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PEDRO MENÉNDEZ'S STRATEGIC PLAN FOR THE FLORIDA PENINSULA

by EUGENE LYON

IT is evident that perceptible interconnections linked the efforts of the several sixteenth-century explorers of North America. Professor Paul Hoffman has pointed out how legend and geographic surmise drew Europeans to the continent from the time of John and Sebastian Cabot and Juan Ponce de Leon to that of Walter Raleigh. The later adventurers were heirs of the wisdom or folly of their predecessors, from whatever nation or kingdom they might have come.¹

Among the motives which had brought them were indeed the shining lure of precious metals—the dream of finding another Cuzco or Tenochtitlán. But they also burned with the desire to build proprietary empires, earning the noble titles appurtenant to them. By creating trading and agricultural settlements, they hoped to replicate Castile, France, or England in North America. They sought passage through the continent to the Pacific and the East Indies. The Spaniards also expected to advance the Evangel among native Americans, check the ambitions of rival states, and promote the enlargement of their sovereign's domains.²

What then were the continental strategies of one of the most important of the Spanish conquest entrepreneurs, the one who

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1. See Paul E. Hoffman, "Leyendas Geográficas y Su Influencia en el Descubrimiento de la Costa Sureste de Norteamérica, Siglo XVI" (paper presented at the conference, España y América Durante la Época del Descubrimiento, Madrid, 1985). Also see Eugene Lyon, "Continuity in the Age of Conquest: The Establishment of Spanish Sovereignty in the Sixteenth Century," *Alabama and the Borderlands, from Prehistory to Statehood*, R. Reid Badger and Lawrence A. Clayton, eds. (University, AL, 1985), 154-61.
2. Eugene Lyon, "Spain's Sixteenth-Century North American Settlement Attempts: A Neglected Aspect," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 59 (January 1981), 275-91. For a comparison of French and Spanish colonization attempts, see Eugene Lyon, "Forts Caroline and San Mateo—Vulnerable Outposts," typescript plus exhibits (Fort Caroline National Memorial, 1982), 2-10.

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made lasting foundation in North America, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés?³ How did these relate to the Florida peninsula?

By virtue of his *asiento*, or contract, with Philip II, Menéndez was created *adelantado* and required to explore a Florida of continental scope, which extended from the present West Florida panhandle around the Florida keys to Newfoundland.⁴ He had to build two or three fortified cities and populate them with settlers and slaves, and he was to spearhead the conversion of the Indians. Manifestly, Menéndez's eyes had first been directed elsewhere than the peninsula. He had originally planned his chief settlement at the Santa Elena area in present South Carolina, and he expected to control the Grand Banks (where ships from several nations came to fish for cod) in the name of the king. Somewhere between Newfoundland and the Chesapeake, Menéndez believed he would find a major waterway. This channel, he thought, led to another which traversed the continent to a point near the New Spain mines, debauching into the South Sea and opening the way to the Pacific islands and the riches of Asia.⁵ Since Menéndez had commercial and political connections in the city of Mexico, and held ship-licenses for the Vera Cruz trade, this was of direct interest to him.

Knowledge of René de Laudonnière's 1564 establishment at Fort Caroline on the River May (St. Johns River) reached Spain at the end of March 1565, after Menéndez's royal contract had

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3. For an analysis of Pedro Menéndez's career and characteristics, see Eugene Lyon, "Aspects of Pedro Menéndez the Man," *El Escribano* 24 (1987), 39-52.
 4. See the fourth item, "Agreement between Dr. Vázquez of the Council, in the Name of the King, with Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, March 15, 1565," from Archivo General de Indias (hereinafter AGI) Patronato (hereinafter PAT) 257, No. 3, ramo 3. The full *asiento* is generally discussed in Eugene Lyon, *The Enterprise of Florida* (Gainesville, 1976), 43-63, with a special description of archival sources for the contract on page 4.
 5. Louis-André Vigneras provides a cogent description of the geographical beliefs of Pedro Menéndez in "A Spanish Discovery of North Carolina," *North Carolina Historical Review* 46 (October 1969), 398-414. Menéndez describes his concepts of continental geography in a memorial evidently dating to early 1565, in AGI PAT 19, and in a letter dated at St. Augustine, October 15, 1565, from AGI Santo Domingo (hereinafter SD) 231. Menéndez had an indirect connection with the Zacatecas mines through his close friendship with the son of the New Spain viceroy, Don Luis de Velasco. Velasco's brother-in-law was Diego de Ibarra, the discoverer of the mines. For information on this relationship, see John F. Schwaller, "Nobility, Family, and Service: Menéndez and his Men," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 66 (January 1988), 301.

already been signed. This news altered significantly the intentions of Philip II and Menéndez. Not only did the military urgency it generated change the expedition into a royal joint-venture through the addition of crown-paid troops, it also redirected Menéndez's efforts away from Santa Elena and towards the peninsula of Florida.⁶

As is known, after establishing a settlement at St. Augustine in September 1565, Menéndez rapidly and decisively expelled the French. First he captured Fort Caroline, which he renamed San Mateo. Next he killed the French leader, Jean Ribault, together with many of his followers, on the beachers of Matanzas, south of St. Augustine. Only then could Menéndez begin to explore Florida and proceed with its exploitation. But he still feared that Laudonnière, who had escaped, or some other Frenchman, might yet plant a base near enough to the Gulf Stream to endanger the return route of the Spanish fleets.

Pedro Menéndez was first and foremost a seaman. It was always his plan to defend and exploit the land by means of seas and inlets. Therefore, although he sought to establish agricultural and pastoral enterprise, Menéndez realized the need for forest resources for shipbuilding and naval stores. He described his schema in a statement to Philip II: "Fix our frontier lines here, gain the waterway of the Bahamas, and work the mines of New Spain." It was his purpose to anchor and defend his provinces by fortifying ports on their perimeter. In the same way, by means of waterways, he would advance into the trackless continent. He would span the southeast from the Gulf of Mexico, across the rich areas of Coosa, to Santa Elena. The adelantado had read the Cañete relation of the Soto entrada. He knew enough of the failed settlement of Tristan de Luna y Arellano at Pensacola to have heard rumors of the richer inland areas near Coosa and was aware of Angel de Villafañe's attempt to settle Santa Elena. French prisoners, including a pilot, had told him of the putative continental passage, and about a system

6. The late arrival of the news of the French fort in Florida is outlined in Lyon, *Enterprise of Florida*, 56. With regard to the adelantado's earlier orientation to the north of the peninsula, see Menéndez's memorial to the crown, written before negotiations began on his Royal asiento. From AGI PAT 19, it bears no date, but probably was written between February 1 and March 15, 1565.

of inland peninsular waterways. At his disposal he also had the services of Gonzalo de Gayón, a pilot with previous experience in Florida waters. From the diverse data he gathered in the course of his initial Florida experience, Menéndez began to evolve his strategy for the mastery of the continent.⁷

When it came, Pedro Menéndez's first peninsular exploration arose more out of necessity than design. He had sent his major vessel, *San Pelayo*, away from St. Augustine on September 10, 1565, to avoid its possible capture by Jean Ribault's ships. With it went the bulk of still-unloaded goods. After the actions against the French, the Spaniards at St. Augustine soon ran short of foodstuffs and munitions. It was incumbent upon Menéndez to go to Cuba and seek supplies for his colony.

Menéndez marched down the east coast to Cape Canaveral, while two small craft accompanied him by sea. After dealing at the Cape with French survivors who had fortified themselves there, Menéndez continued on southward, noting the communication afforded by the protected inland waterway of the Banana and Indian rivers. In the land of the Ais Indians, he proceeded to treat peace with the Nations. He left the bulk of his forces in Ais, together with some fifty French prisoners. After Menéndez departed, Fort Santa Lucía was built, probably in the Port Salerno-Jupiter area, called "Jega." Meanwhile, while sailing in a small craft to Havana, he realized that a strong inshore counter-current to the Gulf Stream enabled easy sailing southward along the Florida coast.⁸ From Cuba, Menéndez estab-

7. With regard to Pedro Menéndez the seaman, see Lyon, "Aspects of Pedro Menéndez the Man," 40-42. One of the best descriptions of Menéndez's plans for the economic development of Florida is found in his presentations to the Council of the Indies in late 1569, in the Archive of the Institute of Valencia de Don Juan (hereinafter ADJ), Envío 25-H, No. 162. Menéndez's statement about his conquest and settlement objectives is in his letter to the long dated at St. Augustine on October 15, 1565, AGI SD 231. He mentions his policy of perimeter settlement in his letter to Philip II sent from St. Augustine on October 20, 1566, from AGI SD 115. With regard to the French prisoners, see Eugene Lyon, "Captives of Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 50 (July 1971), 1-24. The Cañete relation is summarized and its precis translated by the author in "The Cañete Fragment: Another Narrative of Hernando de Soto" (St. Augustine Restoration Foundation, 1982). One French prisoner's narrative of an upriver journey for more than sixty leagues undertaken in 1564 is in "El Fiscal con Guillermo Bruxarte y consortes . . .," from AGI *Justicia* (hereinafter JU) 882, No. 6.

8. Menéndez wrote from Cuba describing his journey to the Cape, the dismantling of the French fort, and the trip to Ais with the French prisoners in

bed a supply network for his Florida garrisons. The records of this supply are helpful in determining the life of the several posts built in south Florida and along the Gulf coasts.⁹

Menéndez's next voyage took him to southwest Florida in February 1566. There he was welcomed by Hernando Escalante Fontaneda and the other captives of the Calusa. Menéndez planned, and later did establish, a colony near the main village of the Calusa chieftain, Cacique Carlos. On this voyage he located a passage for major ships between the Dry Tortugas and Half-Moon Shoal, which would enable vessels to utilize prevailing winds and currents to save precious time on their voyage. This opening, known as the Cuchiaga passage, became vital for the homebound New Spain fleets on their way from Vera Cruz to Havana.¹⁰

Upon his return to St. Augustine in March 1566, Menéndez's explorations were delayed. He had first to deal with his mutinous soldiery; rebellions and desertions had almost destroyed the colony. Fort Santa Lucia had already been abandoned after

letters dated December 5, 1565, and January 30, 1566, AGI SD 115 and 168, respectively. See also the petition of Captain Juan Vélez de Medrano in the Archivo Histórico de Protocolos, Madrid (hereinafter AHP) 646, fol. 265-69, and his appointment as commandant of the Santa Lucía garrison at Ais in AGI JU 894, No. 8. With further regard to Santa Lucía, see also the "Merits and Services of Diego López," December 16, 1569, from the Woodbury Lowery Collection, I:2:414:265-90, microfilm in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida.

9. Three sources detail this supply in the first period of the Florida conquest: AGI *Contaduría* (hereinafter CD) 1,174; "Despachos que se hicieron," from AGI *Escribanía de Cámara* (hereinafter EC) 1,024-A; and Archivo de los Condes de Revillagigedo (hereinafter ACR) *Canalejas* (hereinafter CAN) 47, No. 5, image 293 in reel 106, microfilm at St. Augustine Foundation and the P. K. Yonge Library.
10. When Menéndez sailed from Cuba for Florida on February 10, 1566, it was "to discover if there were deep water and good navigation between (the islands of) Las Tortugas and Martires," Gonzalo Solís de Merás, *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, translated by Jeannette Thurber Connor (DeLand, 1922; facsimile ed., Gainesville, 1964), 138. That Cuchiaga referred to the lower Florida Keys is borne out by the *Derrotero de la Costa de la Florida y Mimeres*. This is found with a letter of Governor Juan Maldonado Barnuevo to the crown dated at Havana on July 6, 1596, from AGI SD 99. Bernave de Salvatierra was marooned by the Dutch in the "Keys of Cuchiaga," and was ransomed in late 1627. See his declaration at Havana on August 4, 1627, from AGI CD 1112. Pilot Sebastián Rodríguez was seized by the viceroy of New Spain in Vera Cruz in 1638, and ordered to pilot a courier vessel through the Tortuga Passage, because he "knew the navigation of the Keys of Cuchiaga." See "Services of Sebastián Rodríguez," AGI SD 233.

starvation, Indian attack, and amid widespread rumors of cannibalism among the besieged Spaniards. After reasserting his authority at St. Augustine, Menéndez resumed his outreach program. Sailing northward amid the sea-islands, he passed through Guale and founded the city of Santa Elena, on present Parris Island, at Eastertide. He sent the Chesapeake Indian, Don Luis de Velasco, to his homeland by an expedition in August 1566. It was also his expectation that the voyagers to the Chesapeake, which he named the Bay of Santa Maria, and which the Indians called "Jacán," would also uncover the "secret of a river which goes to discharge in the South Sea on the route to China." The expedition, which only reached the Carolina Capes, failed in its mission, and returned directly to Spain.¹¹

Although Pedro Menéndez had expected eventually to build a south Florida settlement to check possible French moves into that area, events forced his hand; 128 of his mutineers fled San Mato in a stolen ship, sailing towards the Caribbean. They put into Biscayne Bay for water, and left twenty men stranded ashore. Later, when these men were captured and then pardoned, they formed the nucleus of Menéndez's *Tequesta* colony. Since one of the San Mateo mutineers was named Miguel de Mora, it is likely that this man gave his name to a geographic feature on Spanish maps and *derroteros* for many years. This was the Bocas de Miguel Mora, the shoal-studded inlet located south of Key Biscayne. When the Spanish fort was built near the mouth of the Miami River, Jesuit Brother Francisco Villareal arrived to establish a mission.¹²

After the mutinies, in the late summer of 1566, Menéndez undertook his own expedition up the St. Johns. He had to attempt to make peace with and among warring Indians in the interior of Florida. Upcountry he sailed in small craft, past Utina and Potano, to the land of Mayaca. There, probably near present Sanford, he found the way blocked by stakes the Indians had planted across the narrowing river. Unable to complete his exploration, Menéndez in the fall of 1566, sent Gonzalo Gayón

11. The mutinies are described by Eugene Lyon, "The Spanish Mutineers," *Tequesta* 44 (1984), 44-61. For a recounting of the 1566 expedition, see Vigneras, "A Spanish Discovery of North Carolina," in which Menéndez describes his hopes for the Passage in his letter of October 20, 1566.

12. Menéndez to crown, St. Augustine, October 20, 1566, AGI SD 168.

to Mayaca, via the east coast. Gayón entered the Mosquito inlet (present Ponce de Leon Inlet), established contact with the Indians at Nacoroco and other nearby towns, and ransomed several Frenchmen who had fled from Ribault's forces the year before. These in turn became interpreters for the Spaniards. Gayón could not, however, penetrate to the interior. Unable to pass back out of the inlet due to rough weather, he entered the upper Tomoka River system and made his way back to the area of Matanzas before returning to St. Augustine.¹³

By October 1566, Pedro Menéndez was able to write the king and furnish an appreciation of the wide geographic extent of the provinces of Florida. He told Philip II that he planned to interdict the northern codfishing trade off Newfoundland with a fleet of rapid small craft called fregatas, levying tribute upon foreigners who intruded upon Spanish jurisdiction to fish there. He went on to describe the Florida peninsula, and how he had learned that the upriver St. Johns connected with a great lake, thirty leagues around, where all the land was flat and the water collected. From this lake, Menéndez believed, navigable rivers flowed into the Gulf at the town of Cacique Carlos, and also reached Biscayne Bay. The planting of fort-missions at those exterior points would anchor this inland waterway route. To utilize the waterway, he would ship goods directly from Spain to Florida, transship them from the St. Johns to fregatas, well-protected against Indian attack. The cargoes would be carried to the Gulf exit, and be warehoused for shipment to Vera Cruz on Menéndez's galleons. Thus, his vessels would avoid the perils of the Florida Keys, and the swifter, safer passage would save time and money. Since Menéndez possessed ship-licenses for that trade, he would personally benefit. The river, which Menéndez first called San Pelayo and which later became the St. Johns, would also be the key to the conquest of the peninsula, serving as the highway into the interior for its pacification and settlement. Pedro Menéndez thus became the earliest proponent

13. Menéndez's upriver expedition is described by Pedro de Valdés in a letter to the crown from St. Augustine, September 12, 1566, AGI SD 168, and "Provanza hecha a pedimento de Gonzalo de Gayón," AGI SD 11. See also the Alvaro Mexia derrotero of 1604, which describes some of the areas traversed by Gayón, AGI SD 224. See also John W. Griffin and Hale G. Smith, "Nacoroco—A Timucuan village of 1605 now in Tomoka State Park," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 27 (April 1949), 340-61.

of an idea which would recur in the twentieth century as the Cross-Florida Barge Canal.¹⁴

Now his continental plan could take further shape. Once the Jesuit missions were fully functioning, and a colegio built in Havana to educate the sons of Indian elites, Pedro Menéndez would erect two outposts (mission-forts) spaced along the way to New Spain with settlers and soldiers to develop and protect them. Additional colegios would be established at those outposts. In the first attempt to discover and mark out this route, Menéndez sent Captain Juan Pardo on two entradas from Santa Elena to the Appalachians and beyond. Later, Menéndez applied for another royal conquest-contract, this time for Pánuco, which would cement the link between New Spain and Florida. This would provide a circum-Gulf route from Tampico to peninsular Florida.¹⁵

In the peninsula, Captain Pedro de Andrada made entradas into the Utina and Potano country in 1567. The last of these resulted in an ambush of his forces, in which many Spanish soldiers were killed by the Indians. Captain Andrada's men were only a part of casualties suffered in battles and skirmishes with the Timucua, Ais, and other Indian groups. In addition to the fort-mission of San Antonio de Padua near Carlos's village, the Spaniards had left another garrison on the west coast at Tampa Bay, near the Indian town of Tocobaga. Its soldiers were supplied from Havana.¹⁶

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14. Menéndez to the crown, St. Augustine, October 15, 1566, AGI SD 115.
 15. Menéndez's concept of a Jesuit colegio in Havana for the children of Indian caciques is expressed in a relation of the adelantado's visit to a foundation of the Society of Jesus in Seville in 1567, "Relatio Anonyma de visitatione quam Petrus Menendez Hispali missionariis Floridae fecit," Seville, December 16, 1567, in Felix Zubillaga, *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae* (Rome, 1946), 214-18. Also in *Monumenta*, is Menéndez's letter sent from Madrid to Father Francisco Borgia on January 18, 1568, in which he describes his plan to build the cross-continental mission-settlements. The best short treatment of the Pardo journeys is 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. The new contract for Pánuco was granted by Philip II in an order given at Madrid on February 23, 1573, from AGI SD 2528.
 16. "Lista de la gente de guerra . . . llamado los viejos," AGI CD 941, No. 1, contains the names of soldiers killed in the Potano ambush in August 1567. A list of the garrison at Tocobaga is included with other south Florida musters in AGI CD 941, No. 5, Account of Pedro Menéndez Marquéz, together with some supply data. Other supply information is found in AGI

Menéndez decided to make still another effort to search out the cross-peninsular water route from the lower west coast. In early 1567, he sent Hernando de Miranda to explore the area for that purpose. At the same time, he planned to dispatch an expedition from San Mateo upriver on the St. Johns to make contact with those starting inland from the west coast.¹⁷

In the exploration and supply of Florida, the adelantado's nephew, Pedro Menéndez Marqués, played an important role. This son of Menéndez's brother, Alvar Sánchez, had served the adelantado for many years as a skilled seaman; now his uncle put his abilities to use in the Florida conquest as its chief explorer. Menéndez Marqués also acted as the enforcer when Indians had rebelled, bringing order to unruly areas. By 1567, he had been appointed regional governor over the south Florida colonies of Tequesta, Carlos, and Tocobaga.¹⁸

As the adelantado's nephew describes his duties: "In 1565-1569, I went by order of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés as his Lieutenant Captain-General of the discovery of the coast of said Florida, to reconnoitre and sound, see and discover the coast, shoals, rivers and ports, bays and coves which are in the said coast of Florida and, in conformity with the contract which His Majesty took, and to search for whatever captives who might be in the possession of Indians, and if there were any enemies fortified in the ports of the said coast. And in order to comply, he turned over to me four fregatas, two large and two small, with 150 soldiers and sailors of those whom he brought for his account in the said conquest of Florida, without counting other small boats which came and went, visiting the forts and going in the coast of Santa Elena, San Mateo and St. Augustine and the other presidios to Havana."

"In compliance with which, I have run the length of the coast from the Bay of St. Joseph, which is eighty leagues from the River of Pánuco, to Tocobaga once, and from Tocobaga to

CD 1174. The listing of García Martínez de Cos as commander at Tocobaga is found in "Memorial de las personas que han gobernado . . .," from AGI EC 154-A, fol. 122vo.-123.

17. Menéndez to crown, February 12, 1567, AGI *Contratación* (hereinafter CT), 5101.
18. Information on Menéndez Marqués's career is in his own testimony in AGI PAT 257, No. 3, ramo 20. His appointment as regional governor in south Florida was discussed at the cabildo meeting in St. Augustine, November 3, 1567, AGI EC 154-A, fo. 1311vo.

Santa Elena and Santa Elena to Tocobaga many times, and from Santa Elena to Jacán and from there to Newfoundland, where the district of the said adelantado ends, once— where I took possession of the land in many Indian towns, calling the caciques (together) before Rodrigo de Carreño, Notary Public of His Majesty. Since I did not have a cosmographer with me, nor any man who could draw a navigation chart, I did not mark on the charts any more than keeping it in memory, in order that it might be precisely marked and painted; I am giving it by memory by order of Sr. Don Juan de Ovando, President of the Royal Council of the Indies, to Juan de Velasco, Cosmographer and Chronicler of His Majesty, and give this certificate at the request of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés.¹⁹

Clearly, then, the Reconocimiento of Menéndez Marqués, described in a fragment by Barcía, must have taken place before 1573, even though Barcía dates it to that year. It must have formed the basis for the Florida portion of López de Velasco's work, written down in 1574, but not published until 1894.²⁰

Although, in 1568, Philip II had effectively renewed Menéndez's Florida contract, things by that time were going poorly in peninsular Florida for the enterprise. Eventually, Indian hostility and sparse response of the native Americans to the missionaries resulted in the loss or closing of the Spanish posts at Santa Lucía, Tequesta, Tocobaga, and Carlos. As dissatisfaction about their Florida experience reached the highest levels of the Jesuit Order in Spain, the missionaries moved to re-establish themselves at Santa Elena.²¹

19. Certificate of Pedro Menéndez Marqués, Madrid, January 29, 1573, AGI EC 1024-A, piece 2, fol. 127. Menéndez Marqués's shipping activities are also described in "Despachos que se hicieron," AGI EC 1024-A, and ACR CAN 47, no. 5, image 293, reel 106.

20. Juan López de Velasco, *Geografía universal de las Indias* (original written 1571-1554; Madrid, 1894). See also the statement that Pedro Menéndez Marqués turned over his data to Lopez in AGI EC 1024-A, piece 2, fol. 127. See Andrés González de Barcía Carballido y Zúñiga, *Ensayo cronológico para la historia general de la Florida*, translated by Anthony Kerrigan (Gainesville, 1951), 157-60.

21. The Indian attacks upon Fort Santa Lucía and its loss are detailed in Lyon, *Enterprise of Florida*, 140, 150. For a description of the abandonment of the Tequesta mission, the massacre of the Spanish garrison at Tocobaga, and the troubles at Carlos, see Lyon, *Enterprise of Florida*, 201-03. Jesuit discontent with Menéndez and the progress of the Florida mission is summarized in the presentation made by Procurador General Gonzalo Esquivel before the Council of the Indies in Madrid, in ADJ, Envío 25-H, no. 167, repro-

The abandonment of the south Florida outposts was but a part of a dramatic northward shift within the Florida colony that led to the deemphasis of the Florida peninsula. In truth, this shift constituted a re-emergence of Pedro Menéndez's original plan for the colonization of Florida. Fort San Mateo, northern anchor of the St. Johns, was evacuated in 1569, signalling the end of Menéndez's development scheme for the great river. To replace it, San Pedro was built at Tacatacuru on Cumberland Island, demonstrating the enhanced importance of the sea-island passage to Santa Elena. Straining his resources to the utmost, Pedro Menéndez recruited, paid for, and sent large numbers of settlers to Santa Elena. By 1569, it had become the capital of Spanish Florida, thus affirming the long interest of Europeans in this part of the North American coast.²²

In 1569-1570, there came a pause in the dynamics of Florida settlement, brought about by the momentary exhaustion of Menéndez's resources. By stripping the garrisons of men in the summer of 1570, the adelantado denuded the Florida defenses and forced the king's hand. Finally, four major royal councils—state, treasury, Castile, and Indies—met to resolve the crisis in Florida. It was agreed, in November 1570, to establish a regular crown subsidy for the support of the Florida garrisons, which would supplement the private efforts of the adelantado on a regular basis.²³

With the royal subsidy, a new flowering of the Spanish colony at Santa Elena began. Pedro Menéndez brought his wife, his household, and his daughter and son-in-law, Don Diego de Velasco. Velasco was appointed to govern Florida from Santa

duced in Zubillaga, *Monumenta*, 441-46. Father Juan Rogel recounts his move to Santa Elena and evaluates the Jesuit mission in Florida generally in a letter to General Borgia dated at Havana, July 25, 1568, in Zubillaga, *Monumenta*, 317-28.

22. For detail of the settlement, expansion, and abandonment of Santa Elena, see Eugene Lyon, *Santa Elena: A Brief History of the Colony, 1566-1587* (Columbia, 1984). Earlier European interest in the area of Santa Elena, dating back to the first half of the sixteenth century, is detailed by Paul E. Hoffman in "The Chicora Legend and France-Spanish Rivalry in *La Florida*," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 62 (May 1984), 419-38.
23. The requisite documentation about the decisions of the king and his councils about the Florida subsidy is in a letter from Gonzalo de Esquivel to Francisco de Borgia, October 21, 1570, in Zubillaga, *Monumenta*, 454-56. The subsidy was granted by royal order in Segovia, November 15, 1570, AGI SD 235.

Elena. Based upon the Juan Pardo journeys and the fort-missions which had been established in the areas he explored, Menéndez planned to build his own estate near Guatari, in the Carolina Piedmont. This would support the tide of marquis, offered to him in his asiento. But the death of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés in 1574 left his colony in less able hands. The inability of the Spanish to penetrate to richer soils in the interior of the continent reflected the failure of their government to reach an accommodation with the native Americans. Menéndez's other son-in-law, Hernando de Miranda, was unable to prevent the loss of Santa Elena to Indian attack in 1576. Although Pedro Menéndez Marqués, who followed him as governor, proved a vigorous and effective executive, he presided over the dismemberment of Santa Elena in 1587. Ironically, the Spaniards abandoned their northernmost post just as the English settlers under John White landed at Roanoke. The Pánuco contract for Florida Gulf coast expansion was allowed to lapse by Pedro Menéndez's heirs, and St. Augustine again, and permanently, became the Spanish capital of Florida.²⁴

Long after the death of Pedro Menéndez, however, a few echoes of his policy of geographic outreach still resounded. Governor Gonzalo Méndez Canzo hoped to enlarge Florida into modern Georgia, the oft-discussed land of Tama, and westward, but was unable in his brief tenure to carry out his plan. Early in the seventeenth century, expeditions touched at Pohoy below Tampa Bay. In 1680, a later governor expressed renewed concern over the possible link-up of Florida to New Mexico via "Gran Quivira." But no definitive actions were undertaken at the time. Yet Spanish influence over Guale and Apalache buttressed by, the Franciscan missionary expansion, continued for a time. Seventeenth-century Spanish establishments featured economic development in the Alachua savannah and in Apalache. Eventually, at the end of the seventeenth century,

24. For a history of the events of 1576 at Santa Elena, see Eugene Lyon, "The Revolt of 1576 at Santa Elena: A Failure of Indian Policy" (paper presented at the American Historical Association meeting, Washington, DC, December 1987). These matters, together with the change of government from semi-proprietary to a crown colony, are discussed by Lyon in "La Visita de 1576 y la Transformación de Gobierno en la Florida española," in *La Influencia de España en el caribe, la Florida y la Luisiana, 1500-1800*, Antonio Acosta and Juan Marchena, eds. (Madrid, 1983), 197-209.

facing the threat of French activities in the Gulf, the Spaniards resettled Pensacola.²⁵

Even though the efforts of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés represented the culmination of a century of effort by crown and conquerors to explore and hold North America, Menéndez never made good even that part of his plan for continental development which featured the exploitation of the Florida peninsula. Gradually forced southward by English settlements in Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia, his Spanish successors saw their territory shrink to the area south of the St. Marys River. Yet the Menéndez years had left their lasting mark upon peninsular Florida, and not only at St. Augustine, the nation's oldest continually-occupied city. One evidence of this occurred in the last decade of the sixteenth century. In Seville, December 30, 1593, a royal order was issued to Pedro Ambrosio Anderiz, cosmographer of the king, to upgrade the quality of the master navigation chart, the Padrón of the Indies, and create improved astrolabes.

Accordingly, instructions went out to fleet officials and several Indies governors to conduct mapping expeditions. In the instruction, traces that several earlier Florida explorers had left on the map of Florida were evident, together with Indian names. The expeditions were to survey points in "the Martyrs, Cuxiaga, Tortugas, coast of Carlos and Bay of Juan Ponce."

When the governor of Havana returned his report to Ambrosio, he described his expedition's voyage down the east coast of the peninsula. From Cape Canaveral, it had proceeded past Ais to Jega, to the Bocas de Miguel de Mora, where an astrolabe shot was taken on the Cayo de los Vizcaínos. Passing old Tequesta, now called the Cabeza de los Martires, the Spaniards sailed along Key Largo, called the Cayo de doce Leguas, past

25. Governor Canzo's initiatives, which were not realized, are analyzed by Charles Arnade in *Florida on Trial* (Coral Gables, 1959), 8-22. A recent and definitive work on the Apalache peoples and the Spanish missions is John H. Hann, *Apalachee: The Land Between the Rivers* (Gainesville, 1988). Governor Pablo de Hita Salazar wrote the crown from St. Augustine, November 15, 1680, to discuss the opening of communication between the Bay of Espiritu Santo (Tampa Bay) and the "Kingdom of Gran Quivira . . . which borders New Mexico," AGI SD 226. Amy Bushnell has described the development of the Alachua savannah in "The Menéndez Marquex Cattle Barony at La Chua and the Determinants of Economic Expansion in Seventeenth-century Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 56 (April 1978), 407-31.

Matacumbe, and ended at Cuchiaga, where they landed to observe the sun again with their astrolabe. This rutter, or derrotero, listed only a few of the place-names fixed upon the Spanish maps by Pedro Menéndez and his followers during the period from 1565 to 1574, when the Florida peninsula was the subject of their active exploration. Few other traces remained of the Menéndez years, years of outreach, struggle, and vast expenditure of men and monies.²⁶

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26. See the documents connected with the royal order and the instruction, "Instrucion de lo que se ha de averiguar acerca del Padron de la carrera de las Indias," AGI CT *Indiferente General* 736. The derrotero itself was sent by Governor Barnuevo from Havana with a letter from the crown dated July 6, 1596, from AGI SD 99.