrogatory Made on Behalf of Don Francisco de Eraso, December, 1577, Madrid, in AGI Justicia 1002, No. 4, *ramo* 2 (P.K. Yonge Library microfilm). This Diego de Velasco was an ensign of the galleon *Santiago el Menor*.

about to leave Cuba, a servant of the governor arrived with a “mora” dressed like a Spanish woman whom he said was a “mestiza.” The servant said that Ana was to travel to Spain with the governor’s wife, but since her ship had already sailed, he asked the admiral to place Ana in the care of his own wife. Eraso did this, and only upon arriving in Sanlúcar did he apparently learn from the ship’s master that Ana was an Indian from Florida.<sup>142</sup> The witnesses in this case stated their opinions as to whether Ana was a “mestiza” or “india,” freely interchanging these terms and that of “mora” as they referred to her. One of the things they looked at for clues was the young woman’s clothing, which they generally described as that of a Spaniard or a *mestiza*. Andrés González said he did not know if she was a “mestiza” or an “india” other than that she was very “ladina” and went around in the clothing of a Spanish woman.<sup>143</sup> This term “ladino” had broad connotations and was used with Indians who were “acquainted with the Spanish language and customs.”<sup>144</sup> The couple of times that Ana’s own words were related in this testimony, she said that she was an “india” and a native of Florida and that the Cuban governor’s wife made her embark on this ship to Spain.<sup>145</sup> *Licenciado* Antolínez sought

---

<sup>142</sup> Declaration of Don Francisco de Eraso, October 8, 1577, Madrid; and Interrogatory Made on Behalf of Don Francisco de Eraso, December, 1577, Madrid, in AGI Justicia 1002, No. 4, *ramo* 2 (P.K. Yonge Library microfilm).

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>144</sup> Bushnell, *Situado and Sabana*, 192.

<sup>145</sup> Declaration of Don Francisco de Eraso, October 8, 1577, Madrid and Interrogatory Made on Behalf of Don Francisco de Eraso, December, 1577, Madrid, in AGI Justicia 1002, No. 4, *ramo* 2 (P.K. Yonge Library microfilm).

to determine whether Ana was an “india” or a “cacica,” but none of the witnesses had a satisfactory answer to that question.<sup>146</sup>

The Spaniards implicated in this case had a stake in Ana’s being a *mestiza* rather than an Indian woman, for her origins determined her proper treatment under Spanish law. While Ana probably left Florida sometime between 1572 and 1574, she was taken to Spain in 1577 when, following the 1576 uprising, tensions between Spaniards and Florida’s Native Americans were at a high point. Spanish awareness that poor treatment of the Indians could have serious consequences was also heightened at that time, and in his interrogatory, *Licenciado* Antolínez sought to link Ana’s removal from Florida to the 1576 rebellion.<sup>147</sup> But even though they were aware of the laws and of the consequences that seizure of the Indians could have, Spaniards were not necessarily opposed to the enslavement of Florida’s Native American population. In 1573, *adelantado* Pedro Menéndez de Avilés asked permission from the King to enslave the Indians of southern Florida.<sup>148</sup> He submitted a lengthy document with his own testimony as well as that provided by other witnesses who knew firsthand of the murders of Spaniards committed by the Indians of these lands. In 1571 the *adelantado* was shipwrecked with the Jesuit

---

<sup>146</sup> Interrogatory Made on Behalf of the King’s *Fiscal Licenciado* Antolínez, November, 1577, Madrid, in AGI Justicia 1002, No. 4, *ramo* 2 (P.K. Yonge Library microfilm).

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.* None of his witnesses made this link in their testimony.

<sup>148</sup> See “The *Adelantado* Pedro Menéndez Reports the Damages and Murders Caused by the Coast Indians of Florida,” in *Colonial Records*, ed. Connor, vol. 1, 30-81. On p. 35, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés made this request after summarizing the Indians’ attacks on Spaniards: “It is needful that this should be remedied by permitting that war be made upon them with all rigor, a war of fire and blood, and that those taken alive should be sold as slaves, removing them from the country and taking them to the neighboring islands, Cuba, Santo Domingo, Puerto Rico.” Menéndez did not apparently receive permission to do this.



Father Antonio Sedeño and others at Cape Canaveral when they were on their way to Havana. These men barely escaped with their lives after coming under siege by the Indians of this region several times.<sup>149</sup>

An inquiry conducted by Baltasar del Castillo y Ahedo into issues surrounding the 1576 uprising asked whether, in light of this rebellion, Spain should punish and abuse the Indians to bring them to obedience or whether they should be subjugated through kindness and good treatment.<sup>150</sup> All five of the witnesses agreed that the King should conduct a “war of fire and blood” against these Indians and enslave them, at least for a certain period of time, for economic as well as religious reasons.<sup>151</sup> The argument for an all-out war claimed that such a war would be shorter and that the King’s subsidy for La Florida, or *situado* payments, could therefore end sooner. With the Indians of the coast enslaved and subdued, Spaniards could take advantage of the good land in the interior that they had heard about from Captain Juan Pardo. Most of these witnesses said that the slaves’ contact with their masters would aid in their conversion to Catholicism.<sup>152</sup> Antonio Martín elaborated that the Indians who had converted often returned to idolatry because of the little fear that they had of the “Christians” and the King. He said it was very difficult for the Indians to understand the Catholic faith when they returned to their villages following

---

<sup>149</sup> See *Ibid.*, 32-35, for Menéndez’s account of his time under attack after being shipwrecked. See also “Father Antonio Sedeño to Father Juan de Polanco,” February 8, 1572, Santa Elena, in *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, ed. Zubillaga, 497-504. From what Father Sedeño says on p. 497, it appears the shipwreck took place in December, 1571.

<sup>150</sup> “Probanza de las Cosas de las Provincias de la Florida,” October 28, 1576, Havana, in AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 359-59vo. (question 11).

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*, fo. 359vo.-60 (question 12), 360-60vo. (question 13).

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, fo. 335-70vo. *passim*.

contact with the Christians. Martín reasoned that if the King waged war against the Indians and enslaved them, they would come to understand the Catholic faith more quickly because of the assistance they would receive from their masters. He added that if these Indians were subjugated, then Spain would be able to conquer the land inland and bring many Indians to Catholicism.<sup>153</sup>

These witnesses' advocacy of religious conversion through enslavement might sound less than sincere, but the use of close personal contact between Spaniards and Native Americans as a means of acculturation and evangelization appears in a range of contexts in the written sources from this period. Few details are given in the documents about the acculturation of "Ana india," but Ensign Diego de Velasco's testimony stated that after the treasurer Pedro Menéndez de Avilés purchased her from *cacique* Cazacolo of Guale, he took her to Havana to the house of María Melena to learn "policía." There he and other witnesses saw her in the service of these Spanish women, surrounded by their female servants and learning Spanish skills.<sup>154</sup> If the confusion surrounding Ana's origins was genuine, it would appear that these lessons had had some effect and that she presented herself as someone familiar with Spanish ways.<sup>155</sup> The *adelantado*'s nephew may have taken this young woman to Havana in order to at least temporarily break her ties

---

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*, fo. 367vo.-68vo.

<sup>154</sup> Interrogatory Made on Behalf of Don Francisco de Eraso, December, 1577, Madrid, in AGI Justicia 1002, No. 4, *ramo* 2 (P.K. Yonge Library microfilm).

<sup>155</sup> Declaration of Don Francisco de Eraso, October 8, 1577, Madrid; and Interrogatory Made on Behalf of Don Francisco de Eraso, December, 1577, Madrid, in AGI Justicia 1002, No. 4, *ramo* 2 (P.K. Yonge Library microfilm). In their accounts of Eraso's conversation with Ana about her origins, neither Eraso or Haro Maseda mentioned the use of a translator. This might not mean anything, but translators are often mentioned in the documents in such circumstances.

with her own people and customs while she learned new ways. Other Florida Indians were sent to Havana or even Spain for this purpose.<sup>156</sup> In October, 1566, the *adelantado* wrote the King about the young daughter of the *cacique* of Tequesta who was then only nine or ten years old. Menéndez had taken the girl from the Calusa Indians, who planned to kill her, and he was then sending her “to the Countess of Niebla to raise her there [in Andalusia] for three or four years.” He stated that after this time, he would “bring her to her land in order to tell its natives and her parents that they live like beasts and in order to bring them more quickly to become Christians and into obedience to Your Majesty.”<sup>157</sup> This girl may not have lived to return home, however. A royal decree dated January 29, 1568 mentioned the Native Americans whom Pedro Menéndez had brought to Spain and reported that “a girl of nine years, daughter of *cacique* [name obscured],” as well as an Indian boy, had died.<sup>158</sup>

Focusing on individual Native Americans was also a strategy used by the Jesuits as a means of bringing other Indians to Catholicism. The education of Florida *caciques*' sons

---

<sup>156</sup> Don Luis de Velasco from Ajacán was no doubt the most famous of the Indians who were taken away from Florida and then brought back to help with the conversion of their own people. In his case, the result was the massacre of the Jesuits. *Adelantado* Pedro Menéndez de Avilés took some Indians to Spain to be baptized. See the anonymous account of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés's December 16, 1567 visit to the Jesuit college in Seville, in *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, ed. Zubillaga, 213. “Father Juan Rogel to Father Francisco de Borja,” July 25, 1568, Havana, in *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, 322, which mentions the return of a *cacique* from Tequesta whom Menéndez had taken to Spain where he converted to Catholicism. “Father Juan Rogel to Father Francisco de Borja,” February 5, 1569, Havana, in *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, 378, mentions the Jesuits' attempts to “pacify” the Tequesta with the help of this *cacique*.

<sup>157</sup> See Lyon, trans., “Pedro Menéndez' Letter to Philip II of October 20, 1566,” in *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, ed. Lyon, 359. As with the *caciques*' sons in Havana, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés may have used his custody of girl to obtain her people's peaceful relations with the Spaniards.

<sup>158</sup> See the royal decree dated January 29, 1568 from “Various Royal *Cédulas* Relative to Florida,” 1568-1570, Madrid, AGI Indiferente General 1967 (Stetson Collection).

by Jesuits in Havana was mentioned above, and in April, 1568, Father Juan Rogel wrote about the baptism of a Calusa Indian woman whom *adelantado* Pedro Menéndez had brought to Havana.<sup>159</sup> Father Rogel described the process through which he catechized her when he first arrived in Cuba before coming to Florida and then, after interviewing her and learning of her fear for her immortal soul, fulfilled her request for baptism. The Jesuit told how he made this woman's baptism an example to the other Indians of how much the Spaniards valued their becoming true Christians. He asked the Cuban governor García Osorio and an important woman of that town to serve as her godparents, and many of Havana's leading men escorted this woman, dressed in finery, from her godmother's house to the church. On Epiphany, before the main mass, Father Rogel baptized the woman before the whole town. This priest then placed her in the home of some virtuous Havana residents to guide her in becoming a good Christian so that later she could return to Florida and assist him with the conversion of the Indians there.<sup>160</sup>

Spaniards believed that they received personal spiritual advantages for contributing to the conversion of Native Americans to Catholicism. When he was preparing to travel to Florida, Father Pedro Martínez requested that certain favors (*gracias*) be granted to the mission there which would assist in the Jesuits' conversion efforts. In a letter to Father Francisco de Borja, Father Martínez listed the pardons to be given to "any man or woman,

---

<sup>159</sup> Pedro Menéndez de Avilés seems to have been the one who spoke most about this plan to educate the sons of southern Florida *caciques* in Havana, as seen in the anonymous account of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés's December 16, 1567 visit to the Jesuit college in Seville, in *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, ed. Zubillaga, 217. See also "Pedro Menéndez to Father Francisco de Borja," January 18, 1568, Madrid, in *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, 231. On p. 232 of this letter, Menéndez proposed Indian colleges in the interior as well.

<sup>160</sup> "Father Juan Rogel to Father Jerónimo Ruiz del Portillo," April 25, 1568, Havana, in *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, ed. Zubillaga, 294-95.

of any rank or position” who contributed to bringing any type of non-believer to Catholicism. The reward these Christians would receive depended on the number of people they guided toward the Jesuits and whether they had instructed them so that they were ready to be baptized. For every ten heathens a Spaniard brought to the Jesuits, for example, he or she could release one soul from Purgatory. Spiritual rewards were also apparently given for instructing anyone “large or small, believer or unbeliever, in the Indies or outside of them” in various matters of faith.<sup>161</sup> As in the case of the Guale *cacique* and his wife who were baptized at Santa Elena, high-ranking Spaniards in La Florida served as the godparents of Native Americans they perceived as having high status within their own societies. They often passed along their Spanish names to their Indian godchildren, as when the Guale *cacique* and his wife adopted the names of Don Diego de Velasco and María Menéndez upon their baptism.<sup>162</sup> Beyond any spiritual gains the Spaniards received from such relationships--and Don Diego claimed to have taken some care with the Guale *cacique*'s instruction in religious matters--they advanced their overall status through these links to the Native American nobility.<sup>163</sup> They also likely expected to

---

<sup>161</sup> “Father Pedro Martínez to Father Francisco de Borja,” June 1, 1566, Sanlúcar, in *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, ed. Zubillaga, 71-75, lists these spiritual rewards ranging from what one would receive for bringing one unbeliever to the Jesuits up to what one would receive for bringing one thousand.

<sup>162</sup> “Interrogatory of Don Diego de Velasco,” April 24, 1577, Havana, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 1119vo. Martínez, “Martirio de los Padres y Hermanos de la Compañía de Jesús,” in *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, ed. Zubillaga, 587.

<sup>163</sup> Diego de Velasco made these claims through his representative in “Pleas of Diego de Velasco,” April, 1577, Havana, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 862-63 (number 2); and “Interrogatory of Don Diego de Velasco,” April 24, 1577, Havana, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 934-35vo. (questions 13-15). Charney, “The Implications of Godparental Ties,” 295, states that “Godparental relationships established formally or informally among Spaniards and Indians, as well as between the two races pervaded colonial society.” On p. 295 he also writes that “Through intermarriage and compadrazgo, Spanish elite families formed a tightly knit network that used patronage and ritual kinship to maintain social control over subordinate groups of Spaniards, Indians, Blacks, and mixed bloods.”

secure for themselves greater access to indigenous goods and labor.<sup>164</sup> As in the case of Velasco's relationship with the Guale *cacique*, however, sometimes those on both sides were disappointed.<sup>165</sup>

### Encounters Along the "Gender Frontier"

For Spaniards, marriage to a Spaniard was one main way to ensure that the religious and cultural changes that they sought to bring about in Native Americans endured. Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, in writing to Father Francisco de Borja about the Jesuit school for Florida *caciques'* sons in Havana, suggested that after they had converted and completed their educations, these young men could "marry the daughters of the Florida settlers, and each one will be a preacher in his land of the Holy Gospel to the Indians, his subjects."<sup>166</sup> Father Juan Rogel wrote that if the Indian woman he baptized in Havana persisted in her promising start as a Christian, when the *adelantado* arrived with settlers for Florida, he could arrange to marry her to a Spaniard.<sup>167</sup> Three of the six Indian slave women whom Hernando Moyano brought from the interior to Santa Elena wed Spanish soldiers, at least two of them following service in Spanish homes.<sup>168</sup> Informal

---

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>165</sup> As mentioned above, in Interrogatory Regarding the Governors and Captains, December, 1576, St. Augustine, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 256-56vo., Alonso de Olmos testified that this Guale *cacique* later told him that the Spaniards had only converted him to Christianity to take his property and make him serve them.

<sup>166</sup> "Pedro Menéndez to Father Francisco de Borja," January 10, 1571, Seville, in *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, ed. Zubillaga, 482.

<sup>167</sup> "Father Juan Rogel to Father Jerónimo Ruiz del Portillo," April 25, 1568, Havana, in *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, ed. Zubillaga, 295.

<sup>168</sup> "Auto sobre Dar Libertad a las Indias Que Se Tenían por Esclavas," AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 65vo.

liasons between Spanish men and Native American women undoubtedly existed, although they do not often appear in the written sources.<sup>169</sup> A letter from Father Juan Rogel suggested that the presence of priests might have provided some pressure against such behavior. In April, 1568, Father Rogel reported that he had visited the fort of Tocobaga, near present-day Tampa, Florida, to confess and commune the Christians there. Rogel told how he did this, except for one Spanish interpreter who was living in public concubinage with an “infidel woman” (*una infiel*).<sup>170</sup>

It was in these most intimate of relationships that the “gender frontier” which permeated every aspect of the encounter between Spaniards and Native Americans was most pronounced.<sup>171</sup> While there likely were loving unions between Spanish men and

---

<sup>169</sup> Interrogatory Regarding the Governors and Captains, December, 1576, St. Augustine, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 143. In this answer to question 7, Francisco Hernández de Ecija, like the other witnesses, gave only the names of two Spanish women who lived in public concubinage, but he told of many soldiers and named some officials (including a member of the secular clergy) who lived in concubinage. This seems to suggest that these men likely lived with Native American women. The testimony in the answers to these questions seems to pertain mostly to St. Augustine, so I do not know if the situation was any different at Santa Elena. It is important to note that while the Spaniards referred to such unions as “concubinage,” the Native American women may have seen them as marriages, according to their own definitions.

<sup>170</sup> “Father Juan Rogel to Father Jerónimo Ruiz del Portillo,” April 25, 1568, Havana, in *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, ed. Zubillaga, 276. His disapproval may have been due to her unbaptized status more than their living in concubinage, for this was apparently common at least in St. Augustine at that time. David J. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1992), 51, writes regarding the Hernando de Soto expedition: “Indian women ‘who were not old nor the most ugly,’ De Soto’s secretary later explained, the Spaniards ‘desired both as servants and for their foul uses . . . they had them baptized more on account of carnal intercourse with them than to teach them the faith.’”

<sup>171</sup> Brown, “Anglo-Algonquian Gender Frontier,” 27, explains that “In both Indian and English societies, differences between men and women were critical to social order. Ethnic identities formed along this ‘gender frontier,’ the site of creative and destructive processes resulting from the confrontations of culturally specific manhoods and womanhoods. In the emerging Anglo-Indian struggle, gender symbols and social relations signified claims to power. Never an absolute barrier, however, the gender frontier also produced sources for new identities and social practices.”

Indian women, it is important to keep in mind that these relationships were formed in the context of conquest and colonization. Early on, Spanish soldiers demonstrated their willingness to use force against Native American women. When Captain Juan Pardo named Lucas de Canizares governor of Fort Santiago at Guatari in January, 1568, his instructions to Canizares included that the soldiers were not to smuggle women into the fort at night.<sup>172</sup> Years later the Indian woman, Teresa Martín, testified that while Juan Pardo was away from his men who were in the interior, “the soldiers caused disorders with the Indians and their women.” Martín said she did not know what became of the soldiers, since she was taken away by Hernando Moyano.<sup>173</sup> These interior forts were, in fact, overrun by the Indians by July of 1568 when Father Juan Rogel wrote about his visit to the town of Escamazu with Captain Juan Pardo. While the men were there attempting to placate the Indians for the harm they had received from the soldiers stationed at the nearby fort at Orista, they heard the voices of some Indian women calling out from Orista, saying that the Spanish soldiers there had taken the *cacique* of Orista prisoner and were mistreating him. Father Rogel placed the blame for the loss of the interior forts on the Spaniards’ abuse of the Indians. He said that if they behaved this way within earshot of their captain, “what would those do who were one hundred and two hundred leagues

---

<sup>172</sup> Hoffman, trans., “The ‘Long’ Bandera Relation,” 285. Hudson, *Juan Pardo Expeditions*, speculates on p. 151 that this order may have been intended not to offend Father Sebastián Montero. On p. 176, Hudson says the order may have been to prevent the sort of behavior mentioned by Teresa Martín in testimony she gave before Governor Méndez de Canzo in 1600.

<sup>173</sup> Testimony of Teresa Martín in “Inquiry Made Officially Before Don Gonzalo Méndez de Canzo, Governor of the Provinces of Florida, Upon the Situation of La Tama and Its Riches and the English Settlement,” February 4, 1600, St. Augustine from AGI Santo Domingo 224 (Mary Ross Papers), 11-12.



inland from their captain?"<sup>174</sup> Given the Spaniards' tendency within their own culture to attack women associated with other men as a way to assert their authority over those men, these assaults were likely not just to gratify their violent lust, but also to humiliate Native American men and undermine their power.<sup>175</sup>

Spanish plans to marry Native American women must, to varying degrees, be seen within this context of gendered conquest. Spaniards brought their patriarchal assumptions to these liaisons and believed that through them, they were incorporating women into the Catholic faith and Spanish culture. They tended to link themselves to women whom they viewed as "cacicas," both for reasons of their own social and economic enhancement, as well as political and religious reasons of directing these indigenous groups to Spanish ways.<sup>176</sup> It is questionable whether all the "cacicas" were actually women who held

---

<sup>174</sup> "Father Juan Rogel to Father Francisco de Borja," July 25, 1568, Havana, in *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, ed. Zubillaga, 326-27.

<sup>175</sup> See Antonia Castañeda, "Sexual Violence in the Politics and Policies of Conquest: Amerindian Women and the Spanish Conquest of Alta California," in *Building with Our Hands: New Directions in Chicana Studies*, ed. Adela de la Torre and Beatriz M. Pesquera (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1993), 25, where she discusses sexual violence as representing "both the physical domination of women and the symbolic castration of the men of the conquered group." She talks about how in Western patriarchal ideology, "rape has historically been defined as a crime against property and thus against 'territory.' Therefore, in the context of war and conquest, rape has been considered a legitimate form of aggression against the opposing army . . ." On pp. 26-27, Castañeda goes on to state that these women were "twice subject to assault with impunity" because "they were the spoils of conquest, and they were Indian." She describes a sex/gender hierarchy in which Indian women were devalued on the basis of sex in their inferior position to men and on the basis of gender in an opposition centered on sexual morality and sexual conduct.

<sup>176</sup> Castañeda, "Sexual Violence," 20, writes regarding Alta California in the late eighteenth century, "Drawing on colonial tradition established much earlier in New Spain, wherein colonial officials encouraged intermarriage with Amerindian noblewomen in order to advance particular political, military, religious, or social interests, [Fray Junipero] Serra suggested that men who married newly Christianized 'daughters of the land' be rewarded." Deagan, "Sixteenth-Century Spanish-American Colonization," 230, notes the importance of the Spanish strategy of "intermarriage between Spanish conquistadors or soldiers and Indian chieftainesses." Deagan, "Spanish-Indian Interaction," 292, observes that this policy was due to a "misunderstanding of matrilineal succession."

positions of authority, or whether the Spaniards sometimes perceived nobility in the Indians who behaved in a friendly manner toward them.<sup>177</sup> Ethnohistories about these matrilineal Indian cultures note a relative scarcity of female leaders in the sixteenth century as opposed to the seventeenth century when they became more common, at least in the written record.<sup>178</sup> No *cacicas* appear in accounts of Spaniards' dealings with the Orista, Guale, and Escamazu chiefdoms or the towns subject to their control from *adelantado* Pedro Menéndez de Avilés's arrival on their shores to the destruction of Santa Elena in 1576. Of all the Indian leaders whom Captain Juan Pardo met during his journeys inland, his reports only mentioned one *cacica* at Joara and two female leaders at Guatari. Juan de la Bandera's long account referred to these women as "Guatari mico" and "orata Chiquini" and said that they had authority over thirty-nine *caciques*.<sup>179</sup>

---

<sup>177</sup> See Rayna Green, "The Pocahontas Perplex: The Image of Indian Women in American Culture," *Massachusetts Review* 16 (Autumn, 1975): 698-714. Solís de Merás, "Memorial," 181-82, describes the experiences of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés and his men at the time of Menéndez's marriage to the sister of *cacique* Carlos. This account shows the Spaniards looking at the Indian women and assigning certain attributes to them.

<sup>178</sup> Jones, "Ethnohistory of the Guale Coast," 252, writes, "While the earlier records do not report female leaders, 'micas' and *cacicas* are not infrequent by the late seventeenth century. The change of emphasis could be due to a number of factors, such as increasing influence from Timucua (where female leaders were common), repeated epidemics, and the nonparticipation of male leaders in the late missions. Nevertheless, apparently women *always* had played an important role as manipulators of political control and succession." Hudson, *Juan Pardo Expeditions*, 66-67, discusses the female leaders at Guatari and the female chief of Cofitachequi whom Hernando de Soto encountered on his expedition. On p. 67 Hudson says, "Aside from the chiefs of Cofitachequi and Guatari, there is no evidence of female chiefs anywhere else in the Southeast. One must ask whether there is any significance in the fact that both of these female chiefs were to be found in relatively young chiefdoms on the eastern margin of the vast area in which Mississippian chiefdoms occurred."

<sup>179</sup> Hoffman, trans., "The 'Long' Bandera Relation," 262-63, 284-85. Hudson, *Juan Pardo Expeditions*, 66, says that "Moreover, although Joara had a male mico, Bandera mentions an old female chief (*la cacica bieja*) at Joara with whom Pardo had dealings." See Hoffman, trans., "The 'Long' Bandera Relation," 277.

To these Native Americans from matrilineal societies, the relative shortage of women among the Spaniards must have seemed very strange.<sup>180</sup> While men often held the leadership positions in these chiefdoms, membership in the clans and succession in positions of authority passed through the mother's family, so men needed mothers and sisters to keep the lineage going.<sup>181</sup> Native Americans at times sought to take advantage of the Spaniards' lack of women. They too married Spaniards for political reasons and so sought to absorb these outsiders into their own social and economic order. The most famous example of this in early Florida history is that of *adelantado* Pedro Menéndez de Avilés's marriage to the sister of *cacique* Carlos of the Calusa Indians of present-day southwestern Florida.<sup>182</sup> In his article, "A Marriage of Expedience: The Calusa Indians and their Relations with Pedro Menéndez de Avilés in Southwest Florida, 1566-1569," Stephen Reilly discusses the circumstances which may have led Carlos to trick Menéndez into marrying his sister, whom the Spaniards came to call "Doña Antonia." Reilly explains that when Pedro Menéndez arrived on his shores looking for shipwrecked Spaniards being held hostage by the Indians, Carlos faced a serious challenge to his authority from his own captain-general, Don Felipe. Reilly says that *cacique* Carlos also initially saw the *adelantado* as a threat, but then, "He recognized Menéndez's deep interest in converting the Indians to Christianity and used vague promises of conversion to lure the *adelantado* into an alliance of his design, a marriage with his sister. Through the marriage Carlos

---

<sup>180</sup> See Brown, "Anglo-Algonquian Gender Frontier," 36.

<sup>181</sup> See Widmer, "Structure of Southeastern Chiefdoms," 129-30, where he explains the relationship between men and women in these kin groups.

<sup>182</sup> See Solís de Merás, "Memorial," 176-85, for an account of this marriage and the events leading up to it in Menéndez's initial encounters with the Calusa.

must have hoped to gain some control over the use of Spanish power within his realm, enabling him to keep his domestic enemies in line.”<sup>183</sup> Stephen Reilly argues that Doña Antonia, in fulfillment of her brother’s wishes, tried to bear an heir with Menéndez, but with no success. The peace with the Calusa eventually broke down, and the Spaniards wound up murdering Carlos.<sup>184</sup>

It is unclear how far Spaniards’ efforts to encourage Indians’ adoption of Spanish ways went in these most intimate of relationships, and even less clear whether these efforts succeeded. When the royal inspector Baltasar del Castillo y Ahedo ordered that the enslaved women be informed that the King wanted all Indians to be free and not slaves, he also ordered that this message be given to Alonso Díaz de Sevilla, identified as a “soldier, interpreter of the Indians.”<sup>185</sup> Díaz may have interpreted the inspector’s words for these women, all of whom had lived among the Spaniards for the previous eight or nine years, but whether he did or not, it appears that Spanish was not always the language spoken in Spanish-Indian homes.<sup>186</sup> At least some of the Spanish interpreters were married to

<sup>183</sup> Stephen E. Reilly, “A Marriage of Expedience: The Calusa Indians and Their Relations with Pedro Menéndez de Avilés in Southwest Florida, 1566-1569,” in *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, ed. Lyon, 398.

<sup>184</sup> *Ibid.*, 396-409. On p. 403, Reilly discusses tensions between *cacique* Carlos and Captain Reinoso, who was in charge of the Spanish fort at Calusa, as due largely to conflicts over the Calusa women.

<sup>185</sup> “Auto sobre Dar Libertad a las Indias Que Se Tenían por Esclavas,” AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 67.

<sup>186</sup> In “Inquiry Made Officially Before Don Gonzalo Méndez de Canzo, Governor of the Provinces of Florida,” Teresa Martín and Luisa Menéndez both apparently gave their testimonies in Spanish. In “Baltasar del Castillo y Ahedo, Visitador to Florida, Writes to his Majesty,” February 12, 1577, Havana, in *Colonial Records*, ed. Connor, vol. 1, 229, Baltasar del Castillo informed the King regarding the enslaved Indian women that he “. . . caused them to be told in their language that your Majesty was pleased that they should have their liberty.”

Native American women.<sup>187</sup> Father Juan Rogel made great claims as to the universality of the Guale language. He said that “almost all the Spaniards who are among [the Guale] know how to speak the language” and added that one soldier who knew it told the priest that it could be understood more than two hundred leagues inland.<sup>188</sup> The archaeological evidence raises further questions as to the nature of acculturation in the Spanish Florida towns. Kathleen Deagan has observed that in the “Spanish” home sites of St. Augustine, “Subsistence and food preparation activities are dominated by aboriginal elements, while those elements that were more socially visible (ornaments, tablewares, architecture) were predominantly European in character.”<sup>189</sup> Deagan attributes the presence of indigenous pottery at these sites to “the incorporation of Indian women into households as either wives, concubines, or servants, and to their role in food preparation.”<sup>190</sup> She notes that the Indian pottery found there appears not to have altered significantly from the traditional forms over a period of two hundred years and asks if these craft traditions were so resilient, “what other elements may have successfully resisted alteration and continued as traditional Indian elements?”<sup>191</sup>

---

<sup>187</sup> See Eugene Lyon, “Cultural Brokers in Sixteenth-Century Spanish Florida,” in *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, ed. Lyon, 332. Solís de Merás, “Memorial,” 199, says that “Guillermo Frances,” whom Menéndez met in his first encounter with the Guale, was married to the daughter of the Orista cacique.

<sup>188</sup> “Father Juan Rogel to Father Francisco de Borja,” July 25, 1568, Havana, in *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, ed. Zubillaga, 325.

<sup>189</sup> Deagan, “Spanish-Indian Interaction,” 293. See also Kathleen Deagan, “Accommodation and Resistance: The Process and Impact of Spanish Colonization in the Southeast,” in *Columbian Consequences*, ed. Thomas, vol. 2, 308.

<sup>190</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>191</sup> *Ibid.*, 307-308. Here Kathleen Deagan is talking about Guale as well as Timucua pots. The two hundred years Deagan is referring to (from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries) were particularly

Even when they were married to Spaniards, these Indian women likely persisted in their matrilineal assumptions. Grant Jones observes, “Although one might expect the residential system to reflect principles of matrilineal descent, the documentary record also has cases of strong paternal influence and patrilocal residence.”<sup>192</sup> Living in a Spanish town with her Spanish husband, then, would not necessarily have seemed incongruous to a Native American woman, and the question of “mixed” children which so concerned Spaniards would not have been an issue for these Indians. They would have just assumed that the children belonged to the mother’s clan and that her eldest brother would have more real authority over them than their father.<sup>193</sup> There was surely some variation in women’s status among the different matrilineal Native American cultures, but in general it appears to have been superior to that of women in Spanish society.<sup>194</sup> These women, while they were single, generally held more control over their sexuality than Spanish

---

disruptive in the lives of these Native American groups due to relocation, dramatic population loss, and increased association with not only Spaniards, but also Native Americans from other groups.

<sup>192</sup> See Jones, “Ethnohistory of the Guale Coast,” 252-53. The quotation appears on p. 252.

<sup>193</sup> Widmer, “Structure of Southeastern Chiefdoms,” 129; Worth, *Timucuan Chiefdoms*, vol. 1, 8-9.

<sup>194</sup> Brown, “Anglo-Algonquian Gender Frontier,” 31, addresses this question for Algonquian society in relation to the English: “Women were not without their bases of power in Algonquian society, however; their important roles as agriculturalists, reproducers of Indian culture, and caretakers of lineage property kept gender relations in rough balance. . . . By no means equal to men, whose political and religious decisions directed village life, Indian women were perhaps more powerful in their subordination than English women.” Richard Sattler, “Women’s Status Among the Muskogee and Cherokee,” in *Women and Power and Power in Native North America*, ed. Laura F. Klein and Lillian A. Ackerman (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995), 214-29, addresses this question for the two groups which he says on p. 216 are “felt to represent the two extremes regarding gender status in the Southeast” (here Sattler is generally discussing the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries). Theda Perdue, *Cherokee Women: Gender and Culture Change, 1700-1835*, Indians of the Southeast, ed. Theda Perdue and Michael D. Green (Lincoln, Nebr.: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 7, urges caution in efforts to understand the status of women in Native American cultures.

women, whose sexuality was carefully guarded by their male relatives in part to preserve the purity of the lineage, which is not an issue in a matrilineal society.<sup>195</sup>

### “Pacification”

The Spaniards’ willingness to use force lay behind almost all their interactions with Native Americans. From Pedro Menéndez’s first meeting with the Guale, he told their *cacique* that he would return to cut off their heads if they harmed the men he left with them.<sup>196</sup> As Charles Hudson points out, even though Menéndez ordered Captain Juan Pardo to approach the inland *caciques* with friendship and persuade them through kindness to convert to Catholicism and swear allegiance to the Spanish King, Pardo was accompanied on his expeditions by many armed men.<sup>197</sup> While Juan Pardo did not wage any pitched battles against the Indians in the interior, Hernando Moyano, whom Pardo left at Joara between his expeditions, did. Moyano, his men, and probably some allies from Joara destroyed another Indian mountain town surrounded by a palisade.<sup>198</sup> This was not Hernando Moyano’s last conflict with Native Americans, and as mentioned above, he was killed in Orista or Escamazu when he and his men seized food at a regional feast there. As this first period of Santa Elena’s occupation ended, the lieutenant governors at Santa Elena seem to have adopted increasingly brutal approaches to keeping the surrounding

---

<sup>195</sup> See Worth’s discussion of matrilineal versus patrilineal systems in *Timucuan Chiefdoms*, vol. 1, 8.

<sup>196</sup> Solís de Merás, “Memorial,” 198.

<sup>197</sup> Hudson, *Juan Pardo Expeditions*, 134. Hoffman, trans., “The ‘Long’ Bandera Relation,” 256.

<sup>198</sup> Hudson, *Juan Pardo Expeditions*, 26-29, discusses “Moyano’s Foray: April 1567” by drawing from Paul Hoffman, trans., “The Martínez Relation,” in Hudson, *Juan Pardo Expeditions*, 317-21.

Indians in line. Pedro García de Salazar testified that he heard Governor Hernando de Miranda say to Alonso de Solís that it would not matter to him at all to kill one or two *caciques*, and that is exactly what Captain Solís did in the bloody events leading up to the 1576 rebellion.<sup>199</sup>

Historian Amy Bushnell notes that King Philip II's 1573 "Ordinances for the Discovery, New Settlement and Pacification of the Indies" "renounced wars of expansion, conquests by the sword, and the very word 'conquest,' transmuted in official discourse to 'pacification.'"<sup>200</sup> This was indeed the terminology used in documents submitted by those who served at Santa Elena and sought reward or compensation for the military *entradas* they conducted into the lands of the Indians.<sup>201</sup> Testimony given in the appeal made by Gonzalo Sánchez, an early Santa Elena settler, shows him participating with other settlers and soldiers in the "pacification" of the Orista and the Guale. This document does not give the date for these *entradas*, but Sánchez apparently accompanied *adelantado* Pedro Menéndez "well-prepared, on foot, with his arms . . . with no salary" to Orista. He went to Guale under the same conditions with Captain Alonso de Solís, then lieutenant governor of Florida, at a time when the Indians there were in rebellion. Witness Diego de Rueda mentioned that the *entrada* to Guale was also for the purpose of "seeking food for the fort and residents (*vecinos*) [of Santa Elena] because they needed food."<sup>202</sup> A petition

---

<sup>199</sup> "Interrogatory of Don Diego de Velasco," April 24, 1577, Havana, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 1066.

<sup>200</sup> Bushnell, *Situado and Sabana*, 33.

<sup>201</sup> An "entrada" used in this sense was a military expedition into territory controlled by the Indians.

<sup>202</sup> Petition of Gonzalo Sánchez, July, 1580, Mexico City, AGI México 215, No. 23.



submitted by Diego de Velasco in pursuit of recompense for his services in Florida stressed his effectiveness in keeping “the land very peaceful and quiet” and the “Indians as friends” during his term as lieutenant governor there. It referred to the many times Velasco went inland to the Indian towns in both the northern and southern regions of La Florida and subjugated and brought them into friendship with the Spaniards by giving them gifts.<sup>203</sup> Only once did this account mention that Diego de Velasco placed himself in danger doing this because the Indians were “bellicose.”<sup>204</sup> An appeal for support by Isabel de Quiñones, widow of Hernando Moyano, simply described her husband’s service as furthering the “conquest” of Indians who, through his efforts, became Christians and were subjugated to the Spanish King.<sup>205</sup>

In testimony taken as part of the investigation into the causes for the 1576 uprising, Spaniards who experienced these events gave several reasons for the Indians’ rebellion. As discussed above, some witnesses attributed the Native Americans’ anger to the failure of certain Florida leaders to give gifts. One man spoke of the little respect the Indians had for the officials who followed *adelantado* Pedro Menéndez, who indeed seems to have been a very charismatic leader.<sup>206</sup> In earlier accounts, the Jesuits mentioned the soldiers’ abuse of the Indians, as well as their extraction of food from Native American

---

<sup>203</sup> Interrogatory Made on Behalf Don Diego de Velasco, February 8, 1590, Mexico City, in AGI México 219, No. 13. See also the Interrogatory Made on Behalf Don Diego de Velasco, June 13, 1577, Havana, in AGI México 219, No. 13.

<sup>204</sup> Ibid.

<sup>205</sup> “Petition of Doña Isabel de Quiñones and Doña Isabel de Morales, her daughter,” 1602, Havana, Santo Domingo 129 (Stetson Collection).

<sup>206</sup> “Probanza de las Cosas de las Provincias de la Florida,” October 28, 1576, Havana, in AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 336vo.

communities as the cause of smaller revolts. All of these factors must have contributed to the Native Americans' growing anger at the Spaniards but what appears in these documents most often as an immediate cause for the 1576 rebellion was Captain Alonso de Solís's brutal punishment of the Indians who killed the Guale *cacique* who had converted to Christianity.<sup>207</sup> Captain Solís hanged this *cacique*'s successor and brought another Indian to Santa Elena to hang for this crime. Several witnesses testified that Solís had also cut off a third Indian's ears.<sup>208</sup> In rising up against the Spaniards, the Guale likely were protesting not just the brutality of Spanish behavior, but also the interference with the chiefdom's leadership choice.

Even with this bloody end to the first period of Santa Elena's relations with the neighboring Indians, the Spaniards had apparently made some effort during this time to understand the region's Native American groups and to treat them with a degree of benevolence, although on very unequal terms. All this would change in the second period of Santa Elena's occupation under the governorship of the *adelantado*'s nephew, Pedro Menéndez Marqués. As the Guale, Orista, Escamazu, and allied Native American towns continued their rebellion and active resistance against the Spaniards until the early 1580s, Governor Menéndez Marqués launched "wars of fire and blood" against them. However, the Indians proved remarkably resilient in the face of these devastating attacks. They abandoned their efforts to assimilate the Spaniards and, therefore, neutralize the threat

---

<sup>207</sup> *Ibid.*, fo. 336vo., 342vo., 349vo.-50, 356vo., 363; and "Interrogatory of Don Diego de Velasco," April 24, 1577, Havana, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 968vo.-69.

<sup>208</sup> Interrogatory Regarding the Governors and Captains, December, 1576, St. Augustine, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 125vo., 142, 158, 192, 207, 235, 256vo.-57, 271.

they could present and turned to other strategies, including the formation of an alliance with the Frenchmen who appeared on their shores and who also desired the Spaniards' ouster from these lands. After ten years of life with Spanish abuses and demands for goods and labor, these Native Americans entered their long period of resistance from a position of strength.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### “WARS OF FIRE AND BLOOD” AND SUSTAINED RESISTANCE NATIVE AMERICAN AND SPANISH RELATIONS, 1577-1587

The 1576 Orista, Guale, and Escamazu uprising ended the first period of the Spanish occupation at Santa Elena, but for these Indians, the battles of 1576 were only the beginning of a period of active resistance to Spanish rule which lasted until around 1583. When the French ship *Le Prince* wrecked on the sandbar at Santa Elena in early 1577, its survivors who went to live among the Indians introduced a new element to the Native Americans' struggle against the Spaniards. In the following years, the Indians used Spanish fears and uncertainty about a French-Native American alliance to keep Spaniards at bay and build up the strength of their communities. When the new Florida governor, Pedro Menéndez Marqués, launched a series of brutal raids against Native American towns, the chiefdoms from the Santa Elena area southward into Guale responded with temporary accommodation to Spanish rule in order to weather this time of relative weakness. But once the French returned to their shores, the Indians rebelled again. Eventually, prolonged warfare must have taken its toll on these communities, and a severe drought in combination with other factors appears to have brought an end to this period of active resistance in 1583.<sup>1</sup> The Native Americans' perspective on these events is elusive,

---

<sup>1</sup> See the Introduction for how my account differs from earlier scholarship on this rebellion.

particularly when explored through Spanish sources. But what seems clear is that when their revolts began in 1576, the Indians had finished with their efforts to assimilate the Spaniards into their political, social, and economic structure. In the following years, the chiefdoms of the Guale and Santa Elena regions adopted a range of strategies designed to expel the Spaniards from their lands.

Word of Santa Elena's abandonment during the 1576 uprising did not reach Spain until March, 1577. When the Council of the Indies learned of these events, this body recommended to the King that Pedro Menéndez Marqués, the nephew of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, be named the acting governor of Florida. The Council advised that Menéndez Marqués be dispatched immediately with soldiers and munitions, both to subdue the Indians as well as to keep the French and any other corsairs from building a fort at Santa Elena should they discover that it had been deserted.<sup>2</sup> At that time, Pedro Menéndez Marqués was serving as admiral of the Indies fleet, but as the Council noted, he had already governed in Florida as a lieutenant for his uncle, the *adelantado*.<sup>3</sup> The King named Pedro Menéndez Marqués governor of La Florida on March 22, 1577.<sup>4</sup> Unlike his predecessor, Hernando de Miranda, Pedro Menéndez Marqués had had experience with

---

<sup>2</sup> "The Council of the Indies Suggests that Pedro Menéndez Marqués Be Made Governor of Florida Ad Interim," March 20, 1577, Madrid, in *Colonial Records of Spanish Florida*, ed. Jeannette T. Connor, vol. 1 (Deland, Fla.: Florida State Historical Society, 1925), 248-49.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 250-51. The *adelantado* named Pedro Menéndez Marqués "military governor (*alcaide*), governor, and captain of the forts of Santa Elena" in April, 1569 in a document that appears in AGI Contaduría 941, No. 5 (P.K. Yonge Library microfilm). Pedro Menéndez Marqués also performed other tasks such as exploration on behalf of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés in La Florida. See "A Fragment of the Description of the Voyage of Pedro Menéndez Marqués Along the East Coast of Florida, in 1573," in *Colonial Records*, ed. Connor, vol. 1, Appendix C, 322-31.

<sup>4</sup> Royal Order dated March 22, 1577, Madrid, in "Cedulario de la Florida," 1570-1604, n.p., AGI Santo Domingo 2528 (Stetson Collection).

Florida Indians when he began his term as governor there. In testimony given in January, 1573, Menéndez Marqués demonstrated his familiarity with the Indians of present-day southern Florida and claimed to have witnessed many of their declarations of loyalty to the Spanish King before the *adelantado*.<sup>5</sup> Pedro Menéndez Marqués inherited from Hernando de Miranda and Pedro Menéndez de Avilés's lieutenants the conflictive relations that their treatment of Native Americans in the Santa Elena area had created. But while Governor Menéndez Marqués initially approached these Indians through diplomatic means, he readily turned to force once he had sufficient military strength.

Pedro Menéndez Marqués reached Florida by July 1, 1577, only to find the fort at St. Augustine under siege and low on supplies.<sup>6</sup> Captain Gutierre de Miranda, whom Hernando de Miranda had left in charge at St. Augustine as his deputy, later claimed that he had distributed the last pound of flour the day Pedro Menéndez Marqués arrived and that the corn he had planted was not ready for harvesting yet, nor could he safely leave the fort to check it.<sup>7</sup> Pedro Menéndez Marqués quickly named Gutierre de Miranda his lieutenant governor and captain general. He explained that in that the King had ordered him to build and strengthen the fort at Santa Elena and the rest in Florida, he needed

---

<sup>5</sup> See "The *Adelantado* Pedro Menéndez Reports the Damages and Murders Caused by the Coast Indians of Florida," in *Colonial Records*, ed. Connor, vol. 1, 36-43.

<sup>6</sup> See "Pedro Menéndez Marqués to the King," October 21, 1577, Santa Elena, in *Colonial Records*, ed. Connor, vol. 1, 264-65; and "Iñigo Ruiz de Castresana to the King," December 12, 1577, Havana, in *Colonial Records*, ed. Connor, vol. 2, 26-27.

<sup>7</sup> Interrogatory Made on Behalf of Gutierre de Miranda, July 13, 1577, St. Augustine, in AGI Justicia 1002, No. 5 (P.K. Yonge Library microfilm).

someone immediately to go with him and the soldiers to construct this fort.<sup>8</sup> Before he arrived in La Florida, Pedro Menéndez Marqués anticipated that this task would be difficult, since the Indians controlled the island at Santa Elena.<sup>9</sup> But once at St. Augustine, he learned that the concern the Council of the Indies had expressed about the French coming to Santa Elena was well-founded.<sup>10</sup> The residents of St. Augustine had seen a large ship anchored two leagues from their fort in January, 1577, and suspecting that it contained corsairs, Gutierre de Miranda placed both Indian and Spanish sentries along the coast day and night to attack the men if they should land.<sup>11</sup> The ship left without incident, but later, Indians friendly to the Spaniards warned Miranda that some Frenchmen who wrecked their ship at Santa Elena were on their way to St. Augustine in the company of other Indians to destroy the fort there.<sup>12</sup>

Pedro Menéndez Marqués set out to learn the true nature of the threat he faced from the French at Santa Elena. As he would do many times during his governorship, Menéndez Marqués sought information from Native Americans but then sent Spaniards to

---

<sup>8</sup> Appointment of Gutierre de Miranda as Lieutenant Governor and Captain General of Florida, July 1, 1577, in AGI Justicia 1002, No. 5 (P.K. Yonge Library microfilm). Gutierre de Miranda was Pedro Menéndez Marqués's brother-in-law.

<sup>9</sup> "Pedro Menéndez Marqués Petitions Don Cristóbal de Eraso for Two Frigates," June 15, 1577, Havana, in *Colonial Records*, ed. Connor, vol. 1, 252-53.

<sup>10</sup> "The Council of the Indies Suggests that Pedro Menéndez Marqués Be Made Governor," 248-49.

<sup>11</sup> Interrogatory Made on Behalf of Gutierre de Miranda, July 13, 1577, St. Augustine, in AGI Justicia 1002, No. 5 (P.K. Yonge Library microfilm).

<sup>12</sup> There is some slight variation in the different accounts as to when the ship arrived at St. Augustine and sank at Santa Elena, but all seem to mention either December, 1576 or January, 1577. See "Pedro Menéndez Marqués to the King," October 21, 1577, 264-65, 268-69; and Interrogatory Made on Behalf of Gutierre de Miranda, July 13, 1577, St. Augustine, in AGI Justicia 1002, No. 5 (P.K. Yonge Library microfilm).

investigate their reports. The governor clearly recognized that the Indians sometimes gave him misleading or even false accounts, but he did not seem to realize that they apparently used these opportunities strategically to manipulate Spanish perceptions of the danger facing them. In this instance, Pedro Menéndez Marqués summoned some *caciques* from an unnamed area to come to St. Augustine, and they confirmed that a corsair ship had wrecked on the sandbar in Santa Elena's harbor. These Indian leaders told Menéndez Marqués that all two hundred men on the ship had escaped with their weapons and munitions and that they had occupied the abandoned Spanish fort at Santa Elena until they were forced to go among the Indians to obtain food and were all killed.<sup>13</sup> Proceeding with caution due to the shortage of men he had to rebuild the fort at Santa Elena, Pedro Menéndez Marqués quickly dispatched Captain Vicente González and twenty men north to check the situation there.

The governor's July 9, 1577 orders to Vicente González are characterized by a concern with gaining information without further alienating the Native Americans or losing the lives of any of the soldiers under Menéndez Marqués's command. He directed González to go straight to Santa Elena and see if there was a fort there. If possible, the captain was to speak with an Indian at Santa Elena and inform him that Menéndez Marqués intended to populate the fort again. Pedro Menéndez Marqués next instructed González to check if a ship had been lost on Santa Elena's shoals and then to proceed to Guale, where he was to offer these Indians peace with the Spaniards and tell them that Menéndez Marqués planned to repopulate Santa Elena. He was not to return fire if these

---

<sup>13</sup> "Papers Pertaining to Services of Captain Vicente González," 1593, Madrid, AGI Patronato 260 (Stetson Collection), fo. 35.



Indians shot arrows at him but to remove himself and address them from a distance. If any Indians from Santa Elena or Guale wanted to come to St. Augustine, Vicente González was to bring them, presumably so Menéndez Marqués could question them directly. The governor told González that if he found corsairs at Santa Elena, he was to proceed with much caution but to try to learn about them and attack only if he had force superior to theirs. Pedro Menéndez Marqués instructed Vicente González to do all this as quickly as possible so that the Spaniards could advance to Santa Elena to build the fort.<sup>14</sup>

Contrary to what the *caciques* had told Pedro Menéndez Marqués at St. Augustine, Vicente González learned on his reconnaissance mission that the Frenchmen who had not been killed were captives among the Indians.<sup>15</sup> The precise number of these Frenchmen would elude Pedro Menéndez Marqués for the next several years, in no small part because the Indians seemed to recognize the advantage that the Spaniards' uncertainty gave them. Pedro Menéndez Marqués's accounts give a range of totals of Frenchmen different Indians had reported to him from the late 1570s into 1580, but in other matters, the Native Americans' trade and information networks seem to have functioned well during this time. Vicente González was not able to speak with any Indians or French captives at Santa Elena, but in Guale some Indians and one Frenchman told him that they were at war with the Spaniards and never wanted friendship.<sup>16</sup> Pedro Menéndez Marqués reported in his October 21, 1577 letter to the King that in Guale, the Indians

---

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, fo. 35-36.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, fo. 66vo.-67.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, fo. 42.

taunted Captain Vicente González, saying “that the Spaniards were worth nothing and were hens and that they [the Indians] had with them many friends, who would aid them.”<sup>17</sup> Captain González had found the lost ship at Santa Elena and judged from the size of the poop deck, the only part not destroyed, that it was a ship of more than four hundred tons.<sup>18</sup> The information González gathered did nothing to relieve Pedro Menéndez Marqués’s concerns that he and his men were greatly outnumbered by their enemies. But the King’s instructions gave him no choice, as Pedro Menéndez Marqués observed in his October, 1577 letter. He told the King that despite these doubts, “your Majesty expressly commands that with thirty or forty of those I had brought with me from Spain and with those that were here, I should strengthen this fort of Santa Elena and the others there may be in these provinces, because it so befits your Majesty’s service and the safety of the rest of the Indies.”<sup>19</sup>

### **The Spaniards’ Return to Santa Elena**

Uncertain of the nature of the opposition he faced in refortifying Santa Elena, Pedro Menéndez Marqués devised a range of strategies to make his enemies believe that he had more soldiers in his company than he actually did. He arrived at Santa Elena with approximately ninety-three men around August, 1577.<sup>20</sup> Menéndez Marqués reported that he and his men could tell from the smoke they made that the Indians were watching them

---

<sup>17</sup> “Pedro Menéndez Marqués to the King,” October 21, 1577, 269.

<sup>18</sup> “Papers Pertaining to Services of Captain Vicente González,” 1593, Madrid, AGI Patronato 260 (Stetson Collection), fo. 42.

<sup>19</sup> “Pedro Menéndez Marqués to the King,” October 21, 1577, 265.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 264-67.

from the surrounding forests to see where they would go to cut wood.<sup>21</sup> But the governor had had all the timber for the new Santa Elena fort cut and sawn before he left St. Augustine, for he was aware of the threat the Spaniards faced in attempting to construct a new fort with minimal forces to protect those doing the work.<sup>22</sup> Even though their ships faced mishaps in storms before they reached Santa Elena, and some of the lumber was lost, the men began to assemble the fort the day they arrived.<sup>23</sup> Pedro Menéndez Marqués told the King that the rapid pace at which the fort was assembled led his enemies to believe that the Spaniards were more numerous than they were and that spies came toward the fort at night to try to learn the strength of the Spanish presence. But, Menéndez said, he had “seven outposts beyond the fort, every twenty-five or fifty paces, which prevent them from knowing anything.”<sup>24</sup> At the close of this letter, he asked for supplies, including a large quantity of matchcord presumably for the soldiers’ arquebuses, saying “it is an extraordinary thing how much is used thereof; since I have been here there has not been a night that we have not consumed about twenty pounds, because we dare not extinguish them until we are well fortified.”<sup>25</sup>

---

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 266-67.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 264-67. Pedro Menéndez Marqués was aware of the difficulty of this task even before he arrived in Florida, as can be seen in “Pedro Menéndez Marqués Petitions Don Cristóbal de Eraso for Two Frigates,” 252-53.

<sup>23</sup> Pedro Menéndez Marqués and his men built Fort San Marcos in a different site than Fort San Felipe, the fort that burned in the 1576 uprising. At least some of Fort San Felipe was apparently still standing as late as the early 1580s when Domingo González de León said that it was used to hang Frenchmen and Indians. See Domingo de León to the King, October 13, [1584], Madrid, in AGI Santo Domingo 231, fo. 314.

<sup>24</sup> “Pedro Menéndez Marqués to the King,” October 21, 1577, 266-69.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 276-77.

When he arrived at Santa Elena, Pedro Menéndez Marqués examined the corsair ship's poop deck and identified the vessel as the one called *El Principe* or in French, *Le Prince*, which had made a recent appearance in Matanzas, Cuba for supplies and had been chased by the armada at the cape of Tiburon. He had heard that this ship carried one hundred and eighty men.<sup>26</sup> The account of *El Principe*'s Florida experiences that Pedro Menéndez Marqués gave in his October 21, 1577 letter to the King said that the ship appeared near St. Augustine in December, 1576. It remained anchored outside the harbor, unable to enter due to contrary winds, until a gust blew the ship away toward Santa Elena where it wrecked crossing the bar. He said that all the men on board survived and went to the remains of the Santa Elena fort where they threw the Spanish artillery into the sea. According to this account, the Indians believed that the men were Spaniards at first and launched a fierce attack against them until they learned that they were Frenchmen and took them in as friends.<sup>27</sup> Pedro Menéndez Marqués said that even though there obviously had been many men aboard that large ship, he only feared them if they had gunpowder.<sup>28</sup> The governor's concerns about the French clearly ran deeper than this, however. Over the following years, Pedro Menéndez Marqués repeatedly asked the Indians to give him the Frenchmen living among them and showed only limited patience when they failed to do his bidding.

---

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 268-69.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 264-65. These Frenchmen's life among the Indians was probably one instance where the line between "guest" and "hostage" was blurred.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 268-69.

Pedro Menéndez Marqués remained at Santa Elena for about a month, then left Vicente González in charge of fifty men with orders to complete the fort and to defend it while he returned to St. Augustine to tend to Indian unrest in that region.<sup>29</sup> When the governor formally named Vicente González to the position of captain of Fort San Marcos and lieutenant governor of the city of Santa Elena on November 22, 1577, his instructions reflected the siege conditions there.<sup>30</sup> Menéndez Marqués told Vicente González to practice great caution in guarding the fort and leading his men, for their foes were waiting to take advantage of any carelessness. González was to complete the artillery platform they had begun and place the cannons on it in case enemies should arrive. Pedro Menéndez Marqués also told Captain González to ration flour if a supply ship did not come soon, in order that they would not run out of food. If the need for wood arose, the governor said, González was to warn any soldier who volunteered to bring it from outside the fort, presumably of the great risk he was taking.<sup>31</sup>

Pedro Menéndez Marqués attempted in the following months to use diplomatic means to re-establish peace with the Indians and to negotiate release of the Frenchmen into his custody. The governor's January, 1578 instructions to Tomás Bernaldo de Quirós to visit a Guale leader named Cazacolo reflect an approach to Indian leaders more common in the *adelantado*'s day.<sup>32</sup> While warning Tomás Bernaldo to take Cazacolo

---

<sup>29</sup> "Papers Pertaining to Services of Captain Vicente González," 1593, Madrid, AGI Patronato 260 (Stetson Collection), fo. 66vo.-67.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, fo. 8vo.-9vo.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, fo. 43-43vo.

<sup>32</sup> The instructions of Pedro Menéndez Marqués dated January 1 and 10, 1578, St. Augustine, appear in "Papers of Captain Tomás Bernaldo," 1580-1593, Havana, AGI Santo Domingo 125 (Stetson Collection), as well as in Eugene Lyon, trans., "Papers, Attestations, and Accounts of Captain Tomás

seriously because “this barbarian is prudent (*discreto*),” Menéndez Marqués instructed him to do everything possible to set the Indians’ minds at ease. Bernaldo was to give Cazacolo axes and a hoe as gifts and to tell him that Pedro Menéndez Marqués was very happy that he was well. The governor told Tomás Bernaldo to speak to the Indians of Guale “with the sweetest words” he could and not say anything to concern them. If necessary, Bernaldo was to leave the translator Clemente Vernal as a hostage and even remain as a hostage himself in order to persuade Cazacolo to send four Guale Indians, or any principal Indian from there, to negotiate with Menéndez Marqués for the release of some Frenchmen and an African into his custody. Pedro Menéndez Marqués clearly had no illusions about the state of Spanish relations with the Guale, for he told Tomás Bernaldo to be careful during his time among them, not to trust any of them, and that when he went ashore there, he should do so with only one or two Spaniards and no more.<sup>33</sup>

Tomás Bernaldo de Quirós apparently had little luck with obtaining the release of any Frenchmen on his visit to Guale, and Pedro Menéndez Marqués expressed his growing frustration with the Indians’ resistance to surrendering their French allies in a June, 1578 letter to the King. The governor wrote how the previous fall he had sent one of his relatives to a meeting with the Guale Indians to tell them that if they delivered the

---

Bernaldo . . . Presented to His Majesty’s Royal Council of the Indies,” in *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, ed. Eugene Lyon, vol. 24, *Spanish Borderlands Sourcebooks*, ed. David Hurst Thomas (New York: Garland Publishing, 1995), 339-40. From these documents, it appears that Cazacolo was a Guale *cacique*.

<sup>33</sup> Instructions of Pedro Menéndez Marqués to Captain Tomás Bernaldo, January 1 and 10, 1578, from “Papers of Captain Tomás Bernaldo,” 1580-1593, Havana, AGI Santo Domingo 125 (Stetson Collection).

Frenchmen they had, Pedro Menéndez Marqués would make peace with them. Menéndez Marqués reported that initially the Guale agreed to this and said they would give him the “*cacique* who had harmed the Spaniards and would make war on his subjects.” He said the Guale killed the *cacique* and a few Indians but never delivered any Frenchmen to the Spaniards, even when Pedro Menéndez Marqués went to Guale himself and “tried by friendly means to enter into an agreement with them.” On his way to Santa Elena following this attempt at negotiation, the general learned from an Indian he considered friendly that there were over one hundred Frenchmen divided among the Indians and that the French told the Indians not to trust the Spaniards. The sight of corsair ships off Santa Elena’s coast during this visit around May, 1578 only fueled Menéndez Marqués’s fears about the harm caused by the French captives’ presence among Florida’s Native Americans. He was concerned not only about the unrest that he believed they inspired, but also that they would plant their “evil seed,” Protestantism, among the Indians. Pedro Menéndez Marqués recognized that some of these men could be rescued by their countrymen and carry valuable information back to France.<sup>34</sup>

While Pedro Menéndez Marqués did not move immediately to take military action, he made clear in his June 15, 1578 letter to King Philip that his use of peaceful means in these dealings with the Guale was only due to the shortage of men that he had. He wrote, “I should much like to break the spirit of those Indians because, although they have greatly felt the strength of Santa Helena, yet are they much on their mettle, as they see that I have not enough men to go and hunt for them in their houses. And even though it be but

---

<sup>34</sup> “Pedro Menéndez Marqués to the King,” June 15, 1578, St. Augustine, in *Colonial Records*, ed. Connor, vol. 2, 78-83, 88-89.

for one year, I intend to drive them from their lands, burn their villages, and teach them that we are going after them; this would put a curb on them for their entire lives.”<sup>35</sup> Pedro Menéndez Marqués was likely not alone among Florida’s Spanish population in his belief that a military approach would be most effective with the Native Americans. This had been the conclusion of the witnesses in an interrogatory made by the royal inspector Baltasar del Castillo y Ahedo into the causes of the 1576 uprising and the ways the situation in La Florida could be remedied. In addition to urging that a “war of fire and blood” be waged against the Indians and that they be enslaved at least for awhile, these witnesses spoke of the futility of urging them through kindness to do the Spaniards’ will.<sup>36</sup> Pedro Menéndez Marqués apparently tried to draw the Indians into skirmishes during his visit to Santa Elena around May of 1578. He told how he “set some ambushes,” but the Indians did not show themselves. Menéndez Marqués said that when the Indians finally did appear, and he went after them, “they took to the woods, for they are like deer.”<sup>37</sup>

An element of force even appeared in Pedro Menéndez Marqués’s diplomatic efforts, as reflected in his instructions to Tomás Bernaldo de Quirós dated August 20, 1578. Pedro Menéndez Marqués gave these orders when he named Tomás Bernaldo to the position of governor and captain of the fort at Santa Elena during the absence of

---

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 81, 83.

<sup>36</sup> See “Probanza de las Cosas de las Provincias de la Florida,” October 28, 1576, Havana, in AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 335-70vo. (answers to questions 11-13). Three of the witnesses used the term “war of fire and blood” in their answers to question 12, although the others communicated this sentiment through terms such as “merciless war.”

<sup>37</sup> “Pedro Menéndez Marqués to the King,” June 15, 1578, 83.



Captain Gutierre de Miranda.<sup>38</sup> Governor Menéndez Marqués told Captain Bernaldo to seize up to four *caciques* and imprison them, then while treating them very well, ask them to hand over their French captives. Bernaldo was not to release the *caciques* even if they delivered the Frenchmen but was to hold them until Menéndez Marqués ordered otherwise under the pretext that more Frenchmen were lacking.<sup>39</sup> Whether through these means or others, Menéndez Marqués was apparently able to obtain the release of at least a few of the Frenchmen. Writing to the King on October 9, 1578 from Havana, Diego de la Rivera said that he had heard in September, 1578 that “Pedro Menéndez Marqués has made friendship with many of the caciques, and they had brought to him a Frenchman—one of those who were among the Indians . . . .”<sup>40</sup> When the royal inspector Álvaro Flores mustered the men at the fort of St. Augustine on November 19, 1578, he found two Frenchmen, Julian and Martin from *El Principe*, who had lived among the Mocois Indians.<sup>41</sup>

---

<sup>38</sup> “Tomás Bernaldo de Quirós to Crown,” September 6, 1580, Santa Elena, AGI Santo Domingo 231 (Stetson Collection). Lyon, trans., “Papers, Attestations, and Accounts of Captain Tomás Bernaldo,” 340-41, contains a translation of the document in which Pedro Menéndez Marqués named Bernaldo to this position on August 20, 1578 in St. Augustine. Captain Bernaldo took up this position on September 4, 1578.

<sup>39</sup> Instructions of Pedro Menéndez Marqués to Tomás Bernaldo, August 20, 1578, St. Augustine, in “Papers of Captain Tomás Bernaldo,” 1580-1593, Havana, AGI Santo Domingo 125 (Stetson Collection). The word Pedro Menéndez Marqués used for how Bernaldo was to treat the *caciques* was “regalar,” which seems to have had overtones of both giving them gifts and entertaining them sumptuously.

<sup>40</sup> “Diego de la Rivera to the King,” October 9, 1578, Havana, in *Colonial Records*, ed. Connor, vol. 2, 113.

<sup>41</sup> “The Visitation Made by Álvaro Flores of the Forts of Florida,” September-November, 1578, St. Augustine and Santa Elena, in *Colonial Records*, ed. Connor, vol. 2, 194-95. John E. Worth, “Fontaneda Revisited: Five Descriptions of Sixteenth-Century Florida,” *Florida Historical Quarterly* 73 (January 1995): 348 lists a “Mocoso” *cacique* in the Apalache region.

Royal inspections of Fort San Marcos in the fall of 1578 revealed the defensive measures taken at Santa Elena with Native American enemies in mind. When Captain Álvaro Flores arrived at Fort San Marcos on October 12, 1578, he found the soldiers and fort prepared and in a state of defense.<sup>42</sup> While some of the large artillery was aimed at the harbor against enemies who arrived by sea, a couple of the reinforced cannons faced the forest, including one that guarded “the whole forest on the inner side, by which the Indians are in the habit of coming.”<sup>43</sup> Another demi-saker was “aimed to protect the curtain on the south side of the fort, toward the woods, and a large swamp wherein the Indians are apt to hide, [whence they] come into the fort.”<sup>44</sup> Several soldiers at Santa Elena described their monthly allotment of ammunition to Captain Flores, but his report said that if they used up their supplies, “more munitions were given them if needed, because the Indians are always approaching thereabouts and coming as near as an arquebus shot.”<sup>45</sup> Flores completed his inspection of Santa Elena by mid-October of 1578 and returned to St. Augustine. On November 1, 1578 he arrived at Santa Elena again to bring the soldiers and supplies recently arrived from Spain. Captain Flores left an additional twenty-seven soldiers to assist the fifty-two men he had found on his initial visit to the fort.<sup>46</sup> He also gave the men some advice regarding the arrangement of the artillery

---

<sup>42</sup> Álvaro Flores’s certification of the Santa Elena fort and soldiers’ state of preparedness was dated October 20, 1578 and appears in Lyon, trans., “Papers, Attestations, and Accounts of Captain Tomás Bernaldo,” 342.

<sup>43</sup> “Visitation Made by Álvaro Flores,” 155.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 157.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 173. The arquebus shot appears as a measure of distance in other documents from this period.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 200-201.

at Fort San Marcos. Flores's main suggestion was to exchange the positions of a large cannon and a demi-culverin, since “. . . for the purpose for which the demi-culverin is kept there, which is defense against the Indians, the large cannon is more effective than the demi-culverin, for with it a large variety of ammunition can be used, such as bullets for muskets and arquebuses, stones, nails, chains, and other things wherewith the greatest injury can be done to the Indians and to any enemy who might attack by land.”<sup>47</sup>

Most of the threats Santa Elena's soldiers faced from Native Americans during this period did not come in the form of large-scale battles, which would warrant the use of heavy artillery, but in smaller skirmishes when the soldiers left the fort for various tasks.<sup>48</sup> One man, Juan Sánchez Judrero, told how he was cutting wood with other soldiers in his squad for repairs on the Santa Elena fort when some Escamazu Indians suddenly attacked them. The Spaniards were likely in the Escamazu area at the time, for their ensign later explained that he and approximately twenty-two of his men had gone by boat to fell these pines and that the sound of their axes had alerted the Indians to their presence.<sup>49</sup> Sánchez was unarmed when the other soldiers began to skirmish with the Escamazu, but he burst through a group of Indians swinging his ax in order to retrieve his arquebus and *escupil*.<sup>50</sup> When he reached them, an Indian tried to hit Juan Sánchez Judrero over the head with a

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., 181.

<sup>48</sup> “Pedro Menéndez Marqués to the King,” June 15, 1578, 83, said that in the summertime the Indians were “in the habit of coming forth to lie in ambush” and that they had come to the island at Santa Elena many times during Pedro Menéndez Marqués's visit there around May, 1578.

<sup>49</sup> See testimony of Captain Francisco Fernández de Ecija in “Petición y Testimonios de Juan Sánchez Judrero,” January 1, 1608, St. Augustine, AGI Santo Domingo 232 (Stetson Collection).

<sup>50</sup> An *escupil* was a type of quilted cotton armor.

*macana*, a wooden swordlike weapon, but the Spaniard fought him off with his arquebus butt and killed him. Sánchez escaped from the attack with only an arrow wound in his buttock, but when he rejoined the other members of his squad, he found them badly injured. The Spaniards then fought their way back to their boat and departed for Santa Elena. On another occasion, Juan Sánchez Judrero was serving as a sentinel in a cornfield near Santa Elena's fort when a group of Indians surrounded him, Sánchez said, to capture or kill him. Juan Sánchez defended himself with his weapons until Captain Tomás Bernaldo arrived with thirty soldiers to rescue him.<sup>51</sup>

#### **“Wars of Fire and Blood” and an Uncertain Peace**

Pedro Menéndez Marqués's relations with Florida's Native American population took a brutal turn when he launched devastating raids against the towns and people of the Guale chiefdom in the winter of 1579 in what documents from this period refer to as the “war of Guale.”<sup>52</sup> The governor apparently felt he had the strength to carry out such attacks due to the one hundred soldiers who arrived from Spain as reinforcements for the Florida garrisons in October, 1578.<sup>53</sup> Writing to the *Audiencia* of Santo Domingo on April 2, 1579 to request horses and other livestock for Florida, Pedro Menéndez Marqués reported that “After his Majesty sent me the succor which I had entreated him to send, I set about overrunning the country of the enemy who had done the damage in these

---

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>52</sup> See AGI Contaduría 944 (Center for Historic Research microfilm) for account records pertaining to the voyage of the ship *La Concepción* which served during the “war of Guale.” One entry for the payment of the shipmaster and sailors on this voyage states that it lasted from February 1, to March 15, 1579.

<sup>53</sup> The total of these new soldiers appears in “Visitation Made by Álvaro Flores,” 200-201.

provinces, and in forty-five leagues of their land which I overran, I burned nineteen villages, and some Indians were killed, without my receiving any injury beyond two soldiers being slightly wounded. Great was the harm I did them in their food stores, for I burned a great quantity of maize and other supplies . . . .” The governor also said that in the course of these attacks he had learned that there were only twenty-four Frenchmen among the Indians, whom, he stated, “I desire extremely to get into my power, so that they shall not sow their evil teaching among these people; and for this I have need of the horses for which I am asking, because to think of overtaking these Indians on foot is impossible; and if I have horses, they can be caught, and the French can be had.”<sup>54</sup>

Spanish attacks against other Native American groups followed in subsequent months. When Pedro Menéndez Marqués went to Santa Elena from St. Augustine to pay the soldiers there around August, 1579, Indians from the area would not come talk to him. The governor sent a boat with twelve men, apparently to Orista, “to seek information from them.” Pedro Menéndez Marqués described the events that followed in a letter to the King dated January 3, 1580. He said:

The men spoke to them from the boat, and the Indians answered that they did not desire friendship and began to shoot arrows at them. The boat returned, and when I heard this, I sent a boat a second time with twenty men, notifying them to make peace; and they were so rebellious that the soldiers grew angry, and [the Indians] wounded five men. When I heard this, I went there with sixty men and landed; and they waited with great courage, so much so that I marveled, and they wounded fourteen of my men, but no one was killed. I worked a trick on them as well I

---

<sup>54</sup> “Pedro Menéndez Marqués to the Audiencia of Santo Domingo,” April 2, 1579, St. Augustine, in *Colonial Records*, ed. Connor, vol. 2, 225. In the interrogatory about his service in Florida included in “Papers Pertaining to Services of Captain Vicente González,” 1593, Madrid, AGI Patronato 260 (Stetson Collection), fo. 67, González mentioned a time after he had left Santa Elena when General Pedro Menéndez Marqués called him back to that fort to wage war against the “Indians of the language area of Guale,” who were in rebellion. Some of González’s witnesses had participated in this war against the Guale. On fo. 78vo., the soldier Pedro de Rueda said that he along with Pedro Menéndez Marqués and Vicente González had “killed some Indians and burned ten or eleven towns (*pueblos*) and many canoes.”

knew how, in such wise that many Indians were slain, and they all fled and quit the country. I returned to the fort, which was fifteen leagues from there, and before they could spread the news to other villages, I went back and attacked a large village called Cosapoy, which was very well fortified and in the midst of a swamp. I fell upon it at midnight and did much damage, and I captured a son of the cacique, his wife, a sister, and his mother. More than forty Indians were burned to death, and I seized two Frenchmen, and thereupon I returned to the fort.<sup>55</sup>

Menéndez Marqués's choice of Cosapoy for a preemptive strike may be explained by Antonio Martínez Carvajal's account of these events. In a letter to the King dated November 3, 1579, the chief pilot of Florida explained that the *cacique* of Cosapoy "never had had peaceful or friendly relations with the Spaniards."<sup>56</sup>

Pedro Menéndez Marqués's decision to wage this sort of war marked a significant shift in Spanish relations with Santa Elena's neighboring Native American chiefdoms. Spanish violence against the Indians was certainly nothing new, but never had it been carried out on such a scale against targets that threatened, not only the lives of Native American fighters, but their communities' ability to sustain themselves. Menéndez Marqués's uncle, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, had not hesitated to use brutal force against individual Native Americans.<sup>57</sup> The *adelantado* had even reached Pedro Menéndez

---

<sup>55</sup> "Pedro Menéndez Marqués to the King," January 3, 1580, St. Augustine, in *Colonial Records*, ed. Connor, vol. 2, 253. The August, 1579 date for these events appears in "Antonio Martínez Carvajal to the King," November 3, 1579, Havana, in *Colonial Records*, ed. Connor, vol. 2, 248-49.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 249. Grant D. Jones, "The Ethnohistory of the Guale Coast Through 1684," in *Ethnology of the Indians of Spanish Florida*, ed. David Hurst Thomas, vol. 8, *Spanish Borderlands Sourcebooks*, ed. David Hurst Thomas (New York: Garland Publishing, 1991), 255, places Cosapoy within the chiefdom of Orista.

<sup>57</sup> The *adelantado* threatened severe reprisals against the Guale if they harmed any of his men, as shown in Gonzalo Solís de Merás, "Memorial que Hizo el Dr. Gonzalo Solís de Merás de Todas las Jornadas y Sucesos del Adelantado Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, su Cuñado, y de la Conquista de la Florida y Justicia que Hizo en Juan Ribao y Otros Franceses," in *La Florida: su Conquista y Colonización por Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, ed. Eugenio Ruidíaz y Caravia (Madrid: Hijos de J.A. García, 1893; reprint, Madrid: Colegio Universitario de Ediciones Istmo, 1989), 198 (page citation is to reprint edition). "Relatio de Missione Floridae a Patre Ionne Rogel Inter Annos 1607-1611 Scripta," in *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae, 1566-1572*, ed. Félix Zubillaga, S.J. (Rome: Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu,

Marqués's apparent level of frustration with the Indians of southern Florida, as demonstrated by his 1573 petition to the King to wage a "war of fire and blood" and enslave the groups who attacked and killed Spanish shipwreck victims in that region.<sup>58</sup> As discussed in the previous chapter, Spanish soldiers subjected Native Americans to various types of abuse during the period of Santa Elena's first occupation, and then the *adelantado's* officers and lieutenants led groups of soldiers and settlers on *entradas* to "pacify" the Indians when they protested this treatment and rebelled.<sup>59</sup> But these Spaniards, who wanted tribute from the Indians and were often dependent upon them for their sustenance, did not generally wage the sort of war that threatened the Native Americans' ability to subsist. The Jesuit priests' presence may also have served to prevent such wide-scale violence in the colony during its early days, although their reports to their superiors usually described their frustration that they could not protect the Native Americans from the Florida soldiers' abuse.<sup>60</sup>

Accounts of other offensives against Native American towns during this period create a picture of warfare designed purely with subjugation in mind, and the Spanish participants unapologetically used words such as "slaughter" (*mortandad*) in describing

---

1946), 614, tells how in Ajacán the *adelantado* hanged eight or ten Indians whom he considered guilty of the Jesuits' murders there.

<sup>58</sup> "The *Adelantado* Pedro Menéndez Reports the Damages and Murders Caused by the Coast Indians of Florida," 30-81.

<sup>59</sup> As mentioned in the previous chapter, an "entrada" in this context was a military expedition into territory controlled by the Indians.

<sup>60</sup> The documents regarding the presence of the Catholic church during the second period of Santa Elena's occupation are extremely scarce, judging from what I have been able to find so far. The chaplains in the forts during this time appear to have been Franciscan priests.

them. By launching these raids at night to give themselves the advantage of surprise and minimize their own casualties, Spaniards accepted that women and children would be among their many victims.<sup>61</sup> They obliterated the towns through burning, which claimed even more lives, and deliberately sought to destroy the Indians' cornfields and food stores in order, as one man said, "to rule them and bring them to the obedience of his Majesty."<sup>62</sup> A soldier who participated in the war on Guale mentioned that under Pedro Menéndez Marqués, he and the others had burned, not only towns, but "many canoes," which were essential to the Indians' network of trade, resource distribution, and communication.<sup>63</sup> The words of María de Junco, the widow of a man who served as a soldier and translator among the southern Florida Indians, succinctly characterized the methods and goals of the type of warfare Pedro Menéndez Marqués waged against Native Americans during this period. She said that in her husband's experiences of battling the Indians, "he distinguished himself with the said Indians, killing them and burning their houses and cutting down the corn plants for their sustenance because they did not want to give themselves to the service of his Majesty and that this was [done] in such a way that many Indians of those provinces considered him courageous and bold."<sup>64</sup>

---

<sup>61</sup> Spaniards knew that that the Indians tended to send women and children away when they were expecting a military attack, so it must be assumed that women and children were some of the Spaniards' intended targets.

<sup>62</sup> See testimony of Admiral Miguel de Valdés in "Petición y Testimonios de Juan Sánchez Judrero," January 1, 1608, St. Augustine, AGI Santo Domingo 232 (Stetson Collection). He was talking here about the raid on Ahoya, which I discuss below.

<sup>63</sup> Testimony of Pedro de Rueda in the Interrogatory Regarding Vicente González's Florida Service, in "Papers Pertaining to Services of Captain Vicente González," 1593, Madrid, AGI Patronato 260 (Stetson Collection), fo. 78vo.

<sup>64</sup> "Memorial, Etc. of María de Junco, Viuda de Juan Ramírez de Contreras of St. Augustine," 1606, Madrid?, AGI Santo Domingo 24 (Stetson Collection).



Pedro Menéndez Marqués apparently did not launch these raids as a purely military strategy, but as one that inspired fear among the Native Americans as a means of bringing them into compliance with the Spaniards' will. The governor continued his efforts to communicate with the Indians, both to gain information and to obtain what he considered pledges of loyalty from them. Perhaps because Menéndez Marqués suspected that the Indians were often lying to him, he took measures to bring Domingo González de León, an experienced translator, back to Florida from New Spain where he was then living with his family. This soldier had served in Florida since the time of *adelantado* Pedro Menéndez's first voyage, and he claimed to have been the first interpreter of Indian languages in the area around Santa Elena.<sup>65</sup> In May, 1576 Domingo González had traveled to Spain with the permission of Governor Hernando de Miranda to inform King Philip II of the grievances of the soldiers there and to request a royal inspection of conditions in the provinces. While González was in Spain, he learned that Santa Elena had been lost in an Indian uprising and that many of the soldiers he was representing, as well as some of those who had wronged them, had been killed.<sup>66</sup> With the King's permission, Domingo González gathered his family members in Havana, where they had apparently fled when Santa Elena was abandoned and took them to New Spain. They were living there in 1579 when Pedro Menéndez Marqués sent the Viceroy and *audiencia* of New Spain what González claimed was a false report that he had mutinied and escaped his

---

<sup>65</sup> "Domingo González, His Services, Etc.," 1584, St. Augustine?, AGI Santo Domingo 14 (Stetson Collection).

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid*; Domingo de León to the King, October 13, [1584], Madrid, in AGI Santo Domingo 231, fo. 311.

duties in Florida.<sup>67</sup> Domingo González returned to the fort at Santa Elena on June 23, 1579.<sup>68</sup> According to witnesses, González was among the men wounded when Governor Pedro Menéndez Marqués dispatched them to negotiate with the Orista in August, 1579.<sup>69</sup> Domingo González later told how, when he arrived at Santa Elena during Captain Tomás Bernaldo's term as governor, the land was at war, and the Spaniards could not leave the fort unless they were armed and in a large group. But, González said, "After I arrived in that land, the Indians came to ask for our friendship even though it grieved them."<sup>70</sup>

On some levels, the military campaigns that Pedro Menéndez Marqués launched in 1579 appear to have achieved the results he intended. Starting with the *cacique* of Cosapoy, a series of Indian leaders came to Santa Elena to pledge their loyalty to the Spanish King in agreements documented by the fort's notary. Pedro Menéndez Marqués also finally persuaded the Native Americans to release many of the Frenchmen in their custody, and he "worked justice" on most of them at St. Augustine and Santa Elena. But even the governor was surprised by the Indians' relative slowness to comply with his demands, given the brutality of the Spanish attacks. Pedro Menéndez Marqués probably underestimated these chiefdoms' strength, just he and the other Florida officials always seem to have overlooked the Indians' ability to manipulate them politically. While the

---

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, fo. 311-311vo.

<sup>68</sup> See Certification of Notary Juan Mel in "Domingo González, His Services, Etc.," 1584, St. Augustine?, AGI Santo Domingo 14 (Stetson Collection).

<sup>69</sup> See Interrogatory Made on Behalf of Domingo González de León, in "Domingo González, His Services, Etc.," 1584, St. Augustine?, AGI Santo Domingo 14 (Stetson Collection).

<sup>70</sup> Domingo de León to the King, October 13, [1584], Madrid, in AGI Santo Domingo 231, fo. 311vo.

raids Menéndez Marqués and his men launched must have been devastating in many ways, these chiefdoms had networks in place to draw resources from a broad area. Compared with the period from 1566 to 1576 when they had faced assaults and heavy tribute demands from Spaniards, these Native Americans experienced something of a reprieve from 1576 until early 1579. During this time the chiefdoms, galvanized against a common enemy, also likely experienced relative peace among themselves. Even the peace treaties recorded at Santa Elena from 1579 to the middle of 1580 in which these Indians supposedly submitted themselves to Spanish rule provide evidence that the political and tribute structure of the Guale-Tolomato chiefdom had not been disrupted by the Spanish assault on its towns.<sup>71</sup>

At the end of September, 1579, probably after the governor had left for St. Augustine, a representative of the *cacique* Cosapoy arrived in Santa Elena to ask for peace, bringing with him six Frenchmen, including a barber and the quartermaster and several sailors from *El Principe*.<sup>72</sup> Pedro Menéndez Marqués had learned from the two French captives he seized during the raid on Cosapoy that there were twelve others there.<sup>73</sup> It is unclear what Captain Bernaldo told this leader's representative, but the *cacique* of Cosapoy himself came to Santa Elena and entered into a peace agreement with the Spaniards on October 15, 1579.<sup>74</sup> According to the certification recorded by the

---

<sup>71</sup> Jones, "Ethnohistory of the Guale Coast," 254 discusses the power structure of the Guale-Tolomato chiefdom for the period 1575 to 1597.

<sup>72</sup> Lyon, trans., "Papers, Attestations, and Accounts of Captain Tomás Bernaldo," 350.

<sup>73</sup> "Pedro Menéndez Marqués to the King," January 3, 1580, 253. On this page, Pedro Menéndez Marqués said, "I sent word to the Indians to give me the Frenchmen, and I would give them the women, and they did so although they took their time."

<sup>74</sup> Lyon, trans., "Papers, Attestations, and Accounts of Captain Tomás Bernaldo," 343.

notary, Juan Mel, the interpreter Domingo González de León gave “the address” (*la plática*) to the *cacique* and asked “if he wished to be a friend of the Spaniards and vassal of the King of Spain Our Lord.” In this account the Cosapoy leader replied that yes, he wanted to be their friend and the King’s vassal and that he did this “of his own free will.”<sup>75</sup> The text of this treaty states that the *cacique* also pledged not to harm the Spaniards or to allow his Indians to do so and that he would warn the Florida officials if he learned of any danger they faced from other *caciques*. As a gesture of good faith, the *cacique* of Cosapoy left his son and the daughter of one of his subjects as hostages at Santa Elena, and Captain Tomás Bernaldo received them there in deposit.<sup>76</sup> Pedro Menéndez Marqués later commented to the King that the Cosapoy “took their time” in exchanging the Indian women for the Frenchmen. Menéndez Marqués said that even after this he kept the *cacique*’s son as a hostage and remarked that these Indians “are in such a mood that I have little hope concerning them.”<sup>77</sup>

Other Frenchmen came into Pedro Menéndez Marqués’s custody around this time. On the general’s return from Santa Elena to St. Augustine in the early fall of 1579, the Guale gave him the French captain Nicolás Strozzi from *El Principe*, as well as all the other Frenchmen they had “except two boys and one soldier who were far away.”<sup>78</sup> In his letter to the King dated January 3, 1580, Pedro Menéndez Marqués reported that up until

---

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 353. These documents recording peace treaties with the Indians, like the accounts from the Juan Pardo expeditions, do not describe what the contents of this “address” were.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 343.

<sup>77</sup> “Pedro Menéndez Marqués to the King,” January 3, 1580, 253.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*

that point he had “worked justice” on twenty-three Frenchmen total in St. Augustine and Santa Elena and justified his actions by saying, “According to their confession, they well deserved death, for they admitted having sacked and burned Margarita Island, Cumana, Guadinilla and other villages, and captured many ships. The captain was rich, because he offered me three thousand ducats as ransom if I would grant him his life. It did not appear expedient to me for your Majesty’s service that a man like him should get back to France.”<sup>79</sup> Other than the three French captives whom the Indians had not yet surrendered, Pedro Menéndez Marqués said there were “three boys, one barber, and one gunner, who are needed in these provinces as interpreters.” The general reported that he had “learned from those same Frenchmen and from the Indians that the French had told the Indians that they would try to give them the fort; and in accordance with the agreement they had made, the Indians came to help. But they came late, and even if they had come earlier, that would have been of little advantage to them because of the strength of the fort.”<sup>80</sup>

Pedro Menéndez Marqués reported to the King on March 25, 1580 that after he sent his letter in early January, he went to Santa Elena and discovered that there were still more Frenchmen among the Indians. The governor said that upon learning this, “I tried by all the ways possible to me to get them into my power. The Indians, because of the fear they have, offered to deliver them to me, and so they went to seek them and brought me the captain, who was on the other side of the mountain ridge one hundred and twenty

---

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, 255.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*

leagues from here with three other Frenchmen, young boys.” Menéndez Marqués told the King that he had Captain Roque executed but kept the boys as prisoners. He also said, “I have news that there remain three others, whom the Indians say they will deliver to me within a very brief space. I suspect that there must be more. I shall do my utmost so that none shall remain.”<sup>81</sup> The coastal Indians’ trade and communication network with the Indians of the interior must have been intact and functioning well for this transaction with the Frenchmen to have occurred. The governor wrote the King two months later and stated, “In Florida I hold ten Frenchmen: one is a surgeon, of whom there was much need; another is a German gunner, and the others are boys and interpreters.” He said he had determined that the German had been taken prisoner by the French and so ordered that he be entered into the Florida accounts to draw a salary from the King’s funds.<sup>82</sup> Menéndez Marqués asked the King what he should do with the rest of these Frenchmen, and in a *cédula* dated September 19, 1580, King Philip responded that they should be sent to Spain to serve as galley slaves.<sup>83</sup>

When he wrote the King from Santa Elena in March, 1580, Pedro Menéndez Marqués reported that “All the Indians are peaceful, those of this province as well as those of the others, as far as St. Augustine. I hope in our Lord that satisfactory results will be obtained among them.”<sup>84</sup> Notarial accounts of the peace treaties made at Santa Elena in

---

<sup>81</sup> “Pedro Menéndez Marqués to the King,” March 25, 1580, Santa Elena, in *Colonial Records*, ed. Connor, vol. 2, 283.

<sup>82</sup> “Pedro Menéndez Marqués to the King,” May 15, 1580, Havana, in *Colonial Records*, ed. Connor, vol. 2, 303.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, 303. For the King’s response, see Royal Order dated September 19, 1580, Badajoz, in “Cedulario de la Florida,” 1570-1604, n.p., AGI Santo Domingo 2528 (Stetson Collection).

<sup>84</sup> “Pedro Menéndez Marqués to the King,” March 25, 1580, 283.

the presence of Captain Tomás Bernaldo de Quirós during the first several months of 1580 support this claim. On January 22, 1580, the “*cacique* of the *lengua* of Guale who had rebelled and was estranged from the service of His Majesty” came to Fort San Marcos to make peace with the Spaniards.<sup>85</sup> According to this account, the interpreter Alonso Díaz de Sevilla gave him the customary address, and the Guale *cacique* “responded that he considered himself a vassal and loyal friend of the King of Spain, Our Lord, and submitted himself to his service and [that] of his governors--he and all his Indians.” No doubt because of the formulaic nature of these proceedings, the *cacique* made other pledges that were very like those the *cacique* of Cosapoy had made. But in addition to these, the Guale leader’s agreement stated that he “would pay the tributes which were imposed upon him by the Señor General.”<sup>86</sup> On February 6, 1580, the Guale *cacique* was followed by the “*cacique* of Tupiqui which is of the *lengua* of Guale” who came to Santa Elena and gave similar assurances before the notary there. With regard to tribute, however, the notary’s account said that the *cacique* of Tupiqui “promised and did promise to tolerate the tributes and contracts which might be made with the Mico Mayor of the *lengua* of Tolomato and Guale, to whom he was subject.”<sup>87</sup>

---

<sup>85</sup> Lyon, trans., “Papers, Attestations, and Accounts of Captain Tomás Bernaldo,” 344. The word “*lengua*” here refers to an area in which this language was spoken.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 344-45. As discussed in the previous chapter, a *mico mayor* was the “principal leader” of a chiefdom.

Even before the 1576 uprising, Guale and Tolomato had been the principal towns of the chiefdom which the Spaniards referred to as the “*lengua* de Guale.”<sup>88</sup> Bartolomé Martínez, a resident of Santa Elena during its first occupation, later stated that the Guale *cacique* who came to Santa Elena to be baptized in 1575 was the principal leader of his province. Martínez said that in 1575, even though Tolomato “was the supreme lord and was called *mico*, which in that language is like king or prince of that land, he was very old and of a decrepit age. And Guale was his son-in-law and the second person in all that province, and [because of this] and because he was extremely brave, he directed everything.”<sup>89</sup> Tolomato’s superior position to the Guale *cacique* had apparently been re-established by March 7, 1580 when the “Mico Mayor of all the *lengua* of Tolomato” appeared at Fort San Marcos to pledge loyalty to the Spanish King.<sup>90</sup> The leader of Tolomato may have come to some sort of understanding with Pedro Menéndez Marqués before this date, however. Writing to the King in early November of 1579, Antonio Martínez Carvajal told how, when Pedro Menéndez Marqués passed through Guale on his way from Santa Elena back to St. Augustine, through his “skillful management he pacified the said province and reduced to your Majesty’s service all the caciques, including the head cacique.”<sup>91</sup> In December, 1579, the governor instructed Captain Vicente González

---

<sup>88</sup> Jones, “Ethnohistory of the Guale Coast,” 238, says, “The Spanish always referred to the region up to Edisto Island as the *lengua de Guale*.”

<sup>89</sup> Bartolomé Martínez, “Martirio de los Padres y Hermanos de la Compañía de Jesús que Martirizaron los Indios del Jacán, Tierra de La Florida, de que Trata Brevemente el Padre Pedro de Ribadeneira en el Libro 3, Capítulo 6 de la Vida del B. P. Francisco de Borja,” in *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, ed. Zubillaga, 586-87.

<sup>90</sup> Lyon, trans., “Papers, Attestations, and Accounts of Captain Tomás Bernaldo,” 346.

<sup>91</sup> “Antonio Martínez Carvajal to the King,” 249.



to ask the leader of Tolomato to serve as an intermediary in obtaining the release of some Frenchmen he believed were still in the custody of the *cacique* of Cosapoy.<sup>92</sup> This document does not refer to Tolomato as the *mico mayor*, but it could well have been his position of supreme authority that led Menéndez Marqués to ask Tolomato to intervene in the affairs of a town that was apparently part of another chiefdom.<sup>93</sup>

Other *caciques* who were part of the Guale-Tolomato chiefdom came through the fort at Santa Elena during these months of 1580 and pledged their loyalty and obedience to the King of Spain and their compliance with tribute payments imposed on them by the *mico mayor* who was to pass these goods along to the Spaniards.<sup>94</sup> The notary's account of Tolomato's own agreement stated that "he held valid the friendships made by the other *caciques*, his vassals, and that he promised and did promise to favor and accept the tributes which the King or his governors might impose on them and would make them pay and would obey it as a loyal friend and vassal of the King of Spain."<sup>95</sup> Under these terms, the Spaniards intended to use the chiefdom's existing hierarchy and system for resource distribution to collect their tribute payments in a much more efficient arrangement than their previous efforts to extract food and other tribute items from the region's Native American population. The other *caciques* of the Guale-Tolomato chiefdom who came to

---

<sup>92</sup> Order and Instructions of Pedro Menéndez Marqués to Vicente González and Juan de Posada, December 8, 1579, St. Augustine, in "Papers Pertaining to Services of Captain Vicente González," 1593, Madrid, AGI Patronato 260 (Stetson Collection), fo. 53-53vo.

<sup>93</sup> As noted above, Jones, "Ethnohistory of the Guale Coast," 255 states that Cosapoy was then likely part of the Orista chiefdom.

<sup>94</sup> None of the agreements state what these tribute payments included.

<sup>95</sup> Lyon, trans., "Papers, Attestations, and Accounts of Captain Tomás Bernaldo," 346.

Santa Elena and entered into these agreements included the “*cacique* of Guanote, successor of the *cacique* of Tupiqui, which is of the *lengua* of Guale” on February 25, 1580; *cacique* Aluste of the *lengua* of Guale on March 20, 1580; *cacique* Yagoa on June 22, 1580; the *caciques* of Fasque and Zapala of the *lengua* of Guale on July 7, 1580; and the *cacique* of Lulopala of the *lengua* of Guale on July 26, 1580.<sup>96</sup> According to the notary’s records, the *caciques* Asopo, Talapo, and Opo declared their obedience to the Spanish King at Santa Elena on March 30, 1580. They may have been part of a different chiefdom, for while they apparently consented to pay tribute to the Spaniards, their agreement makes no mention of sending these items to the *mico mayor* of Tolomato.<sup>97</sup> The *mico mayor* of Orista made a pledge of loyalty similar to these others on February 14, 1580 in his visit to Fort San Marcos, although the summary of his agreement mentions no tribute payments.<sup>98</sup>

It is impossible to know how the Native Americans viewed these peace agreements conducted in a very formulaic manner before a Spanish notary. But even these documents, meant as testimony to the Indians’ subjugation to Spanish rule, provide evidence that the Guale-Tolomato chiefdom’s power structure had remained intact through the 1576 uprising and beyond the 1579 “war of Guale.” This chiefdom had also apparently maintained its network and influence with Native American groups in the

---

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, 345-49. In several cases I have changed the spelling of the Indian names based on my reading of the original documents in “Papers of Captain Tomás Bernaldo,” 1580-1593, Havana, AGI Santo Domingo 125 (Stetson Collection).

<sup>97</sup> Lyon, trans., “Papers, Attestations, and Accounts of Captain Tomás Bernaldo,” 347.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, 345.

interior, for it was the *mico mayor* of Tolomato who delivered Captain Roque, one of the Frenchmen who came from the Indians one hundred and twenty leagues away, to Santa Elena on March 1, 1580.<sup>99</sup> Guale-Tolomato does not appear to have been a broken chiefdom when its leaders came to Santa Elena to treat peace, although many of the towns within it and those of neighboring chiefdoms had suffered greatly at the Spaniards' hands. Rather, these Indians likely made their pledges of loyalty as a way to gain protection in order to recover during a period of relative weakness. Pedro Menéndez Marqués was no doubt correct in his March, 1580 assessment of the fear he had caused among Native Americans by the brutality of his attacks. The Indians' food stores would have needed to be replenished following the Spaniards' raids on their fields and storehouses. By this time many of the French captives who had offered the Native Americans a degree of security had been turned over to the Spaniards, and others followed in the summer of 1580. But events that soon followed showed that even in this state, the Indians were prepared to seize every opportunity to expel the Spaniards from their lands.

### **The Uprising's Final Years**

In mid-July of 1580, as the last of these *caciques* of the Guale-Tolomato chiefdom came to the fort at Santa Elena to make peace with the Spaniards, the French arrived again in La Florida. On July 17th a large French ship appeared in the harbor at San Mateo, and informed of this by the Indians in that area, General Pedro Menéndez Marqués went with two frigates and defeated them on the evening of the twentieth. During the months of July and August, 1580, the Spaniards counted fifteen corsair ships off the coast

---

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, 351.

of Florida. Other French ships appeared farther north, at the Guale harbors of Guadalquini and Zapala to reconnoiter the coast and, in some cases, to demonstrate their friendship to the Indians. At first the Indians apparently held to their pledges to inform the Spaniards of any danger to them. One account of these events told how a Spaniard saw the corsairs off the coast of Guale, for “when the first vessels were seen in Guale by the Indians, they immediately gave notice to the captain at Santa Elena, and the captain sent that Spaniard so that he should remain there and see what happened and keep the general advised of everything by land, through the Indians, since they were all friendly.”<sup>100</sup> Tomás Bernaldo de Quirós, who was the captain at Santa Elena at that time, wrote to King about these events on September 6, 1580. He told how some of the French ships came toward Santa Elena in search of the men on *El Principe* but noted that by then most of them had come into the hands of the Spaniards, and the Indians had killed the others. Captain Bernaldo said he had forged friendships with all the Indians of the *lengua* of Guale and with some of the *lengua* of Orista. But, he remarked, “they are people of such little reasonableness (*razón*) that if the French come tomorrow and they see that they are more numerous than us, they will go over to their [the French] side.”<sup>101</sup>

Tomás Bernaldo’s concern that the Indians would renew their alliance with the French was well-founded. In writing to the Casa de Contratación on October 10, 1580, Captain Rodrigo de Junco told how the French had allied themselves with the Indians of

---

<sup>100</sup> “A Most Truthful Relation of What Happened in Florida in the Month of July of this Year MDLXXX,” after August, 1580, St. Augustine, in *Colonial Records*, ed. Connor, vol. 2, 323.

<sup>101</sup> “Tomás Bernaldo de Quirós to Crown,” September 6, 1580, Santa Elena, AGI Santo Domingo 231 (Stetson Collection).

the *lengua* of Guale and Santa Elena who had been at peace with the Spaniards. He said that word had come from a reconnaissance vessel to General Pedro Menéndez Marqués that day that all the Indians near the fort at Santa Elena had risen up and that more than one thousand Indians from the whole region were surrounding the fort. Rodrigo de Junco explained, “It appears that they drew this insolence from the protection (*favor*) and courage (*ánimo*) that the Frenchmen gave them by saying that they would return in the Spring with five ships and many people.”<sup>102</sup> Rodrigo de Junco’s letter two days later reported more specifically that when the “Indians of the provinces of Guale, Tolomato, and Santa Elena, who were at peace and very obedient to the Spaniards” received news of the French, they all rebelled and set upon Santa Elena with a large group of Indians who took the island and surrounded the fort. Junco said that an Indian taken prisoner from Guale told them this.<sup>103</sup> Writing to the King on October 14, 1580 from St. Augustine, Gutierre de Miranda spoke of this incident and his concern about the vulnerability of the Florida forts in the face of an Indian and French alliance.<sup>104</sup>

The documents I have found do not tell how this standoff was resolved. In a letter King Philip received January 31, 1581, Pedro Menéndez Marqués spoke of the valuable information he had gained from the Frenchmen from *El Principe* whom he had hanged and

---

<sup>102</sup> “Rodrigo de Junco to Contratación,” October 3, 1580, St. Augustine, AGI Contratación 5106 (Stetson Collection). The Stetson Collection title page dates this letter October 3, 1580, but the date given at the end of the letter itself is October 10, 1580.

<sup>103</sup> “Rodrigo de Junco to the King Announcing his Arrival in Florida and Conditions There,” October 12, 1580, St. Augustine, AGI Santo Domingo 231 (Stetson Collection).

<sup>104</sup> “Gutierre de Miranda to the King,” October 14, 1580, St. Augustine, AGI Santo Domingo 231, No. 26 (Stetson Collection). These concerns also appear in “Royal Officials to the King Relative to the Situado, Soldiers, and Other Matters,” October 12, 1580, St. Augustine, AGI Santo Domingo 229 (Stetson Collection).

beheaded. The governor offered to come to Spain so he could tell the King in person and said he could not write about these matters “because of the danger there is that [the information] would come into the hands of the French.”<sup>105</sup> When Captain Gutierre de Miranda arrived to serve as governor of Santa Elena on November 10, 1580, he found the fort still standing, but he observed that it was in bad repair and poorly supplied with arms and munitions. His report noted that “all the surrounding region was in rebellion and at war and had been for a long time before, and a large number of Indians had come to this island to try to kill the soldiers and people who are serving his Majesty and burn the fort.”<sup>106</sup> A notary certified on November 11, 1580, that when Captain Tomás Bernaldo de Quirós turned the fort of San Marcos at Santa Elena over to Captain Gutierre de Miranda, it contained not just the soldiers there, but also an Indian man and woman who had been left in his possession as hostages by the *cacique* of Cosapoy, as well as two Frenchmen whom Bernaldo had received from the Indians.<sup>107</sup>

The Spaniards apparently remained concerned that the French would fulfill their promise to the Indians to return, for in May and June of 1581, Governor Pedro Menéndez Marqués sent Captain Vicente González from St. Augustine to Santa Elena to look for corsairs there. Menéndez Marqués’s June 12, 1581 instructions told Vicente González to go directly to Santa Elena to see if any of these ships had entered that harbor and if they

---

<sup>105</sup> “Pedro Menéndez Marqués to King,” January 31, 1581 (Council Date), AGI Santo Domingo 224 (Stetson Collection).

<sup>106</sup> Report of Captain Gutierre de Miranda, November 10, 1580, Santa Elena, in “Expediente Concerning the Services, Etc. of Gutierre de Miranda,” 1588, St. Augustine, AGI Santo Domingo 231, No. 64 (Stetson Collection).

<sup>107</sup> Lyon, trans., “Papers, Attestations, and Accounts of Captain Tomás Bernaldo,” 351.

had damaged the fort. On his return to St. Augustine, Captain González was to seek information from the Guale Indians as to what they knew about these privateers' presence in the region. He was also to warn them that if they wanted the friendship of Pedro Menéndez Marqués, they were not to accept the corsairs in any way but were to tell Santa Elena if any arrived.<sup>108</sup> On February 19, 1582, Pedro Menéndez Marqués issued instructions to Vicente González to go to Cayagua, near present-day Charleston, South Carolina, to search for a French settlement that the Indians had reported to the Spaniards.<sup>109</sup> Captain González was to try to get as close to the French as possible without them seeing him, but he was also to obtain information from Native Americans in the area by giving them gifts. If possible, Vicente González was to persuade one of the Indians to accompany him on his return to Santa Elena so that Pedro Menéndez Marqués could regale the Indian and then return him home.<sup>110</sup> González later stated that he did not find the French fort that had been reported, but that he had treated peace with four important *caciques* of that language area and redeemed one French and two Spanish captives who had lived among them for the past five years.<sup>111</sup>

---

<sup>108</sup> Order and Instructions of Pedro Menéndez Marqués to Vicente González, May 10, 1581, St. Augustine; and Instructions of Pedro Menéndez Marqués to Vicente González, June 21, 1581, [St. Augustine], in "Papers Pertaining to Services of Captain Vicente González," 1593, Madrid, AGI Patronato 260 (Stetson Collection), fo. 59, 60.

<sup>109</sup> John H. Hann, trans., "Translation of the Ectija Voyages of 1605 and 1609 and the González Derrotero of 1609," *Florida Archaeology*, no. 2 (1986): 3 (map), shows Cayagua as present-day Charleston.

<sup>110</sup> Order of Pedro Menéndez Marqués to Vicente González, February 19, 1582, St. Augustine, in "Papers Pertaining to Services of Captain Vicente González," 1593, Madrid, AGI Patronato 260 (Stetson Collection), fo. 64.

<sup>111</sup> Interrogatory Regarding Vicente González's Florida Service, in "Papers Pertaining to Services of Captain Vicente González," 1593, Madrid, AGI Patronato 260 (Stetson Collection), fo. 67vo.

While the French did not make any more significant appearances in La Florida during the early 1580s, relations between Indians and Spaniards in the Santa Elena area seem to have returned to their previous state of tension punctuated by warfare. The documents provide glimpses into the tone of their interactions during this time. Soldier and interpreter Domingo González de León was trying to support his wife and children at Santa Elena at the end of January, 1581 when, in a petition to Governor Pedro Menéndez Marqués, he spoke of that region as being “poor and at war” and said that because of this, the men there could not sustain themselves but had to rely on the supplies from the King.<sup>112</sup> In another document, González told how Gutierre de Miranda often visited his hog corral outside the Santa Elena fort during his early years there. But, he said, every time Miranda went to the corral, he took most of the soldiers with him “for fear of the Indians.”<sup>113</sup> Accounts of some of the soldiers who served at Santa Elena in the early 1580s mention the many *entradas* that they carried out “among the hostile Indians in order to bring them to the obedience of his Majesty.”<sup>114</sup> The soldiers referred to the skirmishes that were part of these *entradas*, but from among this series of attacks, the raid on the town of Ahoya in the Orista chiefdom seems to have stood out in these men’s minds.<sup>115</sup>

---

<sup>112</sup> Petition to Governor Pedro Menéndez Marqués, January 23, 1581, Fort San Marcos, in “Domingo González, His Services, Etc.,” 1584, St. Augustine?, AGI Santo Domingo 14 (Stetson Collection).

<sup>113</sup> Domingo de León to the King, October 13, [1584], Madrid, in AGI Santo Domingo 231, fo. 314.

<sup>114</sup> Testimony of Francisco Rico in “Petición y Testimonios de Juan Sánchez Judrero,” January 1, 1608, St. Augustine, AGI Santo Domingo 232 (Stetson Collection). Other soldiers who gave testimony in this interrogatory mentioned these *entradas* as ordinary occurrences in their service at Santa Elena.

<sup>115</sup> Testimony of Francisco Morgado and Francisco Rico in “Petición y Testimonios de Juan Sánchez Judrero,” January 1, 1608, St. Augustine, AGI Santo Domingo 232 (Stetson Collection). Jones, “Ethnohistory of the Guale Coast,” 254, discusses whether Ahoya is best considered as a principal town of



Captain Alonso Díaz de Badajoz later stated in a petition for reward for his Florida service, "I found myself in the burning and slaughter of the Indians of the town of Ahoya, and always I did the duty as an honorable soldier to the satisfaction of my officers."<sup>116</sup>

An attack that Captain Tomás Bernaldo de Quirós described in a letter to the King dated November 1, 1581 may have been the raid on Ahoya or yet another assault in this period of conflictive relations. In this account, Tomás Bernaldo told how General Pedro Menéndez Marqués had come to Santa Elena to pay the soldiers there. Thinking the Indians were at peace, two of the general's soldiers left the fort and were attacked by Indians. Bernaldo claimed, "They killed them disgracefully, maltreating their bodies, cutting off their heads and playing with them and other means of insult . . . [used by] heedless people."<sup>117</sup> Tomás Bernaldo does not specify which Native American group Pedro Menéndez Marqués held responsible for this attack, but he said the general's response was to strike back in such a way that no more Spaniards were lost, but as many as sixty Indians were killed. Bernaldo stated that this raid caused such fear among the Indians that they came to Santa Elena a few days later to ask for peace, but Menéndez Marqués did not want to grant this to them, "because they had no concept of keeping [the peace]." Instead, General Menéndez Marqués continued on to Guale, and there the

---

a chiefdom with Escamazu or as part of some sort of federation with Orista and Escamazu, then goes on to say that René Laudonnière considered it part of the Orista chiefdom.

<sup>116</sup> "Petición de Capitán Alonso Díaz de Badajoz," AGI Santo Domingo 232, fo. 580.

<sup>117</sup> "Tomás Bernaldo de Quirós to the King," November 1, 1581, in "Papers of Captain Tomás Bernaldo," 1580-1593, Havana, AGI Santo Domingo 125 (Stetson Collection).

*caciques* came forward to offer their friendship and to give their children as hostages as evidence of their sincerity.<sup>118</sup>

By July 19, 1582, Pedro Menéndez Marqués was able to write the King that the Indians of Guale, as well as those around St. Augustine, were very pacified or subdued (*llanos*), but that those in the province of Santa Elena were all in rebellion. The governor commented that there seemed to be no solution to this.<sup>119</sup> At least some of the Native Americans' anger may have been due to the treatment they received from Captain Gutierre de Miranda at Santa Elena. The interpreter, Domingo González de León, reported in his 1584 account that Gutierre de Miranda had taken livestock from the Indians, as well as land they farmed which the Spaniards had cultivated before the 1576 abandonment of Santa Elena.<sup>120</sup> González charged that Miranda had forced the Indians to work for him, making them carry wood and palm rods for the construction of houses and corn to the fort. He added that the Indians did not want the Spaniards' friendship when they brought these things and that Gutierre de Miranda did not pay them or give them food in exchange for their labor. This, González stated, "resulted in no little damage," presumably referring to the Spaniards' relationship with these Indians.<sup>121</sup> Even though Pedro Menéndez

---

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>119</sup> "Pedro Menéndez Marqués to King," July 19, 1582, St. Augustine, AGI Santo Domingo 231, No. 32 (Stetson Collection).

<sup>120</sup> Domingo de León to the King, October 13, [1584], Madrid, in AGI Santo Domingo 231, fo. 313vo. The Indians could, of course, have farmed this land before the Spaniards arrived there for Santa Elena's first occupation.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, fo. 314vo.

Marqués likely knew about these abuses, he would not necessarily have taken any action to correct them, since Gutierre de Miranda was his brother-in-law.

Even if the Guale Indians were not fighting the Spaniards in the summer of 1582, Pedro Menéndez Marqués felt unsure enough of their friendship to seek formal peace agreements with them again. He also apparently wanted to begin collecting tribute payments. Instructions to Captain Vicente González dated October 5, 1582 show that Pedro Menéndez Marqués was then trying to re-establish this relationship with the *cacique* of Tupiqui, who had been one of the first Guale *caciques* to pledge his loyalty at Santa Elena in 1580.<sup>122</sup> Menéndez Marqués ordered Captain Vicente González to visit the *cacique* of Tupiqui and tell him that Governor Menéndez Marqués would like to be his and Tolomato's friend. Pedro Menéndez Marqués said that they could come to an agreement about the amount of tribute they would pay when he came to Guale, but that in order to guarantee their friendship, Tupiqui, Tolomato, and two other principal *caciques* should send their children to Menéndez Marqués to raise in St. Augustine or in Santa Elena. He added that the Indian leaders should believe that the Spaniards did not want to harm the youths. But, the governor insisted, if the *caciques* did not give their children to him, he would be their enemy, for he would not have the satisfaction from them that he should have. Governor Menéndez Marqués wanted Tupiqui to travel to Tolomato so they could be together when Captain Vicente González gave them the customary address and

---

<sup>122</sup> The February 6, 1580 notarial account of the *cacique* of Tupiqui's pledge of loyalty to the Spaniards is in Lyon, trans., "Papers, Attestations, and Accounts of Captain Tomás Bernaldo," 344-45. Order of Pedro Menéndez Marqués to Vicente González, October 5, 1582 in "Papers Pertaining to Services of Captain Vicente González," 1593, Madrid, AGI Patronato 260 (Stetson Collection), fo. 63.

then discuss it between themselves.<sup>123</sup> The instructions do not explain why this was, but perhaps the governor felt he had a stronger bond with one of these men and wanted him to influence the other in favor of the Spaniards.

### **An End to Hostilities**

By the end of 1583, Pedro Menéndez Marqués claimed that his relations with the Indians had improved dramatically. On December 27, 1583, he wrote to the King that on a trip to pay the soldiers at Santa Elena, all the *caciques* from inland and from the coast had come to see him and to pledge their obedience. Menéndez Marqués said he told these leaders that what would be best for God's service would be their conversion, and he gave most of them some clothes, noting the great cost this and other expenses were to him, to bring the Indians to the service of God and the King.<sup>124</sup> In this letter, Pedro Menéndez Marqués indirectly credited these developments to divine assistance. He described how that year, St. Augustine and the Christian Native American towns in that area had received an unusual amount of rain and as a result had an abundant corn harvest. He said that the regions of Santa Elena and Guale which had no Christian Indians received not a drop of rain in more than three months and were not able to harvest any corn. Menéndez Marqués claimed that many of these Indians came to ask him why this was so, and he told them that God was punishing them this way for not wanting to become Christians. After this, he said, they requested baptism with much fervor and added that, if he had given it to

---

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>124</sup> "Pedro Menéndez Marqués to Crown," December 27, 1583, St. Augustine, AGI Santo Domingo 224 (Stetson Collection).

everyone who asked, the Indians of that area would already be Christians. Instead, the governor reported that the Spaniards proceeded with moderation, baptising only those who knew all the prayers.<sup>125</sup>

While no peace agreements exist from this time, the Native Americans of Guale and the Santa Elena area do appear to have ceased their hostilities and at least active resistance to Spanish rule around 1583. Divine intervention aside, a severe drought could very well have pushed these communities toward a policy of accommodation in their relations with the Spaniards. For by then, these chiefdoms had experienced several more years of sporadic warfare, not to mention disease, the inevitable result of contact with Europeans. The French had not made a strong showing in La Florida since 1580, and the Indians had perhaps given up on that alliance without more evidence of its potential. Pedro Menéndez Marqués also may have taken a more active role than he claimed in forcing this apparently widespread capitulation of the region's leaders. He surely would have been willing to take advantage of any weakness he perceived to bring these Native Americans to the obedience of the Spanish King.

The petitions of Catalina de Valdés, the daughter of a principal *cacica* from Escamazu and a Spanish soldier, may offer an alternative account of the pledges of loyalty that Pedro Menéndez Marqués described.<sup>126</sup> Catalina de Valdés told how at some point when Governor Menéndez Marqués visited Santa Elena, her mother came to him in peace

---

<sup>125</sup> Ibid.

<sup>126</sup> See "Catalina de Valdés . . .," 1606?, St. Augustine; March 6, 1606, Madrid, AGI Santo Domingo 232 (Stetson Collection); and "Petition of Catalina de Valdés," 1612, n.p., AGI 53-2-4 (Jeannette Thurber Connor microfilm). Neither of these documents gives a date for the events discussed here.

and brought with her other Indians to declare obedience to him in the name of the King. She said the governor then took her mother hostage and through his custody of her and by using her as a translator persuaded other principal *caciques* in the region to pledge their loyalty to the Spaniards. Menéndez Marqués took the Escamazu *cacica* to St. Augustine to live in the home of his sister. There, she and the sister who joined her were baptized with the Spanish names Catalina and María Menéndez.<sup>127</sup> From the accounts of Catalina de Valdés, it appears that this *cacica* had enough influence within her chiefdom and broader region to bring other Native American leaders to St. Augustine where they also received baptism and declared their loyalty to the Spaniards. It is difficult to tell whether the Indians made these pledges as a result of persuasion by the Escamazu *cacica* or out of fear for her safety, for by then, the governor surely had established a reputation for brutality among the Indians of their region. In either event, Pedro Menéndez Marqués clearly held this woman in his custody with certain goals in mind. After she died, he married her sister to one Spanish soldier and her daughter to another.<sup>128</sup>

It is impossible to know how important this particular *cacica* actually was in bringing the Native American leaders of the Santa Elena region to the obedience of the Spanish Crown. No other female Indian leaders are mentioned in the Spanish records from this time, so it is interesting that a woman would lead others to pledge their

---

<sup>127</sup> Pedro Menéndez Marqués's sister whom they lived with was likely Doña Catalina Menéndez, then the wife of Captain Juan de Posada. See "Petition of Doña Catalina Menéndez, Twice Widowed," January 30, 1593, St. Augustine, AGI Santo Domingo 231 (Stetson Collection) where Doña Catalina and others told how she at times housed Native Americans in her home. Also, as I discussed in the previous chapter, it appears to have been common for Indians to receive the name of their Spanish godparents in baptism.

<sup>128</sup> "Petition of Catalina de Valdés," 1612, n.p., AGI 53-2-4 (Jeannette Thurber Connor microfilm).

obedience to the Spaniards. One possibility is that this woman was practicing the sort of sexual diplomacy that seems to have been more common in the first period of Santa Elena's occupation. Judging from some details in her daughter's account, this Escamazu *cacica* was likely unmarried when she encountered Pedro Menéndez Marqués at Santa Elena.<sup>129</sup> Also, at the time this Escamazu *cacica* apparently came with other Indian leaders to declare loyalty to Governor Pedro Menéndez Marqués at Santa Elena, a *cacica* known as Doña María was bringing Indians from the St. Augustine area to Catholicism and obedience to the Spanish King in large numbers. Pedro Menéndez Marqués mentioned Doña María's great service to the Spaniards in his December 27, 1583 letter and said he gave her and her children what gifts and delicacies he could every day.<sup>130</sup> The Escamazu *cacica* may well have known about Doña María and have even envisioned a similar role for herself when she came to Pedro Menéndez Marqués to declare her obedience. In any event, she probably did not expect to be taken away to St. Augustine where she lived the rest of her life as a hostage.

Documents from throughout these early years of his governorship show that Pedro Menéndez Marqués used the taking of hostages as a key strategy in his relations with the Florida Indians. This was not a practice that was original to him, for these Native Americans had traded hostages among themselves even before the Spaniards arrived, and

---

<sup>129</sup> Ibid. While these Native American cultures undoubtedly each had their own rules for women's sexual behavior, scholars seem to believe that the matrilineal societies generally considered adultery by married women wrong, but that single women--and not their male family members--had authority over their own sexuality.

<sup>130</sup> "Pedro Menéndez Marqués to Crown," December 27, 1583, St. Augustine, AGI Santo Domingo 224 (Stetson Collection).

*adelantado* Pedro Menéndez de Avilés exchanged hostages in his dealings with Native Americans as well.<sup>131</sup> But while the Florida Indians seem to have had no doubts about the *adelantado*'s ability to take violent action, his relations with Native Americans in general do not seem to have had the same brutality that underlay Pedro Menéndez Marqués's approach to them. Through his insistence on holding the *caciques*' sons or other relatives as his hostages, if not the leaders themselves, Menéndez Marqués brought the Indians' conflict with the Spaniards into their own homes. His war on various Native American communities, which involved massacres as well as the burning of towns and their crops and foodstores, had done this as well on a scale unprecedented even during earlier times of Spanish abuses under the *adelantado*'s lieutenants. It is unclear whether Pedro Menéndez Marqués understood that these Indians' matrilineal succession passed authority from a leader to his sister's son rather than to his own children, or whether he sought the hold of parental affection over the *caciques* in taking their sons hostage. But whatever his intentions, Governor Menéndez Marqués's opponents would have had little doubt of his potential for ruthlessness.

While Native Americans may have seen the period of accommodation beginning around 1583 as temporary, the cessation of hostilities and at least active resistance to Spanish rule appears to have endured in Guale and the Santa Elena region beyond the dismantling of the town there in 1587. It is less clear from the surviving documents how the Spaniards behaved toward the Indians during this time, although Governor Pedro

---

<sup>131</sup> See, for example, Solís de Merás, "Memorial," 197-98.



Menéndez Marqués still kept Indian hostages at St. Augustine and Santa Elena.<sup>132</sup> As I will discuss in the next chapter, the Spaniards continued to watch for French, and later, English ships off their coasts and to expect Native American revolts when the corsairs did arrive. But when the Spaniards abandoned the town of Santa Elena a second time, it was not due to threats from the Indians, but to struggles among the colony's leaders and concerns about poor defense in the face of an increasing British threat. Once they departed in 1587, the Spaniards never again established a sustained presence in the Santa Elena region.<sup>133</sup> After these twenty-one years of contact, Santa Elena's Native American neighbors would never be the same.

---

<sup>132</sup> See Juan Cevadilla's April 6, 1584 estimate of the cost to maintain two hostages at St. Augustine and two at Santa Elena, in Account and Interrogatory of Domingo González de León, 1584, La Florida, in AGI Santo Domingo 231, fo. 309vo.

<sup>133</sup> Jones, "Ethnohistory of the Guale Coast," 234, says that after the Spanish garrison at Santa Elena was removed, "Not until 1595 did the Franciscans again attempt to missionize the Guale coast, and none were stationed north of St. Catherines Island, which at that time was without a garrison."

## CHAPTER FIVE

### WITNESS TO EMPIRE AND THE TIGHTENING OF MILITARY CONTROL SANTA ELENA'S SECOND SPANISH OCCUPATION, 1577-1587

The prolonged Indian challenges to Spanish domination, in combination with real and perceived threats from French and English corsairs, fundamentally shaped the second period of Santa Elena's occupation which lasted from the rebuilding of the fort there in 1577 until Spaniards dismantled the town in 1587 in a climate of uncertainty following Sir Francis Drake's raid on West Indies ports, including St. Augustine. During this period Santa Elena, which had previously been the seat of Florida's government with a strong settler, as well as soldier, element became little more than a military garrison, trying to survive as proof of Spain's claim to these lands. But while the conditions of war in the colony and the threats from other European countries were very real, part of the almost exclusive focus on military matters in La Florida at this time was due to the priorities of those who governed. King Philip's appointment of Pedro Menéndez Marqués, the nephew of *adelantado* Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, as Florida's governor had two main effects. First, this choice kept the colony's leadership in the hands of the family that had ruled since the *adelantado*'s day, as Pedro Menéndez Marqués continued to appoint his relatives and close associates to key offices.<sup>1</sup> Second, as I will explain, the decision to

---

<sup>1</sup> Eugene Lyon, "The Control Structure of Spanish Florida, 1580," in *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, ed. Eugene Lyon, vol. 24, *Spanish Borderlands Sourcebooks*, ed. David Hurst Thomas (New York: Garland Publishing, 1995), 133.

name Menéndez Marqués governor instead of *adelantado* removed his incentive to invest in Florida's long-term development.<sup>2</sup> What resulted was an era in which Pedro Menéndez Marqués and Gutierre de Miranda, who governed under him at Santa Elena, fulfilled their military duties to the King, but then used their authority to remove even the limited power the colony's residents had previously enjoyed in pursuit of their own interests. The many voices and agendas that characterized Santa Elena's Spanish population in the first period were silenced into an uneasy peace under the second period's military rule. Faced with growing threats from their European enemies, Spain's leadership apparently chose to ignore the excesses of those who provided effective defense in this strategically valued, but extremely vulnerable, frontier region.

King Philip II's decision to appoint Pedro Menéndez Marqués governor of Florida rather than continue the institution of *adelantamiento* there marked an important stage in the trend toward increased royal support for this colony, as well as efforts to control its affairs. Pedro Menéndez de Avilés's contract had been for two lifetimes, and the King chose to count Hernando de Miranda's brief term as *adelantado* as the second.<sup>3</sup> Spanish monarchs had drawn on the Reconquest tradition of *adelantamiento* to extend their efforts to conquer and settle the Indies beyond what their funds allowed since the days of

---

<sup>2</sup> Eugene Lyon, *Santa Elena: A Brief History of the Colony, 1566-1587*, Research Manuscript Series, no. 193 (Columbia, S.C.: Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, 1984), 11, observes that Menéndez Marqués did not receive his uncle's title of *adelantado* in an effort by the King to assert greater control over the colony. My discussion builds on this to examine the implications of this decision for the Florida colony and the settlement of Santa Elena in particular.

<sup>3</sup> See Royal Order dated May 27, 1575, in "Cedulario de la Florida," 1570-1604, n.p., AGI Santo Domingo 2528 (Stetson Collection), in which King Philip II said that he wanted to keep all the terms of the *adelantado*'s contract with Hernando de Miranda, since he was Doña Catalina Menéndez's husband and she was the *adelantado*'s heir.

Columbus. But while the Crown granted special privileges to those who undertook these ventures of conquest and colonization until the mid-sixteenth century, it also imposed measures to limit the *adelantados*' power in the regions under their control.<sup>4</sup> By sending Pedro Menéndez Marqués to govern La Florida in an appointed, rather than a contractual role, King Philip in some ways ensured that this nephew of *adelantado* Pedro Menéndez de Avilés would serve even more directly under royal command than those who preceded him.<sup>5</sup> But this assertion of Crown authority over La Florida's government also removed these leaders' incentive to invest in the colony's long-term well-being. Their rewards came, not from painstaking efforts at settlement and the establishment of good relations with the Native Americans to achieve their conversion, but from fulfilling their military duties to remove immediate threats to La Florida, then pursuing their own goals related to pleasure, power, and personal enrichment.

Accompanying this assertion of control over Florida's government was a steady increase in royal funding in the form of the annual payment known as the *situado*. As discussed earlier, the financial subsidy for La Florida began in response to concerns about the French presence at Fort Caroline, which the King only learned about after signing the conquest contract with *adelantado* Pedro Menéndez de Avilés in 1565.<sup>6</sup> This royal

---

<sup>4</sup> See Eugene Lyon, *The Enterprise of Florida: Pedro Menéndez de Avilés and the Spanish Conquest of 1565-1568* (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1976), 2-5, for his discussion of the institution of *adelantamiento*, its precedents during the Reconquest, and its use by sixteenth-century Spanish monarchs, including Philip II, in the period leading up to *adelantado* Pedro Menéndez de Avilés's conquest of Florida. See also John E. Kicza, "Patterns in Early Spanish Expansion Overseas," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 49 (April 1992): 229-53.

<sup>5</sup> Royal Order dated March 22, 1577, Madrid, in "Cedulario de la Florida," 1570-1604, n.p., AGI Santo Domingo 2528 (Stetson Collection).

<sup>6</sup> Lyon, *Enterprise*, 209.

assistance was formalized in 1570, when the King granted the colony an annual payment of 8,788,725 *maravedies* from the treasury of Tierra Firme for the support of one hundred and fifty soldiers, as well as other expenses.<sup>7</sup> In 1577, when King Philip sent Pedro Menéndez Marqués to govern Florida, the funding level remained at this amount, but the responsibility for paying it had shifted to the treasury of Vera Cruz.<sup>8</sup> After learning of the reappearance of the French in La Florida, as well the threat from Native Americans, the King doubled the number of Florida soldiers he would fund in 1578.<sup>9</sup> The new soldiers arrived from Spain in October, 1578, during Captain Álvaro Flores's inspection of the Florida forts.<sup>10</sup> Soon after this, King Philip ordered the Vera Cruz officials to send Florida an additional 4,000,000 *maravedies* per year to support these men, but the payments were to go through the governor of Cuba, apparently as a measure to control the use of this money.<sup>11</sup> In January, 1580, the King raised the *situado* payment by 5,125,000 more *maravedies* for a total of 17,913,725 *maravedies* per year.<sup>12</sup> Royal funding of the Florida

---

<sup>7</sup> See Chapter One for a discussion of the establishment of the Florida *situado*.

<sup>8</sup> Engel Sluiter, *The Florida Situado: Quantifying the First Eighty Years, 1571-1651*, Research Publications of the P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, no. 1 (Gainesville, Fla.: University of Florida Libraries, 1985), 2.

<sup>9</sup> Royal Order dated March 16, 1578, San Lorenzo el Real, in "Cedulario de la Florida," 1570-1604, n.p., AGI Santo Domingo 2528 (Stetson Collection).

<sup>10</sup> "The Visitation Made by Álvaro Flores of the Forts of Florida," September-November, 1578, St. Augustine and Santa Elena, in *Colonial Records of Spanish Florida*, ed. Jeannette T. Connor, vol. 1 (Deland, Fla.: Florida State Historical Society, 1925), 200-201.

<sup>11</sup> "The Council of the Indies Advises an Increase in the Florida Subsidy," October 20, 1578, Madrid, in *Colonial Records*, ed. Connor, vol. 2, 114-17. See the Royal Orders dated December 10, 1578, El Pardo, in "Cedulario de la Florida," 1570-1604, n.p., AGI Santo Domingo 2528 (Stetson Collection).

<sup>12</sup> Royal Order dated January 24, 1580, Madrid, in "Cedulario de la Florida," 1570-1604, n.p., AGI Santo Domingo 2528 (Stetson Collection). The total figure appears in Sluiter, *Florida Situado*, 12 (note 16).

colony remained at this level until at least the middle of the seventeenth century, although the amount actually paid tended to vary.<sup>13</sup>

Even though Governor Pedro Menéndez Marqués answered more directly to his King than his predecessors, in many ways the Florida power structure remained the same as during the *adelantado*'s day. Members of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés's network of extended family and associates, or *comuño*, still ran the government.<sup>14</sup> The King tried to appoint treasury officials from outside the colony in 1577, but when the man he appointed as *factor* failed to take up the position, Pedro Menéndez Marqués named a *comuño* member, Rodrigo de Junco.<sup>15</sup> Eugene Lyon notes that, through Junco, the governor was able to undermine the initiatives of the other two royal officials.<sup>16</sup> Eventually, one of these men, the treasurer Juan Cevadilla, entered the *comuño* through marriage to Rodrigo de Junco's daughter.<sup>17</sup> Pedro Menéndez Marqués kept the highest levels of the Florida

---

<sup>13</sup> See Sluiter, *Florida Situado*, "The Florida Situado, 1571-1651: The Payment Record, from Spanish Treasury Accounts" (table). Paul Hoffman, "A Study of Florida Defense Costs, 1565-1585: A Quantification of Florida History," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 51 (April 1973): 416 estimates that during the period 1565-81, Florida received over seventy percent of the Spanish Crown's land defense budget for the Caribbean in years without special expenditures. For the years between 1574-81 which Hoffman says faced ordinary defense expenses, "Florida cost as much as nine times more per year than Havana, the next most costly."

<sup>14</sup> See Chapter One for a discussion of the *comuño*.

<sup>15</sup> The *factor* was one of the three royal treasury officials whose duties included the procurement of goods and supplies for the colony. The other two positions were treasurer and accountant.

<sup>16</sup> Lyon, "Control Structure," 129-37, persuasively argues for this continuity in the Florida power structure. On p. 132, Lyon discusses Philip II's effort in 1577 to name treasury officials from outside the colony. He says that when the man the King had named as *factor* failed to take up his position, Pedro Menéndez Marqués named a *comuño* member, Rodrigo de Junco. Governor Menéndez Marqués then worked through Junco to undermine the efforts of the treasurer Juan Cevadilla and accountant Lázaro Sánchez de Mercado to act independently.

<sup>17</sup> "Juan Cevadilla to the King Noting That the Governor Has Gone to Spain," October 21, 1585, St. Augustine, AGI Santo Domingo 231 (Stetson Collection).

government within his family's inner circle. He named his brother-in-law, Gutierre de Miranda, to govern Santa Elena during most of its second Spanish occupation. Another of his brothers-in-law, Juan de Posada, was also active in Menéndez Marqués's service, as were a couple of the governor's nephews. When a long-time resident complained in 1584 that La Florida's government was dominated by "uncles and nephews and brothers-in-law," he could easily have been talking about the colony's days under the *adelantado*.<sup>18</sup> Pedro Menéndez Marqués could justify some of these appointments by claiming that these men were most qualified through prior Florida service, but their loyalty to him appears to have been their best claim to these positions. For as before, *comuño* members presented a united front against other groups in the colony. In this period, however, there were even fewer checks to their power.

### **Santa Elena as Symbol of Spanish Rule**

Both General Pedro Menéndez Marqués and Captain Gutierre de Miranda appear to have fulfilled their military duties to the King with diligence. The previous chapter discussed Governor Menéndez Marqués's efforts to bring the Indians of the Guale and Santa Elena regions under the obedience of the King, as well as his tireless search for the Frenchmen who lived among them. Gutierre de Miranda mostly spent the years from 1577 to 1580 performing various tasks for Pedro Menéndez Marqués while Captain Vicente González and Captain Tomás Bernaldo de Quirós governed at Santa Elena as his lieutenants. Once Miranda assumed his post at Santa Elena in November, 1580, however,

---

<sup>18</sup> "Petition of Domingo González," November 8, 1585, Madrid, AGI Indiferente General 1398 (Stetson Collection).

he led military expeditions against Indian groups in the surrounding area and investigated reports of corsairs off his region's coasts. As I will discuss later, Gutierre de Miranda was also very attentive to the condition of Florida's forts. During this period, a focus on the colony's physical existence--building, maintaining, and defending Florida's structures and towns--seems to have been particularly important to the King and his representatives. Indeed, for much of Santa Elena's second occupation, the town's very presence on this northern frontier constituted the most valuable aspect of its service to Spain.<sup>19</sup>

When Spaniards rebuilt Santa Elena, they took care to do so along the lines of a proper Spanish American town, for Florida officials recognized the importance of town construction to the King's service. One account of Captain Tomás Bernaldo de Quirós's accomplishments during his period as lieutenant governor of Santa Elena mentioned not just his peace treaties with the region's Native American leaders, but also his work to create a "formed town" (*pueblo formado*) there.<sup>20</sup> Pedro Menéndez Márqués reported on March 25, 1580 from Santa Elena that "This village is being very well built, and because of the method which is being followed, any of the houses appears fortified to Indians, for they are all constructed of wood and mud, covered with lime inside and out, and with their flat roofs of lime. And as we have begun to make lime from oyster-shells, we are building the houses in such manner that the Indians have lost their mettle. There are more than

---

<sup>19</sup> Under Governor Pedro Menéndez Márqués, St. Augustine became the *de facto* capital of the Florida colony. As long as siege-like conditions persisted at the Santa Elena fort, the residents there could not actively farm or raise livestock or pursue other activities to support La Florida's inhabitants.

<sup>20</sup> See Certification of Notary Juan Mel, September 6, 1580, Santa Elena, in "Tomás Bernaldo de Quirós to Crown," September 6, 1580, Santa Elena, AGI Santo Domingo 231 (Stetson Collection).



sixty houses here, whereof thirty are of the sort I am telling your Majesty.”<sup>21</sup> When Captain Tomás Bernaldo left the position of governor of Santa Elena in November, 1580, a notary testified that at the time of Bernaldo’s arrival on September 4, 1578, “there was no more than the fort of His Majesty and one house wherein were gathered four married men.” The notary stated that “in the time he held the said governorship, by his order and command, and with his resolution, there was made and founded a town of more than forty houses of clay and flat roofs.”<sup>22</sup> This use of lime-covered roofs was an adaptation based on the Spaniards’ experience with the Indians’ burning arrows, mentioned first in Pedro Menéndez Marqués’s instructions to Captain Vicente González regarding improvements to Santa Elena’s fort.<sup>23</sup> Today, the presence of significant amounts of lime mortar made from burned oyster shells tells archaeologists when they have found a site from the second period of Santa Elena’s Spanish occupation.<sup>24</sup>

Town construction had its practical side, of course, for by the time Captain Tomás Bernaldo came to govern at Santa Elena, there was apparently a great need for these houses. Pedro Menéndez Marqués gave some indication of the size of Santa Elena’s population only a couple of months after he rebuilt the fort there when in a letter to the

---

<sup>21</sup> “Pedro Menéndez Marqués to the King,” March 25, 1580, Santa Elena, in *Colonial Records*, ed. Connor, vol. 2, 283.

<sup>22</sup> Eugene Lyon, trans., “Papers, Attestations, and Accounts of Captain Tomás Bernaldo . . . Presented to His Majesty’s Royal Council of the Indies,” in *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, ed. Lyon, 342.

<sup>23</sup> Instructions of Pedro Menéndez Marqués to Vicente González, June 16, [1578], St. Augustine, in “Papers Pertaining to Services of Captain Vicente González,” 1593, Madrid, AGI Patronato 260 (Stetson Collection), fo. 52. Chester DePratter and Stanley South, *Discovery at Santa Elena: Boundary Survey*, Research Manuscript Series, no. 221 (Columbia, S.C.: South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, 1995), 20, mention the lime mortar from burned oyster shells used on the roofs to protect them from the Indians’ flaming arrows.

<sup>24</sup> DePratter and South, *Boundary Survey*, 84.

King dated October 21, 1577, he described the burden he faced in providing for the town's residents. He wrote, "The laborers here are all youths, who are soldiers married to daughters of the older farmers; they serve in soldiers' *plazas* because there are no other [men], and they have forty-four women, sixty-two children and eleven pregnant women about to be confined: which makes in all, one hundred and six persons who perforce must eat." To feed them and the fort's soldiers, Governor Menéndez Marqués said, "let not your Majesty count on the farmers, for at two hundred paces they dare not do any ploughing, and all they cultivate is but a little air in comparison with what they eat and what they exact." He stated, "I brought to this fort five women only, with their husbands; they are married to five sawyers. [I brought them] because of the need there was of them, although against their will as they did not wish to come, saying that there was nothing to eat. So I have given and now give them rations as I do their husbands; and to the others I give nothing until I hear what your Majesty commands."<sup>25</sup> Before Captain Bernaldo had these houses constructed, most of Santa Elena's residents likely lived in tents or other temporary dwellings, but a 1578 drawing shows a building labeled "house of the married women" just outside the fort.<sup>26</sup>

Pedro Menéndez Marqués re-established the town of Santa Elena mostly with different men than had lived there before, although there may have been greater continuity

---

<sup>25</sup> "Pedro Menéndez Marqués to the King," October 21, 1577, Santa Elena, in *Colonial Records*, ed. Connor, vol. 1, 271, 273.

<sup>26</sup> "Plan of the Fort of Santa Elena," from AGI Mapas y Planos, Florida y Luisiana, 6. In Axel I. Mundigo and Anna Mercedes Mundigo, trans., "Ordinances for the Discovery, New Settlement and Pacification of the Indies," in *Hispanic Urban Planning in North America*, ed. Daniel J. Garr, vol. 27, *Spanish Borderlands Sourcebooks*, ed. David Hurst Thomas (New York: Garland Publishing, 1991), 27, Ordinance 128 recommended that settlers live in tents or temporary shelters made from materials found locally until their houses were constructed.

among the town's female population, as indicated by the governor's letter quoted above.<sup>27</sup> When Santa Elena's residents abandoned the fort there in 1576, the soldiers and male settlers of fighting age disembarked in St. Augustine, while the others, mostly women and children, sailed on to Havana.<sup>28</sup> Some of these people continued to other destinations, but most of the colonists appear to have either returned to or remained in La Florida.<sup>29</sup> On November 28, 1576 in St. Augustine, the royal inspector Baltasar del Castillo y Ahedo mustered the soldiers who had fled Santa Elena, among whom were some of the men who had originally traveled there as settlers, separately from the men who had been serving in St. Augustine all along.<sup>30</sup> A comparison of these lists to the first muster conducted by Captain Álvaro Flores at the fort of Santa Elena on October 14, 1578 shows that only five of the men who had fled Santa Elena were living there again, including the chaplain, Fray Francisco del Castillo.<sup>31</sup> Another former resident and twenty-seven new soldiers from

---

<sup>27</sup> "Pedro Menéndez Marqués to the King," October 21, 1577, 271. From this quotation, it appears that these soldiers' wives were the former Santa Elena settlers' daughters.

<sup>28</sup> Testimony of Cristóbal Gordillo in the Testimonial on the Services of Captain Alonso de Solís, March, 1577, Mexico City, in AGI Patronato 75, No. 1, *ramo* 4 (P.K. Yonge Library microfilm).

<sup>29</sup> A group of Santa Elena residents wound up in Mexico City where documents from 1577 and 1580 show they still associated with one another. They are the Testimonial on the Services of Captain Alonso de Solís, March, 1577, Mexico City, in AGI Patronato 75, No. 1, *ramo* 4 (P.K. Yonge Library microfilm); and the Petition of Gonzalo Sánchez, July, 1580, Mexico City, in AGI México 215, No. 23. Thirty of the forty-three men included in the royal inspector Baltasar del Castillo y Ahedo's muster of the soldiers (this list includes some men who came to Santa Elena as settlers) who fled Santa Elena made in St. Augustine in November, 1576 also appear in Captain Álvaro Flores's muster of the St. Augustine and Santa Elena garrisons made in September and October of 1578. These lists did not even include all of the men who fit into these categories, not to mention women and children, but they provide some indication of the degree of continuity in the Spanish population of the colony.

<sup>30</sup> Muster and Review of the People Who Were Serving in Santa Elena and St. Augustine, November 28, 1576, St. Augustine, in AGI Escribanía de Cámara 154-A (Center for Historic Research microfilm), fo. 34-44.

<sup>31</sup> For this list see the "Visitation Made by Álvaro Flores," 162-69. Including the officers and chaplains, this list contains fifty-three men total (one of these men was dead, having been killed by the

Spain had joined them by the time of Captain Flores's second muster at Santa Elena on November 2, 1578.<sup>32</sup> By contrast, approximately seventeen of the soldiers Baltasar del Castillo reported as serving at St. Augustine at the time of the 1576 uprising were living at Santa Elena in October, 1578.

When a notary certified that Captain Tomás Bernaldo de Quirós had constructed a "formed town" at Santa Elena, he provided no explanation as to what this meant. But the archaeologists who study Santa Elena believe that the second Spanish town constructed on this site likely followed the guidelines prescribed in King Philip II's 1573 "Ordinances for the Discovery, New Settlement and Pacification of the Indies."<sup>33</sup> These rulings which cover every aspect of a new settlement's founding from the choice of its location, to its layout along the grid-plan pattern, to the rights enjoyed by the settlers were part of King Philip's wider effort to exert greater royal control over Spain's colonies during this period.<sup>34</sup> Archaeologists Chester DePratter and Stanley South have come up with a hypothetical layout of part of the town through computer mapping of evidence from the several Spanish lots they have excavated from Santa Elena's second occupation, as well as the results of shovel samples taken from the rest of the projected area of the town. Their

---

Indians). By contrast, approximately twenty-five Santa Elena men on the November, 1576 muster appear on the September 27, 1578 Flores muster of the fort at St. Augustine.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 180-87, 200-201.

<sup>33</sup> DePratter and South, *Boundary Survey*, 74-92.

<sup>34</sup> Valerie Fraser, *The Architecture of Conquest: Building in the Viceroyalty of Peru, 1535-1635* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 44, says the 1573 Ordinances "represent the general strengthening of Royal authority in colonial matters." For a transcription of the 1573 Ordinances, see Instituto de Cultura Hispánica, ed., *Transcripción de las Ordenanzas de Descubrimiento, Nueva Población, y Pacificación de las Indias Dadas por Felipe II* (Madrid: Composición Tipográfica Mago, 1973). For an English translation, see Axel I. Mundigo and Anna Mercedes Mundigo, trans., "Ordinances for the Discovery, New Settlement and Pacification of the Indies," 3-33.

findings indicate the possible location of a street and a plaza, oriented in conformance with a grid layout.<sup>35</sup> The distribution of buildings on the land along this street appears to correspond to the lot sizes specified for more elite residences in the 1573 Ordinances, and South and DePratter contend that these lots situated beside the harbor and close to the protection of Fort San Marcos would have been a prime location during this period. The projected plaza area, indicated on the computer maps through a notable lack of Spanish, and to some degree Indian, materials, also roughly follows the rectangular shape and comes close to the minimum dimensions for a plaza which appear in these Ordinances.<sup>36</sup>

In *The Architecture of Conquest: Building in the Viceroyalty of Peru, 1535-1635*, art historian Valerie Fraser offers an interesting discussion of the ideas and attitudes that came together to shape towns, in even remote regions of the Spanish American empire. She describes King Philip II's 1573 "Ordinances for the Discovery, New Settlement and Pacification of the Indies" less as prescriptive measures and more as codifications of existing practice. Fraser says that the Ordinances explicitly advocated the use of the grid-plan town design for the first time, but that this layout was already the "established norm" in the Spanish American colonies by 1573. She refutes others' claims that previous experience, centralized authority, or prescriptive literature were responsible for the prevalence of this pattern.<sup>37</sup> Instead, Valerie Fraser finds an explanation in the cultural

---

<sup>35</sup> DePratter and South, *Boundary Survey*, 84-85.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 88. Ordinance 113 directed founders of new settlements to choose their plaza's size based on the number of inhabitants a town was likely to have.

<sup>37</sup> Fraser, *Architecture of Conquest*, 36-39.

assumptions that the Spaniards who built these towns brought with them when they encountered the peoples, situations, and challenges of the Americas. She writes:

Behind this unanimity about the grid-plan layout for new towns lies the assumption that civility is conditional upon an urban lifestyle. In the case of Spanish America this comes to mean not just *any* town, but specifically the grid-plan type and the orderliness of the grid-plan layout is a metaphor for the orderliness and civility of the people who live within it. Spaniards in America should therefore live in orderly towns as a demonstration both to themselves and to the Indians of their inherent civility.<sup>38</sup>

Valerie Fraser discusses one of the 1573 Ordinances which calls for Indians to remain outside a Spanish American town while it was being built, so that “when the Indians do see it they are amazed, and they understand that the Spaniards are settling there permanently and not temporarily, and they will fear them and will dare not offend them, and they will respect them and wish to have their friendship.”<sup>39</sup> As she points out, this ruling would have had little to do with reality, for in most cases Spaniards relied as much as possible on indigenous laborers. But, Fraser says, this ordinance shows “the strength of the idea, and the extent to which it was believed that towns and buildings (and the implication, of course, is European-style towns and buildings) were capable of playing an active part in the ideological conquest of the Indians: it is assumed that Spanish towns will be so obviously superior and imposing that, almost despite themselves, the Indians will be awed into submission.”<sup>40</sup>

---

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 40-41.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 50. This is Ordinance 137.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

While little Santa Elena, with its wattle and daub houses and forts made of wood and mounded earth, was not likely to awe the observer in the same way as the great urban centers of the Spanish American empire, the intended symbolic effects of even this town's existence must not be ignored. When Captain Tomás Bernaldo de Quirós supervised the construction of the houses with their flat, lime mortar-covered roofs, he did so not just to shelter the people living there. He claimed to have built a "formed town," and the archaeologists' findings suggest that Bernaldo did indeed take the time to rebuild Santa Elena along the lines of a proper Spanish American town, even as he faced housing shortages and uncertain relations with the neighboring Indians.<sup>41</sup> In other situations, the Spaniards had shown themselves aware of the need to lead Native American and French enemies to believe that their presence at Santa Elena was stronger than it actually was, such as in the 1577 reconstruction of Santa Elena's fort. By building an orderly town with their customary grid-plan arrangement, the Spaniards would have communicated a degree of permanence, not only to the Native American population, but also to French and later, English corsairs. By early 1580, when corsair ships ventured into Santa Elena's harbor, they would have seen not just a fort and a collection of tents, but a town constructed along the lines of those they may have seen elsewhere in areas under Spanish control.

### **The Tightening of *Comuño* Control**

Captain Gutierre de Miranda finally arrived to assume his duties as Santa Elena's captain and military governor (*alcaide*) on November 10, 1580 after Vicente González

---

<sup>41</sup> Certification of Notary Juan Mel, September 6, 1580, Santa Elena, in "Tomás Bernaldo de Quirós to Crown," September 6, 1580, Santa Elena, AGI Santo Domingo 231 (Stetson Collection).

and Tomás Bernaldo de Quirós had served in his place since the fall of 1577.<sup>42</sup> Documents from the previous year show the preparations for Miranda to occupy this post. King Philip II had issued a decree dated June 10, 1579 that Gutierre de Miranda receive two hundred *ducados* in extra pay each year and that he continue serving as the captain and *alcaide* of the fort at Santa Elena. Other royal orders from this date confirmed Miranda's appointment to these positions.<sup>43</sup> Around this time, Gutierre de Miranda was apparently planning for the estate he would establish at Santa Elena, for an order dated July 6, 1579 mentioned Miranda's request that the King give him land for his seat of government so he could build, farm, and raise livestock. This document granted Miranda two cattle ranches and lots of the larger size known as "caballerías" for this use as had been given to "other people of this land of his rank."<sup>44</sup> Another royal order from this date

---

<sup>42</sup> Report of Captain Gutierre de Miranda, November 10, 1580, Santa Elena, in "Expediente Concerning the Services, Etc. of Gutierre de Miranda," 1588, St. Augustine, AGI Santo Domingo 231, No. 64 (Stetson Collection). The November 22, 1577 document in which Pedro Menéndez Marqués named Vicente González to govern as his lieutenant at Santa Elena is in "Papers Pertaining to Services of Captain Vicente González," 1593, Madrid, AGI Patronato 260 (Stetson Collection), fo. 8vo.-9vo. Pedro Menéndez Marqués's orders to Vicente González issued to him that day at Santa Elena said that when Gutierre de Miranda arrived, he was to turn the fort and its soldiers over to his command (see *ibid.*, fo. 43). The document dated August 20, 1578 at St. Augustine in which Pedro Menéndez Marqués named Captain Tomás Bernaldo de Quirós to govern at Santa Elena specifically states that Gutierre de Miranda was officially the captain and governor of Santa Elena's fort and that Bernaldo had been called upon to take his place while Miranda performed other duties on behalf of Pedro Menéndez Marqués. This document appears in Lyon, trans., "Papers, Attestations, and Accounts of Captain Tomás Bernaldo," 340-41.

<sup>43</sup> See Royal Orders dated June 10, 1579, Toledo, in "Cedulario de la Florida," 1570-1604, n.p., AGI Santo Domingo 2528 (Stetson Collection).

<sup>44</sup> Royal Order dated July 6, 1579, San Lorenzo el Real, in "Cedulario de la Florida," 1570-1604, n.p., AGI Santo Domingo 2528 (Stetson Collection). This decree granted Gutierre de Miranda "dos estancias y caballerías de tierras y solares." Ordinance 106 describes a *caballería* as a building lot for a house with the dimensions 100 by 200 *pies*. The 1573 Ordinances also refer to lots half this size called *peonías* (see Ordinance 105).



gave Gutierre de Miranda permission to take two African slaves to Florida free from charges.<sup>45</sup>

Gutierre de Miranda was in Spain when these decrees were issued, performing various duties for Pedro Menéndez Marqués as he had done since Menéndez became governor of Florida. On July 13, 1579, King Philip ordered Miranda to recruit fifty soldiers there for service in the Florida forts.<sup>46</sup> When the King sent one hundred and fifty soldiers as reinforcements to Florida in September, 1578, nearly fifty of them drowned when the galleon *Santiago el Menor* sank at the bar of St. Augustine's harbor.<sup>47</sup> In late June of 1579, Pedro Menéndez Marqués had dispatched the Florida *factor* Rodrigo de Junco to request fifty more soldiers to replace the men from the *Santiago el Menor*, as well as others who had died or "turned out to be useless."<sup>48</sup> Some of the men Gutierre de Miranda enlisted wanted to take their wives with them, and some women with husbands already in Florida wanted to travel with Miranda as well. King Philip ruled that these women could go to Florida on February 9, 1580. On that day he also gave Gutierre de Miranda permission to take an African slave to Santa Elena to serve as the drummer

---

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> Royal Order dated July 13, 1579, El Pardo, in "Cedulario de la Florida," 1570-1604, n.p., AGI Santo Domingo 2528 (Stetson Collection).

<sup>47</sup> "Diego de la Rivera to the King," October 9, 1578, Havana, in *Colonial Records*, ed. Connor, vol. 2, 112-13, stated that Rodrigo de Junco set out for Florida with a relief shipment on September 13, 1578. The "Visitation Made by Álvaro Flores," November 18, 1578, 189, referred to "the loss of the galleon *Santiago el Menor* at the bar of this fort." "Opinion of the Council of the Indies with Regard to the Salary of Pedro Menéndez Marqués and an Increase in the Florida Subsidy," October 21, 1579, Madrid, in *Colonial Records*, ed. Connor, vol. 2, 244-45, mentioned sending fifty men to Florida to replace those who drowned of the one hundred and fifty whom Rodrigo de Junco had brought there.

<sup>48</sup> "Instructions Given to Rodrigo de Junco by Pedro Menéndez Marqués," June 27, 1579, St. Augustine, in *Colonial Records*, ed. Connor, vol. 2, 239. Junco's instructions also included obtaining supplies for Florida and requesting a raise in the colony's annual subsidy, among other things.

there.<sup>49</sup> The list of the soldiers Gutierre de Miranda took to Florida on the ships *San Juan* and *Espiritu Santo* do not show the women who must have accompanied them on this voyage. However, it does name “Sebastián de Miranda, dark-skinned black man, slave of Captain Gutierre de Miranda.”<sup>50</sup>

Florida’s leaders constantly struggled during this period to keep the colony’s forces at three hundred men.<sup>51</sup> In a letter dated October 12, 1580 from St. Augustine, some of Florida’s royal officials asked the King to order that no one younger than twenty could hold a soldier’s position. They charged that at that time, Gutierre de Miranda had some men under his command younger than sixteen and that they drew a soldier’s pay but did not serve. The officials discussed this in the context of the weakness of the Florida forts in the face of an Indian and French alliance, and they said their enemies in the guise of friendship “every day count one by one and see what people there are.”<sup>52</sup> Soon after he arrived back in Florida, Gutierre de Miranda wrote to the King that between the soldiers killed by Frenchmen and those who died every day in skirmishes with Indians, they would never be able to keep the three hundred positions filled unless the forts were improved and

---

<sup>49</sup> See Royal Orders dated February 9, 1580, Madrid in “Cedulario de la Florida,” 1570-1604, n.p., AGI Santo Domingo 2528 (Stetson Collection). “Instructions Given to Rodrigo de Junco by Pedro Menéndez Marqués,” 239, says that “there is need that those fifty men shall come, and among them as many as possible shall be married, and half a dozen unmarried women.”

<sup>50</sup> List of the Soldiers Gutierre de Miranda Took to Florida, 1580, in AGI Contaduría 323, No. 3, fo. 16vo.-18vo.

<sup>51</sup> Account and Interrogatory of Domingo González de León, 1584, La Florida, in AGI Santo Domingo 231, fo. 298vo., claimed that all three hundred positions were never filled and thirty to forty soldiers were always lacking. But, González said that this did not prevent the Florida officials from taking false documents to New Spain when they collected the *situado* so they could still receive the salaries for the missing men.

<sup>52</sup> “Royal Officials to the King Relative to the Situado, Soldiers, and Other Matters,” October 12, 1580, St. Augustine, AGI Santo Domingo 229 (Stetson Collection).

repaired.<sup>53</sup> Some soldiers' lives were lost to disease, as when around January, 1582 the fort at Santa Elena faced such severe illness that at one point only eight men were healthy enough to perform guard duty. However, when treasurer Juan Cevadilla wrote about this on January 22, 1582, he reported that only three soldiers had died and the rest were convalescing.<sup>54</sup> In December, 1582, Cevadilla reported another dilemma faced by Florida officials as they sought to keep the number of soldiers at three hundred. He said that Governor Pedro Menéndez Marqués was accustomed to recruiting men to fill the empty soldiers' positions from among the settlers brought to Florida by *adelantado* Pedro Menéndez de Avilés. Cevadilla pointed out that if the men were allowed to farm instead of performing soldiers' duties, they could support themselves rather than draw funding from the King and also improve the region. Pedro Menéndez Marqués replied that he was required to fill the three hundred positions designated by the King.<sup>55</sup>

Pedro Menéndez Marqués's incorporation of male settlers into the soldiers' ranks had implications not just for their ability to farm and practice other trades to support and sustain the colony. Instead, this move marked a fundamental redefinition of the settlers' role in La Florida. Since the days of *adelantado* Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, Santa Elena's male colonists had been drawn into military duties when they were needed, but

---

<sup>53</sup> "Gutierre de Miranda to King," October 14, 1580, St. Augustine, AGI Santo Domingo 231 (Stetson Collection).

<sup>54</sup> "Juan Cevadilla, Treasurer of Florida, to the King," January 22, 1582, Havana, AGI Santo Domingo 229 (Stetson Collection).

<sup>55</sup> "Juan Cevadilla [to the King]," December 24, 1582, St. Augustine, AGI Santo Domingo 231 (Stetson Collection).

they clearly maintained their identity as settlers.<sup>56</sup> As discussed before, Santa Elena's first Spanish occupation was marked by conflicts between these colonists and *comuño* members who questioned the status they claimed as "first settlers."<sup>57</sup> Colonists further asserted their rights and privileges through the institution of the town council (*cabildo*), which was generally made up of members of this group. By naming these men soldiers, however, Pedro Menéndez Marqués brought them into the stricter realm of military discipline and effectively silenced these challenges to *comuño* authority. He chose not to send more than a few of the former Santa Elena residents back there when he reestablished the town, perhaps as a way to break their strong identity as the first settlers there. Indeed, documents from Santa Elena's second occupation refer to the men as "soldiers," but never as "settlers" or "farmers." When he arrived in Florida to govern, Pedro Menéndez Marqués moved quickly to cut off the residents' avenues for complaint by disbanding the town council and local tribunal in St. Augustine.<sup>58</sup> He also asserted greater control over the people and letters leaving the colony.<sup>59</sup> While these changes are most visible in the male colonists' lives, they also had profound effects for the women of this group who had actively asserted their "first settler" status as well.

---

<sup>56</sup> The Petition of Gonzalo Sánchez, July, 1580, Mexico City in AGI México 215, No. 23 is the clearest example of this, as Sánchez and other settlers testified about this combination of duties during their lives at Santa Elena.

<sup>57</sup> See Chapters One and Two.

<sup>58</sup> "Domingo González, His Services, Etc.," 1584, St. Augustine?, AGI Santo Domingo 14 (Stetson Collection); "Petition of Domingo González," November 8, 1585, Madrid, AGI Indiferente General 1398 (Stetson Collection).

<sup>59</sup> "Petition of Domingo González," November 8, 1585, Madrid, AGI Indiferente General 1398 (Stetson Collection); Domingo de León to the King, October 13, [1584], Madrid, in AGI Santo Domingo 231, fo. 312vo.; "Gabriel de Luján to the King Relative to Conditions and Reciting his Services," June 5, 1585, Havana, AGI Santo Domingo 146 (Stetson Collection).

This pattern of reining in potential challenges to authority and dissent could be seen as a response to siege conditions. But the targets of this discipline and the context in which it was carried out suggest that Florida's leaders did not assert their dominion solely with greater military readiness in mind. In his accounts of life at Santa Elena and St. Augustine during the early 1580s, Domingo González de León described how Pedro Menéndez Marqués and Gutierre de Miranda used their power for their own purposes, often in a way that undermined the colony's well-being.<sup>60</sup> Unlike his uncle, *adelantado* Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, Pedro Menéndez Marqués was not granted a lifetime to reap benefits from the colony's leadership, and so he did not have the same investment in Florida's long-term development. The Council of the Indies likely recognized the dangers of this when, in October, 1579, its officials recommended that half of Governor Menéndez Marqués's salary be paid to him from the *situado* and that the other half come from "the fruits of the land." They explained that all of *adelantado* Pedro Menéndez de Avilés's salary had come from the products of La Florida and that Pedro Menéndez Marqués had asked to receive his full salary from the *situado* because the land was at war and there had been no yield. But, the Council pointed out that if Governor Menéndez Marqués drew half his salary from the products of the land, "although there are none at present, this will compel him to try the more that there may be some, and to go on pacifying that [territory]." The King approved this course of action.<sup>61</sup> However, Domingo González de León claimed several years later that Pedro Menéndez Marqués just used this "fruits of the

---

<sup>60</sup> "Petition of Domingo González," November 8, 1585, Madrid, AGI Indiferente General 1398 (Stetson Collection).

<sup>61</sup> See "Opinion of the Council of the Indies with Regard to the Salary of Pedro Menéndez Marqués and an Increase in the Florida Subsidy," 242-45. The quotation is from p. 245.

land" part of his salary as an excuse to take money from the royal cashbox whenever he pleased.<sup>62</sup>

Few documents discuss life at Santa Elena during the years of Gutierre de Miranda's term there other than to mention relations with Native Americans or sightings of French and English corsairs. In February, 1583, Captain Miranda presented an interrogatory about his service at Santa Elena up until then. One of his questions asked if he had governed the soldiers of Fort San Marcos "with much peace and love" without there being any revolt among the men. His witnesses, present and former officers and soldiers at Santa Elena, all affirmed that this was the case.<sup>63</sup> A very different picture of life at Santa Elena up until around 1584 emerges from Domingo González's relations as he petitioned the King for redress of the grievances the soldiers and other residents of Florida had suffered at their leaders' hands.<sup>64</sup> González reported the various ways that Pedro Menéndez Marqués, his nephews, and his brother-in-law Gutierre de Miranda all acted to

---

<sup>62</sup> Account and Interrogatory of Domingo González de León, 1584, La Florida, in AGI Santo Domingo 231, fo. 294vo.

<sup>63</sup> "Gutierre de Miranda, Capitán y Alcaide del Fuerte de Santa Elena," February, 1583, AGI Santo Domingo 231.

<sup>64</sup> In trusting Domingo González de León's accounts of the sometimes outrageous behavior of Florida's leaders during this period, I am relying in part on more objective factors, such as his very long experience with Florida service, dating to *adelantado* Pedro Menéndez de Avilés's first voyage. Judging from the different certifications and appointments included with his accounts (these appear in the AGI Santo Domingo 14 document), Domingo González had the trust of a range of his contemporaries, from foot soldiers to *comuño* leaders. While González, like others petitioning for rewards, at times seems to exaggerate his own contributions to the King's service in La Florida, the tone of his complaints rings true. The pain he said he felt from the leaders' behavior comes across in his writing, and at times he treats the matters he is describing so delicately that it is hard to figure out what was going on. Furthermore, González repeatedly called for investigations in these accounts rather than any sort of revenge or his own appointment to their positions. He also claimed he was telling of abuses that were publicly known, rather than bringing up anything new. And, as I will discuss below, the Cuban governor Gabriel de Luján made complaints against both Pedro Menéndez Marqués and Gutierre de Miranda for some of the behavior covered in Domingo González de León's documents.

enrich themselves at the expense of those under their power and how they at times humiliated and abused Florida's men and women for their own amusement. Domingo González's accounts vividly portrayed the pain these actions caused, as the colony's residents apparently came to fear the attacks on their honor at least as much as the assaults on their persons and possessions. Ironically, these documents also provide the best glimpses of daily life in Santa Elena during this period, for the incidents of abuse they describe took place in a setting where parents worked to feed their families, craftsmen practiced their trades, town residents celebrated Holy Days in church, and husbands and wives struggled to live a good life together.

Domingo González de León stated that when Captain Gutierre de Miranda came to Santa Elena, he arrived at full speed, like a "man rabid for wealth." According to González's account, Miranda took the fields that the soldiers worked which was land that had been plowed and tilled by Spaniards before the loss of Fort San Felipe. These soldiers had struggled to secure it from the Indians once the Spaniards re-established their presence there. Gutierre de Miranda claimed these fields as his own, then sowed them with corn which he sold to the soldiers at a high price. He told the soldiers that they could not fish near the fort but that they had to go far from it and fish without nets. Presumably because of the danger they faced from their French and Indian enemies, the soldiers were reluctant to do this, and so Miranda sold them the fish from his nets at "immoderate prices." Those who went out to hunt had to give Gutierre de Miranda the portion of their game that he desired, or he would punish them and deny them future permission to leave the fort for these purposes. Miranda also took grapes, figs, pomegranates, melons, and

vegetables that the soldiers cultivated without paying for them. As during Santa Elena's first occupation, government leaders clashed with priests who censured their behavior. Domingo González de León told how Gutierre de Miranda threatened to hang a priest from the ruins of Fort San Felipe when he intervened on behalf of a soldier who had not been paid for ten years.<sup>65</sup>

Gutierre de Miranda's wife, Doña Mariana Manrique, was apparently no less eager than her husband to assert her position of privilege in this town. Doña Mariana had been at Santa Elena in 1576 when the fort was abandoned, for Miranda came to take her and the rest of their household to safety when he learned of the Indian uprising in that area.<sup>66</sup> She returned to Santa Elena when her husband governed there, for Domingo González told in his 1584 account that Miranda's wife was "of his same temper, tongue, and deeds."<sup>67</sup> González described how, like her husband, Doña Mariana would seek revenge on those who did not do her bidding by turning spouses against one another.<sup>68</sup> In one case, Mariana Manrique asked to see a shirt a woman's husband had bought her. The woman distrusted Doña Mariana and did not want to give it to her, so Doña Mariana

---

<sup>65</sup> Domingo de León to the King, October 13, [1584], Madrid, in AGI Santo Domingo 231, fo. 313vo.-314.

<sup>66</sup> Interrogatory Made on Behalf of Gutierre de Miranda, July, 1577, St. Augustine, in AGI Justicia 1002, No. 5 (P.K. Yonge Library microfilm) tells how Gutierre de Miranda came to Santa Elena to take his wife and household to Havana, but then joined the effort to refortify the town before its abandonment.

<sup>67</sup> Domingo de León to the King, October 13, [1584], Madrid, in AGI Santo Domingo 231, fo. 314vo.

<sup>68</sup> Domingo González de León did not give Doña Mariana Manrique's name in his account. Her name appears in "Royal Cédula Ordering the Royal Officials of Florida to Pay Doña Mariana Manrique, Widow of Gutierre de Miranda, the Salary Owing the Latter," December 2, 1613, El Pardo, AGI Santo Domingo 2603 (Stetson Collection).



called the husband to her and asked him for the shirt. He told his wife that he would have the garment embroidered and brought it to Mariana Manrique. She never returned the shirt, but had trousers made from it for her husband for a voyage he was to take. Domingo González added that Gutierre de Miranda many times failed to pay tailors, shoemakers, blacksmiths, and carpenters for the work they did for him. Once, when a tailor demanded his compensation, Miranda had his head placed in the stocks and beat him.<sup>69</sup>

Domingo González de León's accounts show how Gutierre de Miranda used not only physical punishment, but also attacks on the personal honor of the soldiers and their wives to strengthen his hold over this community. According to Domingo González, he did this both through the brutality of his actions and by consciously making his targets an example to others. In one case, a man complained that Gutierre de Miranda's taking most of the soldiers with him when he wanted to visit his hog corral outside the fort did not constitute service to God or the King. This soldier said his time would be better spent gathering firewood for his family and that the captain should remain in the fort and not risk his own life in this way. When Miranda learned of this, he placed the soldier in the stocks, "dishonoring him very badly," according to Domingo González. The man remained outside for a month, day and night, in all weather, and Gutierre de Miranda did not allow any other soldier to talk to him or do anything for him upon pain of being labeled a traitor. The man's wife also shared in her husband's punishment. With no one to help her, she had to gather firewood and grind corn to sustain her husband and family.

---

<sup>69</sup> Domingo de León to the King, October 13, [1584], Madrid, in AGI Santo Domingo 231, fo. 314vo.

But González said that Gutierre de Miranda went farther and publicly humiliated the woman at every opportunity. On one holy day, Miranda insisted that she show her deference to him and his wife by kneeling before everyone in the community until the couple had left the church. Domingo González stated that Miranda treated the woman this way in order to frighten the other people and that he went so far as to dishonor her by beating her. But, González added, no one dared to protest.<sup>70</sup>

Domingo González de León's relations repeatedly mentioned the rapes committed against the married women of La Florida by Governor Pedro Menéndez Marqués and his relatives.<sup>71</sup> He spoke of the great harm and scandals that had come by their "dishonoring and raping women by deed and word, not taking heed of their being honorable or married, [thereby] dishonoring many good men only for their personal interest."<sup>72</sup> These documents describe the bizarre amusements Pedro Menéndez Marqués and his nephew indulged in among St. Augustine's women, including chasing married women from their homes into the streets where they conducted a muster complete with a proclamation and drummer, in which women played the soldiers' and officers' roles. The governor and his nephew then took the women to a deserted island outside the fort where they remained all day, eating and drinking and doing what they wanted with the women. Pedro Menéndez Marqués apparently held other such "parties," even in the fort, with the doors locked.

---

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, fo. 314.

<sup>71</sup> Domingo González did not talk about these leaders' actions toward him in his accounts, but focused on these publicly known cases that, he said, should be investigated by a judge sent by the King. He had a wife and children, however, so his concern may have been more personal than he revealed.

<sup>72</sup> "Domingo González, His Services, Etc.," 1584, St. Augustine?, AGI Santo Domingo 14 (Stetson Collection). See Chapter Two for a discussion on the link between male and female honor in colonial Spanish American society.

When some women refused to come to these gatherings, the governor sent for them in the name of his sister, a “very honorable lady.”<sup>73</sup> González also told how Pedro Menéndez Marqués leaned against the grille at the front of the church on a holy day and made a speech to the townspeople gathered there about how he had been accused of “providing himself” with married women, with the result that some of their children looked like him. Domingo González said Menéndez named the women involved, since they were all present, and that the things he spoke about caused “no little scandal.”<sup>74</sup>

What is clear from these documents is that whatever these leaders’ will, the Florida residents were not allowed to refuse them. Men who protested their wives’ going to the governor’s “parties” were severely punished. Under military discipline the soldiers had to obey orders to stand guard or perform tasks such as cutting wood outside the fort and so could not guard their families all the time. Menéndez and his relatives then took or created these opportunities to assault women.<sup>75</sup> Even when women managed to stop their advances, the Florida leaders would seek to convince their husbands that they had been unfaithful, so that they would turn against their wives and physically abuse them. In one particularly brutal case, Domingo González told how a married woman had refused Gutierre de Miranda who then systematically set out to destroy her marriage which, he said, had enjoyed a good reputation for ten years. Miranda had a man “dishonor” the

---

<sup>73</sup> Domingo de León to the King, October 13, [1584], Madrid, in AGI Santo Domingo 231, fo. 312-12vo. This sister was likely Doña Catalina Menéndez, whose own Florida service is discussed in Chapter Two.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, fo. 314-14vo.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, fo. 312-12vo.

wife, such that her husband knew it, thus giving the husband incentive to kill her through physical abuse (*mala vida*). Even though the husband did not apparently assault his wife, Gutierre de Miranda put him in prison and filed false papers against him in the wife's name. Miranda held her under guard, but when she managed to escape and return to her home, he sent his military company to return her to his custody. When the husband asked why his wife had been taken away from him and why he was being detained, Gutierre de Miranda told him that his wife wanted to have their marriage annulled. He even killed the family's dogs, who apparently tried to defend their master when Miranda came to take him from the house. Domingo González said the King should consider whether any man under his command should be allowed to inflict such suffering on another and that this was "an evil act so obscene" that he felt shame in writing about it.<sup>76</sup>

Under the rule of Governor Pedro Menéndez Marqués and Captain Gutierre de Miranda, the Florida residents' concerns about honor apparently took on a different significance than they had had during Santa Elena's first occupation. Then the colonists sought to assert the privileges the King had granted them, partly because of their relatively vulnerable position in this frontier community. But the opportunity to improve their social status was also undoubtedly part of what led these Spaniards to emigrate to Santa Elena in the first place, and these "first settlers" actively pursued the rights and position they knew were theirs. Apparently robbed of the "first settler" status under Pedro Menéndez Marqués's governorship, these people, now families of soldiers, feared a loss of their personal honor during a time of even greater vulnerability, when they did not have the

---

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, fo. 315-15vo.

limited institutional protections available to settlers during Santa Elena's first period. Historians Lyman Johnson and Sonya Lipsett-Rivera discuss in the introduction to their book *The Faces of Honor*, how not only elite members of colonial Spanish American society, but also people of middle and lower rank valued their honorable status. They write that "plebians especially coveted a reputation for honor, because the economic and political vulnerability of their lives put them in perilously close proximity to squalor, forced labor, prostitution, and illegitimacy."<sup>77</sup>

An additional explanation for the importance of honor in the Florida colony during this time appears in Ramón Gutiérrez's examination of frontier society in colonial New Mexico. In *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away*, Gutiérrez states that:

An exaggerated moral code for personal public behavior based on honor developed among New Mexico's Spanish colonists because the social and legal institutions that would have provided society an orderly tenor were absent on this remote frontier where might was right. Given the exploitative nature of class relations in the colony, the assorted amalgam that constituted society, and the absence of law and order, it was through principles of familial government, through ideas of personal and familial worth and good conduct, that a semblance of hierarchy and cohesiveness was maintained.<sup>78</sup>

Domingo González's relations reveal the deep importance the Santa Elena and St. Augustine soldiers and their families placed on maintaining their families' honor. González also vividly described the consequences they faced when their reputations were harmed. His accounts demonstrate that in this time of seemingly brutal and arbitrary rule,

---

<sup>77</sup> Lyman L. Johnson and Sonya Lipsett-Rivera, eds., introduction to *The Faces of Honor: Sex, Shame, and Violence in Colonial Latin America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998), 10.

<sup>78</sup> Ramón A. Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in Colonial New Mexico, 1500-1846* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991), 214.

the Florida residents clung to these principles, no doubt in part to maintain a sense of order in their lives. The colony's leaders clearly recognized the importance that honor held for those under their command and when it suited their purposes, proved willing to use it against them.

### *Comuño Service to the King*

King Philip II and the Council of the Indies must have had some idea of the treatment Captain Gutierre de Miranda and Governor Pedro Menéndez Marqués were giving those in their charge. Domingo González de León and his petitions had reached Spain by October, 1584, and the Cuban governor Gabriel de Luján also wrote to the King on at least two occasions to intercede on the Florida residents' behalf.<sup>79</sup> In a November 30, 1583 letter, Governor Luján reported the soldiers' complaints that Gutierre de Miranda took their pay "without leaving them one *real*," and that "worst of all," Miranda had uttered "many blasphemies and heresies." According to Luján, the soldiers assembled to inform the King about Miranda's behavior, but his brother-in-law Pedro Menéndez Marqués did not want to conduct an interrogatory and punished the men.<sup>80</sup> Governor Gabriel de Luján spoke again about Governor Pedro Menéndez Marqués's mistreatment of the Florida soldiers in a letter dated June 5, 1585. He stressed the ways the Florida leaders silenced complaints by seizing letters leaving the colony and said the witnesses in

---

<sup>79</sup> Domingo de León to the King, October 13, [1584], Madrid, in AGI Santo Domingo 231. González also wrote the King from Madrid and asked him to review his previous accounts of Florida affairs in "Petition of Domingo González," November 8, 1585, Madrid, AGI Indiferente General 1398 (Stetson Collection).

<sup>80</sup> "Governor Gabriel de Luján to the King," November 30, 1583, Havana, AGI Santo Domingo 230 (Stetson Collection).

their interrogatories were either frightened or influenced by friendship. Luján seemed particularly concerned about the residents' lack of an avenue for their appeals and suggested that they could be handled by the *Audiencias* of either New Spain or Santo Domingo.<sup>81</sup> But King Philip never sent a representative to investigate these charges or the Florida government during this period, other than Captain Álvaro Flores's inspection of the colony's forts in 1578. Perhaps as long as Pedro Menéndez Marqués and Gutierre de Miranda ably performed their military duties during this time of perceived danger from European corsairs, not to mention Florida's Native American population, the King was willing to tolerate this behavior.<sup>82</sup>

Captain Gutierre de Miranda was particularly attentive to the condition of Florida's forts and seemingly adept at strengthening them by using materials available in that land. When he took charge of Santa Elena's fort on November 10, 1580, his official report of conditions there noted that there were one hundred soldiers, as well as officers and the fort chaplain, Fray Gaspar Gómez. Gutierre de Miranda stated that the region around Santa Elena was in rebellion and had been for some time and that a large number of Indians had come to the island of Santa Elena to try to kill the soldiers and burn the fort.<sup>83</sup> But most of Gutierre de Miranda's inspection centered around the condition of the

---

<sup>81</sup> "Gabriel de Luján to the King Relative to Conditions and Reciting His Services," June 5, 1585, Havana, AGI Santo Domingo 146 (Stetson Collection).

<sup>82</sup> King Philip II may have tolerated certain behavior in some of the colonies that he did not tolerate in others. See the Council of the Indies recommendation that a man named Diego de Vergara be exiled from New Granada to Florida for his attacks on married women, in "Consulta del Consejo Enclosing Project for a Decree," December 6, 1586, Madrid, AGI Indiferente General 741 (Stetson Collection).

<sup>83</sup> Report of Captain Gutierre de Miranda, November 10, 1580, Santa Elena, in "Expediente Concerning the Services, Etc. of Gutierre de Miranda," 1588, St. Augustine, AGI Santo Domingo 231, No. 64 (Stetson Collection).

fort and its military supplies. This was likely in part because the King's 1577 orders to Pedro Menéndez Marqués specifically mentioned the importance of refortifying Santa Elena for the "peace and security of the Indies."<sup>84</sup> But fortification also appears to have been Gutierre de Miranda's particular interest and skill. While the royal inspector, Captain Álvaro Flores, had declared Fort San Marcos "ready and placed in [a state of] defense for whatever purpose" on October 20, 1578, Gutierre de Miranda had several criticisms for this structure two years later.<sup>85</sup> He reported that it was too small and did not have enough room to fight inside it or fire artillery because the pieces were so close together on the casemates. By then, the wooden platform under the most powerful artillery was so rotten that these large cannons could not be fired. Miranda observed that the artillery could have little effect anyway, because the fort had no moat or outer moat. In his inspection, Gutierre de Miranda found the arms and munitions at Santa Elena in short supply as well.<sup>86</sup>

While Florida officials hired carpenters and sawyers to work on the colony's forts, soldiers provided much of the labor for their construction, as well as the constant repairs necessary due to rotting wood. In his instructions dated June 16, 1578, Governor Pedro Menéndez Marqués ordered Captain Vicente González to make a twelve-foot-wide moat around the fort at Santa Elena by working half the men there for two hours in the morning

---

<sup>84</sup> Royal Order dated March 22, 1577, Madrid, in "Cedulario de la Florida," 1570-1604, n.p., AGI Santo Domingo 2528 (Stetson Collection).

<sup>85</sup> Lyon, trans., "Papers, Attestations, and Accounts of Captain Tomás Bernaldo," 342.

<sup>86</sup> Report of Captain Gutierre de Miranda, November 10, 1580, Santa Elena, in "Expediente Concerning the Services, Etc. of Gutierre de Miranda," 1588, St. Augustine, AGI Santo Domingo 231, No. 64 (Stetson Collection).



and the other half for two hours in the afternoon.<sup>87</sup> For whatever reason, this moat had not been made by the time of Miranda's inspection two years later, however. Writing to the King in early 1580, *factor* Rodrigo de Junco asked that thirty royal slaves be sent from Havana to Florida to labor on the colony's forts. Junco explained that because the forts were made of wood and there was no other material there from which to build them, these structures required continuous repairs. He reported that the soldiers did this work unwillingly, saying that this was not part of their job. This fueled their discontent which, Rodrigo de Junco pointed out, was not advantageous to the service of the King.<sup>88</sup> In response to this request and others by Florida officials, on September 30, 1580, King Philip issued an order for these royal slaves to be sent to work on the fort of St. Augustine for four years.<sup>89</sup>

The royal slaves apparently spent most of their time in St. Augustine, although twenty of them went briefly to Santa Elena to repair the fort and build an artillery platform there.<sup>90</sup> Gutierre de Miranda may have been talking about this platform when, in his February, 1583 interrogatory, he told how at some point in the early 1580s, he had a

---

<sup>87</sup> Instructions of Pedro Menéndez Marqués to Vicente González, June 16, [1578], St. Augustine, in "Papers Pertaining to Services of Captain Vicente González," 1593, Madrid, AGI Patronato 260 (Stetson Collection), fo. 52. Pedro Menéndez Marqués ordered that the moat be built because he had received rumors of "enemies," and he said that it was best to be prepared.

<sup>88</sup> Petition of Captain Rodrigo de Junco to the King on Behalf of the Florida Forts, [January, 1580], AGI Patronato 19, *ramo* 15. These people were apparently African slaves.

<sup>89</sup> Royal Order dated September 30, 1580, Badajoz, in "Cedulario de la Florida," 1570-1604, n.p., AGI Santo Domingo 2528 (Stetson Collection).

<sup>90</sup> "Juan Cevadilla to the King Announcing his Arrival at St. Augustine with the Situado," July 19, 1582, St. Augustine, AGI Santo Domingo 231 (Stetson Collection). In describing the slaves' work at St. Augustine in more detail (including various tasks related to fort construction, clearing land, and growing food for themselves and others), Cevadilla said, "Vuestra Majestad hizo mucho merced a estos fuertes enbiandoles estos esclavos porque es mucho alivio de los trabajos que aquí tenían los soldados."

strong bastion constructed of wood and placed all the artillery on top of it within thirty days after receiving a warning from Governor Pedro Menéndez Marqués about Frenchmen in the region. The soldiers and officers who served as Miranda's witnesses all said they had been present during this construction.<sup>91</sup> In a December 20, 1583 letter, two royal officials reported that at the beginning of that year, "ten of the best" of the King's slaves had been sent to Santa Elena to saw boards to cover the fort there. Once they had begun the work, however, these men found that all the wood was so badly damaged that it was necessary to tear down the body of the fort and rebuild it. Because of the little amount of time the men had for the construction--they were due back in St. Augustine in April to sow crops for their own sustenance--the soldiers had to help them with the sawing, the officials said.<sup>92</sup>

Domingo González de León presented a different picture of the royal slaves' time in Florida. He said that even though King Philip had sent the thirty slaves to work on the Florida forts and so provide some relief for the soldiers, the soldiers did as they always had done, and the officials rented out the slaves for their own profit.<sup>93</sup> According to Domingo González, Gutierre de Miranda had soldiers carry wood from the forests during this dangerous time "like animals" and make platforms, large towers, and sentry boxes.

---

<sup>91</sup> "Gutierre de Miranda, Capitán y Alcaide del Fuerte de Santa Elena," February, 1583, AGI Santo Domingo 231. The witnesses said they were present at the construction but did not say they did the work, nor did they give any other details.

<sup>92</sup> Royal Officials to the King re: General Conditions in Florida," December 20, 1583, St. Augustine, AGI Santo Domingo 231 (Stetson Collection); "Juan Cevadilla [to the King]," December 24, 1582, St. Augustine, AGI Santo Domingo 231 (Stetson Collection).

<sup>93</sup> Account and Interrogatory of Domingo González de León, 1584, La Florida, in AGI Santo Domingo 231, fo. 298.

González said the heavy loads broke the men, so that many of them were not able to serve the King. He claimed that more of this labor was for Gutierre de Miranda's own purposes than for the King's service, adding that Miranda had the men carry wood to make "many houses" which he then sold to the soldiers. As discussed in the previous chapter, Domingo González de León told how Gutierre de Miranda also forced Indians to carry wood and palm rods for the houses without paying them or even offering them anything to eat. He said that Miranda treated both Indians and soldiers "with much tyranny."<sup>94</sup>

It is difficult to know how life changed for Santa Elena's residents following the apparent cessation of hostilities with the Native Americans of Guale and the Santa Elena region sometime around 1583. They surely experienced greater freedom to leave the fort and perform tasks such as working in their fields and tending livestock, but their leaders did not relax their guard. For even though tensions with the Indian population had declined, the Spaniards of La Florida continued to worry about French and, increasingly, English corsairs. Writing to the King on August 8, 1585, Gutierre de Miranda reported that the Florida Indians were at peace.<sup>95</sup> But in a previous letter he mentioned a warning that he had received from the King that June of a large English corsair fleet that was on its

---

<sup>94</sup> Domingo de León to the King, October 13, [1584], Madrid, in AGI Santo Domingo 231, fo. 314vo.

<sup>95</sup> "Gutierre de Miranda to King," August 8, 1585, St. Augustine, AGI Santo Domingo 231 (Stetson Collection). While tension between the Spaniards and Native Americans was apparently reduced during this period, it did not disappear altogether. The only active rebellion I have seen in the documents from this 1584-1587 period is a 1585 battle at Potano, north of St. Augustine, in which Gutierre de Miranda and approximately thirty soldiers from Santa Elena went to conduct what Alonso Díaz de Badajoz called a "slaughter" at that town. See "Petición de Capitán Alonso Díaz de Badajoz," AGI Santo Domingo 232, fo. 580.

way to do great harm to that part of the Indies.<sup>96</sup> This must have been the fleet of Sir Francis Drake.<sup>97</sup> In this time of heightened tension between Spain and England, the corsairs served as Queen Elizabeth's unofficial warriors, fighting an undeclared war but inflicting harm on the enemy.<sup>98</sup> They also sought great wealth for the Queen and for themselves, as they targeted the fleets bringing bullion from the Spanish American mines.<sup>99</sup> Officials throughout the Caribbean circulated reports of corsair sightings, as well as an English settlement expedition, during the fall of 1585.<sup>100</sup> In Madrid on November 8, 1585, Rodrigo de Junco urged the King to take quick action on repeated requests to send more

---

<sup>96</sup> The letter of Gutierre de Miranda to the King dated July 12, 1585, St. Augustine was enclosed with "Gutierre de Miranda to King," August 8, 1585, St. Augustine, AGI Santo Domingo 231 (Stetson Collection).

<sup>97</sup> See Harry Kelsey, *Sir Francis Drake: The Queen's Pirate* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1998), 240-41, for how Ambassador Bernardino de Mendoza, then the Spanish ambassador to Paris, had informed King Philip in February, 1585 of Sir Francis Drake's plans for this fleet. On p. 243, Kelsey says Drake set out from England with twenty-four large ships and eight smaller ships, although he captured others on the way. On p. 241, Kelsey indicates that Drake's forces were initially around two thousand men.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, 240-41, discusses how even though the Queen helped to finance Drake's voyage, "In keeping with the queen's wishes, there was no declaration of war. In fact, Elizabeth retained the right to disavow Drake if necessary." See Richard S. Dunn, *The Age of Religious Wars, 1559-1715*, 2d ed. (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1979), 11-57 for his discussion of the tensions between England and Spain during this period. On p. 45 he discusses Spain and England's 1585-1587 war in the Netherlands.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, 28, says that in the 1580s, Spanish imports of silver bullion "suddenly doubled." Dunn discusses this in the context of King Philip II's ability to wage war, but surely the other European leaders and the corsairs who preyed on these fleets were aware of this as well. Kelsey, *Sir Francis Drake*, 239 tells how Drake avoided censure for his attacks on Spanish ships by sharing the takings from his around-the-world voyage with his queen and how he also took advantage of deteriorating relations between Spain and England in choosing his targets. On p. 241, Kelsey surmises that Drake's orders for his 1585 voyage must have been to "intercept the Spanish treasure fleet coming from the Indies. If successful, he would return to England. Failing that, he would go to the Indies and carry out raids on Santo Domingo, Cartagena, and Panama. He may have been told to occupy Havana, but this is not clear."

<sup>100</sup> See "Licenciate de Aliaga to the King Relative to English Ships," November 30, 1585, Santo Domingo, AGI Santo Domingo 57 (Stetson Collection); and "Consulta Relative to Piracy in the Indies," December 24, 1585, Madrid, AGI Indiferente General 1921 (Stetson Collection).

soldiers and supplies to Florida for, he said, there had been “much news” of corsairs passing through those parts.<sup>101</sup>

### Drake’s Raid and Its Aftermath

Sir Francis Drake attacked Santo Domingo on January 11, 1586 and remained there a month as his men sacked, looted, and burned the town while the Spaniards attempted to raise enough ransom money to persuade the English to leave.<sup>102</sup> On February 8, 1586, soon before Drake’s fleet departed from Santo Domingo to sail southward toward Cartagena, the site of their next major raid, Pedro Menéndez Marqués received news of Drake’s arrival in the Indies.<sup>103</sup> That day Menéndez Marqués wrote a letter to Gutierre de Miranda at Santa Elena telling him that Drake’s fleet of thirty ships had devastated Puerto Rico and Santo Domingo and was certain to head for Havana.<sup>104</sup> Pedro Menéndez Marqués instructed Miranda that he should fortify as well as he could, as they would do at St. Augustine, and then “let fortune do what it wants.” He instructed Gutierre de Miranda that no religious or lay person was to go among the Indians until the situation changed. The Spanish fears of English settlements to the north also surfaced in

---

<sup>101</sup> “Petition of Captain Rodrigo de Junco,” November 8, 1585, Madrid, AGI Indiferente General 1398 (Stetson Collection).

<sup>102</sup> Kelsey, *Sir Francis Drake*, 257-63. His account gives the date January 1, 1586 because he uses the English dates which followed the Julian calendar. Spain and its colonies by this time used the Gregorian calendar, in which the dates were ten days later (see p. 483, note 52).

<sup>103</sup> Drake and his forces attacked Cartagena around the end of February, 1586. See Kelsey, *Sir Francis Drake*, 263-73, for an account of this raid which followed the same pattern as the Santo Domingo attack of destruction and plunder until Drake was able to exact sufficient ransom from the residents.

<sup>104</sup> Pedro Menéndez Marqués to Gutierre de Miranda, February 8, 1586, St. Augustine, in “Expediente Concerning the Services, Etc. of Gutierre de Miranda,” 1588, St. Augustine, AGI Santo Domingo 231, No. 64 (Stetson Collection). As it turned out, Havana was spared from Drake’s forces. See Kelsey, *Sir Francis Drake*, 274.

this letter, as Pedro Menéndez Marqués mentioned that the corsairs who passed by Guatari had settled along the Atlantic coast “where, it is said, there is a passage to the South Sea.”<sup>105</sup>

Gutierre de Miranda must have begun his improvements on Fort San Marcos immediately, for on April 6, 1586, he claimed before the notary Miguel de Molina that construction had been completed there by the end of March, 1586. When Pedro Menéndez Marqués’s warning arrived, Santa Elena’s fort was, according to Miguel de Molina, “made of wood with its two casemates and a large tower of the same.” He observed that the artillery was distributed on these structures “without any type of fence, moat, or wall, or any other defense.” Gutierre de Miranda stated that by the end of March, he had enclosed the fort with a “moat and walls with their large towers in the terrepleined corners.” Miranda claimed to have done this “without being sent any of his Majesty’s slaves, carpenters, tools” or any funds from the royal account.<sup>106</sup> The scale of these improvements was more evident in a sworn statement Gutierre de Miranda gave in November, 1586. This account shows a fort and homemade weaponry constructed mainly from the materials available in that land, particularly earth and wood. Miranda explained that the walls he built surrounding the munitions house and the casemates were approximately twenty-feet tall on the outside and slightly lower on the inside, where there

---

<sup>105</sup> Pedro Menéndez Marqués to Gutierre de Miranda, February 8, 1586, St. Augustine, in “Expediente Concerning the Services, Etc. of Gutierre de Miranda,” 1588, St. Augustine, AGI Santo Domingo 231, No. 64 (Stetson Collection).

<sup>106</sup> Certification of Notary Miguel de Molina and Report of Gutierre de Miranda, April 6, 1586, Santa Elena, in “Expediente Concerning the Services, Etc. of Gutierre de Miranda,” 1588, St. Augustine, AGI Santo Domingo 231, No. 64 (Stetson Collection).

was a horizontal platform for artillery to rest.<sup>107</sup> The earth mound parts of this structure were covered with oystershell “so that the rain cannot do it any damage.”<sup>108</sup> According to Miranda, the moat was approximately forty feet wide and twenty feet deep and lined with stakes. He said, “filling it with enough water to cover a man is easily done with the tide of the creek that goes by here.” Gutierre de Miranda also told how he had a “strong stockade” built in the creek at the entrance to the moat “so that the ships that came to attack would be delayed by it, [then] damaged and sunk by the artillery.”<sup>109</sup>

As part of these preparations, Gutierre de Miranda said he had each soldier construct himself an iron pike with a handle, but Miranda substituted less conventional weapons for swords, which were then in short supply. He explained, “Seeing also that most of the soldiers were without swords and others had broken ones, and that in a time of need they were not effective, I have had the walls stocked with pebbles and large stones and pine stumps to fling over the rampart at the enemy’s sortie.” Miranda also had each soldier make himself a large wooden club, so that “any enemy who places his hands on the

---

<sup>107</sup> These walls were made with sawn wood on the outside with earthen walls behind them. The earthen wall was constructed with fascines, or bundles of sticks covered with dirt. For descriptions of the construction of these walls, see Certification of Notary Alonso García de la Vera, July 28, 1587, Santa Elena, in “Expediente Concerning the Services, Etc. of Gutierre de Miranda,” 1588, St. Augustine, AGI Santo Domingo 231, No. 64 (Stetson Collection); and Paul Hoffman, “Sixteenth-Century Fortifications on Parris Island, South Carolina, 1978,” Typed Manuscript (photocopy), p. 43, A Report Prepared for Mr. Joseph R. Judge, Associate Editor, *National Geographic Magazine*, Baton Rouge, La.

<sup>108</sup> Certification of Notary Alonso García de la Vera, July 28, 1587, Santa Elena, in “Expediente Concerning the Services, Etc. of Gutierre de Miranda,” 1588, St. Augustine, AGI Santo Domingo 231, No. 64 (Stetson Collection); Hoffman, “Sixteenth-Century Fortifications,” 43.

<sup>109</sup> Report of Gutierre de Miranda, November 12, 1586, Santa Elena, in “Expediente Concerning the Services, Etc. of Gutierre de Miranda,” 1588, St. Augustine, AGI Santo Domingo 231, No. 64 (Stetson Collection). The 1586 drawing of Santa Elena’s Fort San Marcos appears to have been made following Gutierre de Miranda’s preparations for Sir Francis Drake. See “Description of the Fort of Santa Elena,” in AGI Mapas y Planos, Florida y Luisiana, 2.

wall and comes rushing [over] can be greatly harmed, more than with a sword, even if he comes armed.” Captain Miranda also had large, clay bottles of resin placed on top of the walls, which presumably would have been heated before being flung over the top at the approaching enemy below. Those who did the labor on the fort were, according to Gutierre de Miranda, his own slaves, as well as “paid carpenters and sawyers and other day laborers.” Miranda also said he “brought many natives from this region to assist in the repair.” He said he fed them and paid for their work on the moat and terrepleined walls.<sup>110</sup> At some point after this, Gutierre de Miranda had an approximately 180-foot-long boom of cedar logs connected with iron couplings made to stretch across the creek. It was fastened with iron chains to strong pillars on either shore and rose and fell with the tide. The purpose of this boom was to act with the stockade in the creek to delay the ships so that the artillery could damage them.<sup>111</sup>

Sir Francis Drake attacked St. Augustine on June 7, 1586. According to Pedro Menéndez Marqués’s account of this raid, Drake arrived with twenty-three large ships and nineteen small ones. Menéndez Marqués claimed that Drake initially landed five hundred men who went directly to St. Augustine’s fort and then, when they met with resistance,

---

<sup>110</sup> Report of Gutierre de Miranda, November 12, 1586, Santa Elena, in “Expediente Concerning the Services, Etc. of Gutierre de Miranda,” 1588, St. Augustine, AGI Santo Domingo 231, No. 64 (Stetson Collection).

<sup>111</sup> Certification of Notary Alonso García de la Vera, July 28, 1587, Santa Elena; and Gutierre de Miranda to the King, August 20, 1588, in “Expediente Concerning the Services, Etc. of Gutierre de Miranda,” 1588, St. Augustine, AGI Santo Domingo 231, No. 64 (Stetson Collection). AGI Contaduría 945 (Center for Historic Research microfilm) contains an account entry listing four hundred iron barrel bands that Santa Elena’s supplykeeper Juan Gómez Fiallo gave to the blacksmith Cristóbal González by order of Captain Gutierre de Miranda for the purpose of making this boom and nails for construction on the fort.



sent two thousand more men on land with artillery to bombard the fort.<sup>112</sup> He said the Spaniards resisted for a day and a half before they fled into the woods, where the women and children were already hiding. Once the Spaniards abandoned the town, Indians looted it, although, Pedro Menéndez Marqués commented, “they did not rebel.”<sup>113</sup> Sir Francis Drake and his forces then entered St. Augustine and remained for six days, during which they burned buildings and fields and took everything they could before they left and sailed northward toward Santa Elena.<sup>114</sup> Drake’s raid was also devastating for historians for, judging from contemporary accounts, many documents were lost in his fires.<sup>115</sup> Because the account records were destroyed, the lieutenant treasurer Bartolomé de Argüelles had to make a new inventory of everything remaining in the colony.<sup>116</sup> But at least one St. Augustine soldier, Pablos Juan, claimed that Pedro Menéndez Marqués and other royal officials stole from the King when the English entered St. Augustine and that they also burned papers important to the King, including some from the fort at Santa Elena.<sup>117</sup>

---

<sup>112</sup> Pedro Menéndez Marqués’s estimates of Drake’s forces were apparently exaggerated. Kelsey, *Sir Francis Drake*, 270 says that having lost many men to battle and disease, Drake’s captains estimated their fighting forces at 700 men, with 150 more sick at the time they left Cartagena.

<sup>113</sup> “Governor Pedro Menéndez Marqués to the King Relative to Drake, Etc.,” June 17, 1586 and July 16, 1586, St. Augustine, AGI Patronato 266 (Stetson Collection).

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.* See Kelsey, *Sir Francis Drake*, 274-77, for his account of the St. Augustine raid. On p. 277, Kelsey says that when Drake headed for Santa Elena, “He intended to sack and burn this settlement as well, but the shoals kept him out to sea, and he sailed past the bay.”

<sup>115</sup> See the investigation into the loss of the official papers dated October 26, 1587, St. Augustine, in AGI Contaduría 943, No. 3 (Center for Historic Research microfilm).

<sup>116</sup> AGI Contaduría 945 (Center for Historic Research microfilm) contains the records from the inventory Bartolomé de Argüelles made at Santa Elena of the items in that fort when the account records at St. Augustine were destroyed.

<sup>117</sup> Pablos Juan to the King, [1588], in AGI Indiferente General 2064, No. 122.

Following Drake's departure from St. Augustine, letters went out from Florida and Havana reporting this raid and commenting on the damage that everyone was sure had been done at Santa Elena. On July 30, 1586, one Cuban official went so far as to write that it appeared from reports that the English must have taken the fort at Santa Elena. He speculated that Drake's fleet intended to settle somewhere along the Florida coast, since the English troops had seized many tools and other things during their attack on St. Augustine that would be necessary for colonization but were otherwise useless.<sup>118</sup> Governor Gabriel de Luján and two other Cuban officials separately expressed their concern that even if the residents of Santa Elena escaped the English, the Indians of that region would likely kill them.<sup>119</sup> Governor Luján concluded that knowing the danger they faced in fleeing the fort, Captain Gutierre de Miranda and his men would fight to the death. He said that "the enemy, seeing their determination and works, might leave them alone."<sup>120</sup> As it turned out, Sir Francis Drake's fleet missed the Santa Elena harbor. According to Spanish accounts, his ships first entered a port seven leagues south of Santa Elena. Then, when they realized their mistake, Drake's men sailed north during the night, firing artillery and hoping for a reply from the Spanish fort. Whether or not he had

---

<sup>118</sup> "Letter from Pedro de Arana Giving Detailed Information about the Loss of the Fort at St. Augustine," June 30, 1586, Havana, AGI Contratación 4802 (Stetson Collection). Arana went on to point out that from their Florida foothold, the English fleet could easily travel to Hispaniola and then on to Cuba. "Juan Baptista de Rojas to the King," July 1, 1586, Havana, AGI Santo Domingo 118 (Stetson Collection), reported that after his time in St. Augustine, Drake "se fue a santa elena donde entendemos que habían perecido todos los que allá estaban."

<sup>119</sup> "Governor Gabriel de Luján to King," August 18, 1586, Havana, AGI Santo Domingo 99 (Stetson Collection); "Letter from the Alcalde of Havana, [Diego Fernández] de Quiñones," July 2, 1586, Havana, AGI Santo Domingo 126 (Stetson Collection); "Pedro de Arana to Contratación," July 4, 1586, Havana, AGI Contratación 5108 (Stetson Collection).

<sup>120</sup> "Governor Gabriel de Luján to King," August 18, 1586, Havana, AGI Santo Domingo 99 (Stetson Collection).

received the warning Pedro Menéndez Marqués sent him from St. Augustine, Gutierre de Miranda ordered that there was to be no cannon or arquebus fire or any light. The English ships sailed past Santa Elena's harbor without detecting the town.<sup>121</sup> When they sounded their guns again at Orista several leagues beyond and found there was no Spanish fort, Drake and his men concluded that they had missed Santa Elena. They stayed there until June 26th, taking on water and firewood and replacing masts on some of their ships. Pedro Menéndez Marqués reported that Gutierre de Miranda heard these things from his Indian spies in that area.<sup>122</sup>

The Spaniards apparently learned from three "negros ladinos" who had fled the English fleet at Orista that Drake was headed for an English settlement at Ajacán that had been established a year before.<sup>123</sup> Captain Juan de Posada reported that when the English landed, they gave the Indians many gifts and told them that they had settled nearby and would return the following Spring.<sup>124</sup> In the months that followed Drake's raid on St. Augustine, concerns about a corsair strike on Santa Elena and rumors about English settlement to the north surfaced repeatedly.<sup>125</sup> Pedro Menéndez Marqués wrote the Casa

---

<sup>121</sup> "Diego Fernández de Quifones to the King," September, 1586, Havana, AGI Santo Domingo 126 (Stetson Collection).

<sup>122</sup> "Copy of Letter by Pedro Menéndez Marqués," July 16, 1586, Havana [?], AGI Santo Domingo 126 (Stetson Collection); "Diego Fernández de Quifones to the King," September, 1586, Havana, AGI Santo Domingo 126 (Stetson Collection).

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.* As mentioned in Chapter One, Ajacán was on the Chesapeake Bay.

<sup>124</sup> "Captain Juan de Posada to the King," September 2, 1586, St. Augustine, AGI Santa Fe 89 (Stetson Collection). Captain Posada did not name the site as Orista in this account, but this must have been the same visit that Pedro Menéndez Marqués described, as discussed above.

<sup>125</sup> "[Diego] Fernández de Quifones, *Alcaide* of the Fort at Havana to the King," March 22, 1587, Havana, AGI Contratación 5108 (Stetson Collection).

de Contratación at the end of August, 1586 that an Indian man had just informed him that in the middle of that month, five large ships and three small ones had entered the harbor and made a sounding of Santa Elena's sandbar, then departed. When asked why Gutierre de Miranda had not sent a report with him, the man apparently replied that Miranda and his soldiers were busy with defense and so could not write. Pedro Menéndez Marqués said that he dispatched a small boat commanded by an ensign to verify this story.<sup>126</sup>

Indeed, account records from this time show Ensign Francisco Hernández de Ecija and eight soldiers receiving amounts of wine, biscuit, and olive oil beyond their usual rations to go in a small boat to Santa Elena to reconnoiter the fort there because of reports that corsairs had attacked it.<sup>127</sup> They must have returned by September 10, 1586 when Pedro Menéndez Marqués wrote that this story was, as he suspected, an "invention of Indians" and that once the English corsair had departed, he had never returned.<sup>128</sup> In May, 1587, Pedro Menéndez Marqués himself went to look for the reported English settlement in the area of Ajacán upon receiving orders from the King. The governor's letter from June 22, 1587 stated that in the area he traveled, he saw no sign of any corsairs.<sup>129</sup>

---

<sup>126</sup> "Pedro Menéndez Marqués to Contratación," August 30, 1586, St. Augustine, AGI Contratación 5108 (Stetson Collection).

<sup>127</sup> These account entries appear in AGI Contaduría 945 (Center for Historic Research microfilm). Ensign Francisco Hernández de Ecija and his men received the additional food without charge because of the hard work of rowing day and night so that they would arrive at Santa Elena as quickly as their orders demanded.

<sup>128</sup> "Pedro Menéndez Marqués to Contratación," September 1, 1586 [*sic*], St. Augustine, AGI Contratación 5108 (Stetson Collection). The date given in the text of the letter is September 10, 1586.

<sup>129</sup> "Pedro Menéndez Marqués to the King," June 22, 1587, Havana, AGI Contratación 5108 (Stetson Collection).

### The Spaniards Dismantle Santa Elena

Sir Francis Drake's crushing defeat of several West Indies ports inspired the Spaniards to reassess their defenses in this region.<sup>130</sup> In the case of La Florida, Drake's raid brought a new urgency to discussions about the vulnerability of Florida's forts and the need to either abolish them altogether or consolidate them into one. Drake had barely left the North Atlantic coast when on July 2, 1586, Diego Fernández de Quiñones spoke of the futility of trying to resist "a corsair who has such power" with wooden forts and advised the King that he should either "deliberately fortify and settle or depopulate."<sup>131</sup> Pedro Menéndez Marqués soon began to urge that the people of Santa Elena should join his soldiers at St. Augustine and said that one fort would be more effective than two far apart, with many indefensible harbors in between.<sup>132</sup> Following Drake's time in La Florida, Spanish officials apparently feared that the English had attempted to make common cause with the Native American population as the French had done previously. As mentioned above, Captain Juan de Posada wrote to the King on September 2, 1586 and informed him of Drake's overtures to the Indians when he stopped, apparently at Orista, for water and firewood. Posada saw further evidence of English efforts to court

---

<sup>130</sup> Kelsey, *Sir Francis Drake*, 240-79, shows how very unprepared the West Indian ports Drake attacked really were for the type of warfare he waged. See the comments of the Council of the Indies regarding the effects of Drake's raid in "Consulta del Consejo Relative to Florida," September 10, 1586, Madrid, AGI Indiferente General 741 (Stetson Collection); and "Consulta del Consejo Relative to Florida," October 24, 1586, Madrid, AGI Indiferente General 741 (Stetson Collection).

<sup>131</sup> "Letter from the Alcalde of Havana, [Diego Fernández] de Quiñones," July 2, 1586, Havana, AGI Santo Domingo 126 (Stetson Collection). See also "[Gabriel de] Luján and Diego Fernández de Quiñones," July 1, 1586, Havana, AGI Santo Domingo 126 (Stetson Collection).

<sup>132</sup> "Pedro Menéndez Marqués [to King]," July 17, 1586, St. Augustine?, AGI Indiferente General 1887 (Stetson Collection).

the Native Americans' good will in the fact that Drake and his men had burned St. Augustine but left an Indian town standing "a cannon shot away." When Drake sent some men to offer friendship to the Indians, his representatives found no one in the town. Juan de Posada explained that "because most of them were Christians and so nearby, they had withdrawn to the forest with the [Spanish] women and children."<sup>133</sup> Posada concluded that the fort at Santa Elena should be abandoned and all the soldiers and artillery placed at St. Augustine. This way, he said, "the natives would be more subject," for half of Florida's three hundred soldiers could guard the fort, and the other half could "patrol the whole land."<sup>134</sup>

Suggestions that one or both of the Florida forts be dismantled were not new at the time of Drake's raid, for this discussion had apparently been going on for at least several years. Cuban governor Gabriel de Luján argued repeatedly that Florida's forts should be dismantled and that the money the King spent on them be used to support four galleys to protect Florida, Cuba, and the other islands in that part of the Indies.<sup>135</sup> In letters from 1583 and 1585, he challenged the notion that the Spaniards' enemies would be able to establish themselves in La Florida. Governor Luján described the great expense and effort that Spain and some of its colonies, including Cuba, had gone to to support La

---

<sup>133</sup> "Captain Juan de Posada to the King," September 2, 1586, St. Augustine, AGI Santa Fe 89 (Stetson Collection). The identification of Drake's landing place as Orista appears in "Copy of Letter by Pedro Menéndez Marqués," July 16, 1586, Havana [?], AGI Santo Domingo 126 (Stetson Collection).

<sup>134</sup> "Captain Juan de Posada to the King," September 2, 1586, St. Augustine, AGI Santa Fe 89 (Stetson Collection).

<sup>135</sup> "Governor Gabriel de Luján to the King," November 30, 1583, Havana, AGI Santo Domingo 230 (Stetson Collection); "Gabriel de Luján to the King Relative to Conditions and Reciting his Services," June 5, 1585, Havana, AGI Santo Domingo 146 (Stetson Collection).

Florida and said its residents still “starve the rest of the year.”<sup>136</sup> Another Cuban official echoed this opinion in an August 16, 1586 letter. Alonso de Toledo pointed out the vast amounts of money that had been spent on La Florida and the little that had been accomplished there. He said that the whole coast was sand, that the Indians sustained themselves on fish and crayfish, and that no other people would be willing to live like that. Given this harsh environment, Toledo did not feel that enough of the enemy could settle in Florida to do harm to the Spanish fleets.<sup>137</sup>

In one of his documents from 1584, Domingo González de León commented that “many are of the opinion that the forts of that coast should be dismantled and that there be galleys” instead.<sup>138</sup> However, González said the galleys would have little effect without forts. He urged the King to continue the policy of settlement and noted that fishing for cod brought the Irish, English, and French to the Florida coast. He said that the French had tried particularly hard to settle there and that they could quickly become the lords of Florida, as they had cultivated friendship with the Indians. González explained that from this coast, they could easily gain control over New Spain which, he said, was not far from La Florida.<sup>139</sup> As part of another report, González included a piece by Juan Méndez dated April 6, 1584 which argued that the forts at both St. Augustine and Santa Elena should be

---

<sup>136</sup> This quotation appears in “Governor Gabriel de Luján to the King,” November 30, 1583, Havana, AGI Santo Domingo 230 (Stetson Collection).

<sup>137</sup> “[Alonso de] Toledo to the King Relative to Drake,” August 16, 1586, Havana, AGI Santo Domingo 126 (Stetson Collection).

<sup>138</sup> “Domingo González, His Services, Etc.,” 1584, St. Augustine?, AGI Santo Domingo 14 (Stetson Collection).

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*

dismantled and that a new fort should be built farther north to house Florida's three hundred soldiers.<sup>140</sup> Méndez advocated this area for the new fort because of the land's richness, and he spoke of the possibilities for settlement and farming if at least one hundred of these soldiers were married and focused on cultivating the land while the others defended the fort. Juan Méndez discussed with confidence the mines and rich lands the soldiers would find on expeditions inland, as well as the region's many Native Americans, whom he characterized as "people of much reasonableness."<sup>141</sup>

Dreams about the richness of La Florida's lands and its proximity to New Spain clearly endure in these passages. These dreams had retained their power more than twenty years after *adelantado* Pedro Menéndez de Avilés first arrived on those shores. But when the decision was made about the future of the Florida forts, it was fundamentally shaped by the colony's internal politics and power struggles. The King and Council of the Indies apparently believed that they were following the advice of the men most knowledgeable about La Florida when they made the decision to dismantle the fort at Santa Elena and consolidate all the soldiers at St. Augustine. But the documents show that Pedro Menéndez Marqués and his supporters actively campaigned to bring their leaders to this opinion. Noticeably absent from this group was Gutierre de Miranda. This may have been because of strained relations between Governor Menéndez Marqués and Miranda, but it is more likely that on this occasion, Pedro Menéndez Marqués's personal interests

---

<sup>140</sup> Account and Interrogatory of Domingo González de León, 1584, La Florida, in AGI Santo Domingo 231, fo. 300-301vo. On fo. 300, Juan Méndez says the fort should be built at around thirty-four or thirty-five degrees latitude.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, fo. 300vo. The Spanish phrase is "gente de mucha razón."



diverged from those of his brother-in-law.<sup>142</sup> Menéndez Marqués had clearly established St. Augustine as his base by then, while Gutierre de Miranda worked to expand his holdings at Santa Elena.

An October 24, 1586 opinion by the Council of the Indies shows the effects of Pedro Menéndez Marqués's lobbying efforts. On this date, the Council described its September 10, 1586 recommendation that both forts be dismantled and that in their place, a small fort be built farther south to aid the Spanish victims of shipwrecks and an additional ship be added to Havana's galleys to meet the region's defense needs.<sup>143</sup> But on October 24, the officials said the opinions of Governor Pedro Menéndez Marqués and Captain Vicente González had changed their minds. They altered their recommendation to one of uniting the people from both forts at St. Augustine which, they said, was closer to the Bahama Channel. The Council officials said that this decision also had the advantage of not abandoning the Christian Indians who were at peace in that area. They were clearly impressed with Vicente González's knowledge of that region and said he told them that not far from St. Augustine was an excellent port near a land with gold and diamond mines, heavily populated with Native Americans, and fertile. The Council recommended that this land should be explored further and that settlements should perhaps be established

---

<sup>142</sup> See Domingo de León to the King, October 13, [1584], Madrid, in AGI Santo Domingo 231, fo. 315vo. Here Domingo González de León told how it was "public knowledge" that once when Pedro Menéndez Marqués came to Santa Elena to pay the soldiers, Miranda wanted to kill him. He said Menéndez Marqués went "almost fleeing" back to St. Augustine but did not really explain what this conflict was about. In any event, this would have been before 1584, and Miranda continued to govern at Santa Elena and even served as the governor's lieutenant after this.

<sup>143</sup> "Consulta del Consejo Relative to Florida," September 10, 1586, Madrid, AGI Indiferente General 741 (Stetson Collection).

there.<sup>144</sup> Documents from this period show that two long-standing concerns remained on the King's mind--preventing his enemies from establishing a foothold in La Florida and finding the passage that went across these lands to the Pacific.<sup>145</sup>

The first that Captain Gutierre de Miranda apparently heard about these debates over dismantling the site of his post and personal possessions was when Pedro Menéndez Marqués arrived with the orders to do so. On August 16, 1587 in Santa Elena, General Pedro Menéndez Marqués declared before a notary that Juan de Tejada, Inspector General of the Forces of the Indies, had ordered him to dismantle the fort of Santa Elena, gather all the King's artillery, munitions, and people there, and take them to St. Augustine where he was to repair the existing fort and build another one. Menéndez Marqués instructed the notary to inform Gutierre de Miranda of Tejada's commands and directed that the people and munitions be distributed between the two ships and the launch there.<sup>146</sup> Juan de

---

<sup>144</sup> "Consulta del Consejo Relative to Florida," October 24, 1586, Madrid, AGI Indiferente General 741 (Stetson Collection). For Vicente González's opinion on gathering all of Florida's soldiers at St. Augustine, see "Services of Vicente González," September 29, 1586, Spain?, AGI Indiferente General 1887 (Stetson Collection). In "Juan de Posada to the King," December 15, 1586, St. Augustine, AGI Indiferente General 1887 (Stetson Collection), Posada mentioned an opinion he had sent to the King urging him to unite the forts of Santa Elena and St. Augustine. Juan de Posada said Governor Pedro Menéndez Marqués had asked him to send this opinion, and he reiterated its main points, including his belief that the English would return in the coming year.

<sup>145</sup> Lyon, *Santa Elena: A Brief History*, 14, points out that the King's note on the Council of the Indies' September 10, 1586 recommendation shows his concern with keeping his enemies from occupying the ports he would be abandoning. See "Consulta del Consejo Relative to Florida," September 10, 1586, Madrid, AGI Indiferente General 741 (Stetson Collection). "Pedro Menéndez Marqués to the King," June 22, 1587, Havana, AGI Contratación 5108 (Stetson Collection) mentions the King's instructions to Pedro Menéndez Marqués to go north to look for corsairs and for the "strait that they say passes to the other sea." It appears that Captain Vicente González's reports may have been responsible for Pedro Menéndez Marqués receiving these orders. See royal order dated November 27, 1586, Madrid, in "Various Royal Cédulas Relative to Florida," AGI Indiferente General 541 (Stetson Collection).

<sup>146</sup> Order of Pedro Menéndez Marqués, August 16, 1587, Santa Elena, in "Expediente Concerning the Services, Etc. of Gutierre de Miranda," 1588, St. Augustine, AGI Santo Domingo 231, No. 64 (Stetson Collection).

Tejeda's order was dated on July 10, 1587 in Havana and stated that people with experience in La Florida had informed him of the little resistance that the colony was able to offer an enemy with the people and munitions divided between the forts of Santa Elena and St. Augustine. Tejeda said he had concluded that in order to best serve the King, Florida should have only one fort, and it should be in St. Augustine.<sup>147</sup>

Gutierre de Miranda's response to these commands stressed his belief that the King and Juan de Tejeda had not made their decision to dismantle Santa Elena based on sound information. Captain Miranda described the many improvements he had made on the fort after he received warning of Francis Drake's raids in the Indies. He stated that when they chose to abandon Santa Elena, Tejeda and the King had not been informed of these repairs or the superior nature of the Santa Elena port. Miranda's arguments which followed focused as much on the inferiority of the St. Augustine site and fort as Santa Elena's well-prepared fort and excellent land and harbor. He said that *adelantado* Pedro Menéndez de Avilés had established his capital at Santa Elena because he knew of the land's abundance, while, Miranda claimed, the land around St. Augustine had been explored and was "for more than sixty leagues around seen to be very sterile and swampy land and full of lakes where the native Indians laboriously sustain themselves."<sup>148</sup>

The favorable description that Gutierre de Miranda gave Santa Elena was no doubt largely due to the fact that he had fairly extensive holdings there. Miranda even mentioned

---

<sup>147</sup> Order of Juan de Tejeda, July 10, 1587, Havana, in "Expediente Concerning the Services, Etc. of Gutierre de Miranda," 1588, St. Augustine, AGI Santo Domingo 231, No. 64 (Stetson Collection).

<sup>148</sup> Reply of the Captain and *Alcaide* Gutierre de Miranda, August 16, 1587, Santa Elena, in "Expediente Concerning the Services, Etc. of Gutierre de Miranda," 1588, St. Augustine, AGI Santo Domingo 231, No. 64 (Stetson Collection).

the damage to himself and the other Santa Elena residents who had worked hard on their houses and fields as one argument against the town's destruction. But Miranda's point that the abandonment of Santa Elena would cause a loss of the King's property and damage to his reputation had merit as well. If La Florida was to have only one fort--and Gutierre de Miranda did not appear to question this assumption--Miranda argued that it should be Santa Elena, which had already been repaired and enclosed by a moat, instead of the St. Augustine fort, which needed so much work and would draw heavily from royal funds. Miranda mentioned the "triumph" the enemy, presumably the English in this case, would feel if the Spaniards moved the fort and town from Santa Elena and the "great courage" the enemy would draw from these actions. Gutierre de Miranda also said that "a great reputation would be lost with the native Indians, although at the present they are very peaceful and obedient." Captain Miranda concluded his protest of the command to dismantle Santa Elena by saying he had not seen any evidence that Juan de Tejada had authority from the King to make this order.<sup>149</sup>

Gutierre de Miranda's protest was in vain, however. Pedro Menéndez Marqués answered Miranda's objections through the notary, and the abandonment of the site proceeded with no further appeals. In his response, Menéndez Marqués said that the King had been very well informed about how no Indian in the Santa Elena area had ever been converted to Christianity, and that they were people "without any civility (*policía*) at all who live by their bow and arrows like savages." He said that if they were peaceful, it was because of the tools (*herramientas*) that they carried away from Santa Elena. Menéndez

---

<sup>149</sup> Ibid.

Marqués stated that this land was not good for settlement. He suggested that Gutierre de Miranda was motivated by his own profit to claim that Santa Elena was superior to St. Augustine, and he asserted that the King needed to fortify the port of St. Augustine “for the reasons that his Majesty knows.” Pedro Menéndez Marqués was not impressed by Miranda’s effort to question Tejeda’s authority. He stated that he was giving these orders as Gutierre de Miranda’s governor and captain general and that if Miranda disobeyed them, he would be fined five hundred *ducados* and punished as a man rebellious to the orders of his leader.<sup>150</sup> Notified of this, Gutierre de Miranda said he would comply.<sup>151</sup>

The surviving account records offer the few clues that exist as to how Pedro Menéndez Marqués and his men dismantled Fort San Marcos and the town of Santa Elena.<sup>152</sup> Florida officials inspected the supplies and munitions in the fort before it was destroyed and decided which things to take to St. Augustine. Some items were deemed beyond salvage, such as a broken musket which, the record says, was burned where it lay. Sixty casks which had held wine and flour and were found wrecked with some of their iron barrel hoops were burned with the “wood and nails of the said fort” when Pedro Menéndez Marqués had the fort ignited. At the time that Santa Elena’s fort was dismantled, inspectors found three and a half casks of rotten flour there, of which two and

---

<sup>150</sup> Response of Pedro Menéndez Marqués to Gutierre de Miranda, August 16, 1587, Santa Elena, in “Expediente Concerning the Services, Etc. of Gutierre de Miranda,” 1588, St. Augustine, AGI Santo Domingo 231, No. 64 (Stetson Collection).

<sup>151</sup> Certification of Notary Alonso García de la Vera, August 16, 1587, Santa Elena, in “Expediente Concerning the Services, Etc. of Gutierre de Miranda,” 1588, St. Augustine, AGI Santo Domingo 231, No. 64 (Stetson Collection).

<sup>152</sup> Hoffman, “Sixteenth-Century Fortifications,” 40, writes, “The records do not state how the fort was dismantled, only that it was. As of 1609, the oyster shell covering the ramparts of this fort could still be seen (Andrés González, 1609 coastal description, AGI Patronato 19, No. 31, fo. 4).”

a half casks were deemed useless and burned. According to the account entry, General Pedro Menéndez Marqués gave the remaining cask of flour which “was not very rotten” to neighboring Indians. Most of Fort San Marcos’s remaining supplies and munitions were embarked on the ships *San Juan* and *San Pedro* and taken to St. Augustine where the Santa Elena supplykeeper Juan Gómez Fiallo turned them over to the St. Augustine supplykeeper, Gaspar Fernández Perete. These items included several artillery pieces, as well as ammunition, weapons, a forge, and a bell. The account records also list the more than 1,300 pounds of flour given to the “people of the fort of Santa Elena” for their provisions on their journey from Santa Elena to St. Augustine in August, 1587.<sup>153</sup>

In a joint declaration, thirty-three Santa Elena residents later told how Pedro Menéndez Marqués had ordered them onto the boats he brought to Santa Elena for that purpose without allowing them to escape. They said that they were not able to take anything with them except their persons and “ragged clothing,” since their most important possessions were their houses, gardens, and fields. In describing the early days of Santa Elena’s second occupation, the soldiers told how they--and presumably, their families--were “all enclosed in one fort which was made of lumber and dirt” and that they did not dare leave it more than was necessary. The men said that “some because they were married and the rest because they were compelled” cultivated fields and gardens to supplement the King’s supplies which were not sufficient for their sustenance and added that “what was brought from outside was held at very exorbitant prices.” But, the soldiers explained, because they wanted “to populate and ennoble the said city and cause fear and

---

<sup>153</sup> See account records in AGI Contaduría 945 (Center for Historic Research microfilm).

terror to the rebelling Indian chiefs and natives of the region around the said island of Santa Elena,” they began to build themselves houses “little by little.” The men described how, “According to our means, some houses were built and enclosed with wood and covered with palm; others were covered and enclosed with the said palm according to the practice of the land with enclosures made of spears where we planted trees and harvested vegetables for assistance with our sustenance, with this and the fields which we sowed.” These soldiers claimed that at the time Pedro Menéndez Marqués came to force Santa Elena’s abandonment, “The said city was beginning to be ennobled and the lack of supplies coming from outside by sea beginning to be remedied.”<sup>154</sup>

When the Santa Elena residents arrived at St. Augustine, the fort there was still being rebuilt following Francis Drake’s raid on that city. Without any other shelter, those from Santa Elena had to buy and build new houses, and they requested reimbursement for the value of their Santa Elena homes to help meet their expenses in St. Augustine.<sup>155</sup> In response to this request, Pedro Menéndez Marqués ordered an appraisal of the holdings that the thirty-three men named had possessed at Santa Elena.<sup>156</sup> These appraisals show houses and property with values ranging from the house and garden of Rodrigo Páez,

---

<sup>154</sup> Joint Declaration of Former Santa Elena Residents and Power-of-Attorney dated October 16, 1588, St. Augustine, in *Petition of Prudencio de Arrieta and Others for Reimbursement for the Value of Their Houses at Santa Elena, 1590*, AGI Santo Domingo 231. The Mary Ross Collection microfilm includes a translation of this document which I have drawn from extensively for the English translations given in this chapter.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>156</sup> Reply of Pedro Menéndez Marqués dated October 22, 1588, St. Augustine, in *Petition of Prudencio de Arrieta and Others for Reimbursement for the Value of Their Houses at Santa Elena, 1590*, AGI Santo Domingo 231. Pedro Menéndez Marqués said that Prudencio de Arrieta, the Santa Elena residents’ representative, could choose one appraiser and that Menéndez Marqués would choose the other who together would determine the value of the Santa Elena properties.

appraised at fourteen *ducados*, to the house and garden of Prudencio de Arrieta, estimated to be worth one hundred and twenty *ducados* by representatives chosen by Pedro Menéndez Marqués and the soldiers' power-of-attorney. Unfortunately, this document offers no details about these properties or what accounted for the differences in their value. Two-thirds of these holdings were appraised at between fourteen and thirty-six *ducados*, with half of these worth twenty to twenty-eight *ducados*.<sup>157</sup> In an undated note, Governor Pedro Menéndez Marqués assured the King that he had done everything he could to keep the appraisals of the Santa Elena homes moderate. Menéndez Marqués stated that these holdings were actually worth more than their valuations, even as he acknowledged the poverty of the Santa Elena residents.<sup>158</sup> On February 21, 1590, King Philip II ordered that these men be paid the total amount contained in the appraisal they had submitted, that of 1,391 *ducados*.<sup>159</sup> This amount was to be paid gradually from the *situado* funds, and an account record from 1598 mentions the Santa Elena residents receiving one of these payments.<sup>160</sup>

---

<sup>157</sup> Report on the Values of the Santa Elena Properties, October 22, 1588, St. Augustine, in Petition of Prudencio de Arrieta and Others for Reimbursement for the Value of Their Houses at Santa Elena, 1590, AGI Santo Domingo 231. Note that of the upper ten holdings in terms of value, six of these were appraised between 40 and 50 *ducados*, with the top four appraisals being 70, 85, 90, and 120.

<sup>158</sup> Pedro Menéndez Marqués to the King, in Petition of Prudencio de Arrieta and Others for Reimbursement for the Value of Their Houses at Santa Elena, 1590, AGI Santo Domingo 231.

<sup>159</sup> Royal Order dated February 21, 1590, Madrid, in "Cedulario de la Florida," 1570-1604, n.p., AGI Santo Domingo 2528 (Stetson Collection). A translation of this document appears in Eugene Lyon, trans., "Royal Order to Pay the Claim for Lost Farms and Buildings of Former Settlers at Santa Elena," in *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, ed. Lyon, 523-24.

<sup>160</sup> See account entry dated December 24, 1598 in AGI Contaduría 942 (Center for Historic Research microfilm).



Gutierre de Miranda appealed for reimbursement of his lost property separately from his men. On February 27, 1588 in Havana, Miranda presented a request for an interrogatory before the Cuban governor Gabriel de Luján. The questions Gutierre de Miranda submitted focused on his services to the King but also discussed his holdings at Santa Elena. Miranda claimed here that he had not expected the fort of Santa Elena to be dismantled, and so he “had made next to it in the town which had some inhabitants, houses and gardens and livestock-raising farms for hogs and larger livestock from which he had profited greatly.” Because of this and the fact that he would have continued to gain from these holdings, Gutierre de Miranda estimated that a fair appraisal of all his property was four or five thousand *ducados* at the time Santa Elena was abandoned. Witness Diego Fernández de Jimena testified that approximately one league from Santa Elena’s fort, Gutierre de Miranda had made a ranch, as well as the houses, gardens, and a livestock-raising farm mentioned above. Fernández said that if Captain Miranda had known he would be at Santa Elena so little time, he never would have made these things. The witnesses in this interrogatory who voiced an opinion about the value of Gutierre de Miranda’s property tended to agree with his estimation.<sup>161</sup> Even after Miranda’s death, his wife, Doña Mariana Manrique, continued to ask for reimbursement for their losses at Santa Elena, which she said included houses, gardens, fields, corrals for livestock, and animals, among other things.<sup>162</sup>

---

<sup>161</sup> Interrogatory Made on Behalf of Gutierre de Miranda, February 27, 1588, Havana, in “Expediente Concerning the Services, Etc. of Gutierre de Miranda,” 1588, St. Augustine, AGI Santo Domingo 231, No. 64 (Stetson Collection).

<sup>162</sup> “Royal Cédula Ordering the Royal Officials of Florida to Pay Doña Mariana Manrique, Widow of Gutierre de Miranda, the Salary Owing the Latter,” December 2, 1613, El Pardo, AGI Santo

From these accounts, it appears that Santa Elena was finally beginning to thrive again when the town was dismantled in August of 1587. In writing to request reimbursement for their losses, the thirty-three Santa Elena soldiers who had holdings of any significant size tried to show the King how they had served him in eking out a living for their families under this region's harsh conditions. Their petition did not emphasize military exploits but reflected the King's own words and concerns when it spoke of building houses "to populate and ennoble the said city and cause fear and terror to the rebelling Indian chiefs and natives of the region around the said island of Santa Elena."<sup>163</sup> The soldiers reported that Santa Elena "was beginning to be ennobled" when Pedro Menéndez Marqués arrived with orders to dismantle the town and its fort.<sup>164</sup> But by then, the King's concerns, at least with regard to La Florida, had changed. King Philip's interest in the conquest and colonization of Florida had always had a strategic aspect to it, but this element came to dominate in the 1580s as he faced increasing threats and challenges in this region from his European neighbors. The location that had given Santa Elena its importance also proved its undoing, for when the decision came to dismantle this settlement, it was based purely on what the Council of the Indies deemed strategically sound--even if the decision was based on very biased accounts. Ironically, the text of the

---

Domingo 2603 (Stetson Collection). This document estimated their holdings at Santa Elena as worth about three thousand *ducados*.

<sup>163</sup> Whether this was deliberate or not, this phrase echoes Ordinance 137 of the 1573 "Ordinances for the Discovery, New Settlement and Pacification of the Indies." See Instituto de Cultura Hispánica, ed., *Transcripción de las Ordenanzas de Descubrimiento, Nueva Población, y Pacificación de las Indias Dadas por Felipe II*, 102.

<sup>164</sup> Joint Declaration of Former Santa Elena Residents and Power-of-Attorney dated October 16, 1588, St. Augustine, in Petition of Prudencio de Arrieta and Others for Reimbursement for the Value of Their Houses at Santa Elena, 1590, AGI Santo Domingo 231.

Council's recommendation to abandon Santa Elena showed that after more than twenty years of facing the grim realities of La Florida, these Crown officials could still believe that somewhere, it contained a land of plenty awaiting their exploration and settlement.

## CONCLUSION

On Columbus Day, October 12, 1982, members of Spain's "Order of the Old Infantry Regiment of the Fleet of the Ocean Sea" came to Parris Island, South Carolina and stood on the northwest bastion of Fort San Felipe, their banners flying.<sup>1</sup> It had been centuries since these shores saw Spaniards dressed in brightly colored doublets, with their metal helmets and swords gleaming. When they departed, the Order left a tile plaque which stands at the site today and proclaims "Aquí estuvo España," "Here was Spain." Such a monument is not necessary in most places where Spain had its sixteenth-century American colonies and where architectural, if not linguistic and cultural, evidence remains of the era of Spanish rule. But in a part of the present-day United States where English settlement nearly one hundred years later is generally taken to represent the entire colonial era, this monument is a reminder of how different the history of these lands might have been.<sup>2</sup>

Santa Elena could arguably have endured well beyond its twenty-one years. The town's coastal location made it vulnerable to attack, but only one year before Santa Elena

---

<sup>1</sup> Stanley South, *Revealing Santa Elena 1982*, Research Manuscript Series, no. 188 (Columbia, S.C.: South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, 1983), iii, 83.

<sup>2</sup> Here I am referring to the English settlement at present-day Charleston, South Carolina which the Spaniards called "San Jorge," founded in 1670.

was dismantled, Gutierre de Miranda had finished strengthening and improving the fort in anticipation of Sir Francis Drake's arrival. The English settlements that had so concerned the Spaniards in the mid-1580s did not survive, and the threats that Native Americans had posed to the Santa Elena residents' sustenance had apparently diminished.<sup>3</sup> The Spaniards would no doubt have continued watching the seas for European corsairs and the surrounding forests for Native American enemies. But after years of supply shortages, battles with neighboring Indians, and internal dissension within the Spanish population, the settlement at Santa Elena did not "fail." Rather, as shown in Chapter Five, a decision by King Philip II in consultation with the Council of the Indies brought about Santa Elena's end for strategic reasons after Sir Francis Drake's destruction of St. Augustine had convinced them of the extreme vulnerability of the far-flung Florida garrisons. In choosing St. Augustine as the site for continued Spanish presence in La Florida, these officials likely did not realize the degree to which the personal interests of Governor Pedro Menéndez Marqués and his followers shaped the accounts upon which they based their decision. Efforts toward the settlement of La Florida had not gone forward under Menéndez Marqués, due to both the military threats his government faced, as well as the little incentive he had for promoting these measures in his role as appointed governor.<sup>4</sup> But King Philip II was apparently pleased with the services of both Pedro Menéndez Marqués and Gutierre de Miranda, his brother-in-law. Menéndez Marqués held the office

---

<sup>3</sup> See David B. Quinn, *England and the Discovery of America, 1481-1620* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974), 282-306 for a discussion of the failure of these colonies.

<sup>4</sup> See Chapters Four and Five of this dissertation.

of Florida governor until 1594, and Gutierre de Miranda served at times as his lieutenant in this post from 1589 until 1593.<sup>5</sup>

Even the twenty-one years of Santa Elena's existence fundamentally shaped the history of this region.<sup>6</sup> This was particularly true for the indigenous residents of the present-day Georgia and South Carolina coasts. The Guale and Orista and other groups of this broad area had encountered both Frenchmen and Spaniards before Pedro Menéndez de Avilés and his men came to establish forts and the town of Santa Elena on their shores. As discussed in Chapters Three and Four, the structure of these Native American societies and the strategies they used to handle the intruders allowed them to sustain their resistance in the face of sometimes bloody Spanish insistence on surrender. But ultimately, enduring contact with Spaniards and the resulting loss of life through disease, hunger, and warfare took its toll and brought these Indians if not to capitulation, then to greatly diminished opposition to Spanish rule around 1583. Ironically, it was not long after this that the Spaniards withdrew from Santa Elena. They never again established a sustained presence farther north than the Franciscan mission on present-day St. Catherines Island, Georgia founded in 1595.<sup>7</sup> The Guale did rebel again in 1597, when Indians from several towns destroyed four Franciscan missions, killing five priests and

---

<sup>5</sup> Amy T. Bushnell, *Situado and Sabana: Spain's Support System for the Presidio and Mission Provinces of Florida*, *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, no. 74 (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1994), Appendix, 212.

<sup>6</sup> See Walter Edgar, *South Carolina: A History* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1998), 34.

<sup>7</sup> Grant D. Jones, "The Ethnohistory of the Guale Coast Through 1684," in *Ethnology of the Indians of Spanish Florida*, ed. David Hurst Thomas, vol. 8, *Spanish Borderlands Sourcebooks*, ed. David Hurst Thomas (New York: Garland Publishing, 1991), 234.

enslaving one other. As with the rebellion that began in 1576, Spaniards eventually turned to “wars of fire and blood” to subdue this revolt which apparently remained within the Guale chiefdom. In this case, the destruction of the Indians’ food supplies worked more quickly than in Pedro Menéndez Marqués’s 1579 campaign against Guale towns that only resulted in temporary capitulation to Spanish rule. Unlike the 1576-1583 period of resistance, the 1597 rebellion and its subsequent suppression also revealed some division within the chiefdom, as some *caciques* and their followers fought on the side of the Spaniards.<sup>8</sup>

While many would consider “Borderlands history” this dissertation’s scholarly home, I found the most useful way to approach the study of Santa Elena and La Florida more broadly was as a Spanish American colony. Still, this dissertation has undoubtedly been shaped by some of the concerns that characterized Herbert Bolton’s work, such as the desire to call attention to, not just English, but also French and Spanish colonial efforts in what is now the United States. Bolton labored to show that Spaniards came to these lands to settle rather than simply to explore, and this is also a theme central to my inquiry.<sup>9</sup> But while the motivations behind Borderlands scholarship give a place such as Santa Elena

---

<sup>8</sup> For a discussion of the 1597 rebellion, see Bushnell, *Situado and Sabana*, 65-66. See also Jones, “Ethnohistory of the Guale Coast,” 234-35. On p. 234, Jones describes the 1597 revolt as “the climax of 27 years of constant rebellion against heavy-handed Spanish control.” So far I have not seen the evidence to support Jones’s claims of continuity in this rebellion.

<sup>9</sup> David J. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1992), 7. Herbert Bolton was the father of the Borderlands School, a field of study that has traditionally focused on areas of the United States Southwest and Southeast that were formerly under Spanish rule. As Weber discusses in *The Spanish Frontier in North America*, as well as his introduction to *The Idea of Spanish Borderlands*, vol. 1, *Spanish Borderlands Sourcebooks*, ed. David Hurst Thomas (New York: Garland Publishing, 1991), the generations of scholars who followed Bolton have gone on to bring new approaches and questions to the study of the Borderlands and even to define them in different ways. Still, some of the basic concerns of these works endure from Bolton’s day.

particular relevance for its study, this town's true context is the wider Spanish conquest and colonization of the Americas and the domestic and imperial imperatives that shaped its course. Spaniards of the sixteenth century most certainly viewed La Florida as of one piece with the rest of colonial Spanish America. Many of the men who sought to establish Spain's presence in La Florida early on were active in the conquests of other regions.<sup>10</sup> In her book *Situado and Sabana*, historian Amy Turner Bushnell argues that La Florida makes a relatively poor fit with the classical definition of a "Spanish Borderland," but that "Seen as part of the Caribbean, the Gulf, the Atlantic world, or the Eastern Woodlands, Florida ceases to be the misfit of the Borderlands and becomes a prototype of the maritime periphery."<sup>11</sup> She distinguishes between commercial and defensive outposts and places the Florida colony in the latter category.<sup>12</sup>

The process of exploring this peripheral region of the Spanish American empire has dramatized for me the importance of even these more remote areas to the Spanish Crown's overall vision and goals. It is present-day scholarship and not those who lived in the sixteenth century who designated these areas as less worthy of attention. For colonial Spanish America featured active exchanges and interactions between the centers of power

---

<sup>10</sup> These include Juan Ponce de León who led the conquest of Puerto Rico as discussed in Weber, *Spanish Frontier*, 33; Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón who served in Santo Domingo, Hispaniola, as described in Paul Hoffman, "Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón's Discovery and Colony," in *The Forgotten Centuries: Indians and Europeans in the American South, 1521-1704*, ed. Charles Hudson and Carmen Chaves Tesser (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1994), 36-37; Pánfilo de Narváez in Cuba, as mentioned in J. H. Elliott, "Cortés, Velázquez, and Charles V," in *Hernán Cortés: Letters from Mexico*, trans. and ed. Anthony Pagden (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1986), xxiii; Ángel de Villafañe in New Spain as mentioned in Philip W. Powell, *Soldiers, Indians and Silver: The Northward Advance of New Spain, 1550-1600* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1952), 67-68; and Hernando de Soto who served in Central America and Peru, as discussed in Weber, *Spanish Frontier*, 50.

<sup>11</sup> Bushnell, *Situado and Sabana*, 27.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 26-27.



and the peripheries in order to meet the overall needs of supply and defense. La Florida did not contain the mines that in many ways fueled the growth of Spain's overseas empire, but its location was key to guarding the ships carrying the precious metals back to Spain. If France or England had been able to establish colonies on the Florida coast, the losses from their corsairs would have been even more severe. The Spanish King recognized this and ordered treasuries in more central areas to provide the *situado*, or annual subsidy, that was the principal support for the Florida colony for many years.<sup>13</sup> To disregard more remote regions is to ignore the great strength of Spain's colonial rule: that it could link these vast areas together more or less to a common purpose in the face of enormous difficulties with travel, logistics, and communications. The particular attention King Philip II gave to all areas of the Spanish American empire was an important feature of his reign, for he spent long days at his desk reading and commenting on briefs and appeals on all aspects of his colonies' life.<sup>14</sup> The King's decrees and the recommendations of the Council of the Indies pertaining to La Florida show that they had a vision of how the colonies fit together, even if the information they received was not always reliable.

Spain valued these peripheral areas not only for the actual attributes they brought to the empire, but also for their potential. As this dissertation argues, the Spanish King wanted to control the Florida lands both for their strategic location as well as their projected natural wealth and geographical features, such as the legendary waterway to the Pacific. Sixteenth-century Spaniards also thought that La Florida was relatively close to

---

<sup>13</sup> See my discussion of the Florida *situado* in Chapters One and Five.

<sup>14</sup> Richard S. Dunn, *The Age of Religious Wars, 1559-1715*, 2d ed. (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1979), 25.

the mines of Zacatecas, Mexico, and reports from men who went on the Juan Pardo expeditions only fueled expectations of the abundance of areas inland from Santa Elena. Belief in the richness of these lands and their geographical advantages proved remarkably enduring, for King Philip sent Pedro Menéndez Marqués on a journey more than twenty years after La Florida was settled to look once more for the fabled sea passage. English colonization efforts to the north of Santa Elena had raised Spanish suspicions that England had found what Spaniards had sought for so many years. Finally, when Captain Vicente González spoke of rich lands ready for Spanish colonization in the vicinity of St. Augustine as one argument for abandoning the fort at Santa Elena, the Council of the Indies proved very ready to believe him. Even as the Council suggested that one thriving fort and town be dismantled, its officials urged exploration and settlement in this new area.<sup>15</sup> *Adelantado* Pedro Menéndez de Avilés's conquest and colonization of La Florida took place fairly late in comparison with many regions of Spanish America, but the dream that Spaniards might someday find another Mexico or Peru endured.

Santa Elena must be studied in its colonial Spanish American context, not only to understand the wider imperial concerns behind the conquest and settlement of this region, but also the nature of the Spaniards' interactions among themselves and their approach to the indigenous populations they encountered in these lands. For, as I argue in the Introduction, it was the struggles within the colony that ultimately determined the course of the European monarchs' contest to control La Florida. As discussed in Chapter Five, even King Philip II's order to dismantle Santa Elena appears to have been profoundly

---

<sup>15</sup> See the Introduction and Chapter Five.

shaped by conflicts within La Florida's *comuño*, or ruling elite. In the early days of the Florida colony, the various groups of Spaniards at Santa Elena took different approaches toward the Native Americans they encountered. Chapter One shows how the military's actions undermined the success of both settlement and evangelization efforts and ultimately resulted in the loss of the fort at Santa Elena. The issue of honor, which shapes my interpretation of the settlers' and, later, soldiers' disputes with *comuño* members at Santa Elena, not to mention the relationships between Spanish men and women in the colony, even played a role in the Spaniards' conflicts with Native Americans. For leaders such as Governor Pedro Menéndez Marqués stressed to their soldiers that French and Indian enemies should not be allowed to harm them physically or to ridicule them.<sup>16</sup> Government officials expressed a desire to punish the "insolence" shown by these opponents, as well as an enemy as destructive as Sir Francis Drake in his raid on St. Augustine and other parts of the Indies.

When Spaniards came to claim La Florida for their King and Catholicism, they drew from long experience gained in both the Reconquest of the Iberian peninsula from the Moors, as well as the conquest of other regions of the Americas. These precedents shaped the form that the Spanish presence took in La Florida, as well as how Spaniards approached the indigenous peoples there. Studies which appeared around the Columbian Quincentenary have profoundly influenced my dissertation's approach to both the Spaniards' encounters with the Native Americans of La Florida and the various factors

---

<sup>16</sup> See, for example, Order and Instructions of Pedro Menéndez Marqués to Vicente González, November 22, 1577, Santa Elena, in "Papers Pertaining to Services of Captain Vicente González," 1593, Madrid, AGI Patronato 260 (Stetson Collection), fo. 43.

shaping colonial Spanish American society. Some excellent works on the early period of Spanish-Indian interactions appeared well before this landmark year, but the Quincentenary inspired studies from a range of disciplines which, due to both their abundance and their innovative approaches, have made this early period of colonial history come alive. Not only does this literature stress the agency of indigenous American actors, but it also addresses issues surrounding the contest for power and questions of meaning in these encounters in interesting ways.<sup>17</sup>

The literature on the Encounter in other regions provides the background for early Spanish interactions with Native Americans in La Florida and suggests possibilities for the dynamics at work there. However, to understand this period of Florida history, it is essential to study the indigenous groups in as much specificity as possible, even though the sources contain serious limitations. In Chapters Three and Four I have begun to explore the ways that the social, economic, and political structures, as well as the various initiatives of peoples like the Orista and the Guale, shaped the course of their encounters with the Spaniards and, ultimately, the history of this region. My hope is that further archival research will add information to this narrative and that archaeological

---

<sup>17</sup> My dissertation greatly benefited from scholarship in Southeastern Borderlands studies inspired by the Quincentenary, particularly the essays contained in *Archaeological and Historical Perspectives on the Spanish Borderlands East*, vol. 2, *Columbian Consequences*, ed. David Hurst Thomas, as well as the various volumes in the *Spanish Borderlands Sourcebooks* series which also has David Hurst Thomas as its general editor. For background on the collaboration between archaeologists and historians in this field of study, see Michael V. Gannon, "The New Alliance of History and Archaeology in the Eastern Spanish Borderlands," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 49 (April 1992): 321-34. Works related to the Encounter which have influenced me most include Inga Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquests: Maya and Spaniard in Yucatan, 1517-1570* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); and Inga Clendinnen, "'Fierce and Unnatural Cruelty': Cortés and the Conquest of Mexico," *Representations* 33 (Winter 1991): 65-100. Steve J. Stern, "Paradigms of Conquest: History, Historiography, and Politics," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 24 (Quincentenary Supplement 1992): 1-34 has also proven extremely helpful to me.

investigation will help to refine it. For, in documents that use the colonial term “Indian” to describe a range of peoples who were in a particular relationship to Spaniards, much detail and subtlety is lost. When archaeologists identify more of the Native American objects from the Santa Elena site and consider the context in which they were found, they will provide additional clues about which groups had the most dealings with Santa Elena’s residents and what the nature of those interactions was, including some interactions not covered in the written record.

In *The Spanish Frontier in North America*, historian David Weber refers to the “neglected aspect of gender” in studies of the encounters between Spaniards and Native Americans.<sup>18</sup> As discussed in Chapter Three, understandings about gender were at the heart of interactions between patriarchal Spaniards and the matrilineal chiefdoms in the Guale and Santa Elena areas. But this dissertation really only begins to explore the very rich and important role that gender issues played in these exchanges. While the sources pertaining to such matters are limited, a study focused more explicitly on questions of gender could elaborate on other aspects that this work only mentions, such as the role of kinship and the generational elements to power in both the Spaniards’ patriarchal and the Indians’ matrilineal cultures. Gender issues could also be fruitfully examined in a study that considers the different groups more expressly in relationship to one another. While the interactions between Spanish men and Native American women have rightly received much attention, relationships between Native American and Spanish women carried their own particular tensions and significance for the wider process of conquest and

---

<sup>18</sup> Weber, *Spanish Frontier*, 359.

colonization. The importance of gender issues in shaping the encounters between Native Americans and Spaniards in La Florida has so far been virtually overlooked and deserves further exploration.

Ultimately, studying the role of gender in the interactions between Spaniards and Native Americans is important because it keeps questions of power at the heart of any inquiry into the Encounter. This dissertation has attempted to show that a range of groups within the broadly defined categories of “Spaniards” and “Native Americans” took actions and initiatives that fundamentally shaped the early Spanish presence in La Florida. The definitions of “frontier” developed by historians Daniel Usner and David Weber have proven useful in this endeavor. Usner, in his examination of encounters between Indians, Africans, and Europeans in colonial Louisiana, states, “For too long, ‘frontier’ has connoted an interracial boundary, across which advanced societies penetrated primitive ones. But frontiers were more regional in scope, networks of cross-cultural interaction through which native and colonial groups circulated goods and services.”<sup>19</sup> Weber, in *The Spanish Frontier in North America*, calls frontiers “places where the cultures of the invader and of the invaded contend with one another and with their physical environment to produce a dynamic that is unique to time and place.”<sup>20</sup> But while knowledge of and respect for the agency of the range of historical actors allows us to portray frontier regions and the encounters in them in their true richness and complexity, it is essential to remember what was at stake in these struggles. For King Philip II, it may have been the

---

<sup>19</sup> Daniel H. Usner, Jr., *Indians, Settlers, and Slaves in a Frontier Exchange Economy: The Lower Mississippi Before 1783* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 6.

<sup>20</sup> Weber, *Spanish Frontier*, 11.

dignity and success of his empire. For individual Spanish men, women, and children, it was their dreams, if not their very lives. For the Native Americans of the present-day Georgia and South Carolina coasts, however, what was at stake in their efforts to assimilate or expel the Spaniards from their lands was not only individual lives, but the existence of whole cultures.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

## Primary Sources

## Archival Materials

The archival materials cited in this dissertation come from the following repositories:

Archivo General de Indias (AGI), Seville, Spain  
 Center for Historic Research, Flagler College, St. Augustine, Florida  
 P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida

## Published Primary Sources

- Colección de Documentos Inéditos Relativos al Descubrimiento, Conquista, y Organización de las Antiguas Posesiones Españolas en América y Oceanía, Sacados de los Archivos del Reino y Muy Especialmente del de Indias.* Vol. 13. Madrid: Imprenta de José María Pérez, 1870.
- Connor, Jeannette Thurber, ed. *Colonial Records of Spanish Florida.* 2 vols. Deland, Fla.: Florida State Historical Society, 1925-30.
- Encinas, Diego de. *Cedulario Indiano.* 4 vols. Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1596. Reprint, Madrid: Ediciones Cultura Hispánica, 1945-46.
- Hann, John H., trans. "Translation of the Ecija Voyages of 1605 and 1609 and the González Derrotero of 1609." *Florida Archaeology*, no. 2 (1986): 1-80.
- Hudson, Charles. *The Juan Pardo Expeditions: Exploration of the Carolinas and Tennessee, 1566-1568 with Documents Relating to the Pardo Expeditions Transcribed, Translated, and Annotated by Paul E. Hoffman.* Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990.
- Instituto de Cultura Hispánica, ed. *Transcripción de las Ordenanzas de Descubrimiento, Nueva Población, y Pacificación de las Indias Dadas por Felipe II.* Madrid: Composición Tipográfica Mago, 1973.
- Laudonnière, René. *Three Voyages.* Translated by Charles E. Bennett. Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1975.
- Lawson, Edward W., trans. "Letters of Menéndez, 1555." 2 vols. TMs (photocopy). St. Augustine Historical Society, St. Augustine.



- Londoño, Sancho de. *Discurso Sobre la Forma de Reducir la Disciplina Militar a Mejor y Antiguo Estado*. Brussels: Roger Velpius, 1589. Reprint, Madrid: Blass Tipográfica, 1943.
- Mundigo, Axel I., and Anna Mercedes Mundigo, trans. "Ordinances for the Discovery, New Settlement and Pacification of the Indies." In *Hispanic Urban Planning in North America*, ed. Daniel J. Garr. Vol. 27, *Spanish Borderlands Sourcebooks*, ed. David Hurst Thomas. New York: Garland Publishing, 1991.
- Recopilación de Leyes de los Reynos de las Indias*. 3 vols. Madrid: La Viuda de D. Joaquín Ibarra, 1791. Reprint, Madrid: Gráficas Ultra, 1943.
- Ribaut, Jean. *The Whole and True Discoverye of Terra Florida: A Facsimile Reprint of the London Edition of 1563. Together with a Transcript of an English Version in the British Museum with Notes by H.M. Biggar, and a Biography by Jeannette Thurber Connor*. Deland, Fla.: Florida State Historical Society, 1927.
- Ruidíaz y Caravia, Eugenio. *La Florida: Su Conquista y Colonización por Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*. Madrid: Hijos de J.A. García, 1893. Reprint, Madrid: Colegio Universitario de Ediciones Istmo, 1989.
- Solís de Merás, Gonzalo. "Memorial que Hizo el Dr. Gonzalo Solís de Merás de Todas las Jornadas y Sucesos del Adelantado Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, su Cuñado, y de la Conquista de la Florida y Justicia que Hizo en Juan Ribao y Otros Franceses." In *La Florida: Su Conquista y Colonización por Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, ed. Eugenio Ruidíaz y Caravia, 105-257. Madrid: Hijos de J.A. García, 1893. Reprint, Madrid: Colegio Universitario de Ediciones Istmo, 1989.
- Wenhold, Lucy L., trans. "Manrique de Rojas' Report on French Settlement in Florida, 1564." *Florida Historical Quarterly* 38 (July 1959): 45-62.
- Zubillaga, Félix, S.J., ed. *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae, 1566-1572*. Rome: Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, 1946.

### Secondary Sources

- Alexander, Elizabeth. "The P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History." In *A Guide to the History of Florida*, ed. Paul S. George, 179-83. New York: Greenwood Press, 1989.
- Alonso, Ana María. *Thread of Blood: Colonialism, Revolution, and Gender on Mexico's Northern Frontier*. Hegemony and Experience, ed. Hermann Rebel and William Roseberry. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1995.

- Altman, Ida. *Emigrants and Society: Extremadura and America in the Sixteenth Century*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989.
- Altman, Ida, and James Horn, eds. *"To Make America": European Emigration in the Early Modern Period*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991.
- Andrien, Kenneth J., and Rolena Adorno, eds. *Transatlantic Encounters: Europeans and Andeans in the Sixteenth Century*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991.
- Arrom, Silvia M. *The Women of Mexico City, 1790-1857*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985.
- Axtell, James. "Columbian Encounters: Beyond 1992." *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 49(April 1992): 335-60.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Ethnohistory: An Historian's Viewpoint." *Ethnohistory* 26 (Winter 1979): 1-13.
- Barnes, Thomas C., Thomas H. Naylor, and Charles W. Polzer. *Northern New Spain: A Research Guide*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1981.
- Bayle, Constantino, S.J. *Los Cabildos Seculares en la América Española*. Madrid: Sapientia, 1952.
- Bennett, Judith M. "Feminism and History." *Gender and History* 1 (Autumn 1989): 251-72.
- Bibriesca Sumano, María Elena. *Antología de Paleografía y Diplomática (Texto I)*. Mexico City: Universidad Autónoma del Estado de México, 1991.
- Bolton, Herbert E. *The Spanish Borderlands: A Chronicle of Old Florida and the Southwest*. The Chronicles of America Series, ed. Allen Johnson. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1921.
- Borges, Analola. "La Mujer-Pobladora en los Orígenes Americanos." *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* 29 (1972): 389-444.
- Boxer, C.R. *Women in Iberian Expansion Overseas, 1415-1815*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1975.
- Boyd-Bowman, Peter. "Patterns of Spanish Emigration to the Indies until 1600." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 56 (November 1976): 580-604.
- Boyer, Richard. *Lives of the Bigamists: Marriage, Family, and Community in Colonial Mexico*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995.

- Brown, Kathleen M. "The Anglo-Algonquian Gender Frontier." In *Negotiators of Change: Historical Perspectives on Native American Women*, ed. Nancy Shoemaker, 26-48. New York: Routledge, 1995.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Brave New Worlds: Women's and Gender History." *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 50 (April 1993): 311-28.
- Burkett, Elinor C. "Indian Women and White Society: The Case of Sixteenth-Century Peru." In *Latin American Women: Historical Perspectives*, ed. Asunción Lavrin, 101-28. Contributions in Women's Studies, no. 3. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1978.
- Burkholder, Mark A. "Honor and Honors in Colonial Spanish America." In *The Faces of Honor: Sex, Shame, and Violence in Colonial Latin America*, ed. Lyman L. Johnson and Sonya Lipsett-Rivera, 18-44. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998.
- Bushnell, Amy. *The King's Coffer: Proprietors of the Spanish Florida Treasury, 1565-1702*. Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1981.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Ruling 'the Republic of Indians' in Seventeenth-Century Florida." In *Powhatan's Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast*, ed. Peter H. Wood, Gregory A. Waselkov, and M. Thomas Hatley, 134-50. Indians of the Southeast, ed. Theda Perdue and Michael D. Green. Lincoln, Nebr.: University of Nebraska Press, 1989.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Situado and Sabana: Spain's Support System for the Presidio and Mission Provinces of Florida*. Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, no. 74. Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1994.
- Castañeda, Antonia I. "Gender, Race, and Culture: Spanish-Mexican Women in the Historiography of Frontier California." *Frontiers: A Journal of Women's Studies* 11 (1990): 8-20.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Sexual Violence in the Politics and Policies of Conquest: Amerindian Women and the Spanish Conquest of Alta California." In *Building with Our Hands: New Directions in Chicana Studies*, ed. Adela de la Torre and Beatriz M. Pesquera, 15-33. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.
- Chardon, Roland. "The Elusive Spanish League: A Problem of Measurement in Sixteenth-Century New Spain." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 60 (May, 1980): 294-302.

- Charney, Paul. "The Implications of Godparental Ties Between Indians and Spaniards in Colonial Lima." *The Americas* 47 (January 1991): 295-313.
- Chatelain, Verne E. *The Defenses of Spanish Florida, 1565 to 1763*. Carnegie Institution of Washington Publication 511. Baltimore, Md.: Lord Baltimore Press, 1941.
- Christian, William A., Jr. *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1981.
- Clendinnen, Inga. *Ambivalent Conquests: Maya and Spaniard in Yucatan, 1517-1570*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "‘Fierce and Unnatural Cruelty’: Cortés and the Conquest of Mexico." *Representations* 33 (Winter 1991): 65-100.
- Cook, Noble David, and Alexandra Parma Cook. *Good Faith and Truthful Ignorance: A Case of Transatlantic Bigamy*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1991.
- Davis, Natalie Zemon. "'Women's History' in Transition: The European Case." *Feminist Studies* 3 (1976): 83-103.
- Deagan, Kathleen. "Accommodation and Resistance: The Process and Impact of Spanish Colonization in the Southeast." In *Archaeological and Historical Perspectives on the Spanish Borderlands East*. Vol. 2, *Columbian Consequences*, ed. David Hurst Thomas, 297-314. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Sixteenth-Century Spanish-American Colonization in the Southeastern United States and the Caribbean." In *Archaeological and Historical Perspectives on the Spanish Borderlands East*. Vol. 2, *Columbian Consequences*, ed. David Hurst Thomas, 225-50. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Spanish-Indian Interaction in Sixteenth-Century Florida and Hispaniola." In *Ethnology of the Indians of Spanish Florida*, ed. David Hurst Thomas, 269-306. Vol. 8, *Spanish Borderlands Sourcebooks*, ed. David Hurst Thomas. New York: Garland Publishing, 1991.
- \_\_\_\_\_, ed. *America's Ancient City: Spanish St. Augustine, 1565-1763*. Vol. 25, *Spanish Borderlands Sourcebooks*, ed. David Hurst Thomas. New York: Garland Publishing, 1991.
- Defourneaux, Marcelin. *Daily Life in Spain in the Golden Age*. Translated by Newton Branch. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971.

- DePratter, Chester, Charles Hudson, and Marvin Smith. "The Route of Juan Pardo's Explorations in the Interior Southeast, 1566-1568." *Florida Historical Quarterly* 62 (October 1983): 125-58.
- DePratter, Chester, and Stanley South. *Discovery at Santa Elena: Boundary Survey*. Research Manuscript Series, no. 221. Columbia, S.C.: South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, 1995.
- Dillard, Heath. *Daughters of the Reconquest: Women in Castilian Town Society, 1100-1300*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.
- Dunn, Richard S. *The Age of Religious Wars, 1559-1715*, 2d ed. New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1979.
- Edgar, Walter. *South Carolina: A History*. Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1998.
- Elliott, J. H. "Cortés, Velázquez, and Charles V." In *Hernán Cortés: Letters from Mexico*, trans. and ed. Anthony Pagden, xi-xxxvii. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1986.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Old World and the New, 1492-1650*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Spanish Conquest and Settlement of America." In vol. 1, *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, ed. Leslie Bethell, 149-206. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.
- Ennis, Arthur, O.S.A. "The Conflict Between the Regular and Secular Clergy." In *The Roman Catholic Church in Colonial Latin America*, ed. Richard E. Greenleaf, 63-72. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1971.
- Foote, Cheryl J. "The History of Women in New Mexico: A Selective Guide to Published Sources." *New Mexico Historical Review* 57 (October 1982): 387-94.
- Foote, Cheryl J., and Sandra K. Schackel. "Indian Women of New Mexico, 1535-1680." In *New Mexico Women: Intercultural Perspectives*, ed. Joan M. Jensen and Darlis A. Miller, 17-40. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986.
- Fraser, Valerie. *The Architecture of Conquest: Building in the Viceroyalty of Peru, 1535-1635*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Galloway, Patricia. "'The Chief Who Is Your Father': Choctaw and French Views of the Diplomatic Relation." In *Powhatan's Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast*, ed. Peter H. Wood, Gregory A. Waselkov, and M. Thomas Hatley, 254-78.

- Indians of the Southeast, ed. Theda Perdue and Michael D. Green. Lincoln, Nebr.: University of Nebraska Press, 1989.
- Gannon, Michael V. *The Cross in the Sand: The Early Catholic Church in Florida, 1513-1870*. Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1965.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Documents of the Spanish Florida Borderlands: A Calendaring Project at the University of Florida." *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 38 (October 1981): 718-22.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The New Alliance of History and Archaeology in the Eastern Spanish Borderlands." *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 49 (April 1992): 321-34.
- Garr, Daniel J., ed. *Hispanic Urban Planning in North America*. Vol. 27, *Spanish Borderlands Sourcebooks*, ed. David Hurst Thomas. New York: Garland Publishing, 1991.
- Geiger, Maynard. *The Franciscan Conquest of Florida, 1573-1618*. Vol. 1, *The Catholic University of America, Studies in Hispanic American History*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1937.
- George, Paul S., ed. *A Guide to the History of Florida*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1989.
- Gibson, Charles. "Indian Societies under Spanish Rule." In vol. 2, *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, ed. Leslie Bethell, 381-419. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.
- Gleach, Frederic W. *Powhatan's World and Colonial Virginia: A Conflict of Cultures*. *Studies in the Anthropology of North American Indians*, ed. Raymond J. DeMallie and Douglas R. Parks. Lincoln, Nebr.: University of Nebraska Press, 1997.
- Green, Rayna. "The Pocahontas Perplex: The Image of Indian Women in American Culture." *Massachusetts Review* 16 (Autumn 1975): 698-714.
- Guerra y Sánchez, Ramiro, et al. *Historia de la Nación Cubana*. 10 vols. Havana: Editorial Historia de la Nación Cubana, 1952.
- Gutiérrez, Ramon. *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500-1846*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991.
- Hanke, Lewis. "Free Speech in Sixteenth-Century Spanish America." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 26 (May 1946): 135-49.

- Hennessey, Alistair. *The Frontier in Latin American History*. Histories of the American Frontier, ed. Ray Allen Billington and Howard R. Lamar. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1978.
- Hernández, Salomé. "Nueva Mexicanas as Refugees and Reconquest Settlers, 1680-1696." In *New Mexico Women: Intercultural Perspectives*, ed. Joan M. Jensen and Darlis A. Miller, 41-69. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986.
- Herndon, G. Melvin. "Indian Agriculture in the Southern Colonies." *North Carolina Historical Review* 44 (July 1967): 283-97.
- Hill, Sarah H. "Weaving History: Cherokee Baskets from the Springplace Mission." *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 53 (January 1996): 115-36.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Weaving New Worlds: Southeastern Cherokee Women and Their Basketry*. Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1997.
- Hoffman, Paul E. "Legend, Religious Idealism, and Colonies: The Point of Santa Elena in History." *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 84 (April 1983): 59-71.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón's Discovery and Colony." In *The Forgotten Centuries: Indians and Europeans in the American South, 1521-1704*, ed. Charles Hudson and Carmen Chaves Tesser, 36-49. Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1994.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Narváez and Cabeza de Vaca in Florida." In *The Forgotten Centuries: Indians and Europeans in the American South, 1521-1704*, ed. Charles Hudson and Carmen Chaves Tesser, 50-73. Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1994.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *A New Andalusia and a Way to the Orient: The American Southeast During the Sixteenth Century*. Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University Press, 1990.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Sixteenth Century Fortifications on Parris Island, South Carolina, 1778." TMs (photocopy). A Report Prepared for Mr. Joseph R. Judge, Associate Editor, *National Geographic Magazine*. Baton Rouge, La.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Spanish Crown and the Defense of the Caribbean, 1535-1585: Precedent, Patrimonialism, and Royal Parsimony*. Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University Press, 1980.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "A Study of Florida Defense Costs, 1565-1585: A Quantification of Florida History." *Florida Historical Quarterly* 51 (April 1973): 401-19.

- Hoffman, Paul, and Eugene Lyon. "Accounts of the *Real Hacienda*, Florida, 1565 to 1602." *Florida Historical Quarterly* 48 (July 1969): 57-69.
- Hudson, Charles. "The Hernando de Soto Expedition, 1539-1543." In *The Forgotten Centuries: Indians and Europeans in the American South, 1521-1704*, ed. Charles Hudson and Carmen Chaves Tesser, 74-103. Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1994.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Juan Pardo Expeditions: Exploration of the Carolinas and Tennessee, 1566-1568 with Documents Relating to the Pardo Expeditions Transcribed, Translated, and Annotated by Paul E. Hoffman*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990.
- Hudson, Charles, and Carmen Chaves Tesser, eds. *The Forgotten Centuries: Indians and Europeans in the American South, 1521-1704*. Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1994.
- Jiménez Codinach, Guadalupe. *The Hispanic World, 1492-1898: A Guide to Photoreproduced Manuscripts from Spain in the Collections of the United States, Guam, and Puerto Rico*. Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1994.
- John, Elizabeth A. H. *Storms Brewed in Other Men's Worlds: The Confrontation of Indians, Spanish, and French in the Southwest, 1540-1795*, 2d ed. Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996.
- Johnson, Lyman L., and Sonya Lipsett-Rivera, eds. *The Faces of Honor: Sex, Shame, and Violence in Colonial Latin America*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998.
- Jones, Grant D. "The Ethnohistory of the Guale Coast Through 1684." In *Ethnology of the Indians of Spanish Florida*, ed. David Hurst Thomas, 229-66. Vol. 8, *Spanish Borderlands Sourcebooks*, ed. David Hurst Thomas. New York: Garland Publishing, 1991.
- Jones, Oakah L., Jr. *Los Paisanos: Spanish Settlers on the Northern Frontier of New Spain*. Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Presses, 1979.
- Judge, Joseph. "Between Columbus and Jamestown: Exploring Our Forgotten Century." *National Geographic* 173 (March 1988): 330-63.
- Kelsey, Harry. *Sir Francis Drake: The Queen's Pirate*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1998.
- Kicza, John E. "Patterns in Early Spanish Overseas Expansion." *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 49 (April 1992): 229-53.



- Konetzke, Richard. "La Emigración de Mujeres Españolas a América Durante la Época Colonial." *Revista Internacional de Sociología* 3 (January-March 1945): 123-50.
- Korth, Eugene H., S.J. *Spanish Policy in Colonial Chile: The Struggle for Social Justice, 1535-1700*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1968.
- Korth, Eugene H., S.J., and Della M. Flusche. "Dowry and Inheritance in Colonial Spanish America: Peninsular Law and Chilean Practice." *The Americas* 43 (April 1987): 395-410.
- Lanning, John Tate. *The Spanish Missions of Georgia*. Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1935.
- Lavrin, Asunción. "Women in Spanish American Colonial Society." In vol. 2, *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, ed. Leslie Bethell, 321-55. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.
- \_\_\_\_\_, ed. *Latin American Women: Historical Perspectives*. Contributions in Women's Studies, no. 3. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1978.
- \_\_\_\_\_, ed. *Sexuality and Marriage in Colonial Latin America*. Latin American Studies Series, ed. Michael C. Meyer, John D. Martz, and Miguel León-Portilla. Lincoln, Nebr.: University of Nebraska Press, 1989.
- Lavrin, Asunción, and Edith Couturier. "Dowries and Wills: A View of Women's Socioeconomic Role in Colonial Guadalajara and Puebla, 1640-1790." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 59 (May 1979): 280-304.
- Lewis, Clifford M., S.J., and Albert J. Loomie, S.J. *The Spanish Jesuit Mission in Virginia, 1570-1572*. Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1953.
- Lockhart, James. *Spanish Peru, 1532-1560: A Social History*, 2d ed. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994.
- Lorant, Stefan, ed. *The New World: The First Pictures of America*. New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1946.
- Lowery, Woodbury. *The Spanish Settlements within the Present Limits of the United States: Florida, 1562-1574*. New York: Russell & Russell, 1959.
- Lyon, Eugene. "Continuity in the Age of Conquest: The Establishment of Spanish Sovereignty in the Sixteenth Century." In *Alabama and the Borderlands: From*

- Prehistory to Statehood*, ed. R. Reid Badger and Lawrence A. Clayton, 154-61. University, Ala.: University of Alabama Press, 1985.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Enterprise of Florida." In *Archaeological and Historical Perspectives on the Spanish Borderlands East*. Vol. 2, *Columbian Consequences*, ed. David Hurst Thomas, 281-96. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Enterprise of Florida: Pedro Menéndez de Avilés and the Spanish Conquest of 1565-1568*. Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1976.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Richer Than We Thought: The Material Culture of Sixteenth-Century St. Augustine." *El Escribano* 29 (1992): 1-117.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Santa Elena: A Brief History of the Colony, 1566-1587*. Research Manuscript Series, no. 193. Columbia, S.C.: Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, 1984.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "St. Augustine 1580: The Living Community." In *America's Ancient City: Spanish St. Augustine, 1565-1763*, ed. Kathleen Deagan, 194-207. Vol. 25, *Spanish Borderlands Sourcebooks*, ed. David Hurst Thomas. New York: Garland Publishing, 1991.
- \_\_\_\_\_, ed. *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*. Vol. 24, *Spanish Borderlands Sourcebooks*, ed. David Hurst Thomas. New York: Garland Publishing, 1995.
- Marrero, Levi. *Cuba, Economía y Sociedad*. 12 vols. Madrid: Editorial Playor, 1972-1986.
- Martín, Luis. *Daughters of the Conquistadores: Women of the Viceroyalty of Peru*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983.
- Milanich, Jerald T., ed. *Earliest Hispanic/Native American Interactions in the American Southeast*. Vol. 12, *Spanish Borderlands Sourcebooks*, ed. David Hurst Thomas. New York: Garland Publishing, 1991.
- Moore, John Preston. *The Cabildo in Peru under the Hapsburgs: A Study in the Origins and Powers of the Town Council in the Viceroyalty of Peru, 1530-1700*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1954.
- Morse, Richard M. "The Urban Development of Colonial Spanish America." In vol. 2, *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, ed. Leslie Bethell, 67-104. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

- O'Donnell, James Howlett, III. *Southeastern Frontiers: Europeans, Africans and American Indians, 1513-1840. A Critical Bibliography*. Bloomington, Ind.: University of Indiana Press, 1982.
- Ots Capdequí, José María. *Bosquejo Histórico de los Derechos de la Mujer Casada en la Legislación de Indias*. Madrid: Editorial Reus, 1920.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Bosquejo Histórico de los Derechos de la Mujer Casada en la Legislación de Indias." *Revista General de Legislación y Jurisprudencia* 132 (1918): 162-82.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *El Estado Español en las Indias*, 2d ed. Pánuco, Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1946.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Instituciones Sociales de la América Española en el Período Colonial*. Vol. 15, Biblioteca Humanidades, ed. Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias de la Educación de la Universidad de La Plata. Buenos Aires: Imprenta López, 1934.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Manual de Historia del Derecho Español en las Indias y del Derecho Propiamente Indiano*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Losada, 1945.
- Padden, Robert C. "The *Ordenanza del Patronazgo*, 1574: An Interpretive Essay." *The Americas* 12 (April 1956): 333-54.
- Pareja Ortiz, María del Carmen. *Presencia de la Mujer Sevillana en Indias: Vida Cotidiana*. Sevilla: Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, 1994.
- Perdue, Theda. *Cherokee Women: Gender and Culture Change, 1700-1835*. Indians of the Southeast, ed. Theda Perdue and Michael D. Green. Lincoln, Nebr.: University of Nebraska Press, 1998.
- Pérez, Louis A., Jr., comp. *Cuba: An Annotated Bibliography*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1988.
- Perry, Mary Elizabeth. *Gender and Disorder in Early Modern Seville*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990.
- Pike, Ruth. *Aristocrats and Traders: Sevillian Society in the Sixteenth Century*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1972.
- Powell, Philip Wayne. *Soldiers, Indians, and Silver: The Northward Advance of New Spain, 1550-1600*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1952.
- Pumar Martínez, Carmen. *Españolas en Indias: Mujeres-Soldado, Adelantadas y Gobernadoras*. Madrid: Ediciones Anaya, 1988.

- Quattlebaum, Paul. *The Land Called Chicora: The Carolinas Under Spanish Rule with French Intrusions, 1520-1670*. Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1956.
- Quinn, David B. *England and the Discovery of America, 1481-1620*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974.
- Reilly, Stephen E. "A Marriage of Expedience: The Calusa Indians and Their Relations with Pedro Menéndez de Avilés in Southwest Florida, 1566-1569." In *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, ed. Eugene Lyon, 383-409. Vol. 24, *Spanish Borderlands Sourcebooks*, ed. David Hurst Thomas. New York: Garland Publishing, 1995.
- Reitz, Elizabeth J., and C. Margaret Scarry. *Reconstructing Historic Subsistence with an Example from Sixteenth-Century Spanish Florida*. Special Publications Series, ed. Donna J. Seifert, no. 3. Glassboro, N.J.: Society for Historical Archaeology, 1985.
- Rípodas Ardanaz, Daisy. *El Matrimonio en Indias: Realidad Social y Regulación Jurídica*. Buenos Aires: Fundación para la Educación, la Ciencia y la Cultura, 1977.
- Rodríguez-Shadow, María J., and Robert D. Shadow. "Las Mujeres Aztecas y las Españolas en los Siglos XVI y XVII: Análisis Comparativo de la Literatura Social." *Colonial Latin American Historical Review* 5 (Winter 1996): 21-46.
- Rowland, Lawrence S. *Window on the Atlantic: The Rise and Fall of Santa Elena, South Carolina's Spanish City*. Columbia, S.C.: South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 1990.
- Ruhl, Donna L. "Old Customs and Traditions in New Terrain: Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Archaeobotanical Data from *La Florida*." In *Foraging and Farming in the Eastern Woodlands*, ed. C. Margaret Scarry, 255-83. Florida Museum of Natural History, Ripley P. Bullen Series, ed. Jerald T. Milanich. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993.
- Salas, Alberto Mario. *Las Armas de la Conquista*. Buenos Aires: Emecé Editores, 1950.
- Sattler, Richard A. "Women's Status Among the Muskogee and Cherokee." In *Women and Power in Native North America*, ed. Laura F. Klein and Lillian A. Ackerman, 214-29. Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995.
- Scardaville, Michael. "Approaches to the Study of the Southeastern Borderlands." In *Alabama and the Borderlands: From Prehistory to Statehood*, ed. R. Reid Badger and Lawrence A. Clayton, 184-96. University, Ala.: University of Alabama Press, 1985.

- Scarry, C. Margaret, ed. *Foraging and Farming in the Eastern Woodlands*. Florida Museum of Natural History, Ripley P. Bullen Series, ed. Jerald T. Milanich. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993.
- Schwaller, John Frederick. "Nobility, Family, and Service: Menéndez and his Men." *Florida Historical Quarterly* 66 (January 1988): 298-310.
- Scott, Joan W. "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis." *American Historical Review* 91 (December 1986): 1053-75.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Gender and the Politics of History*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1988.
- Seed, Patricia. *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492-1640*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *To Love, Honor, and Obey in Colonial Mexico: Conflicts over Marriage Choice, 1574-1821*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988.
- Shoemaker, Nancy, ed. *Negotiators of Change: Historical Perspectives on Native American Women*. New York: Routledge, 1995.
- Silver, Timothy. *A New Face on the Countryside: Indians, Colonists, and Slaves in South Atlantic Forests, 1500-1800*. Studies in Environment and History, ed. Donald Worster and Alfred Crosby. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Sluiter, Engel. *The Florida Situado: Quantifying the First Eighty Years, 1571-1651*. Research Publications of the P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, no. 1. Gainesville: University of Florida Libraries, 1985.
- Smith, Marvin T., "Aboriginal Depopulation in the Postcontact Southeast." In *The Forgotten Centuries: Indians and Europeans in the American South, 1521-1704*, ed. Charles Hudson and Carmen Chaves Tesser, 257-75. Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1994.
- South, Stanley. *Archaeology at Santa Elena: Doorway to the Past*. Popular Series 2. Columbia, S.C.: South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, 1991.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Discovery of Santa Elena*. Research Manuscript Series, no. 165. Columbia, S.C.: South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, 1980.

- \_\_\_\_\_. *Revealing Santa Elena 1982*. Research Manuscript Series, no. 188. Columbia, S.C.: South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, 1983.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Santa Elena: Threshold of Conquest." In *The Recovery of Meaning: Historical Archaeology in the Eastern United States*, ed. Mark P. Leone and Parker B. Potter, Jr., 27-71. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988.
- South, Stanley, and William J. Hunt. *Discovering Santa Elena West of Fort San Felipe*. Research Manuscript Series, no. 200. Columbia, S.C.: South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, 1986.
- South, Stanley, Russell K. Skowronek, and Richard E. Johnson. *Spanish Artifacts from Santa Elena*. Anthropological Series 7, ed. Stanley South. Columbia, S.C.: South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, 1988.
- Spirek, James. "A Search for *Le Prince*: Underwater Archaeological Prospecting in the French Archives." *Legacy: South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology* 3 (December 1998): 10-13.
- Stern, Steve J. "Paradigms of Conquest: History, Historiography, and Politics." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 24 (Quincentenary Supplement 1992): 1-34.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Secret History of Gender: Women, Men, and Power in Late Colonial Mexico*. Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1995.
- Taylor, William B., and Franklin Pease G.Y. *Violence, Resistance, and Survival in the Americas: Native Americans and the Legacy of Conquest*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994.
- TePaske, John J. *The Governorship of Spanish Florida, 1700-1763*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1964.
- Thomas, David Hurst. "Saints and Soldiers at Santa Catalina: Hispanic Designs for Colonial America." In *The Recovery of Meaning: Historical Archaeology in the Eastern United States*, ed. Mark P. Leone and Parker B. Potter, Jr., 73-140. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988.
- \_\_\_\_\_, ed. *Archaeological and Historical Perspectives on the Spanish Borderlands East*. Vol. 2, *Columbian Consequences*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990.

- \_\_\_\_\_, ed. *Ethnology of the Indians of Spanish Florida*. Vol. 8, *Spanish Borderlands Sourcebooks*, ed. David Hurst Thomas. New York: Garland Publishing, 1991.
- \_\_\_\_\_, ed. *The Missions of Spanish Florida*. Vol. 23, *Spanish Borderlands Sourcebooks*, ed. David Hurst Thomas. New York: Garland Publishing, 1991.
- Trexler, Richard C. "From the Mouths of Babes: Christianization by Children in Sixteenth-Century New Spain." In *Religious Organization and Religious Experience*, ed. John Davis, 115-35. Association of Social Anthropologists Monograph Series, no. 21. London: Academic Press, 1982.
- Ulrich, Laurel Thatcher. *A Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard, Based on Her Diary, 1785-1812*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1990; Vintage Books, 1991.
- Usner, Daniel H., Jr. *Indians, Settlers, and Slaves in a Frontier Exchange Economy: The Lower Mississippi Valley Before 1783*. Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1992.
- Van Kirk, Sylvia. *Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur-Trade Society, 1670-1870*, 2d ed. Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1983.
- Varner, John Grier and Jeannette Johnson Varner. *Dogs of the Conquest*. Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1983.
- Villafañe Casal, María Teresa. "La Mujer Española en la Conquista y Colonización de América." *Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos* 59 (1964): 125-42.
- Waddell, Gene. *Indians of the South Carolina Lowcountry, 1562-1751*. South Caroliniana Series, ed. James B. Meriwether, no. 5. Spartanburg, S.C.: The Reprint Company, 1980.
- Weber, David J. *The Spanish Frontier in North America*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1992.
- \_\_\_\_\_, ed. *The Idea of Spanish Borderlands*. Vol. 1, *Spanish Borderlands Sourcebooks*, ed. David Hurst Thomas. New York: Garland Publishing, 1991.
- Weber, David J., and Jane M. Rausch, eds. *Where Cultures Meet: Frontiers in Latin American History*. Jaguar Books on Latin America, ed. William H. Beezley and Colin M. MacLachlan, no. 6. Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources Inc., 1994.
- White, Richard. *The Roots of Dependency: Subsistence, Environment, and Social Change Among the Choctaws, Pawnees, and Navajos*. Lincoln, Nebr.: University of Nebraska Press, 1983.

- Widmer, Randolph J. "The Structure of Southeastern Chiefdoms." In *The Forgotten Centuries: Indians and Europeans in the American South, 1521-1704*, ed. Charles Hudson and Carmen Chaves Tesser, 125-55. Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1994.
- Wiesner, Merry E. *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*. New Approaches to European History, ed. William Beik, T.C.W. Blanning, and R.W. Scribner, no. 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Wood, Peter H., Gregory A. Waselkov, and M. Thomas Hatley, eds. *Powhatan's Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast*. Indians of the Southeast, ed. Theda Perdue and Michael D. Green. Lincoln, Nebr.: University of Nebraska Press, 1989.
- Worth, John E. *Assimilation*. Vol. 1, *The Timucuan Chiefdoms of Spanish Florida*. Ripley P. Bullen Series, ed. Jerald T. Milanich. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Fontaneda Revisited: Five Descriptions of Sixteenth-Century Florida." *Florida Historical Quarterly* 73 (January 1995): 339-52.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Struggle for the Georgia Coast: An 18th-Century Spanish Retrospective on Guale and Mocama*. Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, no. 75. Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1995.
- Wright, Irene A. *The Early History of Cuba, 1492-1586*. New York: MacMillan Company, 1916. Reprint, New York: Octagon Books, 1970.
- Zubillaga, Félix, S.J. *La Florida, La Misión Jesuítica (1566-1572), y La Colonización Española*. Rome: Institutum Historicum, S.I., 1941.