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DRAKE DESTROYS ST. AUGUSTINE: 1586

by JAMES W. COVINGTON

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

8. *Further Voyages*, 1.

9. "Summarie," 95.

10. *Further Voyages*, liv.

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

12. *Ibid.*, lvi.

13. "Summarie," 97.

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

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

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

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

14. *Ibid.*, 97-100.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

19. "Summarie," 103.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

23. “Summarie,” 105.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

29. *Ibid.*, 104-05.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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