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The Spanish Settlements within the Present Limits of the United States, 1513-1561

The Spanish Settlements within the Present Limits of the United States. Florida. 1562-1574

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PEDRO MENENDEZ DE AVILES.

*Natural de Avilés en Asturias, Comendador
de la orden de Santiago, Conquistador de la Flo-
rida, nombrado Grál. de la Armada contra Inglaterra.
Murió en Santander N. 1574. á los 55. de edad.*

THE SPANISH SETTLEMENTS

WITHIN THE PRESENT LIMITS
OF THE UNITED STATES

FLORIDA

1562-1574

BY

WOODBURY LOWERY

WITH MAPS



G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS
NEW YORK AND LONDON
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TO MY DEAR SISTER

PREFACE

THE principal sources for the history of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés and his conquest of Florida are: 1. A collection of letters written by and to him, memorials, royal cédulas and patents, instructions, relations, and other documents covering the period from 1555 to 1574, but chiefly relating to the conquest of Florida. This collection is published in E. Ruidíaz y Caravia, *La Florida su Conquista y Colonización por Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, Madrid, 1893, volume ii. 2. Memorial que hizo el Doctor 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. This forms volume i. of the *La Florida* of Ruidíaz. 3. Vida y hechos de Pero Menendez de Auiles, Cauallero de la Hordem de Sanctiago, Adelantado de la Florida: Do largamente se tratan las Conquistas y Poblaciones de la Prouincia de la Florida, y como fueron libradas de los Luteranos que dellas se auian apoderado. Compuesta por el maestro barrientos, Catedatico de salamanca. This work is contained in *Dos Antiguas Relaciones de la Florida publiccalas por primera vez Genaro Garcia*, Mexico, 1902, pp. 1-152. 4. The account contained in the *Ensayo Cronologico para la Historia General de la Florida*, por Don Gabriel de Cardenas z Cano (anagram for Don Andreas Gonzales Barcia), Madrid, 1723, pp. 36-151.

The second volume of Ruidíaz's *La Florida*, containing the Avilés correspondence, is published as an appendix to

the Memorial of Merás in the first volume. In place of following a chronological arrangement the editor has grouped his material under the headings of "Letters of P. Menéndez de Avilés," "Letters addressed to Pedro Menéndez de Avilés," "Memorials of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés," "Royal Cédulas," "Royal Patents," "Instructions," "Relations," "Illness Testaments and Act of Translation of the Body of Pedro Menéndez," "Various Documents," etc. This artificial grouping has caused him to overlook certain obviously erroneous dates given in the titles of some of the documents and to leave unsolved the conflicting statements of Barcia, Merás, and Vigil as to the dates of the second and third voyages of Avilés to the Indies, to which a more logical arrangement would have directed his attention.

In justice to Sr. Ruidíaz it should be stated that the work is said to have been prepared hurriedly in anticipation of his admission into the Royal Academy of History, and although his introductory matter exhibits some traces of this haste, the collection is of primary importance to the historian and bears witness to an extended and painstaking investigation among the Spanish archives. With the exception of six documents,¹ which are reprinted from other collections, and seven letters of Avilés, which

¹ These are :

Real Cédula, March 22, 1565, Ruidíaz, *La Florida*, tomo ii., p. 351; Buckingham Smith, *Colección de varios Documentos para la Historia de la Florida*, tomo i., p. 13. Mendoza's "Relación" in Ruidíaz, *ibid.*, tomo ii., p. 431; *Col. Doc. Inedit. Indias*, tomo iii., p. 441. Letter of Toral, April 5, 1567, Ruidíaz, *ibid.*, tomo ii., p. 295; *Cartas de Indias*, p. 238. Vanderá's "Relación," January 23, 1569; Ruidíaz, *ibid.*, tomo ii., p. 481; *Col. Doc. Flo.*, tomo i., p. 15; *Col. Doc. Inedit. Indias*, tomo iv., p. 560; B. F. French, *Hist. Col. Louisiana and Florida*, 2d series, "Historical Memoirs and Narratives," p. 289. "Disposición de quatro fuertes que ha de haber en la Florida," Ruidíaz, *La Florida*, tomo ii., p. 566, where it is wrongly dated 1566; *Col. Doc. Inedit. Indias*, tomo xiii., p. 307, dated 1569. "Diligencias hechas en Sevilla con motivo de la venida de Esteban de las Alas de la Florida," Ruidíaz, *ibid.*, tomo ii., p. 568; *Col. Doc. Inedit. Indias*, tomo xiii., p. 309.

are extant in an English translation, the volume consists entirely of material then for the first time published.

Barrientos finished his account in December, 1568.¹ He was professor of Latin in the University of Salamanca, and the little that is known of him is given by García in the preface to the above-mentioned work. Barrientos derived the material for his history from at least three independent sources. On p. 147 he relates that Avilés on his return from Florida to Spain in 1567, "presented this relation to the King," a statement which admits of the inference that Barrientos reproduced either in whole or in part the original relation written by Avilés himself. In addition to this he has apparently consulted parts of the Avilés correspondence² and finally he mentions several incidents which are omitted by Merás and Barcia.

The Memorial of Merás terminates with the return of Avilés to Spain in 1567 and his arrival at Court. Ruidíaz in his introductory remarks ascribes no date to the work. The year "1565" appears on the title-page which precedes the Memorial. Barcia says³ the history was written at the time. Merás, who was the brother-in-law of Avilés, accompanied him to Florida, and both Barcia and Ruidíaz are under the impression that he went in the capacity of historian to the expedition. It is to be noted, however, that Merás relates various occurrences at which he was not present, and which he must have learned either from an eye-witness or from a document. The manuscript published by Ruidíaz is torn and illegible in several places. As the Memorial is silent upon a variety of subjects in the career of Avilés which are related by Barcia, the editor has supplied the omission by interpolating into the body of the text extensive extracts from the *Ensayo*

¹ *Dos Antiguas Relaciones de la Florida*, p. 149.

² *Ibid.*, p. 106, lines 2-5 from the bottom of the page, which are found in the letter of Avilés of October 15, 1565, in Ruidíaz, *La Florida*, tomo ii., p. 94.

³ *Ensayo Cronologico*, p. 90.

for the purpose of presenting a more detailed and consecutive narrative, indicating the interpolations by reference to foot-notes.¹ There is nothing to indicate that Merás had access to that part of the Avilés correspondence which has been printed by Ruidíaz and which, as previously noted, appears to have been in part consulted by Barrientos.

On comparing the Merás and Barrientos relations they are found to contain numerous parallel passages in which not only are the events related in the same sequence, but the same phrasing and even words are employed in an identical arrangement. Many sentences are absolutely the same in both, while others differ only in the tense of the verb, or else employ the same words in a slightly different order.² The supposition that one writer copied from the other is precluded by the occasional occurrence in one of the accounts, either in the body of a sentence common to both writers, or at the end of the same, of a qualifying word or clause relating to a detail which does not occur in the other, as well as by an occasional difference in a number, which Barrientos, as a rule, spells, while Merás employs the Arabic numerals. It follows that these passages in Barrientos and Merás were obtained from the same original, for they present all the appearance of an abridgment following very closely the language of the original document. It also seems probable, from the variance in the numerals referred to and an occasional variance in the readings, where the words employed still remain identical,³ that the two

¹ See tomo i., p. 10, note ; p. 39, note and elsewhere.

² Compare Merás, pp. 74-77, and Barrientos, pp. 44-45.

“ “ 111-126, “ “ “ 63-69.

“ “ 151-156, “ “ “ 87-90.

³ See the varying account of the answer of the sailor. Barrientos, in García, *Dos Antiguas Relaciones de la Florida*, p. 63, and Merás in Ruidíaz, *La Florida*, tomo i., p. 111; of the tying of Ribaut's hands, Barrientos, *ibid.*, p. 69, and Merás, *ibid.*, p. 125.

abridgments were made from different copies of the original, or that one of the accounts has been less carefully edited than the other.

The question arises at once—What was this original document from which both of these writers have derived so large a part of the incidents which they relate? The statement of Barrientos, above quoted, that Avilés on his return from Florida to Spain in 1567 “presented this relation to the King,” points with much probability to the conclusion that it was the original relation of Avilés himself. The possibility of this being the case is borne out by the fact that the Memorial of Merás, who had returned to Spain in July, 1566, terminates with the arrival of Avilés at Court in 1567, and also by the statement of Barrientos that he finished his account in December, 1568, which was subsequent to the same event.

Barcia’s account is largely taken from the Memorial of Solís de Merás, a manuscript copy of which was in his possession.¹ On pp. 85–90 Barcia gives a lengthy extract from it and distinguishes the quotation from his own text by reference to the original and by printing it in italics. The quotation corresponds to the Merás account given by Ruidíaz on pp. 110–131 in volume i. of his *La Florida*, which includes parallel passages in Barrientos. These two versions are not absolutely identical. There are occasional differences in certain words used in both accounts, in the tenses of the verbs, and there are a few unimportant transpositions and omissions. From all this it appears probable that Barcia and Ruidíaz had access to two different copies of the Merás Memorial. Several other short extracts from the Memorial are also given in italics, and the major part of Barcia’s text is merely a condensation of the Merás narrative. Barcia also states that he had access to the papers of Avilés.²

¹ *Ensayo Cronológico*, Introduction, ¶ 6^b and p. 90.

² *Ibid.*, Introduction, ¶ 6^b.

In addition to the matter taken from the Merás Memorial he gives a number of details which do not appear in Barrientos, or in the documents published by Ruidíaz.¹ Barcia was aware of the existence of the Barrientos manuscript, but was unable to obtain access to it.² The curious result arrived at is that all three of the published accounts appear to have been largely derived from a common source,—the as yet undiscovered relation of Avilés himself.

This conclusion, if correct, has an important and obvious bearing on the value of the three narratives, since it reduces to a single source the evidence for the greater part of the events which they record in place of accepting them as three concurrent and independent sources of testimony. It follows that the reliability of the three narratives ultimately reposes upon the unsupported statements of Avilés except in so far as the latter are verified by the correspondence of the French and Spanish ambassadors and by contemporary French accounts. Assuming the above conclusion to be correct, the effort has been made to present the character of Avilés in such a light, not palliating his faults, nor yet belittling his virtues, that the reader may form for himself an independent estimate of his sincerity unbiassed by the confidence which the writer is disposed to place in his unsupported statements.

This confidence is founded upon the concurrence of the Avilés correspondence, extending over a period of several years, with the substance of the Avilés relation given by the writers above referred to; the absence of any reasonable motive for a misrepresentation of the facts on his part; the fact that Fourquevaux nowhere impugns his

¹ See *ibid.*, Año XLVII., p. 125, where names of vessels and of persons are given which do not appear elsewhere, and the date of the departure of Avilés for Carlos, March 1st, not mentioned by either Merás or Barrientos.

² *Ensayo Cronológico*, Introduction, ¶ 1^c.

veracity; that Avilés does not appear to have been of an intriguing disposition; that he was too continuously, variously, and actively employed to have sustained successfully a prolonged deception; and that his letters betray, as a rule, the curt and frank bearing of a soldier rather than the place-seeking suavity of a courtier.

In recent years but two works of importance have appeared which treat at any length of the Florida episode. The first is Mr. Parkman's *Pioneers of France in the New World*, of which the first edition was published in Boston in 1865. The incident of the French colony in Florida occupies about one-third of the book. Mr. Parkman informs us that he had access to some of the Avilés correspondence entitled *Siete Cartas escritas al Rey, Años de 1565 y 1566*, MS., a copy of which was procured for him by Mr. Buckingham Smith,¹ that distinguished and indefatigable investigator for material relating to the history of Spain within our country. Unfortunately Mr. Parkman made but a very slight use of them, citing only three letters.² In 1875, M. Paul Gaffarel published his *Histoire de la Floride Française*, in which his only knowledge of the Spanish side of the story was apparently confined to that given by Parkman and to an exceedingly cursory reading of Barcia. He gave us, however, our first knowledge of the diplomatic correspondence which arose between France and Spain on the subject of their respective claims to Florida, confining himself entirely to that of M. de Fourquevaux, the French ambassador at Madrid, of whose unpublished letters he printed some interesting

¹ *Pioneers of France in the New World*, Boston, 1893, pp. 6, 104, note 1.

² Parkman cites only the letters of September 11, October 15, and December 12, 1565, which is dated December 25th in Ruidíaz. The remaining letters are those of August 13, December 5, December 16, 1565, and January 30, 1566. Mr. Henry Ware has given an English translation of all of them in the *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings*, 2d series, vol. viii., pp. 416-468.

extracts. In 1893 Mr. Parkman published his revised twenty-fifth edition of *The Pioneers* in which he made some reference to the extracts of the Fourquevaux correspondence printed by Gaffarel, but with no addition to the Spanish side of the story. Of shorter recent essays on the subject there are but two deserving of special mention. These are "Un glorieux épisode maritime et colonial des Guerres de Religion" by Maurice Delpeuch, published in the *Revue Maritime*, tome clv., pp. 1882, 2150, October and November, 1902, and the concise chapter on the "French and Spaniards in Florida" in "Spain in America," by Professor E. G. Bourne, volume iii. of *The American Nation: A History*, published in 1904.

Since the appearance of the histories of Parkman and Gaffarel, not only have the two Spanish works previously referred to been published, but the first volume of the letters of M. de Fourquevaux has also appeared, extending over the period embraced in this present volume. In addition to this new material, the importance of which cannot be underestimated, a careful search in the archives of Seville, Madrid, Paris, and London, and in collections in New York and Washington, has revealed the existence of unpublished documents of much value bearing upon this period, such as letters and reports exhibiting the Spanish attitude towards French colonisation in Florida; the Spanish accounts of the depredations committed by the Laudonnière colony, and the correspondence of the Spanish ambassador at Paris with Philip II. during all of this period, which fills out the Fourquevaux correspondence and throws an interesting light on the relations of Catherine de' Medici and Philip in their contest for supremacy in the peninsula of Florida. A liberal use has been made of all this material in the preparation of the present volume, rather with the view of bringing out the true attitude of the Spaniards than that of retelling

the story of the French colony, which has already been done with so much ability.

In conclusion it may not be amiss to make some reference to the ponderous quarto manuscript history of Florida by Pulgar, MSS. 2999 in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, the title of which is as follows:

Historia general de la Florida / diuidese en tres partes / La primera Parte / contiene sus descubrimiento, description (*sic*), y los / successos temporales y Espirituales, assi / de los Espanoles, como franceses, ingleses / y Las Misiones de Religiosos / dominicos, de la compania y / franciscos / La segunda Parte / Contiene el descubrimiento de los franceses desde / el año de 1669 (*sic*), y sus suzesos, y la Relazion de los / viajes, q̄ los Españoles han hecho al Seno Mexi / cano desde el año de 1683 (*sic*) asta el de 1673 y / la description de la Bahía de s^{ta} Maria / de galve, y otro de la empalizada / La tercera parte / pone la Relazion de el Alvar nuñez cabaza de Vaca / enteramente. y La historia de Hernado (*sic*) de Soto / continuada, compilada de las decadas / de Antonio de Herrera / Escribiala / El D^{or} D. P^o Fernz de Pulgar Canonigo de La / ss^{ta} iglesia de Palenzia, y Coronista / mayor de indias / dedicasse. /

This manuscript history appears to be a development of certain chapters on Florida referred to in the Preface to Book IV. and also in the Index to volume iii. of Pulgar's *Historia General de las Indias Occidentales*, Decada Nona, continua la de Antonio de Herrera desde el año 1555 asta el de 1565 (Bib. Nac., Madrid, MSS. 2796-2799), but which do not appear therein. It consists of 776 closely written pages in a small and cramped caligraphy rather difficult to decipher, and is divided into two parts of two and three books respectively. The first book has six chapters, as follows: 1. The discovery of Florida. 2. Its coast. 2 (*sic*). Its people and customs. 5 (*sic*). Spanish discovery, De Leon, Ayllon, etc. 6 (*sic*). French discoveries, Ribaut, Laudonnière, etc. 7 (*sic*).

What remains to be discovered. The second book is entitled "Spanish Expeditions to Florida" and contains ten chapters on De Leon, Ayllon, Narvaez, De Soto, Fr. Luis Cancer, the fleet lost on the Florida coast in 1553, and Arellano. The third book entitled "French Expeditions and Menéndez de Avilés," consists of ten chapters on Ribaut, Avilés, the Jesuit missions, and Gourgues. The fourth book consists of six chapters on English expeditions to Florida, and the second Franciscan mission. All of these chapters are divided into numbered sections. The second part is in four books. The first book is a description of Louisiana in three chapters. The second book treats of Spanish discoveries since 1685 in two chapters. The second (*sic*) book contains the relation of Cabeça de Vaca and the second (*sic*) book relates the De Soto expedition in twenty-nine chapters.

The work is unfinished and the chapters are frequently incomplete, many of them being represented by a short paragraph of one or two pages only; others are very long, and still others have merely the title of the chapter written in, the page below being left blank. The material is unorganised, the same subject being sometimes repeated two or three times under different headings. The text consists very largely of extracts from and abstracts of published histories and accounts of the events related, the abstracts from two or more writers on the same subject being arranged in successive sections under the chapter heading.

The authors whose works have furnished the material for the history, and to whom constant reference is made, appear to cover all the literature on the subject in Spanish, French, and Latin extant at the time of its composition. The list includes in Spanish: Herrera, Torquemada, Las Casas, Castellano, Gomara, Padilla, Rivas, Garcilaso, Nieremberg, Remesal, etc.; in French: De Thou, Le Challeux, Laudonnière, De Laet, etc.; in

Latin: Algambe, Ribadeneyra, Camargo, Schott, Montanus, De Bry, Le Moyne, etc., and, in Italian, Benzoni.

In a word, the history is a vast and ill-digested compendium of all of the published material extant at the date of its writing, and the inference of Dr. Brinton, who had never seen the manuscript, that "it was not probable" that it "would add any notable increment to our knowledge"¹ is largely justified.

In conclusion the author wishes to express his obligation to Dr. José Ignacio Rodríguez, Librarian and Chief Translator of the International Bureau of the American Republics, for his kindly assistance in the deciphering of some obscure passages in the Spanish documents which have been consulted.

WOODBURY LOWERY.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

February, 1905.

¹ *Notes on the Floridian Peninsula*, Philadelphia, 1859, p. 36.

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BOOK I
THE FRENCH COLONY



BOOK I

THE FRENCH COLONY

CHAPTER I

THE SPANISH TREASURE FLEETS AND FLORIDA

WITH the opening of the year 1562, the eastern coast of the continent of North America from Pánuco to the St. Lawrence was still untenanted by the white man. To the north the region discovered by Cartier and Roberval had become the seat of short-lived colonies, which had been abandoned in despair, and France appeared for the time being to have withdrawn from the unequal contest with the wilderness. To the south the persistent efforts of Spain to take possession of the vast region to which she laid claim had proved equally abortive, although they had brought her some acquaintance with the interior of the country and with the nature of its savage inhabitants. She, too, had become discouraged by her vain attempts, her useless sacrifice of life and treasure, the stern reception given her by the warlike natives, and her failure to discover those sources of the precious metals which had so amply rewarded her conquests in Mexico and South America. She no longer

feared the intrusion of another power within this part of her domain, where she herself had so signally failed, and in September of the previous year Philip had proclaimed that no further attempt should be made to colonise the eastern coast.¹

It was true that she professed it to be her desire to bring into the bosom of the Church the natives of her vast transatlantic dominions, but she felt herself fully equal to the gigantic task, and would brook no interference in her mission, even from foreigners of her own faith. Moreover, the greater portion of the continent was hers by right of discovery, conquest, and papal patent, and its boundless treasures furnished the sinews for her incessant European and African wars. Although she had now abandoned a small part of her Atlantic coast, her unparalleled success in other regions had soon awakened jealousies and stimulated competitors, lured by other incentives than the cure of souls, and she was determined to defend the pathway to the New World against the intrusion of all her rivals. Portugal, France, and England watched with envious eyes the extension of her possessions and the uninterrupted stream of gold that flowed into her coffers. As the route by which this wealth reached her ports of Cadiz and Seville had a direct bearing on her policy with regard to Florida, we will now proceed to consider how vast this wealth was, the path by which it crossed the Atlantic, and the risks to which it was exposed on its way.

Whether 1497 or 1501 be fixed upon for the inception of commercial relations between Spain and the Indies, the establishment of the Casa de Contratación in Seville, by cédula of February 14, 1503, through which all business with the Indies was compelled to pass, with the appointment of its governing board consisting of three officers, agent, treasurer, and accountant, indicates that

¹ *Spanish Settlements*, 1513-1561, p. 376.

even at that early period a trade of considerable magnitude was already in existence.¹

The bulk of the exports from the mother country consisted chiefly of grain and provisions, arms, ammunition, and clothing, for the colonists were still comparatively few in number, and their warlike occupations gave them little leisure to indulge in luxuries. Horses and cattle, seed, plants, and instruments of agriculture occasionally formed a part of the cargo of the outgoing vessels, and slaves, both black and white, as we have seen in a previous volume. These exports were encouraged by an absolute freedom from duties during the first half of the sixteenth century and by the opening of other ports of the realm to the West India traffic.² The vessels returned from the Indies loaded with brazil and other native woods, dye-stuffs, medicinal herbs, cotton, hides, gold, and silver, and articles of native production.

It is difficult at this distance of time, and with the limited data at our command, to determine with any approach to exactitude the value of the precious metals exported from Spanish America to the mother country during the first half of the sixteenth century. Moncada states that by 1595 two thousand millions of registered gold and silver had entered Spain from the Indies since their discovery,³ and Navarette, writing in 1626, asserts

¹ D. Rafael Antunez y Acevedo. *Memorias Históricas sobre la Legislación y Gobierno del Comercio de los Españoles con sus Colonias en las Indias Occidentales*, Madrid, 1797, pp. 1, 3.

² Antunez, *ibid.*, pp. 21, 24. The cédula of January 15, 1529, opened nine ports in addition to that of Cadiz. This privilege appears to have fallen into disuse, owing, among other reasons, to the necessity of sailing in convoy and the imposition of export duties. It was revoked in 1573. *Ibid.*, pp. 11, 13, 20, 22. The cédula is given in full, *ibid.*, Appendix, p. 1. See E. G. Bourne, "Spain in America," New York, 1904, in *The American Nation: A History*, vol. iii., pp. 282-284, for Spain's colonial commerce during this period.

³ Sancho de Moncada. *Restauración Política de España, Primera Parte, Deseos Públicos al Rey Don Filipe Tercero nuestro señor*. Madrid, 1619, "Discurso Tercero," cap. i., fol. 21b.

that during the century comprised between the years 1519 and 1617 this imported wealth amounted to 1536 millions.¹ As the new country became known and the mines were discovered and worked, the annual importations of the precious metals, though comparatively small at first, increased rapidly. It is reported that during four years of the period which we are now considering (1564, 1566, 1567, and 1568) something like thirty and a half million dollars found their way into Spain, an estimate which does not include quantities of jewels and precious stones. This was an enormous sum, when we consider that its purchasing power was perhaps fourfold what it is to-day. What may have been the total value of the unregistered wealth surreptitiously introduced into the kingdom from the same sources through the connivances of interested and dishonest officials, it is naturally impossible to determine. Unquestionably it must have been very great when we consider the facilities that were offered for defrauding the revenue.²

Spain quickly recognised that her increasing prosperity could not be displayed with impunity before the greedy eyes of her less fortunate neighbours. Neither was she slow in taking the necessary precautions. "*En boca cerrada no entran moscas,*" says the Spanish proverb, and in two different directions did Spain strive to exclude these buzzing flies from her succulent morsels, that she might close to them every channel of information concerning her West Indian possessions. In the first place, she sought to prevent the publication of all charts and maps which could indicate the way thither. This did not arise from any absence of information concerning her distant domains. As the discoveries progressed the mass

¹ Pedro Fernandez Navarrete, *Conservación de Monarquías*, Madrid, 1626, p. 143. And see Humboldt, *Ensayo Político*, tomo iii., p. 316; E. G. Bourne, "Spain in America," p. 301.

² See Appendix A. Registered Gold and Silver imported into Spain from the West Indies.

of geographical material accumulated by Spanish mariners and explorers became accessible to the map makers, for masters of vessels and pilots were required to keep a record of their journeys for the purpose of facilitating the navigation of the Atlantic.¹ A register was kept of all the islands, bays, shoals, and ports, their contours and locations, and the distance of the voyages to the Indies, which was deposited in the Casa de Contratación in Seville there to be "well guarded and concealed"; every precaution was taken to see that pilots and masters of vessels were thoroughly equipped with all the nautical knowledge and the instruments pertaining to their art, and discoverers were ordered to forward a full and complete relation of all they had done to the Council of the Indies.²

As early as 1511 it was forbidden to supply foreigners with charts or maps,³ and in 1527 Charles V. enacted that even pictures and descriptions of the Indies should not be sold or given to them without special licence.⁴ Such was the secretiveness of the authorities that no official map of the western discoveries was published in Spain until the year 1790, and it has been thought that this reticence on the part of the Government may have led to the suppression of Peter Martyr's *First Decade* and of the La Cosa Map, which was in some of the copies.⁵

¹ Herrera, *Historia de las Indias Occidentales*, Madrid, 1730, tomo ii., dec. 4, lib. ii., cap. vi., p. 32, 1527.

² *Recopilación de Leyes de los Reinos de las Indias*, Madrid, 1841, lib. ix., tit. xxiii., ley 12, tomo ii., p. 303.

³ *Ibid.*, lib. iv., tit. i., ley 14, 1542, tomo ii., p. 95. For early regulations of this description see *Final Report of Investigations among the Indians of the Southwestern United States, Carried on Mainly in the Years from 1880 to 1885*, By A. F. Bandelier, part i., p. 45, note 1. See also Henry Harrisse, *The Discovery of North America*, pp. 11-17.

⁴ Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., p. 113, note 3.

⁵ *Recopilación*, lib. ix., tit. xxiii., ley 14, tomo iii., p. 303; Kohl's essay on the Ribero Map in *Maine Hist. Col.*, 2d series, vol. i., p. 302.

⁶ J. C. Brevoort, in his "Notes on the Verrazano Map" (*Journal of the Am. Geographical Soc. of New York*, 1873, vol. iv., p. 240,) and in

The other precaution taken was the total exclusion of foreigners from the crews of vessels sailing to the West Indies. Masters of vessels were required to be natives of Castile, Aragon, or Navarre, and no foreigners were permitted to hold the office.¹ No foreign sailors were allowed in the armadas and fleets sailing to the Indies, and officers were commissioned with authority to visit the outgoing vessels in order to assure themselves of the due execution of the law and to prevent their embarkation.² Finally the exclusion of foreigners from the Indies in any other capacity except under licence was rigorously enacted.³ But the sheen of the gold was too dazzling to be hidden in this ostrich-like fashion, and in a hundred different ways the story of Spain's newly acquired wealth reached the outer world, and the knowledge of it spread. The French ambassador at Madrid, M. de Fourquevaux, kept his Most Christian Majesty fully informed of the expected treasure fleets from Peru and Mexico and of their arrival.⁴ The banks at Lyons were also advised of the same.⁵ Portuguese agents sought to bribe Spanish pilots to show them the way.⁶ French pilots went to Seville and se-

Verrazano the Navigator, New York, 1874, p. 102, cited also in *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., p. 113, notes 2 and 3.

¹ *Recopilación*, lib. ix., tit. xxiii., ley 4, 1527, tomo iii., p. 303.

² *Ibid.*, lib. ix., tit. xxv., ley 12, 1553, tomo iii., p. 317, *ibid.*, ley 14, 1554.

³ *Recopilación*, lib. iv., tit. ii., ley 1, 1501 and 1526, tomo ii., p. 96; *ibid.*, tit. i., ley 3, tomo ii. p. 93, and lib. ix., tit. xxvi., ley 1, 1560, tomo iv., p. 1. Instructions given to Ovando, September 17, 1501. Instructions given to the Casa de Contratación by Ferdinand and Isabella in 1510. Antunez, *Memorias*, pp. 41-42, 268 *et seq.* E. G. Bourne, "Spain in America," New York, 1904, in *The American Nation: A History*, vol. iii., p. 245, instances some of the exceptions.

⁴ *Dépêches de M. de Fourquevaux Ambassadeur du Roi Charles IX. en Espagne 1565-1572*, publiées par M. l'Abbé Douais, Paris, 1896, pp. 97, 124, 126, *et passim*.

⁵ Alava à Philippe II., Lyon, 22 Juillet, 1564, MS. Arch. Nat., Paris, K, 1502 (10).

⁶ Herrera, tomo i., dec. i., lib. vii., cap. iii., p. 197.

cretly made the voyage to the Indies as sailors on Spanish vessels.¹ Shipwrecked mariners and unsuccessful colonists rescued by passing vessels brought their knowledge to the country of their rescuers, while paid spies and informers were employed by the countries interested in obtaining such information.

With the rapid extension and increase of this traffic the high seas were soon filled with vessels of other nationalities preying upon it. To these France and England contributed the greatest number. During the first half of the century France and Spain, it is true, were almost continually at war with each other except for brief intervals of peace in which to recover breath. England was ostensibly at peace with Spain for the entire period. But the piratical subjects of both countries, acting apparently in defiance of the wishes of the home Government, were in reality often in secret connivance with interested officials of the most exalted position. The French corsair, Jean Florin, identified by some authorities with the explorer Verrazano, captured the treasures sent home by Cortés²; French pirates sank Spanish vessels which were coming from Peru,³ or made a bold descent upon Havana⁴; the announcement was made of the fitting out of a

¹ Christobal de Haro to Charles V., April 8, 1541, MS. Arch. Gen. de Indias, Sevilla, est. 143, caj. 3, leg. 11.

² *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. iv., pp. 5, 21, 1523. E. G. Bourne ("Spain in America," New York, 1904, in *The American Nation: A History*, vol. iii., p. 143, note 3) says the identity of Verrazano with Florin has been disproved by Peragallo, *Bull. of the Soc. Geog. Ital.*, 3d series, vol. ix., p. 189, and had never any documentary evidence to rest on.

³ "Réponses du ministère de France à diverses réclamations présentées au nom de l'Empereur par Jean de Saint Mauris, son ambassadeur (1545, avril ou mai)." Sans date. *Papiers d'État du Cardinal de Granvelle d'après les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Besançon*, publiés sous la direction de M. Ch. Weiss, Paris, 1841, vol. iii., p. 140.

⁴ "Relación de lo subcedido en la Habana, cerca de la entrada de los Franceses en ella." In *Colección de varios Documentos para la Historia de la Florida y Tierras adyacentes*, By Buckingham Smith, Londres (1857?), tomo i., p. 202.

fleet in England for the purpose of sacking the island of Madeira.¹ The cutting out of a treasure ship of the fleet returning from the Indies² became of such frequent occurrence that as early as 1541 Spain sought to obtain from the English Government a statute forbidding the sailing of any armed vessels from its ports for Brazil or the Indies without security being given by their commanders that they would not molest Spanish subjects.³

Particularly exposed to depredations of this nature were the many vessels which, shipping hides, sugar, and cassia in the islands of Puerto Rico and Hispaniola, threaded the Gulf of Mexico to carry their merchandise to Tierra Firma, Honduras, and Spain. These vessels were unwilling to sail home in convoy with the fleet which gathered at Havana for that purpose, because it would involve them in serious delay; and thus, compelled to return unattended with the money which they had obtained in exchange for their merchandise, they fell an easy prey to the pirates infesting the Gulf of Mexico.⁴

Necessity soon pointed the way to a method of self-protection, and very early in the course of the century it became customary for the vessels going to and arriving from the Indies to sail together in company in order to

¹ "Copia de carta de Su Majestad al Conde de Feria, fecha en Bruselas a 24 de Abril de 1559" in *Colección de Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España*, por el Marqués de la Fuensanta del Valle, D. José Sancho Rayon y D. Francisco de Zabalburu, tomo lxxxvii., pág. 176.

² "Capítulo de carta del Obispo Quadra á S. M. de 16 de Agosto de 1561," in *Col. Doc. Inédit. Hist. España*, tomo lxxxvii., pág. 364.

³ Eustace Chapuys to the Queen Regent, Jan. 2 (4), 1541, London, in *Calendar of State Papers, Spanish*, vol. vi., Pt. I., p. 304.

⁴ Pero Menendez (de Avilés) sobre el Remedio, pa. q̄ haya muchos nabios (undated), Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 28, 366, fol. 299b. The letter appears from internal evidence to have been written at some date between July, 1561, and the spring (?) of 1562, prior to any Spanish knowledge of the French occupation of Florida, Avilés being then in Spain, having returned from his second voyage to the Indies.

afford one another mutual protection.¹ It was one of the duties of the *visitador* of the Casa de Contratación not only to see that the vessels were properly equipped with a crew and supplies for the long voyage, but also that they carried arms and ammunition with which to encounter the sea-robber.² But as the sailing together of the vessels was not compulsory, individual ships or a small company of two or three would set out under a special permit and meet their fate at the hands of the pirates, to whom they could offer no effective resistance. A stop was at last put to this by royal *cédula* of July 16, 1561. It was enacted that in January and August of every year two expeditions should sail from the *rio de Sevilla*, the one called the Fleet of New Spain, with destination for the Antilles and the Gulf of Mexico, and the other called the Fleet of Tierra Firme for Carthagea. The two fleets were to proceed together under the command of an admiral, and on arriving off Dominica, the vessels destined for New Spain were to divide from those destined for Tierra Firme, with the General of the fleet in command of the one and the Admiral of the other.³

Another danger to which the merchant fleet was exposed arose from the selfishness of individual captains who endeavoured to save themselves at the expense of their companions. On an attack of the pirates the vessels would disperse like a flock of frightened sheep, those that were swift and light abandoning those that were slow and more heavily laden to the mercy of the enemy; and the rumour of the presence of a pirate in the neighbourhood of a port would inspire them with such terror that

¹ Antunez, *Memorias*, pp. 83, 84, thinks it dates from the beginning of the commerce of the West Indies.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 59, 61, 69, and see also the *cédula* of Feb. 13, 1552, *ibid.*, p. 16.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 85; *Disquisiciones Nauticas*, por Cesareo Fernandez Duro, Madrid, 1877, p. 169.

it would delay the sailing for days. To this danger the fleet was particularly exposed in time of war, and in 1521 an armada was sent to protect the merchantmen arriving from the Indies, owing to the presence of French vessels off the coast of Andalusia and of Algarve.¹ The following year an armada was sent as far as the Canaries to convoy the outgoing India fleet. In 1532, fearing the revival of a war with France, an armada was raised to protect the vessels arriving from the Indies. In 1552 it was provided that an armada of four galleons and two caravels should escort the fleet, a second be raised in Santo Domingo for the protection of the coasts, and a third be stationed off Cape St. Vincent in Spain to guard against pirates.² Finally, under the cédulas of July 15, 1561, which regulated the sailing of the fleets, and another of October 18, 1564, arose the *Armada de las Carreras de las Indias*,³ whose duty it was to escort the fleets on their way to the Indies. It then awaited in Havana the gathering of the various vessels and treasure ships from Tierra Firma and New Spain, and accompanied the treasure fleet and the merchantmen, who sought its protection on their return passage across the ocean.⁴

The fleets sailed twice a year from Havana during the summer season, passed northward through the Straits of Florida, or the Bahama Channel as it was then generally called, until they reached the neighbourhood of Bermuda, when they set their course for the Azores and from thence to Seville.⁵ The passage through the Channel,

¹ Herrera, tomo ii., dec. 3, lib. i., cap. xiv., p. 23.

² Duro, *Disquisiciones*, pp. 167, 168; Antunez, *Memorias*, pp. 20, 178.

³ Antunez, *Memorias*, pp. 15, 16; *Recopilación*, lib. ix., tit. xxx., ley 55, tomo iii., p. 49.

⁴ Pero Menendez (de Avilés), *sobrel Remedio*, pa. 7̄ haya muchos nabios, Brit. Mus. Add. MSS., 28, 366, fol. 299b; Duro, *Disquisiciones*, p. 168.

⁵ *Pero Menendez (de Avilés) sobrel Remedio*, fol. 299b. Derrotero y señas de tierra y sondas de la costa de la nueva españa y de tierra firme y buelta de las yndias a españa . . . por fran^{co} manuel . . . empesose a 15 de

discovered by Ponce de Leon¹ in his first expedition, was considered a dangerous one² on account of the prevalence of violent storms at certain seasons of the year, the roughness of its waters, and the ever-present peril of the reefs at its entrance, the Martyr Islands of the early maps. In its narrowest part it is but thirty-nine miles wide, and from the earliest times that its blue and tepid currents were ploughed by the keels of the Spanish galleons the wreckage along the Florida coast attested its terrors to navigators. So fatal was the Channel to merchantmen and treasure fleets, that in the course of the following century the assistance rendered to Spaniards cast away on the Florida shore, the large number of lives rescued, and the watch kept upon the passing vessels by the coast Indians, subject to the Spanish rule at St. Augustine, were perhaps the most powerful of all the arguments presented by the Spanish inhabitants of Florida against the abandonment of the colony. Even prior to the Spanish settlement at St. Augustine, and shortly after Menéndez de Avilés returned from his second voyage to the West Indies, he had begun to urge upon the King the necessity of locating and establishing ports of refuge in the neighbourhood of the Channel, where vessels disabled in its passage and in the region of the "still vex'd Bermothes" could put in for repairs, and thus avoid the long and perilous return to Puerto Rico.³ It is not difficult to conceive with what apprehension the Government viewed the possibility of the establishment of a piratical band in

abril año del señor 1583 $\overline{\text{as}}$. Brit. Mus. Add. MSS., 28, 189, and see earlier maps. J. C. Brevoort in his "Notes on the Verrazano Map" (*Journal of the Am. Geographical Soc. of New York*, 1873, vol. iv., p. 239,) and in *Verrazano, the Navigator*, New York, 1874, p. 101, gives a good note on the routes to and from the West Indies. Gomara, *Histoire Générale des Indes Occidentales*. Ed. Fumée, Paris, 1587, liv. vi., chap. xxvi., p. 479 *et seq.*

¹ Herrera, tomo i., dec. I., lib. ix., cap. xii., p. 250.

² Antunez, *Memorias*, p. 91.

³ *Pero Menendez (de Avilés) sobre el Remedio*, fol. 300b.

some stronghold along the shore, within easy reach of the golden flood which at stated intervals flowed through the Channel, or the passing of the Floridian Peninsula and the territory to the north of it into the grasp of another nation with as keen an appetite for the yellow metal as its own, even though it might be a Catholic power and friendly for the time being.

Another and very imminent danger attendant upon any settlement by a foreign power in the vicinity of the West Indies and of the route of the treasure ships arose from conditions peculiar to the population which at that time occupied the Spanish colonies, a danger which pointed more particularly to France. As early as 1514 the rapid increase of the negro slaves in Hispaniola had already become a source of fear to the white population, and measures had been taken to prevent it;¹ this as well as the slave insurrection in Ayllon's colony,² probably the first of its kind within our country, indicate but too clearly the treatment to which the negro population was subjected at the hands of its masters. By 1560 the natural increase of that prolific race, coupled with the constant inflow brought by the slave-traders, had created a most alarming preponderance in their number over that of the whites. Says Menéndez de Avilés in his letter to the King, previously referred to:

“ In the Island of Puerto Rico there are above 15,000 negroes and less than 500 Spaniards, and in all of the Island of Hispaniola there may be 2000 Spaniards and there are over 30,000 negroes, . . . the same is the case in the island of Cuba and in Veracruz, Puerto de Cavallos, which is in Honduras, and in Nombre de Dios, Carthagená, Santa María, and the coast of Venezuela, where there are twenty negroes to one white man, and with the lapse of time they will increase to a great many more.”

¹ *Spanish Settlements*, 1513-1561, p. 112.

² *Ibid.*, p. 167.

And then he points the moral and lays bare the danger.

“In France no negro is a slave, neither can he become one by law of the realm. Were France to arm three or four thousand men they would be masters of all these islands, and ports of Tierra Firme; for the city of Santo Domingo, which is the strongest, is easily taken, in spite of the fort, bulwarks, and artillery; and 500 harquebus men—for the honour of the city I do not say fewer—could take it with ease, and by freeing the negroes, most of whom are *ladinos*¹ and natives of the land, and by liberating them, so that they be no longer slaves, they would kill their own masters, and put all their faith in the French, because the French had made them free.”²

Menéndez was wise and timely in his warning against French aggression, as we shall soon see.

France, England, and Portugal had all turned their eyes on the New World, were spying out its possibilities, and seeking to reap what advantage they could from the knowledge so obtained. Of the three powers mentioned, England was, for the time being, the least to be dreaded. Although the Cabot expedition had called forth a protest from Spain, the charters for discovery and colonisation granted to him and others were “without prejudice to Spain and Portugal,” and respected the papal bull of demarkation. The early part of the sixteenth century was spent in building up the English navy as a distinct service, and the country was largely occupied with its revolt from Rome, the final success of which was instrumental in breaking down the respect for the papal bull which had stood in the way of England’s discovery and colonisation

¹ A ladino was a slave who had served over one year.

² *Pero Menendez (de Avilés) sobre el Remedio*, fol. 300. “Memorial de Pedro Menéndez de Avilés,” undated [1561–62?] in E. Ruidíaz y Caravia, *La Florida*, Madrid, 1893, tomo ii., p. 322. “Vida y Hechos de Pero Menendez de Avilés,” por Bartolomé Barrientos, in *Dos Antiguas Relaciones de la Florida*, Genaro García, México, 1902, p. 29.

in more favourable climates of North America than those visited by the Cabots. It was this infant navy which became the cradle of the Stukeleys, Hawkinses, and Drakes, who were to carry her flag in triumph over seas.¹ The period in the era of Spanish enterprise in our country which we have now reached (1560-62) was but the dawn of their energy before which the older Spanish naval supremacy was destined finally to succumb, and Spain's watchful jealousy of English aggression in America can be best considered when the English colony in Virginia began to arouse her active resentment. For all that, Spanish vigilance was in no wise relaxed, and her ambassadors at the English Court kept her faithfully informed of all rumours and designs upon her West Indian possessions.²

Portuguese pretensions and Spanish distrust began with the return of Columbus from his first voyage.³ Pope Eugenius IV. had granted Portugal the right in perpetuity to all heathen lands that might be discovered beyond Cape Bojador on the African coast, including India. This grant had been solemnly confirmed by succeeding popes, and Spain, by the treaty of 1479, had pledged herself not to interfere. But the return of Columbus from his first expedition aroused in the suspicious mind of King John of Portugal the fear lest he might have been trespassing upon these rights, although Pope Alexander VI. had issued his second bull of May 4, 1493, with the express intention of avoiding any such conflict between the

¹ Froude mentions as an important element of the success of the English navy the boat with sails trimmed fore and aft, which could work to windward, invented by Mr. Fletcher of Rye. *English Seamen in the Sixteenth Century*, by James Anthony Froude, New York, 1895, p. 12.

² *The Discovery of America*, by John Fiske, Boston and New York, 1892, vol. ii., p. 17. *The Genesis of the United States*, by Alexander Brown, Boston and New York, 1890, vol. i., p. 2, note.

³ Herrera, tomo i., dec. I, lib. ii., cap. viii., p. 47 and cap. 10, p. 49 (1593).

two powers.¹ King John threw out hints of an immediate rupture to the Spanish embassy sent to announce to him the departure of Columbus on his second expedition, and appears to have contemplated seriously the sending of a small fleet to take possession of some point in Cathay or Cipango, and then to dispute the Spanish claims. But a vigilant eye was kept upon his movements, the equipment of the fleet was delayed by diplomatic means, and in the following year by the treaty of Tordesillas the line of demarkation was advanced westward 370 leagues beyond the Cape de Verd Islands, which secured Brazil, accidentally discovered in 1500, to the Portuguese Crown.²

The progress of Spanish discovery and the wealth which it brought to light did not tend to lessen the envy of Emanuel I., King John's successor, and so persistent were his efforts to learn the path followed by the Spanish adventurers that in 1510 Charles V. sent him word by Alonso de la Puente that he was to make an end of stealing Spanish pilots.³ The following year, Portugal seized the Moluccas, and in 1514 an expedition to Darien was only stopped by the timely protest of Spain.⁴ Disputes were soon rife between the rival powers as to the longitude of the Moluccas in respect to the dividing line at the antipodes, which Pope Alexander had failed to define. On account of the intensifying of these disputes Spain postponed the proposed Gomez expedition of 1523, and in the following year (1524) the Congress called at Badajos to settle the question, broke up after two months

¹ Fiske, *Discovery of America*, vol. i., pp. 325 and authorities there cited, 441, 445, 453; *Ferdinand and Isabella*, by William H. Prescott, Philadelphia, 1869, vol. ii., pp. 174, 175.

² Herrera, tomo i., dec. 1, lib. ii., cap. v., p. 43 *et seq.*; Fiske, *Discovery of America*, vol. ii., pp. 97, 98, 453, 459; Prescott, *Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. ii., pp. 176, 177, 181.

³ Herrera, tomo i., dec. 1, lib. vii., cap. xiii., p. 196.

⁴ *Ibid.*, tomo i., dec. 1, lib. x., cap. x., p. 282.

of wrangling, each party still holding to its own opinion.¹ Only six years later (June 20, 1530) was a peaceful conclusion reached by Spain's relinquishment to Portugal of all her rights thereto under the bull of demarkation.² But Portuguese sailors still passed westward in Spanish ships and studied the waterways of our Atlantic coast, probably in search of a westward passage to the Moluccas. As late as 1562 Menéndez complains that in Villafañe's expedition to Florida, as well as in that of the Moluccas,

"there were many Portuguese fighting men and very good pilots, and two [of them] who had been captains of caravels of the King of Portugal's armada, who, it appears, were sent there by their king or by his council to understand and learn those navigations and lands and their secrets and of what matters the captains of your majesty treat with the peoples of those lands,"

and he urges upon the King the exclusion of all foreigners.³ For many years after, the ships and adventurers of France and England drew an unfailing supply of skilful pilots from the little kingdom, sometimes enlisting them by cunning, sometimes by force, and not infrequently finding in them ready and willing servants to conduct their most hazardous enterprises.

In January, 1548, while present at the Diet of Augsburg, Charles V., believing his end near at hand, had, among other instructions advised his son, Philip II.,

"In respect to the Indies, have a care to be ever on the watch if the French wish to send an armada thither, secretly

¹ Herrera, tomo ii., dec. 3., lib. iv., cap. iii-viii., pp. 178-188.

² *Ibid.*, tomo ii., dec. 4, lib. v., cap. x., p. 93 *et seq.*; Prescott, *Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. ii., pp. 180, 182 and authorities in note 29; *Christopher Columbus*, by Justin Winsor, Boston and New York, 1891, pp. 589-591.

³ *Pero Menendez (de Avilés) sobre el Remedio*, fol. 303.

or otherwise, and to notify the governors of those parts to be on their guard and where and when necessary in conformity therewith, to resist the said French; for though they have often undertaken to go there, it has been observed that their armadas have not endured and more than that, when resistance is offered them, then they weaken and go to pieces; and thus it is of much advantage to be ready to hand against them."¹

The Emperor's advice was based upon no vague prejudice concerning a neighbour with whom he was constantly at war; whose intrigues were for ever fomenting fresh trouble for Spain, and whose King had said of the Indies that "God had not created those lands solely for Castilians."²

Breton fishermen had been familiar with the Newfoundland fisheries for many years before Verrazano's much-disputed expedition to America in 1524 first gained for him the notice and favor of Francis I., by whom, indeed, it is said to have been authorised.³ We have no knowledge of any interference of Spain with the first and second voyages of Jacques Cartier in 1534 and 1535; but in 1537, while the war was still in progress in which Francis I. had revived his pretensions to Italy, and only a few months after Cartier's return, in July, 1536, from his second expedition, Charles V. was considering whether some article ought not to be introduced in his instructions to Los Cobos and Granvelle for treating with the Grand Master of France to prevent King Francis from any

¹ "Instrucciones de Carlos Quinto á Don Felipe su hijo," Augusta á 18 de enero, 1548, in Ch. Weiss, *Papiers d'État du Cardinal de Granvelle*, vol. iii., p. 295.

² Herrera, tomo ii., dec. 3, lib. vi., cap. ix., p. 189.

³ Shea's *Charlevoix*, vol. i., p. 107; cited in *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. iv., p. 5 and note 1; Henry C. Murphy, *The Voyage of Verrazano*, New York, 1875, p. 163, and B. F. Da Costa, *Verrazano the Explorer*, New York, 1880, p. 25.

undertaking in the Indies.¹ In the following year the King and Queen of Portugal were informed of the Emperor's intention in this respect and of King Francis's answer thereto². Three years later (1540) Spain was urging the "slow-moving Portuguese" to take action against France in view of certain licenses granted by Francis to his subjects to sail for the East and West Indies;³ and in November of the same year Los Cobos wrote Luis Sarmiento de Mendoza, Spain's ambassador to Portugal, that while there was no fear of a French expedition against the Indies during the winter, "it must be borne in mind that when the Spring sets in, and the weather is fine and the winds are favourable they may all of a sudden be tempted to carry out their bad intentions."⁴

The Emperor did not wait for the French to act in order to ascertain their designs. Following the advice he had given his son, to forestall any attempt on their part to invade the Indies, he dispatched a secret agent, Don Pedro de Santiago, during the winter to see what the French were doing, and on Santiago's return he was sent a second time to visit the entire French coast from Bordeaux to Brittany and Normandy to learn what ships were arming in the different ports, their number and equipment, and if they were designed to rob or injure the shipping that came from the Indies. No port, however insignificant, appears to have been overlooked, and the agent, having ascertained that a fleet of thirteen sail,

¹ The Articles discussed with His Majesty at Monçon with regard to the instructions to be given to Cobos and Granvelle for treating with the Grand Master of France, 1537; *Calendar of State Papers, Spanish*, vol. v., Pt. II., p. 407.

² Luis Sarmiento (de Mendoza) to the Emperor, July 30, 1538; *Calendar of State Papers, Spanish*, vol. vi., Pt. I., p. 5.

³ Cardinal Tavera to the Emperor, Madrid, Oct. 11, 1540; *Calendar of State Papers, Spanish*, vol. vi., Pt. I., p. 279.

⁴ High Commander Cobos to Luis Sarmiento (de Mendoza), Madrid, Nov. 16, 1540, *Calendar of State Papers, Spanish*, vol. vi., Pt. I., p. 291.

with ammunition and artillery for a two-years' cruise, was being fitted out at St. Malo in command of Jacques Cartier, sought an interview with him and learned that his intention was to people a country called Canada.¹

The conclusions of the Councils of State and of the Indies, based upon Santiago's report, are particularly interesting in view of what actually occurred twenty years later; they find that the intention of the French is "to place themselves near the Bahama Channel, which is the best position they could take, when the war with France shall brake out, to harm the ships of the Indies, for most of them come through the said Channel of Bahama, and not a single one could pass without their seizing it."² They also advise that in place of the single caravel which the Emperor had ordered to follow Cartier's fleet three should be sent, and recommend that, on learning where the French intend to colonise, a person of capacity be appointed Captain General, who should publicly appear as its discoverer and apply for the right to conquer and colonise it, which should be done, however, at the cost of the royal treasury. Although the Cardinal of Seville did not accept the conclusion of the Councils as to the object the French had in view,³ the two caravels were dispatched,

¹ Carta de Cristoval de Haro al emperador Carlos 5^d, fecha en Burgos á 25 de henero de 1541, MS. De samano [Juan de Samano, secretary of Charles V.], traslado de una ca q̄ se escriuio a xpobal de haro, de Madrid, MS. (undated). Copia de la carta q̄ escriuio xpōual de haro a su m̄g. en ocho de abril, 1541, MS. All of these three letters in Arch. Gen. de Indias, Sevilla est., 143, caj. 3, leg. 11. An extract of this last letter is printed with out date or reference in *Una Expedición Española á la Tierra de los Bacallaos en 1541*, José Toribio Medina, Santiago de Chile, 1896, p. xxv. "Relación de lo que dice la espia que el Consejo de las Indias embió á Francia para saver lo de las Armadas que se preparaban allí," Buckingham Smith, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, tomo i., p. 107.

² "Lo que se acuerda en el Consejo de Estado y de Indias sobre lo que se presenta tocante al intento de la Armada de Francia, en respuesta á Su Majestad," Buck. Smith, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, tomo i., p. 109.

³ In his letter of June 10, 1541; Buck. Smith, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, tomo i., p. 111.

the one sailing from San Lucar, and the other from Bayonne in August of the same year, and but a few days apart.¹

In 1545 came official complaints concerning certain ships from Peru reported to have been sunk by two French vessels²; neither did the proposed Roberval expedition of 1547 escape the sharp eyes of the Spanish authorities.³ In 1549 Simon Renard, Charles V.'s ambassador at the French Court, was advised to inform himself "if vessels are being armed to go to the Indies, or to await on their passage near Seville ships of subjects of the said Emperor arriving from the Indies."⁴ In 1555 the French pirate, Pedro Beaguez, visited Santa Martha, and Jacques de Soria made a descent upon the island of Margarita, where the pearl fisheries were, seized the town through the treachery of one of its inhabitants, by the freeing of the negro slaves, and caused it to pay a heavy ransom. He next visited Santa Martha, where he betrayed what Pulgar calls his "Lutheran perfidy" by pillaging the church, and then burned Carthagena, and burned and sacked Santiago de Cuba and Havana.⁵

At last Charles V. and his son Philip, "King of Eng-

¹ Medina, *Expedicion á los Bacallaos*, pp. xxvii.-xxxv.

² "Réponses du ministère de France à diverses réclamations présentées au nom de l'Empereur par Jean de Saint Mauris, son ambassadeur" (1545, avril ou mai). Sans date. In *Papiers d'État du Cardinal de Granvelle*, vol. iii., p. 140.

³ Copie de ce qui a esté escript de Paris à l'abbé de Saint Vincent touchant (le) Canada," 1547; Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 28,596, fol. 154.

⁴ "Instructions à Simon Renard, ambassadeur à la cour de France." Sans date (Bruxelles, janvier, 1549), *Papiers d'État du Cardinal de Granvelle*, vol. iii., p. 343.

⁵ "Memorial de Pedro Menéndez de Avilés," undated, [1561-62?] Ruidíaz, *La Florida*, tomo ii., p. 322; *Historia General de las Indias Occidentales, Decada Nona*, continua la de Antonio de Herrera desde el año de 1555 asta el de 1565, Doctor D. Pedro Fernandez de Pulgar, tomo i., fol. 69, Bib. Nac., Madrid, MSS. 2796. And see the versified account of Juan de Castellanos in *Primera Parte de las elegias de varones illustres de Indias*, Madrid, 1589, p. 314.

land," succeeded in imposing the long-contemplated restrictions upon French activity in the Indies. In the truce of February 5, 1556, signed at Vaucelles and which was to last for five years, Henry II. agreed that "the subjects of the said Sir King of France or others at their behest shall not traffic, navigate, or trade in the Indies belonging to the said Sir King of England, without his express leave and license; otherwise, doing the contrary, it shall be allowable to proceed against them as enemies; the said truce remaining none the less in force and vigour."¹ The ink of the treaty of Vaucelles was scarcely dry when, four months later (June, 1556), the Neapolitan Pope, Paul IV., who had invoked the aid of the Turk in his struggle with Philip over the temporalities of the Church in Sicily and Naples, induced Henry to break it, and the three-years' war with France began which terminated with the treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis in 1559.

To the last moment of the truce Spanish vigilance continued on the alert. Villegaignon had sailed for Brazil the previous year under the auspices of Admiral Coligny to found a Protestant colony there, while Dona Juana, widow of Don John of Portugal, was Regent of Spain during Philip's absence in England and the Netherlands. Renard, who had a secret agent in Normandy giving him information of ships under construction and their destination,² wrote to the Regent in July, 1556, that Ville-

gaignon, "having seized a port in the passage of the Indies, is fortifying it and has advised the King of France, that if he will send him four or five thousand soldiers he will conquer a part of the

¹ *Corps Universel diplomatique du Droit des Gens*, J. Dumont, Amsterdam, La Haye, 1726, vol. iv., Partie III., p. 84. "Additions de quelques Articles au Traité de Vaucelles, etc."

² L'Ambassadeur Renard à Philippe II., Paris, 7 juillet, 1556; *Papiers d'État du Cardinal de Granvelle*, vol. iv., p. 622.

Indies for him and prevent the navigation of that part. . . . And as the French are arming vessels in Normandy and Brittany," continues Renard, "although they may be for another object, it appeared to me that I should not fail to give this advice, in order that your Highness may warn and advise those whom it concerns; for they could easily molest travellers and navigators to the said Indies."¹

In 1559 the treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis was signed between Philip and Henry II., by which France disgorged an accumulated plunder of years, said to have equalled in value one-third of the kingdom.² No reference was made to the Indies in the treaty itself. There appears, however, to have been an understanding that, while the French pirates and privateers were to be duly punished, and while France agreed that she would not interfere with Philip's West Indian possessions, she still insisted that the freedom of the sea was hers, as well as of those regions which did not belong to Spain, and that she would not "consent to be deprived of the sea and the heavens."³

Be that as it may, the Duke of Alba in a subsequent conversation with Fourquevaux, the French ambassador to Spain, implied that the omission in the treaty arose entirely from the absence of any adverse occupation of the Indies by the French at the time of its signing.⁴ In June of the same year Philip was married by proxy to the French Princess Isabella of Savoy, and in January, 1560, shortly after his return to Spain, he met her for the first time at Guadalajara. The close bonds now estab-

¹ L'Ambassadeur Renard (à la princesse de Portugal?). Sans date. (Commencement d'aout, 1556); *ibid.*, vol. iv., p. 658.

² *The Rise of the Dutch Republic*, John Lothrop Motley, New York, 1859, vol. i., chap. iii., p. 202.

³ Unsigned and undated note, 1564-1566, MS. Arch. Nat. Paris, K, 1503.

⁴ Lettre au Roi, 24 décembre, 1565, *Dépêches de M. de Fourquevaux*, p. 17.

lished between himself and France, which had been one of the main objects of the last treaty, were insufficient to quiet Philip's ever-suspicious spirit. Hardly had the marriage by proxy been performed, when the Duke of Alba, who had represented Philip at the ceremony, was writing to the King from Paris regarding the prohibition which the French King was to proclaim in respect to the navigation of the Indies.¹

In August of the same year Chantone arrived in Paris as Philip's ambassador, and began his complaints against the French piracies. During November and December Rouen citizens were arming vessels at Havre de Grace to plunder the Indies,² and December 24th Philip wrote directing him to oppose the granting by the French King of licences to go to the Indies, "because if they sought to conquer territory, it could only be on the same coasts which we already hold, or in our provinces, which we have discovered in those parts, and because they would not be able to maintain them."³

Early in January of the following year Chantone protested in open council against the equipment of the vessels already referred to. Admiral Coligny replied that none of them would be permitted to sail from Brittany or Normandy, where he commanded, either for the Indies or to their harm or that of any of the Spanish King's subjects.⁴ A few months later, again importuning the Cardinal of Lorraine in respect to suspicious vessels arming in the same ports, he received the curt reply that the French "were under no obligation to hold their vessels at the will of their neighbours, nor to be prevented from

¹ Letter of July 22, 1559, MS. Arch. Nat. Paris, K, 1492 (60).

² Letter of Nov. 15, 1559, Blois, MS. Arch. Nat. Paris, K, 1492 (77); and Dec. 2, 1559, *ibid.* (82), fol. 5.

³ Letter, Dec. 24, 1559, Paris, MS. Arch. Nat. Paris, K, 1493 (12).

⁴ Letter, Jan. 17, 1560, MS. Arch. Nat. Paris, K, 1493 (30).

sending them where it best suited their convenience, and if the Spaniards suspected their actions without reason, the French saw no way of undeceiving them.”¹

Everything aroused Chantone's suspicions, from the rattling of an anchor chain to the laying of a keel; and his eyes were never off the ports of Normandy and Brittany, hotbeds of “Lutherans” and breeding-grounds of pirates. Early in the year 1561 reports of the arming of a fleet of ten galleys, manned by seventy “Lutheran” sailors, carrying fifty pieces of artillery, and provided with a launch for shallow water, for the purpose of pillaging the shores of the Indies and robbing the returning Spanish vessels, called for special remonstrance on the part of Philip.²

This was followed by a convention of ship captains held in England to which the captains of Normandy and Brittany were summoned, and whose action awaited the return of Coligny from Châtillon, where he had gone to spend Easter. “This junta of vessels has awakened my suspicions,” writes Chantone, “and I was anxious for some days, because the Admiral is a friend of novelties, and of seeking his own advantage. . . . It is also reported that the said ships are bound for the Indies.”³ In May he forwarded to the King a report of the ships in the various French ports.⁴ Coligny again readily promised that he would do all that was in his power, and what was just, to stop the piracies.⁵ Meanwhile the plundering, by corsairs, from Normandy and Brittany of Spanish vessels returning from the Indies and the slaughter of their

¹ Chantone to Philip, Nov. 20 and 22, 1560, MS. Arch. Nat. Paris, K, 1493 (107), fol. 2b.

² Letter, 1561, MS. Arch. Nat. Paris, K, 1495 (1) and Philip to Chantone, March 23, 1561, Toledo, MS. *ibid.*, K., 1495 (26).

³ Letter, April 7, 1561, MS. Arch. Nat. Paris, K, 1494 (73).

⁴ Letter, May 1, 1561, MS. *ibid.*, K, 1494 (84), forwarding the Report dated April 20, 1561, MS. *ibid.*, K, 1494 (80).

⁵ Letter, Nov. 9, 1561, MS. Arch. Nat. Paris, K, 1494 (107).

crews continued,¹ until Chantone, in justifiable indignation, writes his King under date of January 13, 1562, "with the robberies committed in the route of the Indies during the past days, all those of Normandy and Brittany are so possessed of greed, that there is not a man of those that follow the fleets who does not seek to own a ship or to have one built, although they would have to sell their inheritance to attain it," and he adds, "that all those who were engaged in this matter were heretics, and of those regarded with the most favour."²

¹ Letter, Aug. 11, 1561, MS. Arch. Nat. Paris, K, 1495 (62); letter, 1560 or 1561 (?), MS. *ibid.*, K, 1494 (17).

² Letter, Jan. 13, 1562, MS. Arch. Nat. Paris, K, 1497 (5).

CHAPTER II

THE FIRST FRENCH COLONY

IN the same letter of January 13, 1562, Chantone, after expressing his desperation in the terms just cited, informs Philip that "the three ships which I wrote Y. M. were preparing to sail for Florida have come to be six, and a number of people will go in them, and they will leave after the close of this month with the first fair weather. . . . The said six vessels go under the command of Jean Ribaut. . . . I will not fail to have a word about it with the Queen, although they deny that they are bound for those parts, but the thing is very certain, and it would be well, if it please Y. M., to mention it to Limoges."¹ Ten days later he saw Catherine de' Medici and handed her a memorandum on the subject, which she retained in order to show it to Coligny and to answer it by letter, while she assured him at the same time that nothing would be done to the detriment of Philip's interests.²

A week later Chantone, whose suspicions were thoroughly aroused, wrote Philip that an effort was being made to obtain the pardon of a certain Portuguese pirate, who had been implicated in robberies of the India fleet,

¹ Letter, Jan. 13, 1562, MS. Arch. Nat. Paris, K, 1497 (5). "Limoges" was Sébastien de l'Aubespine, Bishop of Limoges, French Ambassador to Spain at the time.

² Chantone to Philip II., Jan. 23, 1562, MS. Arch. Nat. Paris, K, 1497 (6).

