



Florida in the 16th Century
Exploration and colonization

María Antonia Sáinz Sastre

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Florida in the 16th Century. Introduction to the English Edition

PRELUDE

In April of 1513 Juan Ponce de León took possession of Florida for the Crown of Castile. The precise date –the 2nd or 3rd–, the route, the exact anchorage of his vessels and whether it was in the north-east, where Saint Augustine was later established, or in the Miami area to the south-west, are all a matter of dispute.¹ Others had been there before, but in search of Indians to subject to forced labor in Hispaniola, not with a view to colonizing. At first, Florida was thought to be an island, Bimini, known from the stories told by the Antillean Arawak as a place of immense riches and as the location of a fountain whose waters bestowed eternal youth.² It has even been debated whether that was the motive that prompted the conquistador to embark on his North American venture, and why he named the lands as he did, perhaps as a tribute to their beauty, because he arrived on the festivity of *Pascua Florida de Resurrección* or for both reasons at the same time.

What is undisputed is that in the conquest of the New World no other venture has such a distinct character as the Florida enterprise. The Spanish are said to have been reluctant to settle where there was no gold, silver or similar riches, and where they did not find a numerous population or societies already structured by a centralized political power, as in the lands of the Incas and Mexicas. And they had reason to be. But although Florida was a frontier territory,³ they did not refrain from colonizing it, precisely

¹ Edward W. Lawson.

Determination of the First Landing Place of Juan Ponce de León on the North American Continent in the Year 1513. St Augustine: Record Press, 1954, believes he landed in the north-east, while David O. True. 'The Freducci Map of 1514-1515'. *Tequesta*, Jacksonville, 4, 1944, pp 49-55, thinks he did so in the Miami area.

² Luis Hernández de Biedma. *Relación de la isla de La Florida.* In *Colección de varios documentos.* London: n.n., 1857 (2 v), v 2, pp 223-238, called it an *island* in the report on his expedition that he presented to the Council of the Indies in 1544, as did, for instance, Nicolas Le Challeux. *Historia memorable de la reconquista de la isla de la Florida.* In Eugenio Ruidíaz Caravia (ed.). *La Florida, su conquista y colonización por Pedro Menéndez de Avilés.* Madrid: Hijos de J. A. García, 1893 (2 v), v II, that recounts the conflict between the Spanish and French who tried to colonize the region in the 1560s. On the other

hand, Hernando de Escalante Fontaneda. 'Memoria de las cosas y costas y indios de La Florida, que ninguno de cuantos la han costeadado no la han sabido declarar'. In Joaquín F. Pacheco; Francisco de Cárdenas y Espejo; Luis Torres de Mendoza (Eds.). *Colección de documentos inéditos, relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de América y Oceanía, sacados de los archivos del reino, y muy especialmente del de Indias*. Madrid: Kraus, 1864 (42 v), pp 533 & ff, relates the fountain legend in his account of 1545 about his captivity among the Calusa Indians, although he is skeptical about whether it was the reason for Ponce de León's voyage. It is Antonio de Herrera. *Historia general de los hechos de los castellanos en las islas y tierra del mar oceano*. Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1934-58 (17 v, 1^a ed. 1559) who supports the idea, based on the former's testimony.

³ Amy Bushnell. *The King's Coffin: Proprietors of the Spanish Florida Treasury, 1565-1702*. Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1981, pp 9-12.

⁴ Lambert A. Wilmer. *The Life, Travels and Adventures of Ferdinand de Soto: discoverer of the Mississippi*. New York: Kessinger, 2001.

⁵ Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca. *La relación que dio Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca de lo acaecido en las Indias, en la armada donde fue por gobernador Pánfilo de Narváez, desde el año de veintisiete hasta el año de treinta y seis, que volvió a Sevilla con tres de sus compañeros*. Zamora, México: Agustín de Paz & Juan Picardo, 1542.

because of its distinctive character, since not all frontiers are the same. Florida is located on a key navigation route between the Indies and Europe and was therefore of prime importance for its defense and for that of the empire; the region was, furthermore, coveted by other Europeans as its strategic location allowed them to be close to the routes travelled by American trade and riches, and this soon made it for centuries to come a battleground for all the wars waged in the Old World. As if this were not reason enough, a permanent cause for conflict, namely religion after the Lutheran reformation, was also among the objects of dispute that the Spanish and French sovereigns transferred to North America as early as the 1560s.

All these features are common to Florida, the Lesser Antilles, the neighboring Bahamas and Turks and Caicos. What Florida does not share with them is its immensity, which provides it with a greater similarity to Mexico and Peru. It was soon known that the territory was not an island, and beyond the limits of its peninsular part, to the north, the Spanish 'discovered' the Appalachian heights, while exploring the west they came across the great Mississippi river. Hernando de Soto bivouacked by its banks in 1541,⁴ but its delta had already been sighted by Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, a member of Pánfilo de Narváez's

There are several subsequent editions, among them Juan E. Maura. *Naufrajos*. Madrid: Cátedra, 1989.

⁶ Joe A. Akerman. *Florida Cowman, a History of Florida Cattle Raising*. Kissimmee: Florida Cattlemen's Association, 1976; Charles W. Arnade. 'Cattle Raising in Spanish Florida, 1513-1763'. *Agricultural History*, Champaign, 5:3, 1961, pp. 116-124.

⁷ The bibliography mentions the various chronicles, and different editions of them,

along with studies about them both by authors who wrote about Florida in more general works—Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, Martín Fernández de Navarrete, Antonio de Herrera, Francisco López de Gómara, Juan López de Velasco, Pedro Mártir de Anglería—and by those—French and Spanish—who specifically wrote about events in the territory: Bartolomé Barrientos, Martín Basanier, Juan de Castellanos, Nicolás Le Challeavus, Fidalgo de Elvás, Hernando de Escalante Fontaneda,

expedition who played the leading role in America's greatest odyssey, as recounted in his *Naufragios*.⁵ He traversed the present-day territory of the southern United States and part of northern Mexico, reaching the sea in the Gulf of California, anticipating the adventure of the Far West by 300 years. But the Florida colony was not a forerunner only in that respect. Authors like Akerman and Arnade point out that Florida's geographical vastness, its few settlements and scant population explain why already in the 16th century the region had developed a cattle-herding activity that predated the cowboys of the Far West.⁶

The conquest and colonization of America are known, primarily, from the accounts of those who participated in them and wrote chronicles, and the Floridan epic generated extremely valuable narratives, both for the information they provide and on account of their literary worth.⁷ Cabeza de Vaca's *Naufragios*, which we have already mentioned, is an example, although the most conspicuous and transcendent account was written by a half-caste, Garcilaso de la Vega, who used the testimony of an eyewitness to recount the events, adventures and exploits of Soto's campaign in Florida.⁸ Garcilaso has generally been considered America's first writer and, further, as a universal forerunner of the Mannerism that preceded the Baroque⁹ due to his account

Genaro García, Dominique de Gourges, Luis Hernández de Biezma, René de Laudonnière, Francisco López de Mendoza Grajales, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, Juan Ocampo, Luis G. Oré, Jean Ribault, Manrique de Rojas and Gonzalo Solís de Merás. It additionally makes reference to the main collections of documents and to various books that are of value on account of their sources, for instance those by Charles E. Bennett (ed.), *Settlement of Florida*. Gainesville: University

of Florida Press, 1968; Lawrence A. Clayton; Vernon J. Knight; Edward C. Moore (eds.), *The De Soto Chronicles: The Expedition of Hernando de Soto to North America in 1539-1543*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1993 (2 v); Roberto Ferrando, *Viajes y viajes, viajes por Norteamérica*. Madrid: Quórum, 1987 (2 v); Benjamín F. French, *Historical Collection of Louisiana and Florida*. New York: J. Sabin & Son, 1869 (22 v); José M. Gómez Tabanera, *Franceses en La Florida*. Madrid: Historia

16, 1991; *Historiadores de Indias*. Barcelona: Instituto Gallach, 1985; John B. Stetson, *Collection of Books in English, Spanish, French and Other Languages on Exploration, History, Anthropology, and Similar Subjects Relating to the Western Hemisphere*. New York: Parke-Bernet Galleries, 1953; Carlos Mercado (ed.), *Menéndez de Avilés y la Florida: crónicas de sus expediciones*. Lewingston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2006; Basanier, *L'histoire*. Paris: n.n., 1586 (2 v); Pacheco et al. (eds.), *Colección*; Ruidíaz Caravía (ed.), *Florida*; Manuel Serrano y Sanz (ed.), *Documentos de la Florida y la Luisiana, siglos XVI al XVIII*. Madrid: Librería General de Victoriano Suárez, 1912; Leandro Tormo, *Viaje por Norteamérica*. Madrid: Aguilar, 1958 (2 v); Rubén Vargas Ugarte, *First Jesuit Mission in Florida*. New York: Catholic Historical Society, 1935, and Félix Zubillaga, *Monumenta antiquae Floridae, 1566-1572*. Rome: Monumenta Historica Soc. Iesu, 1946.

⁵ There are many editions. The bibliography cites some of them and many of the studies on the issue. Among the most recent are those by Silvia L. Hilton and Mercedes López-Baralt, Garcilaso de la Vega, *La Florida del Inca*. Madrid: Historia 16, 1986, and *Comentarios reales, La Florida del Inca*. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 2003.

⁶ Dario Puccini, 'Elementos de narración novelesca en *La Florida del Inca* Garcilaso'. *Revista Nacional de Cultura*, Caracas, 40:20, 1979, pp 26-47.

¹⁰ See Enrique Pupo-Walker. 'La Florida del Inca Garcilaso: notas sobre la problematización del discurso histórico en los siglos XVI y XVII'. *Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos*, Madrid, 139:417, 1985, pp 91-111, or Enric Vácarella. 'Echoes of Resistance: Testimonial Narrative and Pro-Indian Discourse in el Inca Garcilaso de la Vega's *La Florida del Inca*'. *Latin American Literary Review*, Washington, 2, 2004, pp 100-119, and for a contrast between Cabeza de Vaca's realist and Garcilaso's romantic and fictionalized visions, see José B. Fernández. 'Opposing Views of La Florida: Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca and El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega'. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Jacksonville, 55:2, 1976, pp 170-180.

¹¹ José Rabasa. 'Porque Soy Indio: Subjectivity in *La Florida del Inca*'. *Poetics Today*, Durham, 16:1, 1995, pp 79-108, and *Writing Violence on the Northern Frontier: The Historiography of Sixteenth Century New Mexico and Florida and the Legacy of Conquest*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2000. See also the collection of studies from different perspectives edited by Raquel Chang-Rodríguez (ed.). *Beyond Books and Borders: Garcilaso de la Vega and La Florida del Inca*. Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2006.

¹² Among other studies, see those by John H. Hann. *Missions to the Calusa*. Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1991; William Marquardt; Claudine

of what had occurred in lands so far from his own. In contrast to what others recounted about the Indies and their inhabitants, his work has been seen as a vindication of his own distinctive identity, no longer Spanish or native, but their combination: American. Of what there can be no doubt is that his discourse on the natives was very different from those of most of his contemporaries.¹⁰ Such a contrast led Rabasa to suggest from the perspective of the new cultural history and of neo-colonial studies that the writer from Cuzco created a different and minoritarian version of the 'otherness' of the American Indians, far removed from that engendered by the programme of violent and geocultural domination in which the conquistadors' quills are steeped.¹¹

If it is difficult to talk of a single discourse of colonial domination, since it varied over time and in response to different problems, it is even harder to do so in the case of a single dominated individual. Florida, again, was one of the few places, if not the only one, where the Spanish had to face different and disperse populations, few in number and independent of each other, in an enormous territory far from the viceregal centers of power. No one now claims that the natives did not resist conquest, their response differing only in degree, the instruments used, the strategies deployed, how it manifested itself and, of course, in its results, but in all of them the Floridians were at an advantage to the natives elsewhere. Only in the Greater Antilles would something similar have been possible, although it never did on account of their limited surface area and the aborigines' practical extinction.

It should be borne in mind that what was called Florida by the conquistadors and colonizers was a territory considerably larger than just the peninsula of that name. In their usage it covered all the land between the Mississippi (to the west), the Appalachians (to the north) and the Atlantic (to the east). The inhabitants of this vast Florida were not disposed to accept the Spaniards' presence and, if they did so, they resisted their dictates. Nothing else was to be expected, but the political-military and socio-religious mechanisms the Spanish had available to impose their

will proved to be inadequate in the context. There are a multitude of reasons for this as, in addition to the territory's vastness, its inhabitants' dispersion and independence, difficult communications and an inadequate number of Spaniards, there were other hindrances of a diverse nature. To mention just a few, the region had such complex and enigmatic cultures—for those who did not belong to them—as the Calusa, who had a degree of organization unheard of in a community that hardly practised agriculture, who engaged in fishing, navigation and even piracy, and who were able to dominate their neighboring tribes.¹² Furthermore, it was difficult for Europeans to understand that the distance between settlements, the nomadic lives of many of the peoples they encountered and the lack of any structure between them—which always played against the conquistadors, not only to make them submit but simply for the provision of food and other necessities—, did not mean that news regarding Spanish expeditions, encampments, routes and intentions did not circulate from one people to another with exceptional speed and ample detail.¹³

The Spanish soon realized that the natives were interested in seeking alliances with them in their inter-tribal struggles: such is human nature. They also came to understand the use of coded smoke signals to transmit information over long distances. However, it was much more difficult for them to perceive inner essences, as in the case of the mounds they saw in many settlements. These had been raised deliberately and in various forms: round, totemic, pyramidal and truncated with platforms at the apex. They are the only significant monumental

Payne (eds.), *Culture and Environment in the Domain of the Calusa*. Gainesville: Institute of Archaeology and Paleoenvironmental Studies, University of Florida, IAPS Books, 1992; or Randolph J. Widmer, *The Evolution of the Calusa: A Nonagricultural*

Chiefdom on the Southwest Florida Coast. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1998.

¹³ As regards the other indigenous cultures see, for instance, Charles Blanchard, *New Words, Old Songs: Understanding the Lives of Ancient Peoples in Southwest*

Florida Through Archaeology. Gainesville: IAPS Books, 1995; Dorothy Downs, *Art of the Florida Seminole and Miccosukee Indians*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1995; Jane M. Eastman; Christopher B. Rodning; Jerald T. Milanich (eds.), *Archaeological Studies of Gender in the Southeastern United States*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2001; Hann, *The Appalachian Indians and Mission San Luis*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998; Janet S. Matthews, *Edge of Wilderness: A Settlement History of Manatee River and Sarasota Bay, 1528-1885*. Tulsa: Caprine Press, 1984; Bonnie McEwan (ed.), *Indians of the Greater Southeast*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000; Milanich, *Archaeology of Precolonial Florida*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1994; Barbara A. Purdy, *Art and Archaeology of Florida's Wetlands*. Boca Raton: CRC Press, 1991; Marvin T. Smith, *Cooza: The Rise and Fall of a Southeastern Mississippian Chiefdom*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000; Dana M. Ste Claire, *Cracker: The Cracker Culture in Florida History*. Daytona Beach: Museum of Arts and Sciences, 1998; Brent R. Weisman, *Unconquered People: Florida's Seminole and Miccosukee Indians*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1999; John E. Worth, *The Timucuan Chiefdoms of Spanish Florida*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998 (2 v), or Leich J. Wright, *Creeks & Seminoles. The Destruction and Regeneration of the Muscogulge People*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986.

¹⁴ Specifically on the mounds, in addition to the studies already mentioned, see Jerry McDonald; Susan L. Woodward. *Indian Mounds of the Atlantic Coast: A Guide to Sites from Maine to Florida*. Newark: McDonald & Woodward Publishing Company, 1987.

¹⁵ Cury's Thomas. *Work in Mound Exploration of the Bureau of Ethnology*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of Ethnology, 1894. On how the Spanish viewed the Indians, in addition to the comments in this book, see Escalante Fontaneda. 'Memoria', or Juan de Ocampo. 'La gran Florida'. In Juan de Ocampo; fray Salcedo y Ordóñez; Diego Albéniz de la Cerrada. *La gran Florida por el maestro Juan de Ocampo; los Chiapas (ríos de La Plata y Paraguay), por F. Salcedo y Ordóñez; los desiertos de Achaguas (Hanos de Venezuela) por Diego Albéniz de la Cerrada*. Madrid: Edición América [1920], or the studies by McEwan (ed.). *The Spanish Missions of La Florida*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993, or Milanich. *Laboring in the Fields of the Lord: Spanish Missions and Southeastern Indians*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1999.

¹⁶ Robert H. Fuson. *Juan Ponce de León and the Spanish Discovery of Puerto Rico and Florida*. Blacksburg: McDonald & Woodward Publishers Company, 2000.

constructions of the aborigines of the American south-east and they served diverse purposes. Europeans generally failed to understand their deep cultural and religious meaning, but not so their use as a symbol of authority (the temples and Caciques' dwellings were placed at the top) and for purposes of defense, and they found it even more difficult to perceive the links between all these uses.¹⁴ Of course, there was no place in their mindsets for respect towards diversity. They sought domination and Christian –subsequently Roman Catholic– evangelization, some as an end, others as a means, and for that purpose their most urgent and important consideration was to look at the natives' structures and manifestations of power and their infrastructures for defence. At least they never doubted that the mounds were built by the natives, something that was subsequently consistently questioned until Thomas's report for the Smithsonian Institution was published in 1894.¹⁵

As regards the distinctiveness of the conquistadors, at least the same can be said as for the natives. If authors like Fuson have seen in Ponce de León values of honesty and rationality infrequent in his day and place,¹⁶ the problems besetting the colonization of Florida led to it being a lengthy process, with changes not only in strategy but also in the type of individuals involved. That the first to venture to the Indies did so for personal gain is well known, and for that reason they themselves usually bore the cost of their expeditions. They were at first a necessary evil that had to be tolerated by the Crown if it wanted to establish its dominion over unknown territories, although it swiftly created mechanisms to mitigate their worst excesses and to impose its authority. Individualism was never lacking among those who were entrusted with the government and administration of overseas possessions, among other reasons because the distance from the metropolis usually meant it was necessary to make decisions before submitting to the dictates of leaden-footed consultations, while the force of circumstance led to theoretically established principles often

being flouted. Nevertheless, the task was soon entrusted to officials appointed by the Crown.

The events of the first and subsequent Florida campaigns –those of Narváez and Soto were preceded by one led by Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón–, their failure to establish permanent settlements and make the Indians submit led to the tactics so far employed to be questioned and, even, to permission being denied to Julián de Sámano and Pedro de Ahumada to equip a new expedition in 1544. It was thought that the abuses inflicted on the aborigines since the times when they had been sought as captives and transported as forced labor to the Antilles was the cause of their hostility. Hence, to compensate, a mission was sent of a solely religious character. However, it achieved even less. Luis de Cáncer, its leader, died at the hands of the natives as soon as he landed in 1549. It is interesting to recall that in the same year a *Junta de los naturales* was convened in Valladolid to deal with the so-called *polémica de los naturales* and to examine the way in which the conquest and colonization of the Indies had been carried out until then.

Another unusual feature in the conquest of the New World was for the Crown to equip a party at its own expense. Such occurred with the expedition entrusted to Tristán de Luna, organized from the capital of New Spain and which reached Florida in 1559. But these were already other times, 60 years after the colonization of America had started. As pointed out by Céspedes, the Crown rapidly imposed its authority over the *hidalgos*, who had played the leading role in the early days of the conquest, although it is no less true that they had proved to be incapable of consolidating government and administration in a land conquered through their own efforts.¹⁷ In the case of Florida, the region's strategic value and the danger of enemy attacks, both of which justified the Crown's persistent interest in establishing its dominion, increased over the years, explaining the tactic essayed with the new expedition of 1559. Nonetheless, like its predecessors, it failed. It has been argued that the wrong leader was appointed,¹⁸ as occurred in the case of Cáncer and, as we shall see, of those who were

¹⁷ Guillermo Céspedes. *América hispánica (1492-1898)*. Barcelona. Labor, 1983, pp 90-96.

¹⁸ Herbert I. Priestley. *Tristán de Luna. Conquistador of the Old South: A Study of Spanish Imperial Strategy*. Glendale, California. Arthur H. Clark Company, 1936; Amade. "Tristán de Luna and Ochuse (Pensacola Bay), 1559". *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Jacksonville, 37:3-4, 1959, pp 201-222.

entrusted with religious affairs, but after so many futile efforts that was unlikely to be the main problem. However, the new approach ultimately proved to be the right way to achieve some success on American territory.

As soon as it was heard, in 1562, that a French party had tried to settle in Florida, Philip II sought the best candidate to establish his dominion and expel the intruders, who were furthermore Calvinists. Pedro Menéndez de Avilés was entrusted with the task and carried it out with relative success. He was an experienced man-at-arms, had already fought the French, was knowledgeable in navigation and had proved his worth in the organization of sundry enterprises.

Hoffman and Lyon coincide that Menéndez de Avilés, contrary to his predecessors, went to Florida with a plan. As a man used to serving the King and his foreign policy he was well acquainted with the empire's geostrategic interests.¹⁹ His mission was to ensure the defense of the northern boundaries of the Indies by controlling the territory of Florida and, therefore, the Florida Straits to counter the attacks of pirates and privateers and the incursions backed by other European kingdoms and to guarantee the security of the fleets, which required ejecting the French from them, establishing permanent settlements and fortifying them for their protection,²⁰ in addition to establishing the best possible relations with the natives and procuring their Catholic Christianization.

It is no mistake to say that given his antecedents, the new *Adelantado* was reasonably successful, neither more nor less than could be expected from someone of his background. It can equally be said that whenever he thought in Floridan terms he achieved results, although it was not feasible to do so in every case. It has already been said that at the time of his mission in America it was the Crown's decisions that prevailed when determining the objectives it was necessary to pursue and when choosing the right individuals to achieve them. The times had passed when the Crown would consider private offers of exploration and conquest. It has also been said that, nevertheless, a legacy of that period

¹⁹ Paul E. Hoffman. 'The Narrow Waters Strategies of Pedro Menéndez'.

Florida Historical Quarterly, Jacksonville, 45:1, 1966, pp 12-17; Eugene Lyon. 'Pedro Menéndez's Strategic Plan for the Florida Peninsula'. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Jacksonville, 67:1, 1988, pp 1-14.

²⁰ On the early history of these defences and their subsequent development, see Verne E. Chatelain. *The Defenses of Spanish Florida, 1565 to 1763*. Washington: Carnegie Institution, 1941.

was the high degree of individualism in these ventures, which was in any case inherent to the *modus operandi* of the political elite in Spain and other kingdoms. In that respect, although Menéndez de Avilés received a Royal order to consolidate his dominion over the North American south-east, he pledged his own fortune in the enterprise and, of course, for that reason he considered that he could expect to select his company and hope for future rewards for himself and his men.²¹ Thus, in his expedition he was accompanied by kin and countrymen and in all cases put them in positions of authority to administer and govern the territory he had been commissioned to conquer. It was a matter of trust.

The same reasons explain why despite having not only been commissioned by the King but also having his permanent backing and trust, Menéndez de Avilés should suffer the drawbacks inherent to such privileges, to the fame won through his own efforts and to the rewards received: confrontation with other royal officials, with the *Casa de Contratación* and with the governors of the American territories that he had to use as a base for his operations, for supplies or for potential help, particularly the Cuban authorities. Regardless of envy or, better said, at the service of other ends, these problems were no more than a manifestation of the way in which the Monarchy and its State guaranteed a counterweight to the power and enrichment of its loyal servants. Hence the fact that Lyon himself should state categorically that the Asturian *Adelantado* acted not only in accordance with a plan designed in the Empire's best interests but that at the same time the colonization of Florida had a notably private and familial character, on occasion opposed to the Royal interest.²²

With these components -a commission, a plan, a select company and powerful enemies-, Menéndez de Avilés arrived in Florida and governed it. In 1565 he established the first city in North America, St Augustine,²³ and two further settlements. He expelled the French, established relations with the Indians and enabled the missionaries to carry out their task. This varied set of circumstances

²¹ John F. Schwaller. 'Nobility, Family and Service: Menéndez de Avilés and his Men'. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Jacksonville, 66, 1988, pp 298-306.

²² Lyon. *The Enterprise of Florida: Pedro Menéndez de Avilés and the Spanish Conquest of 1565-1568*. Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1976.

²³ See Matthew J. Connolly. 'Four Contemporary Narratives of the Founding of St Augustine'. *Catholic Historical Review*, Washington, 51:3, 1965, pp 305-334; Kathleen A. Deagan. (ed.). *America's Ancient City: Spanish St Augustine, 1565-1763*. New York: Garland Press, 1991, or François A. de Montéquin. 'El proceso de urbanización en San Agustín de la Florida, 1565-1821: arquitectura civil y militar'. *Anuario de Estudios Americanos*, Sevilla, 37, 1980, pp 583-647.

²⁰ Stephen E. Reilly. 'A Marriage of Expedience: The Calusa Indians and their Relations with Pedro Menéndez de Avilés in Southwest Florida, 1566-1569'. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Jacksonville, 59:4, 1981, pp 395-421.

²¹ Lucy L. Wenhold. 'Manrique de Rojas' Report on French Settlement in Florida, 1564'. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Jacksonville, 38:1, 1959, pp 45-62, Lyon. 'The Captives of Florida'. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Jacksonville, 50:1, 1971, pp 1-24.

²² On the French expedition see also Gómez-Tabanera. *Francisco*; Francis Parkman. *Pioneers of France in the New World*. New York: Literary Classics of the United States, 1983; Antonine Tibesar (ed.). 'A Spy's Report on the Expedition of Jean Ribault to Florida, 1565'. *The Americas*, Washington, 11:4, 1955, pp 589-592; M. Adele F. Gorman. 'Jean Ribault's Colonies in Florida'. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Jacksonville, 44:1/2, 1965, pp 51-66; Hoffman. 'The Chicora Legend and Franco-Spanish Rivalry in La Florida'. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Jacksonville, 62:4, 1984, pp 419-438, or Albert W. Hammond (ed.). 'A French Document Relating to the Destruction of the French Colony in Florida at the Hands of the Spanish, 1565'. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Jacksonville, 39:1, 1960, pp 55-61.

was added to the various interests with which he had to contend and to the added component that the French were not only enemies but heretics. These very reasons led to the emergence of contradictions and, in turn, controversies regarding the enterprises' assessment.

With the natives Menéndez de Avilés acted prudently, staying out of their conflicts and avoiding any attempt to become entangled in them, behaving cautiously and with supreme equanimity even when they failed to keep agreements, for instance regarding the liberation of Spaniards who remained captive. In general he followed a policy of understanding and even of marriage alliances,²⁴ attempting not to repeat the errors of his predecessors. Against the French, to the contrary, he exercised cruelty, a practical policy if he is judged benevolently, but not otherwise. It is not just that he was relentless, that he did not rest until he completely defeated them and expelled them from the territory, but that once he achieved this he decided to kill them.²⁵ Those are the plain facts, although different interpretations are possible. The excuse is that the *Adelantado* consistently lacked sufficient supplies to guarantee the survival of his men and his settlements, hindered by the dilatoriness or even blank refusal to help of other Royal officials in Spain and the neighboring Spanish Antilles, and by the same difficulties experienced by other conquistadors before him to obtain supplies from the aboriginal tribes, who never had surpluses due to their nomadic lifestyle and weak organizational structure and reluctance to pay tribute with the regularity the circumstances demanded. He thought he would be incapable of feeding hundreds of French captives and that if he attempted to do so this would only cause serious conflict among his needy host and colonists.²⁶ They were no doubt new circumstances, but also different ones.

From the need to confront the French Calvinists while at the same time taking the Gospel to the Indians—as required by the Papal Bull that gave Spain the Indies, as ordered by the King and as dictated by obedience to his faith—arose

a further controversial decision by Menéndez de Avilés. This time he thought in less Floridan terms than on other occasions and, as we have already said, was less successful. He resolved that it would be the Jesuits who would take the Annunciation to the natives as they were the best prepared to counter the spread of Protestantism. He obtained the agreement of both King and Church, despite the stricture that evangelization in America be the prerogative of the preaching orders. But the Jesuits had no success and some believe that it was the choice of the individuals involved, particularly their leader, Juan Bautista Segura, that was at fault.²⁷ Chance was also to blame, which is not altogether surprising, since the first mission to be established ended in the martyrdom of the clerics,²⁸ although at this point the reader can understand that in such a complex situation and circumstances the causes are unlikely to be simple and uncomplicated.

The clash between two world views -the missionaries' and the Indians', with the aim of imposing the former on the latter- propounded by McEwan and Milanich and applicable as much to Florida as to the rest of America, contrasts with Amade's classic and specific interpretation. The latter stresses the human element to explain why Spanish colonization in the region did not prosper and suggests, without ruling out other reasons, that what failed was biological and especially cultural miscegenation, and that an important factor to understand this is that the *encomienda* was the basic institution of the conquest while the missions had a much more limited role than in the rest of the Indies, so that the potential offered by conversion, evangelization and religious subjection for territorial expansion, maintenance and defense was distinctly lacking.²⁹

From the general to the specific, it should also be considered that, as a result of experience, the missions were not accompanied by garrisons with permanent troops and colonists, as decided by the Franciscans who succeeded the Jesuits in the task of evangelizing Florida, thereby depriving them of the military element present in other American frontier areas.³⁰ But the new missionaries were

²⁷ Frank Marotti. 'Juan Baptista de Segura and the Failure of the Florida Jesuit Mission, 1566-1572'. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Jacksonville, 63:3, 1985, pp 267-279, argues that leading the enterprise was beyond the Friar's ability.

²⁸ Maureen Ahem. 'Dichosos Muertes': Jesuit Martyrdom on the Northern Frontier of La Florida'. *Romance Philology*, Turnhout, 53:1, 1999, pp 1-21, and on the Jesuits in Florida and in general, Ernest J. Burrus. 'Quadricentennial of the Arrival of the First Jesuits in North America'. *Manuscripta*, Saint Louis, 11:1, 1967, pp 45-48; Vargas Ugarte. *First, or Zubillaga. La Florida, la misión jesuítica (1566-1572) y la colonización española*. Roma: Institutum Historicum S I, 1941.

²⁹ McEwan (ed.). *The Spanish Missions of La Florida*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993; Milanich. *Laboring in the Fields of the Lord: Spanish Missions and Southeastern Indians*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1999; Arnade. 'The Failure of Spanish Florida'. *The Americas*, Washington, 16:3, 1960, pp 271-281.

³⁰ Robert A. Matter. 'Missions in the Defense of Spanish Florida, 1566-1710'. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Jacksonville, 54:1, 1975, pp 18-38.

³¹ Over time there were some successes. Robert H. Matter. 'Economic Basis of the Seventeenth-Century Florida Missions'. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Jacksonville, 52:1, 1973, pp 18-38 has studied how the native inhabitants' agriculture allowed the settlements to survive and was the basis for their economy. Brent R. Weisman. *Excavations on the Franciscan Frontier: Archaeology at the Fig Springs Mission*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida; Florida Museum of Natural History, 1992, proves on the basis of archaeological excavations that in the Timucuas' case the Spanish Friars did not limit themselves to merely evangelizing. They carried out educational tasks, including technical training in bricklaying, healthcare and cookery, while more specifically, and analyzing both Spanish and French practices, John Koegel. 'Spanish and French Mission Music in Colonial North America'. *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, Ontario, 126:1, 2001, pp 1-53, focuses among such activities on the use of music as a pedagogic tool.

³² Dominique de Gourges. *La reprise de la Florida, publiée, avec les variantes, sur les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale, et précédée*. Bordeaux: G. Gounonilhon, 1867; Gómez-Tabanera. *Françaises*.

³³ Hoffman. 'A Study of Florida Defense Costs, 1565-1585: A Quantification of Florida History'. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Jacksonville, 51:4, 1973, pp 401-422; Hoffman; Lyon. 'Accounts of the Real Hacienda, Florida: 1565-1602'.

somewhat more successful than their predecessors, although as with much that was done in Florida, their success was only relative.³¹ When Menéndez de Avilés was in Spain to draw attention to the colony and obtain supplies, a French expedition was organized under Dominique de Gourges to avenge his countrymen, and it destroyed one of the Spanish settlements, subjecting its inhabitants to the same fate as that suffered by the Huguenots at the hands of the *Adelantado* of Florida.³² The French were aided by the Timucuas and, along with the martyrdom of the Jesuits, this further obstructed the policies of evangelization and understanding with the aborigines that the *Adelantado* had favored. Furthermore, he continued to be plagued by his feuds with the various authorities involved, by financial difficulties and by problems in ensuring the survival of his colonists in North America. He was still struggling with these issues when he was summoned to the metropolis to deal with what the Crown considered a more important duty: to equip and lead a fleet in support of Luis de Requeséns' campaign to put down the rebellion in the Low Countries. In the midst of his preparations he died, a victim to epidemic typhus, in 1574.

The problems in Florida became more complicated with his successors. Menéndez de Avilés's heirs were less well-prepared and certainly less interested than their forebear in the territory. The difficulties the colony endured became more serious over time and the Crown considered that its high cost could only be justified by the indirect benefits its control could provide, such as security for the fleets.³³ Apart from the French, the English had a growing desire to establish themselves in the North American south-east. In 1607 English colonists established Jamestown; before that, in 1586, the privateer Francis Drake destroyed St Augustine,³⁴ although the convoy system, along with a well-developed intelligence and information network and

Florida Historical Quarterly, Jacksonville, 48:1, 1969, pp 57-69.

³⁴ James W. Covington. 'Drake Destroys St Augustine: 1586'. *Florida Historical*

an improved strategy of fortification and settlement in its overseas dominions, ensured that Spain was signally successful in defending its empire. Of the 400-odd fleets of the Indies that crossed the ocean over the course of 200 years only two were defeated, and both at the hands of the navies of other kingdoms. Privateers and buccaneers had to be content with assaulting vessels that sailed alone or in small groups, that were lacking in supplies or had lost their way, and they were not always successful.

Florida continued to be a key component of the Spanish empire's defense network. The colony certainly contributed to that purpose, although Spain's domination of the territory was never comparable to the control it exerted over other parts of America. It should be pointed out that neither the French nor the British were any more successful. Towards the end of the 1580s new settlements were established –Nombre de Dios, San Sebastián, San Antonio, San Pedro, Tolomato, San Juan and Topiqui– and at the start of the new century relative peace had been imposed and there were a growing number of evangelized Indians.³⁵ This was Menéndez de Avilés's undoubted legacy, built upon the efforts of his predecessors. Arnade has studied how the Spanish Crown considered between 1593 and 1602 what to do with St Augustine and its Floridan possessions and finally decided to retain them, substitute the Governor, Gonzalo Menéndez, and assume direct control. So things remained for the following 160 years.³⁶

**ABOUT THIS BOOK AND ITS NEW EDITION:
FLORIDA IN THE 16TH CENTURY**

This short summary and outline of the processes involved in the discovery, conquest and colonization of Florida in the 16th century and of their historiographical interpretations have as their object to present the new English-language edition of the book by María Antonia Sáinz Sastre. The idea is to bring the reader up to date and explain how it has been conceived.

Quarterly, Jacksonville, 44:1/2, 1965, pp 81-93. On the early English expeditions and attempts at colonization in the North American south-east see Bennet (ed.), *Settlement*; David B. Quinn, 'Some Spanish Reactions to Elizabethan Colonial Enterprises', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, London, 5:1, 1951, pp 1-23; Donald W. Rowland (ed.), 'Spanish Information on Early English Colonization', *Journal of Southern History*, Hanover, 20:4, 1964, pp 530-532; Irene A. Wright (ed.), *Further English Voyages to Spanish America, 1583-1594*. London, Hakluyt Society, 1951.

³⁵ On the Franciscan missions and evangelization in general see, in addition to the classic studies by Maynard Geiger, *The Franciscan Conquest of Florida (1573-1618)*. Washington: Catholic University of America, 1937, and Gregory J. Keagan; Leandro Tormo, *Experiencia misionera en la Florida, siglos XVI-XVIII*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1957; Isabel Arenas, 'Auge y decadencia del sistema misional franciscano en Florida durante el primer período español, 1565-1763', *Anuario de Estudios Americanos*, Sevilla, 48, 1991, pp 95-120; Hann, *Mission; Apalache, and A History of the Timucua Indians and Missions*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996, or Michael Gannon, *The Cross in the Sand: The Early Catholic Church in Florida, 1513-1870*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1983.

³⁶ Arnade, *Florida on Trial, 1593-1602*. Coral Gables: University of Miami, 1959.

The book was published almost two decades ago³⁷ and since then a number of new works have been written on the subject. Therefore, for the present edition the bibliography has been updated and augmented. For that reason and because it has not been compiled by the author, it has been annotated, with comments on various aspects of the selected books and articles: their basic technical features, their contents, how they have been prepared, their focus and the research upon which they are based. Finally, the introduction aims to offer a minimal, but sufficient, presentation to the reader.

This should be enough, as the interpretation of the events and their brief outline aim to give the reader an idea of the virtues of Sáinz Sastre's work, its scope and the reasons why it remains valid and merits a new edition. Faced with Florida's complex historical events in the 16th century and the controversies in their explanation and understanding, the author offers a clear narrative, without artifice and in a direct and unadorned style with the aim of making it accessible, as befits her vocation and profession as a teacher. Such is the book's purpose and that is how it has been conceived. It can be considered a quality popular account, accessible to a wide-ranging public, but one that also reflects other more professional academic values.

Florida in the 16th Century: Exploration and Colonization is built upon primary sources and opens up to the reader and to researchers the material available in the archive of the Counts of Revillagigedo. The title was granted in 1749 by Ferdinand VII to Juan Francisco de Güemes y Horcasitas, a descendant of Menéndez de Avilés who was appointed Governor and Captain General of Cuba in 1734 and Viceroy of New Spain in 1746, an office he held until 1755 and which his son Juan Vicente de Güemes Pacheco de Padilla y Horcasitas was also to occupy in the interlude from 1794 to 1798.

Based on sources from the Revillagigedo archive and certain other repositories (among them Madrid's National Historical Archive), in addition to information from chronicles and accounts of the various expeditions to the

³⁷ María Antonia Sáinz Sastre. *La Florida en el siglo XVI: descubrimiento y conquista*. Madrid: MAPFRE, 1992.

territory, Sáinz Sastre constructs a narrative of Florida's conquest and colonization based on its leading characters. Hence, it is a history with a biographical and institutional bias, focused on the experiences of the different leaders of the Floridan campaigns since the days of Ponce de León. Its first chapters, under the title 'Destination Florida' deal with Ponce, Narváez, Soto, Cáncer and Luna.

The author devotes the second part of the book to the 'native world', with no claim to comprehensiveness. As it is not the book's main theme, this section merely aims to show how the native world was seen by the conquistadors. It does not dwell on understanding it but focuses instead on the newcomers' self-interested and descriptive accounts. So what Sáinz Sastre offers us is no more and no less than the aborigine from the point of view of the *other* and his desire to dominate, which is why she begins her account emphasising first impressions: 'The Immensity of Florida' she titles the chapter. 'The borders of Florida are unsure because its territory runs so much to the North and to the West that its limits are simply not known', she recounts following Diego de Acosta y Solórzano,³⁸ and in such a vastness there were innumerable types of peoples, regardless of the fact that they were in numerically small groups. She underlines this by counting their languages: 'It is thought that about 350 different languages were spoken in the area', and along with the territory's geographical vastness, that was, more than any other, the problem the Spanish had to deal with in order to communicate with the natives. In the same vein, she highlights the use of smoke signals and the speed with which news could travel from tribe to tribe.

For identical reasons the chroniclers made a point of highlighting the 'abundant vegetation, that was often too much even for the horses, who were sometimes unable to follow the paths', and of describing the 'luxuriant forests and many marshy areas', obstacles in the way of those who set out to explore them and certainly of those who then intended to dominate them. To endure the voyage it was necessary to be adequately equipped and, facing such a

³⁸ Cf Serrano y Sanz (ed.), *Documentos*, 171.

wilderness, they emphasized that ‘neither bread or wine was produced’, that there was hunting and fishing but that the Indians’ agriculture was rudimentary to say the least and that the nomadic life of the animals explained the nomadic life of the territory’s peoples, a trait described by Cabeza de Vaca as a pilgrimage made necessary by hunger.³⁹ Furthermore, given the rather thin line between hunting and warring, the Spanish discoursed at length on the native ways and strategies in the use of weapons and on the devices they had to wound and kill: ‘They prepare one of their strongest and most flexible poles which they place in an arch between two trees... Then they seek out a small animal... As the wild animal goes to take the little animal, he makes the arch shake; the latter has a heavy rock placed on it which then falls on the animal and stuns it’, says Juan Ocampo of this type of hunting. ‘They would close in on them in small canoes, and hurl a sharp pole which would fit into one of their openings’. Sáinz Sastre takes the latter quote from the account by Escalante Fontaneda about the natives’ techniques of navigation and whaling, although she extracts it from a book by Jackson that covers similar ground since it is titled *Early Florida through Spanish Eyes*.⁴⁰

They were also interested in aspects of the natives’ social organization, which was important to be taken into account by those who expected a possible confrontation with them. Hence, the Spaniards described the mounds as embankments ‘on which dwellings were built, either for defense or against the flooding that occurred so regularly... [and] the top of the mounds would be surrounded by a wooden palisade’.⁴¹ More important than their weapons and parapets, it also had to be considered that the Indians were ‘braver there than anywhere else in the New World’, and should therefore be feared, in Cabeza de Vaca’s opinion, without forgetting that they additionally had an excellent physique and were kept fit out of necessity because of their way of life. Herrera surely exaggerated when he said that natives aged eighteen could be so tall that no Spaniard came up to their chests.⁴²

³⁹ Herrera, *Historia*, v II, p 20; Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, *Relación*, p 37.

⁴⁰ Ocampo, ‘La Gran Florida’, p 120; Escalante Fontaneda, ‘Memoria’, cf William R. Jackson, *Early Florida through Spanish Eyes*. Miami: University of Miami Press, 1964, p 65.

⁴¹ Vega, *Florida*, p 469.

⁴² Herrera, *Historia*, v II, p 25; Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, *Relación*, p 44.

As it is the conquistadors' observations that are being considered, Sáinz Sastre titles a chapter 'War as a Way of Life'. However, in it she stresses that what she recounts is a specific viewpoint, that of the 16th century Spaniard in Florida. Thus, she highlights how chroniclers like Agustín Dávila Padilla give precise observations on how well the natives were organized for conflict ('... every company had a Lieutenant whose emblem was a large cane... and, at the top of it, it had some white feathers which served as flags and which everyone recognized and obeyed')⁴³ and that even Garcilaso de la Vega's *alternative* account complains of their absence of pity ('they sacked and robbed the temple... and did not take anyone alive, of whatever sex or age, but killed them all').⁴⁴ But at the same time the author suspects that witnesses see what they want to or are able to see, and that although that does not invalidate their observations, it does mean that what they see is not all or even the most usual. Thus, she comments, following Cotterill: 'There were no economic conflicts as there were no economies; there was no struggle for power, as there was no need for it'. On this and on many other occasions the book presents the controversy and allows the reader's own judgment to decide.⁴⁵

A further very relevant example highlighted by Sáinz Sastre, since the Spaniards' aim was to conquer and evangelize, is the chroniclers' assertion that as regards beliefs, the Indians considered 'their souls to be immortal; they spoke of hell... Paradise was in areas where the weather was clement, and God gave much to the souls who went to his land'.⁴⁶ This is no doubt a brief and overly simplistic view of their faith, but it does highlight what it had in common with Christianity and could be built upon for preaching to the natives and ensuring their conversion.

After dealing with geography and population, the third part of *Florida in the 16th Century* is devoted to Menéndez de Avilés. It is the book's lengthiest section, covering two-thirds of its contents, and the one that makes the greatest use of archival material and, as such, undoubtedly the most valuable, the previous chapters being in a certain sense an

⁴³ Agustín Dávila Padilla, *Historia de la fundación y discurso de la provincia de Santiago de México, de la orden de Predicadores por las vidas de sus varones insignes y casos notables de Nueva España*. Brussels: Iuan de Meerbequem, 1575, p 208.

⁴⁴ Vega, *Florida*, p 45.

⁴⁵ Robert S. Cotterill, *The Southern Indians. The Story of the Civilized Tribes Before Removal*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954.

⁴⁶ Herrera, *Historia*, v II, p 260.

introduction to it. Neither would it be mistaken to say that Sáinz Sastre's book is essentially a study of the Asturian *Adelantado* and that the biographical structure adopted to narrate the expeditions prior to his is the most appropriate and coherent.

The author gives a concise account of Menéndez de Avilés's childhood and youth and his dedication to the sea, warfare and the King's service, along with the problems this entailed for him with other officials, particularly at the *Casa de Contratación*. These precedents explain not only why the King chose him to succeed where so many had failed before, but also why he accepted since, in addition to the Royal command, there were family reasons for him to accept: the search for a son about whom it had been reported that he had been a victim of one of the earlier unsuccessful ventures. So from the start these are the guidelines for the entire narrative, as they were for the *Adelantado's* mission itself. First, the strict compliance with his mission: to colonize the Americas beyond 24° and 30' latitude north, with the prior ejection of the French intruders and their heretical beliefs, saving the Indians from them while making them submit and ensure their Catholic evangelization. Secondly, the possibility of doing the job aided by his kin and clientele –'The Menéndez de Avilés Clan in Florida' is the title of the chapter dealing with this aspect–. Thirdly, the friends and enemies he had to contend with in his venture: in addition to the obstacles posed by nature and by the peoples he encountered in Florida, he had to deal with Philip II's trust and the mistrust and misgivings of his officials for the Indies and of his governors in the Antilles.

The *capitulaciones*, *asientos*, instructions and orders issued to the *Adelantado* are the sources on which this account is based. Hence, Sáinz Sastre's is an institutional as well as a biographical history. The remainder of the original documentation used by the author is Menéndez de Avilés's correspondence with third parties, not least with the King, but also further dispositions such as the will and codicil in which he directed how to dispose of his legacy.

The book is rounded off with an annex offering the reader some selected documentation: the *capitulaciones* for the discovery and colonization of Florida signed by the King in Menéndez de Avilés's favour in 1565 and which constitute the institutional birth of North American history. And since the goal was not only civil and military but also religious, the letter written by Pope Pius V in 1569 is also included. Progressing from the beginning to the end of the enterprise, the annex closes with three further documents: a missive written by the *Adelantado* to his nephew, Pedro Menéndez Márquez, in Sanlúcar de Barrameda a few days before his death on 8th September 1574, and his will and codicil.

Florida in the 16th Century ends with the family's pedigree and a chronology of the most significant events, followed by a bibliography, index and a collection of illustrations and maps that embellish and complement the text.

Despite these comments on the appendixes and other features that complete the book's present edition, there are still two or three questions that should be mentioned before ending this introduction. The biographical, institutional and narrative genres have a long historiographical tradition but are also subject to fashion and change. Sáinz Sastre's work has something of all three but its main value is in what it has to offer. The interpretation of a phenomenon can only be outstanding if it is built on firm foundations: that requires facts and testimonies, which are precisely the essence of *Florida in the 16th Century*. Nevertheless, of every human event there are at least as many versions as there are participants and this book, due to the nature of its sources, has had to opt for one of them.

Although the genres to which Sáinz Sastre's book can be considered to belong have never lost their value, since all that can be questioned is our approach to them, they have been vindicated by the *new cultural history*. The book reflects these renewed ways of looking at history, both in its deliberately narrative, biographical and institutional character and in its avoidance of generalizations and its care in presenting interpretations and allowing the reader

to decide for himself. However, it does not share with this school of thought the conviction that the official viewpoint, that of the victors of any historical process, is by nature merely a construct aimed at supporting a political discourse of domination. Sáinz Sastre considers it to be rather a manifestation of what was lived and thought by one of the parties, of what they wrote from their own perspective and, as such, an integral part of the event, however much they enjoyed the privilege of victory, and, being human, attempted to justify it.

The book's intention is not to 'commemorate the era of the great Spanish Empire' –the author concludes–, but to 'vindicate, analyze and understand the origins of a great people, who we hope will be known a little better after this book has been read'. Thus, we will conclude by saying that the author's motivations sometimes compel her to take sides, as otherwise her work would be incomprehensible. The so-called Black Legend of the conquest of America was not built essentially on how the Indians were treated, but was rather a judgment passed on deeper attitudes, of which we can say, as we began, that Florida is again a distinctive case. The Spanish conquistadors acted in the area against other dominators in universal history, the French, with even greater cruelty than they employed against the Indians. The author avoids mystifications that lead to nothing constructive and presents Menéndez de Avilés's decision on this occasion as the result of circumstances. This is one of the few instances where she opts for one of the possible interpretations, and she does so not by ignoring or denying the importance of the others, but by choosing a less dramatic, rigorous, inflexible and intolerant version of the History of Spain and of the Spanish than we have habitually presented of ourselves, although time is gradually helping us to overcome this deficiency. And if the author gives herself this benefit of the doubt it is not to impose one truth over the others, as she does the same for Gourges' subsequent revenge.

José Ortega y Gasset posited that circumstances were a fundamental explanation of the human condition, which

to his mind is, furthermore, essentially historical. He also maintained, when referring to literary criticism, that a book must be assessed by what it says, not by what it does not say. Such a respected opinion should serve to encourage readers to look into *Florida in the 16th Century*, for its contents certainly merit their attention, but also to apply it to the testimonies offered up by the author and then commented and analyzed by her. At the end of her story, Sáinz Sastre cannot avoid asking a question, which although made last is actually the reason for her research and for the book itself, and to which she provides the answer. The conquistadors did not find in south-eastern North America the riches they hoped for: 'it was not simply a matter of being unable to find any mines; the truth was that there were none. So why was the Crown persistently deluged by requests to go to Florida as *Adelantado*? The explanation is that the few survivors of the various expeditions who returned from Florida... would talk only of the riches that could be found there... this naturally encouraged people to try again'. That is certainly true: 'I remember those steep mountains as if it were yesterday, those everlasting spring seasons, those serene rivers, seas and hills, and the beautiful trees that seemed always to be bedecked with red and yellow flowers'.⁴⁷

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⁴⁷ Ocampo, 'La Gran Florida', p 17.

An Annotated Bibliography

Antonio Santamaría García

- 1 ACOSTA, Antonio; Juan MARCHENA (eds.). *La influencia de España en el Caribe, la Florida y la Luisiana, 1500-1800*. Madrid: Instituto de Cooperación Iberoamericana, 1983, 379 pages.
An edition of the papers presented at a congress held at the Universidad Hispanoamericana Santa María de La Rábida. It includes several studies on Florida by Hilton, Vila Vilar, Ramos and Lyon.
- 2 AGA-OGLU, Kamer. 'Late Ming and Early Ch'ing. Porcelain Fragments from Archaeological Sites in Florida'. *Florida Anthropologist*, Gainesville, B:4, 1955, pp 91-110, illustrations.
A study of the Chinese porcelain found at native archaeological sites in Florida. The author disproves the idea that they might have reached America before the conquest and posits that they ended up at the site after being imported from Asia by the Spanish via Mexico.
- 3 AHERN, Maureen. "Dichosas Muertes": Jesuit Martyrdom on the Northern Frontier of La Florida'. *Romance Philology*, Turnhout (Belgium), 53:1, 1999, pp 1-21, bibliography, illustrations.
A discussion of the cultural effect of the slaughter of eight Spanish Jesuits on the Florida-Virginia frontier in 1571 and on the incident's impact on the construction of the discourse justifying the evangelization of America.
- 4 AKERMAN, Joe A. *Florida Cowman, A History of Florida Cattle Raising*. Kissimmee: Florida Cattleman's Association, 1976, 280 pages, bibliography, illustrations.
A well-produced general history of cattle raising in Florida. Along with an article by Amade, this is the only study on the subject. The author shows that on the Florida frontier—hence, east of the Mississippi—there was a thriving livestock-raising activity long before the cowboys of the Far West.
- 5 ALBORNOZ, Miguel. *Hernando de Soto: el Amadís de Florida*. Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1971, 349 pages, bibliography, illustrations.
Fictionalized account of Soto's life and experiences in the conquest and colonization of Florida, based on secondary sources.
- 6 ALEGRE, Francisco J. *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en Nueva-España*. Roma: Compañía de Jesús, 1956, 3 v, (1st ed. 1841).
Alegre's history of the Jesuits in Mexico aimed to explain and extol their activities and request their re-admittance, a task entrusted to Carlos M. de Bustamante, whose representation is included in the book. It is an essential reference book for the study of the Order's missions in Florida. The author notes that the Jesuits' interests and projects coincided with Menéndez de Avilés's, and like him they came up against a hostile geographical and human environment in which it was hard to make progress.
- 7 ALEGRÍA, Ricardo E. *Juan Garrido, el conquistador negro en las Antillas, Florida, México y California c 1503-1540*. San Juan: Centro de Estudios Avanzados de Puerto Rico y el Caribe, 1990, 140 pages, bibliography, documentary appendix, illustrations.
The study of the life of a free African Negro who travelled from Portugal to America during the early stages of colonization. It is based on the historiography on the subject and on the petition Garrido sent to the King in 1538 claiming a reward for his services in the conquest of the Caribbean, Florida and Mexico. The Illustrations, from New Spain, refer to events related by Garrido.
- 8 ALEGRÍA, Ricardo E. 'El primer negro libre en América'. *El Nuevo Día*, San Juan, 10-06-1990, pp 11-12.
Notes on Juan Garrido, America's first free black, who took part in several conquest and colonization expeditions and about whom the author also wrote a full-length book.
- 9 ARANA, Luis R. 'The Exploration of Florida and Sources on the Founding of St Augustine'. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Jacksonville, 44:1/2, 1965, pp 1-16.
A well-documented analysis on some of the individuals who participated in the early exploration of Florida and whose efforts bore fruit in the *Adelantado* Pedro Menéndez de Avilés's foundation of St Augustine, the region's first important settlement.
- 10 ARANA, Luis R.; Eugenia B. ARANA. 'Pedro Menéndez's Commission as Governor of Florida'. *El Escribano*, St Augustine, 7:2, 1970, pp 49-53.
English translation and analysis of the Royal document appointing Menéndez de Avilés the first Governor of Florida in 1565.
- 11 ARANA, Luis R.; Eugenia B. ARANA. 'St Augustine's First Baptismal Entry'. *El Escribano*, St Augustine, 7:1, 1970, pp 28-32.
Facsimile and annotated transcription of a baptismal entry, the oldest ecclesiastical document preserved in what was at the time the capital of Spanish Florida.

- 12 ARANA, Luis R.; Eugenia B. ARANA. 'A Private Library in St Augustine, 1680'. *El Escribano*, St Augustine, 8:4, 1971, pp 158-171.
A study and description of the private library of the military officer Pedro Benedit de Horruytiner, one of the oldest to be preserved in Florida, with an analysis of its contents and an assessment of its value for the region's history.
- 13 ARENAS, Isabel. 'Auge y decadencia del sistema misional franciscano en Florida durante el primer período español, 1565-1763'. *Anuario de Estudios Americanos*, Sevilla, 48, 1991, pp 95-120, map.
A significant study in ecclesiastical history, primarily based on archival sources, on the Franciscans' missionary and evangelizing endeavours in Florida from the end of the 16th century to the second half of the 18th century.
- 14 ARNADE, Charles W. 'A Guide to Spanish Florida Source Material'. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Jacksonville, 35:4, 1957, pp 320-325.
A guide to the sources for the history of Florida during the Spanish colonization with brief annotations and comments.
- 15 ARNADE, Charles W. *Florida on Trial, 1593-1602*. Coral Gables: University of Miami, 1959, 100 pages, bibliography, illustrations.
A detailed study based on sources at the Archive of the Indies that completes the scant historiography –also employed by Arnade– on the judicial process carried out between 1593 and 1602 regarding the future of St Augustine and of the decision to preserve the town but to substitute the Governor, Gonzalo Méndez.
- 16 ARNADE, Charles W. 'Tristán de Luna and Ochuse (Pensacola Bay), 1559'. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Jacksonville, 37:3-4, 1959, pp 201-222.
A review of Tristán de Luna's expedition to Florida in 1559, in a new attempt at conquest and colonization after the failure of the previous expeditions led by Ponce de León, Vázquez de Ayllón, Soto and Cáncer. Although it also failed, it did involve a change in method, as it was not left to private enterprise but was organized and funded from the Viceroyalty of New Spain. The study is essentially based on the information provided by Priestley.
- 17 ARNADE, Charles W. 'The Failure of Spanish Florida'. *The Americas*, Washington, 16:3, 1960, pp 271-281.
A well-documented study of the causes why Spanish colonization in Florida did not flourish.
- The author holds that human resources and biological and especially cultural intermingling between Europeans and natives were insufficient. Added to this, there were no prior socio-political structures in place, not enough riches were found and the colony's basic institution was the *encomienda* more than the mission, thereby missing out on the potential that evangelization and conversion had in other parts of America for territorial expansion, defense and preservation.
- 18 ARNADE, Charles W. 'Cattle Raising in Spanish Florida, 1513-1763'. *Agricultural History*, Champaign, 5:3, 1961, pp 116-124.
A study of cattle raising in Spanish Florida based on copious archival sources. The subject has largely been ignored by researchers despite being vital for understanding the region's history. Livestock farming was limited in the early years of the colony but subsequently developed heavily, especially in the north around Tallahassee and Gainesville, until it was destroyed in the 18th century by British attacks.
- 19 ARNAUD, Juan I.; Pedro M. MARTÍN; Felipe del POZO. 'Estructura de la población de una sociedad de frontera: la Florida española, 1600-1763'. *Revista Complutense de Historia de América*, Madrid, 17, 1991, pp 93-120, tables and graphs.
A study of the population and settlement patterns of Spain's colonization of Florida centred on a data base covering an enormous volume of archival material (essentially baptismal registers). The authors analyze the data quantitatively, identifying the main processes that explain the scant success of the enterprise.
- 20 ARRANZ MÁRQUEZ, Luis. 'La herencia colombina en los primeros proyectos de descubierta y colonización'. *Revista de Indias*, Madrid, 149-150, 1977, pp 425-469.
A study of the colonization projects sponsored by Ferdinand the Catholic to halt the possible expansion of the Columbus family's interests in America. The King recognized the rights granted to the family but at the same time granted *capitulaciones* to others, such as Diego Velázquez and Juan Ponce de León.
- 21 ARRINGTON, A. 'The Enigmatic Calusa. South Florida's Lost People'. *Gulfshore Life*, Gainesville, 1994, pp 34-62.
A study of Florida's enigmatic Calusa culture, which is still open to controversy due to the complex social organization of a people who were uninvolved in agriculture.

- 22 BAMFORD, Hall. *Florida History*. St Petersburg: Great Outdoors Publishing Company, 1976, 83 pages, indices, maps and illustrations.
A brief history of Florida, illustrated and indexed.
- 23 BANNON, John F. *The Spanish Borderlands Frontier, 1513-1821*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970. 308 pages, bibliography, illustrations, maps.
Valuable because of its effort to synthesize the studies on Spain's colonization of the frontier territories of its Empire that are now part of the United States. It presents an outstanding collection of maps and illustrations and a select bibliography.
- 24 BARREIRO, Baudilio (dir.). *Avilesinos en América*. Avilés: Casa Municipal de Cultura de Avilés, 1992, 326 pages, bibliography, illustrations.
Studies on immigration (flows, numbers, patterns) from the city of Avilés to America between 1500 and 1900. It includes a biography of one of the Asturian City's most famous sons, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, the colonizer of Florida.
- 25 BALLESTEROS GAIBROIS, Manuel. *La idea colonial de Juan Ponce de León. Un ensayo de interpretación*. San Juan: Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña, 1960. 294 pages.
An analysis of the motives underlying Ponce de León's colonizing enterprises in Puerto Rico and Florida, using archival sources. The author disputes established historiography, reinterpreting the evidence. The explorer's epic is presented as the prototype of Spanish ideology in the conquest of America and of the *modus operandi* of its Atlantic expansion. It includes a selection of the documentation employed.
- 26 BALSEIRO, José A. (ed.) *The Hispanic Presence in Florida*. Miami: E. A. Seemann, 1976, 160 pages, tables.
Compilation of studies on the history of Spanish Florida, generally superficial, although some contributions are of interest, particularly –because of the subject– Straight's on Medicine.
- 27 BARTH, Pius J. *Franciscan Education and the Social Order in Spanish North America, 1502-1821*. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1945, 431 pages, bibliography, indices, illustrations, annexes.
A well-documented study of the Franciscans' educational efforts in Central America, the Antilles, California and Florida, in the context of the social conditions under which they were undertaken, and with an analysis of their results.
- 28 BARRIENTOS, Bartolomé. *Dos antiguas relaciones de La Florida publicadas por primera vez por Genaro García*. México: Tipografía y Litografía de Aguilar, Vera y Compañía, 1902, 116 pages.
An edition by Barrientos of the account of Menéndez de Avilés's conquest and colonization of Florida written by Genaro García.
- 29 BARRIENTOS, Bartolomé. *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés. Founder of Florida*. Gainesville: Florida University Press, 1965, 132 pages (ed. Anthony Kerrigan).
English translation by Kerrigan of Barrientos' work on Menéndez de Avilés as conqueror, colonizer and Governor of Florida. According to Pérez Bustamante, it is a close rewriting of the account by Solís de Merás. It includes a facsimile of the Spanish text.
- 30 BARRIENTOS, Bartolomé. 'Vida y hechos de Pedro Menéndez de Avilés'. In Carlos Mercado (ed.). *Menéndez de Avilés y la Florida: crónicas de sus expediciones*. Lewington: Edwin Mellen Press, 2006, 386 pages, bibliography, indices, illustrations.
Mercado's edition and study of Barrientos' classic work on Menéndez de Avilés's governorship in Florida. It also includes the account by Solís de Merás, on which, according to Pérez Bustamante, Barrientos' work is primarily based.
- 31 BASANIER, Martin (ed.). *L'histoire notable de la Floride située es Indes Occidentales: contenant les trois voyages faits en icelle par certains capitaines et pilotes françois, décrits par le capitaine Laudonnière qui y a commandé l'espace d'un an trois mois: à laquelle a esté adjousté un quatriesme voyage fait par le capitaine Gourgues: mis en lumière par M. Basanier*. Paris: Guillaume Auvray, 1586.
First edition of the account of the voyages to Florida of the French Captain Laudonnière, who took command of Ribault's expedition after the latter returned to Europe and who was expelled from the region by the Spanish commanded by Pedro Menéndez de Avilés. The narrative, published at Basanier's expense, can also be found in Benjamin F. French's *Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida*.
- 32 BATEMAN, Rebecca B. 'Africans and Indians: A Comparative Study of the Black Carib and Black Seminole'. *Ethnohistory: the Bulletin of the Ohio Valley Historic Indian Conference*, *Ethnohistory*, Columbus, 37:1, 1990, pp 1-24.
Study of two American mixed-race communities in which the native population interbred with Africans, the Garifunas of Central America and St Vincent

- (where they came from) and the Black Seminoles of Florida. The author looks into the reasons why distinct cultures arose and analyzes their main features (organization, group relations) to show why the former were more Amerindian than the latter.
- 33 BENNETT, Charles E. (ed.). *Settlement of Florida*. Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1968, 253 pages, indices, appendices, illustrations.
Translation into English of texts and documents on the conquest, colonization and early European history of Florida.
- 34 BLANCHARD, Charles. *New Words, Old Songs: Understanding the Lives of Ancient Peoples in Southwest Florida through Archaeology*. Gainesville: IAPS Books, 1995, 136 pages, bibliography, indices, illustrations.
A study of the 12,000 years of human presence in Florida's islands and coastal areas, based on evidence from archaeological sites. Valuable illustrations.
- 35 BLERON, Eleanor. 'The St Augustine Historical Restoration'. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Jacksonville, 16:2, 1937, pp 110-118.
An analysis of the projects and criteria adopted in the 1930s for the historical restoration of the City of St Augustine, sponsored by the local authorities in cooperation with the Carnegie Institution in Washington.
- 36 BOCANEGRÁ, Enrique. *La población española en la Florida*. Undergraduate dissertation. Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 1987, 169 pages, tables, graphs.
Unpublished general study of the demography of Florida from the start of Spanish colonization.
- 37 BOLTON, Herbert E. *Spanish Borderlands*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1921, 320 pages, illustrations, maps.
A pioneering study of Spanish colonization in the territories that are now part of the United States. Some of its conclusions still stand and it has been a source of inspiration for all subsequent research. It analyzes the causes of the failure of the successive Spanish attempts at colonization and attributes them to tough native resistance, the absence of precious metals or riches to justify greater efforts and the lack of interest in establishing stable agricultural and livestock-rearing settlements. It has a valuable set of maps.
- 38 BOLTON, Herbert E. *Wider Horizons of American History*. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1939, 191 pages.
A selection of some of the author's articles on Spanish colonization in the frontier areas of New Spain that are now part of the United States. In them he analyzes their significance, their epic history and the value of missions as an instrument for Spanish expansion.
- 39 BOLTON, Herbert E. *Bolton and the Spanish Borderlands*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964 (ed. John F. Bannon). 346 pages, maps.
A selection with commentaries of some of Bolton's work, including some previously unpublished papers. Bolton was a pioneer researcher on the history of Spanish colonization in what is now the southern and western United States.
- 40 BOSTON, Barbara. 'The 'De Soto' Map'. *Mid-America*, Chicago, 23, 1941, pp 236-250, map.
Boston analyzes a map attributed to Alonso de Santa Cruz, dated between 1541 and 1561, which is the first graphic representation of the inland southern part of the United States. The map is usually presented to illustrate Hernando de Soto's expedition. It depicts the area round the Gulf of Mexico and Florida and from its characteristics it has been deduced that its author must have had information from a member of the expedition.
- 41 BOYD, Mark F. 'The Arrival of De Soto's Expedition in Florida'. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Jacksonville, 16:3, 1938, pp 188-220.
An analysis of the first accounts of Hernando de Soto's expedition to Florida. The oldest still extant was written by a Fidalgo of Elvas, who no doubt took part in the venture, and was published anonymously in Portugal in 1557. Garcilaso de La Vega's account was published in Lisbon in 1605.
- 42 BOYD, Mark F.; HALE G. SMITH; JOHN W. GRIFFIN. *Here They Once Stood. The Tragic End of the Apalachee Missions*. Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1951, 189 pages, appendices, tables.
A study of the Franciscan mission in western Florida, between Suwanee and the Apalachicola river. Combining historical and archaeological research, particularly the latter, the author contributes to the understanding of events and processes in Spanish colonial history, focusing on ecclesiastical and missionary activities.
- 43 BOYRIE, Emile de. 'La casa de piedra de Ponce de León en Higüey: génesis de la conquista de Borinquen y del descubrimiento de la Florida'. *Clío*, Santo Domingo, 32:121, 1964, pp 30-52, bibliography, illustrations.
An analysis of the ruins of the dwelling built by Ponce de León in 1505 in Higüey, Santo Domingo, where he was Deputy Governor. The

- author looks at the precedents of the subsequent expeditions of conquest and colonization of Puerto Rico and Florida.
- 44 BRETOS, Miguel A. *Cuba & Florida: Exploration of an Historic Connection, 1539-1991*. Miami: Historical Association of Southern Florida, 1991, 128 pages, indices, illustrations, maps.
A study of the relations between Cuba and Florida from the earliest expeditions of conquest to North America from the Antilles.
- 45 BRINTON, Daniel G. *Notes on the Floridian Peninsula, its Literary History, Indian Tribes and Antiquities*. Philadelphia: Joseph Sabin, 1849, 202 pages.
A classic study on the history of Florida, particularly its indigenous communities. The information it provides is still of value.
- 46 BROWN, Louis (dir.). *The Domain of the Calusa*. Fort Myers: Main Sail Video Productions, 1995 (video).
A documentary on the Calusa Indians of southern Florida, fundamentally based on archaeological surveys, that analyzes their resistance to Spanish attempts at conquest from the 16th century.
- 47 BROWN, Robin C. *Florida's First People: 12,000 Years of Human History*. Sarasota: Pineapple Press, 1994, 262 pages, illustrations.
A study of the way of life of Florida's first inhabitants. It includes illustrations of tools and instruments, ceramics and remains of plants and animals found at archaeological sites.
- 48 BUKER, George E. 'The Search for the Seven Cities and Early American Exploration'. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Jacksonville, 71:2, 1992, pp 155-168.
A study of the mediaeval myths and legends used in the conquest of America, particularly the Seven Cities in territories such as Florida.
- 49 BULLEN, Adelaide K. 'Florida Indians of Past and Present'. In Ruby L. Carson; Charlton Tebeau. *Florida from Indian Trail to Space Age: A History*. Gainesville: Southern Publishing Company, 1965 (2 v), pp 317-350.
A concise but brilliant study of the aboriginal communities of Florida from pre-Columbian times to the 1960s, when the article was published.
- 50 BULLEN, Ripley P. 'Did Paleolithic, Archaic or Formative Man Enter the Antilles from Florida?'. In *International Congress of Americanists*. México: n. n., 1974 (3 v), pp 592-599, bibliography, illustrations.
A study of the Palaeolithic, Archaic and Formative concepts as applied to the cultures of Florida and North America in general. It compares the archaeological finds in these territories and in the Antilles and the chronology based on them. It also analyzes the migrations of Paleo-Indians from what is now the southern United States to the Caribbean islands.
- 51 BULLEN, Ripley P. 'The Pre-ceramic Periods of Florida and the Lesser Antilles'. In *Puerto Rican Symposium on Archaeology*. Santurce: n. n., 1976, pp 9-15.
A two-part investigation refuting the existence of contacts between the pre-ceramic cultures of Florida and the Lesser Antilles and analyzing the population flows between the Caribbean islands and Central and North America.
- 52 BULLEN, Ripley P.; D. D. LAXON. 'Some Incised Pottery from Cuba and Florida'. *Florida Anthropologist*, Gainesville, 7:1, 1954, pp 23-25, illustrations.
A study on the excavations of the Glades culture in southern Florida, especially pottery, compared with remains found on Taino sites at Cayo Ocampo, in Cuba, confirming the connexions between them as noted by Rouse.
- 53 BURNETT, Gene M. *Florida's Past. People & Events that Shaped the State*. Sarasota: Pineapple Press, 1991 (3 v), 272 pages, bibliography, illustrations.
Collection of essays on various aspects of Floridan history, most of them already previously published and dealing with different periods, peoples, events and processes: pioneers, bandits, heroes and heroines, war and peace and social conflicts.
- 54 BURRUS, Ernest J. 'Quadracentennial of the Arrival of the First Jesuits in North America'. *Manuscriptia*, St Louis, 11:1, 1967, pp 45-48.
A study of the petition of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, the first Governor of Florida, to establish Jesuit missions in the area in 1565, contrary to the usual practice of sending the preaching orders (Franciscans or Dominicans). The *Adelantado* considered that the presence of the Huguenots in the region required better-prepared clerics.
- 55 BUSHNELL, Amy. *The King's Coffer: Proprietors of the Spanish Florida Treasury, 1565-1702*. Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1981, 317 pages, bibliography and indices.
Excellent study on the administration, society and economy of Spanish Florida between the mid-16th century and the early 18th century. It analyzes the conflicts between the centre and the periphery of empire and their constant contradictions, arguing that frontier regions such as Florida were seen by

- the viceregal capitals as lands fit for Indians and military and missionary advance parties.
- 56 BUSHNELL, Amy. 'The Noble and Loyal City, 1565-1568'. In Jean Parker (ed). *The Oldest City: St Augustine, Saga of Survival*. St Augustine: St Augustine Historical Society, 1983, pp 1-35.
A study of the early history of St Augustine after its foundation by the Spanish under the command of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés.
- 57 BUSTO, José A. del. 'La navegación atlántica de Hernando de Soto la vez que fue a la conquista de la Florida'. *Cuadernos del Seminario de Historia*, Lima, 8:10, 1970/1972, pp 15-20, bibliography.
A comparison of the different chronicles recording the voyages of Hernando de Soto.
- 58 CANFIELD, D. Lincoln. 'Spanish in Florida'. In Aurelio M. Espinosa (ed.). *Hispanic Influences in the United States*. New York: Interbook, 1975, pp 15-20.
The author holds that the Spanish spoken in Florida is an immigrant language, that in the main Hispanic population centres, such as Key West, Miami and Tampa, it is the Cuban dialect that prevails due to the close historical relations with Cuba. The dialect is studied in great detail and shows how English is rapidly contaminating and transforming it.
- 59 CÁRDENAS, Gabriel. *Ensayo cronológico para la historia general de Florida*. Madrid: Oficina Real, 1723, 122 pages.
A chronologically-arranged survey, as indicated by its title, that is considered to be a pioneering work on the history of Florida.
- 60 CARSON, Ruby L.; Charlton TEBEAU. *Florida from Indian Trail to Space Age: A History*. Gainesville: Southern Publishing Company, 1965 (2 v), 660 pages.
A voluminous compilation of articles of varying quality on a variety of issues, based on different methodologies, regarding the geography and history of Florida and its aboriginal communities. It includes an excellent article by Bullen.
- 61 CASAS, Bartolomé de las. *Tratados*. Valladolid: n. n., 1551.
Tratados is the only text by Las Casas that he sent directly to the printers. He deals with various issues and polemics connected with the nature of the Indians, the laws of the Indies and their conquest and domination.
- 62 CASAS, Bartolomé de las. *Brevísima descripción de la destrucción de las Indias*. Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1982, 132 pages.
One of the multiple editions of Las Casas' defence of the American Indians.
- 63 CASH, William. *The Story of Florida*. New York: n. n., 1938 (4 v), 1,909 pages, illustrations.
A lengthy study on Florida and a classic that is still indispensable due to the vast amount of information and data it provides.
- 64 CASTANIEN, Donald G. 'Narrative art in *La Florida del Inca*'. *Hispania*, Connecticut, 43:1, 1960, pp 30-36.
A study of the narrative technique used by the Inca Garcilaso in *La Florida del Inca*.
- 65 CASTANIEN, Donald G. *El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega*. New York: Twayne, 1969. 156 pages.
An excellent introduction to the main works of the Inca Garcilaso, including *La Florida del Inca*.
- 66 CASTELLANOS, Juan de. *Elegía a la muerte de Juan Ponce de León*. San Juan: Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña, 1980, 74 pages.
An ode in memory and praise of Ponce de León's deeds in Puerto Rico and Florida, written shortly after his death.
- 67 CATALOGO de los fondos de las Floridas. Havana: Imprenta El Siglo XX, 1944, 323 pages, illustrations, indices.
An inventory of archival material on Florida, especially from the 18th and 19th centuries, classified by name and subject and with chronological and other data indicating its location in archives of Cuba, the United States and Spain (particularly the Archive of the Indies).
- 68 CHANG-RODRÍGUEZ, Raquel (ed.). *Beyond Books and Borders: Garcilaso de la Vega and La Florida del Inca*. Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2006. 197 pages, bibliography, indices, illustrations, maps.
A compilation of studies from the point of view of various disciplines, of generally good quality, on *La Florida del Inca*. It includes a chronology and bibliography, illustrations and maps.
- 69 CHATELAIN, Verne E. *The Defenses of Spanish Florida, 1565 to 1763*. Washington: Carnegie Institution, 1941, 192 pages, illustrations, maps.
An exhaustive and profusely annotated investigation on Spanish colonial history in Florida between the 16th and 18th centuries, based on essentially Spanish archival material, archaeological sites and historiographical contributions. It mainly focuses on the problem of building defense works and presents an interesting collection of photographs, old and new illustrations and facsimiles.

- 70 CHILDERS, Ronald W. 'Historic Notes and Documents: A Late Seventeenth-Century Journey to Tampa Bay'. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Jacksonville, 80:4, 2002, pp 504-522.
Transcription and analysis of a document written by a Spanish army officer on the exploration and reconnaissance of Tampa Bay and its surroundings.
- 71 CHILDS, St Julien R. *Malaria and Colonization in the Carolina Low Country, 1526-1696*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1940, 292 pages, maps.
A valuable investigation on the importance of disease, epidemics and health in the Spanish and French colonization efforts in Florida and Georgia round the Cape Hatteras area in the 16th and 17th centuries, based on material from various archives.
- 72 CLAYTON, Lawrence A.; Vernon J. KNIGHT; Edward C. MOORE (eds.). *The De Soto Chronicles: The Expedition of Hernando De Soto to North America in 1539-1543*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1993 (2 v), 293 pages, bibliography, indices, illustrations, maps.
An annotated translation with extensive introductions of the first four chronicles relating Hernando de Soto's expeditions in North America. It includes a very full bibliography.
- 73 CLEARY, Malinda; Richard LONGSTRETH; Aristides J. MILLAS: 'A Historical Bibliography of the Built Environment in Miami and Southern Florida', www.sah.org/clientuploads/TextFiles/Bibliography_Florida.pdf, accessed 15/III/2010, 17 pages, bibliography.
A selection of studies on the architectural and environmental history of Florida, especially the Miami area and its surroundings.
- 74 CLINE, Howard F. 'The Ortelius Maps of New Spain, 1579, and Related Contemporary Materials, 1560-1610'. *Imago Mundi*, Burden, 16, 1962, pp 98-115, maps.
A study of the first maps of New Spain made by Europeans in the 16th and 17th centuries, including representations of Florida. Excellent reproductions.
- 75 COKER, Williams S. 'Pensacola's Medical History: The Colonial Era, 1559-1821'. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Jacksonville, 77:2, 1998, pp 181-192.
A history of medicine in Pensacola during the colonial period. Along with the studies by Childs, Eberson and Straight, this is part of a relatively abundant corpus on the subject that includes general analyses and case studies.
- 76 COKER, William S.; Jack D.L. HOLMES. 'Sources for the History of the Spanish Borderlands'. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Jacksonville, 49:4, 1971, pp 380-393.
An examination and listing of the documentary sources in the United States for studying the Spanish colonization and rule in Louisiana and Florida.
- 77 CONNOLLY, Matthew J. 'Four Contemporary Narratives of the Founding of St Augustine'. *Catholic Historical Review*, Washington, 51:3, 1965, pp 305-334.
A comparative study of the first four literary sources on the foundation of St Augustine by Menéndez de Avilés, Solís de Merás, López de Mendoza Grajales and Barrientos.
- 78 COOK, Noble D. 'Beyond the Martyrs of Florida: The Versatile Career of Luis Gerónimo de Oré'. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Jacksonville, 71:2, 1992, pp 169-187.
A study on Oré, a Franciscan born in Peru, but not especially focused on his evangelizing activities in America, despite being the most outstanding aspect of his biography in Peru and Florida in the late 16th and early 17th centuries. He was entrusted by his order with the province of Florida, recruited missionaries for its Christianization, visited it on several occasions and published a *Relación de los mártires que a cuido en las provincias de La Florida*.
- 79 COSÍO, José G. 'Garcilaso de la Vega and *La Florida del Inca*'. *Revista del Instituto Americano de Arte*, Cuzco, 6:2, 1952, pp 34-39.
An article written on occasion of the publication in English of *La Florida del Inca* in 1951, which Cosío considers Garcilaso de la Vega's least convincing piece of work.
- 80 COTTERILL, Robert S. *The Southern Indians. The Story of the Civilized Tribes before Removal*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954, 259 pages.
According to the author, the natives of the southern United States possessed a rich culture at the time of the Europeans' arrival. The book examines their history, from the early pre-Hispanic migrations, including their communal organisation, to their gradual decline following their contact with the conquistadors.
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- 85 COX, Isaac J. 'Florida, avanzada fronteriza de Nueva España'. *Segundo congreso internacional de historia de América*. Buenos Aires, n. n., 1938 (2 v), pp 173-184.
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- A chronicle of the foundation of Santiago de México and of the work carried out by the Dominicans, with information on Luis de Cáncer, who led an expedition to Florida in the 16th century. Contrary to the previous ventures of Ponce de León, Vázquez de Ayllón and Soto—all of which failed—, this was an exclusively religious and evangelizing mission that also ended in failure. In fact, the friar was unable to even start his mission as he was killed by the natives at the first landfall.
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- 99 DEAGAN, Kathleen A. *Spanish St Augustine. The Archaeology of a Colonial Creole Community*. New York: Academic Press, 1987, 319 pages, bibliography, indices, illustrations, tables, maps.
An outstanding archaeological study of the history of St Augustine, the first permanent settlement of the Spanish conquistadors in Florida and their first capital city. It includes an excellent collection of illustrations and maps.
- 100 DEAGAN, Kathleen A. (ed.). *America's Ancient City: Spanish St Augustine, 1565-1763*. New York: Garland Press, 1991, 649 pages, bibliography, illustrations.
A historical study of the first city established on continental North American territory. The articles compiled by Deagan are almost all of excellent quality and analyse various aspects of the city's Spanish past from the point of view of history, archaeology and other fields.
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The author's anthropological, ethnic and linguistic study leads him to conclude that there is ample evidence that the Antilles and Florida maintained close and periodical contacts during pre-Columbian times.
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An excellent analysis of the artistic and cultural expression of the Seminole and Miccosukee Indians of Florida. Not strictly limited to art but encompassing also dress, basket weaving and pottery and through them the Indians' lifestyle and socio-political and economic organization. The author cautiously considers that changes came about not only through development but also through outside contacts and *metisage*. Poor quality illustrations.
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A collection of articles on the history of gender in the cultures of the south-eastern United States before the arrival of the Spanish colonists. Based on archaeological evidence, the authors analyze the role of women in the indigenous communities through the human and material remains found at various sites, including their location, structure, architecture, economy and division of labor.
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A study of medicine and society in Pinellas, Florida, about which Childs, Coker and Straight have also written in more general terms or about other areas.
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An edition of the first account of Hernando de Soto's voyage to Florida, written by an anonymous author known as the Fidalgo de Elvás, who was most likely one of the Portuguese who accompanied the Spanish conquistador. The original edition was published in 1611.
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An account by a Spanish conquistador who lived among the Calusa Indians for 17 years until his rescue by Menéndez de Avilés. His narrative, dated 1575, mentions the legend of the fountain of eternal youth, that supposedly motivated Ponce de León, although he is skeptical. Herrera's subsequent description is based on this account. Also available at the website of the Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes (www.cervantesvirtual.com/servlet/SirveObras/07034974389658451867857/index.htm).
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The product of a seminar, including studies on language, literature, art and history, among them a paper by Canfield on 'Spanish in Florida' regarding the characteristics of the language as spoken in Florida.
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A study of the preparations of Soto's host to winter in Florida. A preview of his subsequent book.
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A study of the archaeological excavations at Soto's winter quarters in Tallahassee.
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An outstanding contribution to Soto's explorations, due to both the sources it employs, the information it provides and the conclusions it draws, as well as for its illustrations.
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A classic study of the history of St Augustine since its foundation by Spanish colonists in the 16th century, valuable for the data and information it provides.
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A classic study of Florida between the 16th and 19th centuries, of interest because of its account of race relations, the various Spanish expeditions between 1513 and 1565 and the conflict between the Spanish and French colonists. It accuses the former of having behaved with great cruelty.

- 118 FAIRBANKS, George R. *The History and Antiquities of the City of St Augustine, Florida: A Facsimile Reproduction of the 1858 Edition*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1977, 200 pages, illustrations.
A facsimile of Fairbanks's book, originally published in 1858.
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A comparison between Garcilaso de la Vega's romantic and fictionalized vision of Florida and the more realistic narrative of Cabeza de Vaca, which deals with its geography, Indians, economic prospects and possibilities of colonization.
- 120 FERNÁNDEZ DE NAVARRETE, Martín. *Colección de viajes y descubrimientos que hicieron por mar los españoles desde finales del siglo XVI*. Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1825 (5 v), 626 pages.
Fernández de Navarrete's work is considered to be the first organic compilation of the Spanish expeditions of conquest and colonization.
The author devoted many years to collecting information on his country's maritime history in archives of both Spain and Portugal.
- 121 FERNÁNDEZ DE NAVARRETE, Martín. *Colección de viajes y descubrimientos que hicieron por mar los españoles desde finales del siglo XVI*. Buenos Aires: Guaranía, 1945 (5 v, 1^a ed. 1845), 626 pages.
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A new edition of the chronicle of the Indies completed in the 1540s that narrates events since the discovery of America to that date. The author had taken part in the events and is critical of Anglería's version, since the latter had never been to the Indies and therefore based his account on indirect testimonies that were enthused with the nature of the territories discovered and the customs of the natives. This and its objective focus highlight the significant anthropological value of Fernández de Oviedo's work.
- 123 FERRANDO, Roberto. *Núñez Cabeza de Vaca*. Madrid: Quórum, 1987, 317 pages.
A study of the life and achievements of the Spanish explorer, including his writings.
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An edition and study by Ferrando of several chronicles of Spanish voyages to North America.
- 125 FORD, James A. 'Early Formative Cultures in Georgia and Florida'. *American Antiquity*, Menasha, 31:6, 1966, pp 781-799, illustrations.
A conclusive study that shows that the cultures of Florida and Georgia derived from the early formative period, having been taken there by peoples who probably originated in south-eastern Mesoamerica.
- 126 FRENCH, Benjamin F. *Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida*. New York: J. Sabin & Son, 1869 (22 v), 4,262 pages.
A weighty collection of documents for the history of Florida and Louisiana, including many originals and English translations of texts regarding their discovery and colonization.
- 127 FUENTES para la historia social de la Florida española (1600-1763). Madrid, Comité Conjunto Hispano-Norteamericano. Fundación España en USA, 1987, 223 pages.
A catalogue of the sources available for the study of the Spanish conquest and colonization of Florida from the late 16th century to the last third of the 18th century.
- 128 FUSON, Robert H. *Juan Ponce de León and the Spanish Discovery of Puerto Rico and Florida*. Blacksburg: McDonald & Woodward Publishers Company, 2000, 284 pages, bibliography, illustrations, maps.
Based on archival sources and with an interesting collection of illustrations and maps, Fuson reinterprets the life and explorations of Ponce de León. Notable for its geographical analysis, the author highlights the Spanish conquistador's honesty and rationality, at a time when these qualities were relatively rare.
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A collection of 18 studies on Hernando de Soto's expedition in Florida and the Mississippi river. It includes historical, anthropological and literary analyses that examine its cultural aspects and adventures, marked by disease and conflicts with the natives, and its destructive and transformative effects on the latter. The enterprise is seen here as the venture that opened these new territories to European colonization.

- 130 GANNON, Michael V. 'Altar and Hearth: The Coming of Christianity'. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Jacksonville, 44:1/2, 1965, pp 17-44.
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- 131 GANNON, Michael V. 'Mission of Nombre de Dios Library'. *Catholic Historical Review*, Washington, 1:3, 1965, pp 373-378.
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- 132 GANNON, Michael V. 'Sebastián Montero, Pioneer American Missionary, 1566-1572'. *Catholic Historical Review*, Washington, 51:3, 1965, pp 335-353.
An analysis of the work of Montero, chaplain of Juan Pardo's campaign of exploration in Florida and one of the first missionaries in the region. Based on sources at the Archive of the Indies.
- 133 GANNON, Michael V. *The Cross in the Sand: The Early Catholic Church in Florida, 1513-1870*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1983, 210 pages, illustrations.
A history of the Church in Florida since the first arrival of the Spanish in Florida and in connexion with the more general processes of conquest and colonization. It also studies the subsequent extinction of the Catholic missions when Florida came under British domination. It uses abundant archival material and the existing historiography.
- 134 GANNON, Michael V. *Florida. A Short History*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003, 192 pages.
A brief general history of Florida by one of its foremost specialists. This update of current knowledge includes the results of studies on minorities, women and the environment, with an especially social focus.
- 135 GANNON, Michael V. (ed.). *The New History of Florida*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996, 492 pages.
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- 136 GARCÍA, Genaro. 'Vida y hecho de Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, caballero de la Orden de Santiago, adelantado de La Florida, donde largamente se trata la conquista y población de la provincia de Indias'. In Bartolomé Barrientos. *Dos antiguas relaciones de La Florida publicadas por primera vez por Genaro García*. Mexico: Tipografía y Litografía de Aguilar, Vera y Compañía, 1902, 116 pages.
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- 137 GARCÍA CARRAFFA, Alberto y Arturo. *Enciclopedia heráldica y genealógica hispanoamericana*. Madrid: various publishers, 1919-1963 (88 v).
A voluminous Spanish-American heraldic and genealogical dictionary.
- 138 GEIGER, Maynard. *The Early Franciscans in Florida and their Relation to Spain's Colonial Effort*. Paterson: St Anthony Guild Press, 1936, 22 pages.
A brief history of the Franciscans in the conquest and early colonization of Florida.
- 139 GEIGER, Maynard. *The Franciscan Conquest of Florida (1573-1618)*. Washington: Catholic University of America, 1937, 519 pages.
An extensive and detailed study of the Franciscans in the exploration, conquest and colonization of Florida between 1570 and 1620, based on local sources. It is of value for that reason and for the copious information it provides.
- 140 GEIGER, Maynard. *A Biographical Dictionary of the Franciscans in Spanish Florida and Cuba, 1528-1541*. Paterson: St Anthony Guild Press, 1940, 140 pages.
An alphabetical guide to the clerics of the Order of St Francis who took part in the conquest and early colonization of Cuba and Florida. Valuable for the abundant information provided.
- 141 GOGGIN, John M. *Space and Time Perspective in Northern St Johns Archeology, Florida*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1952, 74 pages.
A study that covers both ecclesiastical and civil history with data from mainly archaeological sites that analyzes the Spanish-Indian tradition in Florida, particularly in its northern areas.
- 142 GOGGIN, John M. *Spanish Majolica in the New World: Types of the Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries*. New Haven: Yale University, Department of Anthropology, 1968 (ed. Irvin Rouse), 245 pages, bibliography, illustrations, tables.
Rouse's edition of research carried out by Goggin, previously unpublished on account of the latter's death. It analyses the Majolica found by the author at Spanish colonial sites in Florida,

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- 144 GOURGES, Dominique de. *La reprise de la Florida, publiée, avec les variantes, sur les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale, et précédée*. Bordeaux: G. Gouyonilhon, 1867.
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- 145 GOLDBERG, Jan. *Hernando de Soto: Trailblazer of the American Southeast*. New York: Rosen Group, 2003, 233 pages, bibliography, indices, illustrations, maps.
A study of Spanish exploration in the south-eastern United States, with magnificent illustrations, focused on the legacy of Soto's expedition.
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- 147 GÓMEZ-TABANERA, José M. *Franceses en La Florida*. Madrid. *Historia* 16, 1991, 315 pages. Bibliografía.
A study of the French exploration of Florida. It includes *El completo y verídico descubrimiento de la terra Florida* by Jean Ribault, the *Historia notable de la Florida, situada en las Indias Occidentales* by Martin Basanier, the *Discurso de la historia de la Florida* by Nicolas Le Challeux, and the *Historia memorable de la reconquista de la isla de la Florida* by Dominique de Gorgues.
- 148 GONZÁLEZ, Julio. *Catálogo de mapas y planos de la Florida y la Luisiana*. Madrid: Dirección General del Patrimonio Artístico, Archivos y Museos, 1979, 92 pages, index.
A catalogue of the 245 documents held by the various collections of the Archive of the Indies, with maps of Florida and Louisiana, including a geographical index.
- 149 GONZÁLEZ DE BARCIA, Andrés (Gabriel de Cárdenas). *Ensayo cronológico para la historia general de La Florida*. Madrid: Nicolás Rodríguez Franco, 1723, 402 pages.
A chronological account of the Spanish discovery, colonization and government of Florida written by Cárdenas under the pen-name of González de Barcia.
- 150 GONZÁLEZ RUIZ, Felipe. *De la Florida a San Francisco: los exploradores españoles en los Estados Unidos*. Buenos Aires: Ibero-Americana, 1949, 452 pages, bibliography, appendices, illustrations, maps.
A magnificently illustrated work with original etchings by Aristizábal and interesting maps. It analyzes the Spanish explorations of Florida and their mishaps, the various expeditions of conquest and colonization to the southern deserts, the Gulf of Mexico in general, the Grand Canyon, the San Francisco area in California and the foundation of the city itself.
- 151 GORDON, Elsbeth K. *Florida's Colonial Architectural Heritage*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002, 319 pages, bibliography, indices, illustrations, diagrams.
A study of the architecture, town-planning and urban identity of Florida in Spanish and British colonial times (1565-1821), with an analysis of their native, European and mixed-race elements. Starting with the first buildings, the author examines the style of St Augustine and the missions, convents, churches, public and military buildings and also the rural settlements. Interesting collection of illustrations and diagrams.
- 152 GORMAN, M. Adele F. 'Jean Ribault's Colonies in Florida'. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Jacksonville, 44:1/2, 1965, pp 51-66.
An analysis of the documentation on the colony established in Florida by Ribault and 150 colonists on the St John river, near Jacksonville, which was destroyed in a Spanish attack.
- 153 GOZA, Willian; Hugo LUDEÑA. 'Gonzalo Silvestre: un soldado de Extremadura sobreviviente de la expedición de Hernando de Soto a La Florida, 1539-1543'. In *Coloquios históricos de Extremadura*, Trujillo: Institución Cultural El Brocense, Diputación de Cáceres, 1991, pp 119-149, illustrations and tables.
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- of its survivors. The author discusses his role as an informant used by Garcilaso de la Vega to compose *La Florida del Inca*, and provides information from various sources concerning the conquistador.
- 154 GRIFFIN, John W. (ed.). *The Florida Indian and his Neighbors*. Winter Park: Rollins College, Inter-American Center, 1949, 168 pages, illustrations, maps.
A collection of papers of varying quality on the natives of Florida and surrounding areas presented at an anthropological conference held at Rollins College in 1949.
- 155 GRIFFIN, John; Patricia GRIFFIN; Kathleen A. DEAGAN (eds.). *Fifty Years of Southeastern Archaeology: Selected Works of John W. Griffin*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997, 257 pages, bibliography, indices, illustrations, tables.
A selection of studies in memory of the archaeologist John Griffin and his work on the south-eastern United States.
- 156 GRIFFIN, William B. 'Suggestions for Research in the Culture and Society of Spanish Florida'. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Jacksonville, 38:3, 1960, pp 226-238.
An exhortation to use parish registers and other infrequently employed material for historical research on Spanish Florida.
- 157 HAMMOND, Albert W. (ed.). 'A French Document Relating to the Destruction of the French Colony in Florida at the Hands of the Spanish, 1565'. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Jacksonville, 39:1, 1960, pp 55-61.
An English translation of the petition sent by French Protestant colonists in Florida as an open letter to Charles IX of France. The author analyzes the French and Spanish reactions to the news of Menéndez de Avilés's expedition to the area in 1565 at the King of Spain's orders.
- 158 *HANDBOOK of North American Indians*. Chicago, Chicago University Press, Smithsonian Institution, 1978 (20 v), bibliography, indices, illustrations, tables.
An encyclopaedic handbook that distils the available information on the indigenous peoples of North America.
- 159 HANN, John H. *Apalachee. The Land Between the Rivers*. Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1988, 225 pages, bibliography, illustrations, maps.
A synthesis of Hann's research on the aborigines of Florida and their relations with the conquistadors.
- 160 HANN, John H. 'Summary Guide to Spanish Florida Missions and *Visitas* with Churches in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries'. *The Americas*, Washington, 46:4, 1990, pp 417-513.
A catalogue and classification of the missions in Spanish Florida in the 16th and 17th centuries. A well-documented study based on archival sources.
- 161 HANN, John H. *Missions to the Calusa*. Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1991, 484 pages, bibliography, illustrations.
An exhaustive and profusely documented study of the Calusa, a complex and well-organized society encountered by the Europeans on their arrival in Florida in the 16th century and who continue to be an enigma for historians and archaeologists. This essentially ethnographical analysis is based on information provided by both chronicles and archival sources and especially looks at the Franciscan missionary colonization attempt in the area.
- 162 HANN, John H. 'Political Leadership Among the Natives of Spanish Florida'. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Jacksonville, 71:2, 1992, pp 188-208.
An interesting contribution to the problem of how political leadership arose in the aboriginal communities of Florida.
- 163 HANN, John H. *A History of the Timucua Indians and Missions*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996, 399 pages, bibliography, indices, illustrations, maps.
A detailed and well-conceived and documented study on the Indian communities of Florida at the time of Spain's colonization and evangelization, focusing on the Timucuas.
- 164 HANN, John H. *The Apalachee Indians and Mission San Luis*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998, 193 pages, illustrations.
A study of one of Florida's main indigenous groups, their organization and relations with the Europeans, centred on the Spanish mission of San Luis up to its destruction by British attacks in the area in the 18th century. More than 120 illustrations.
- 165 HARRISSE, Henry. *The Discovery of North America*. Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1969, 818 pages (1st ed. 1892).
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- 166 HARVEY, Karen G. *America's First City: St Augustine's Historic Neighborhoods*. Lake Buena Vista: Tailored Tours Publications, 1997, 192 pages, illustrations.
A detailed and individualized analysis of the historical buildings of St Augustine.

- 167 HEINRICHS, Ann. *De Soto: Hernando de Soto Explores the Southeast*. New York: Compass Point Book, 2002, 49 pages, illustrations, maps.
A nicely-presented book for the general public, magnificently illustrated, on the campaigns of Hernando de Soto.
- 168 HERNÁNDEZ DE BIEDMA, Luis. *Relación de la isla de La Florida*. In *Colección de varios documentos*. London: n. n., 1857 (2 v), v 2, pp 223-238.
The report on the Florida expedition presented by its author to the Council of the Indies in 1544.
- 169 HERNÁNDEZ DÍAZ, José. *Expedición del adelantado Hernando de Soto a la Florida. Notas y documentos relativos a su organización*. Seville: Instituto Hispano-Cubano de Historia de América, 1938, 47 pages.
A revision based on new archival material found by the author on Hernando de Soto's expedition to Florida, focusing on its organization but with interesting biographical data.
- 170 HERRERA, Antonio de. *Historia general de los hechos de los castellanos en las islas y tierra del mar océano*. Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1934-1958 (17 v, 1^a ed. 1559).
A voluminous and detailed description of the Spanish conquest and colonization of America during the first 50 years after the arrival of Columbus. As regards Florida it is based on the narrative of Escalante Fontaneda, who takes the myth of the fountain of eternal youth as the motivation for the campaigns of conquest and colonization, particularly Soto's.
- 171 HILTON, Sylvia L. 'Ocupación española de Florida: algunas repercusiones en la organización sociopolítica indígena, siglos XVI y XVII'. *Revista de Indias*, Madrid, 42:167/168, 1982, pp 41-70.
An analysis of the way of life and the organization of the natives of Florida and the impact on them of contact with the Spanish, including demographic decline.
- 172 HILTON, Sylvia L. 'El impacto español en la Florida, siglos XVI y XVII'. In Antonio Acosta, Juan Marchena (eds.). *La influencia de España en el Caribe, la Florida y la Luisiana, 1500-1800*. Madrid: Instituto de Cooperación Iberoamericana, 1983, pp 245-270.
A study of the many and complex effects of the Spanish conquest and colonization over the 16th and 17th centuries in Florida.
- 173 HILTON, Sylvia L. 'Los indios de Tocobaga y Timucua (Florida occidental) ante sus primeros contactos con los hombres blancos'. In *Congreso de Historia del Descubrimiento (1492-1556)*. Madrid: Academia de la Historia, 1992 (22 v), v 1, pp 343-404.
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- 174 HILTON, Sylvia L. 'Native Peoples of North America: Recent Spanish Historiography, 1980-1992'. *European Review of Native American Studies*, Vienna, 6:2, 1992, pp 1-7.
A list, study and assessment of the Spanish historiography on the indigenous communities of the present-day United States, focusing on the areas, like Florida, that were under Spanish rule.
- 175 HILTON, Sylvia L. 'Sources for North American Indian History: Spanish Archives'. *American Indian Quarterly*, Albuquerque, 17/2, 1993, pp 227-242.
A review and study of the material in the main Spanish archives relating to the native communities of the United States, which is particularly abundant and valuable as regards territories like Florida that were colonized by Spain.
- 176 HILTON, Sylvia L. 'Spanish Colonies in North America: Recent Historical Scholarship from Spain'. *American Studies International*, Pittsburgh, 32:1, 1994, pp 70-95.
An assessment of the Spanish historiography of the 1980s and early 1990s on the Spanish colonies in Louisiana, Florida, California, New Mexico and other parts of the United States.
- 177 HILTON, Sylvia L.; Amancio LABANDEIRA. 'La sensibilidad cromática y estética del Inca Garcilaso'. *Revista de Indias*, Madrid, 195-196, 1992, pp 529-558.
A study of the work of Garcilaso de la Vega from the perspective of his narrative style.
- 178 HILTON, Sylvia L.; Cornelis VAN MINNEN (eds.). *Frontiers and Boundaries in US History*. Amsterdam: VU University Press, 2004, 250 pages.
A collection of papers of varying quality by European historians on the United States presented at a colloquium held at the Roosevelt Study Center. It includes various studies on boundaries in the United States.
- 179 HISTORIADORES DE INDIAS. Barcelona: Instituto Gallach, 1985, 444 pages (ed. Germán Arciniegas).

- A selection of the writings of 10 chroniclers of the Indies edited and annotated by Arciniegas. It includes works by Columbus, Fernández de Oviedo, Las Casas, Garcilaso de la Vega, Solís, Díaz del Castillo, Aguado, Herrera and Hernández.
- 180 HOBBS, William H. 'Verrazano's Voyage Along the North American Coast in 1524'. *History of Science Society*, Cambridge, Mass., 41: 3-4, 125-126, 1950, pp 268-277.
The author employs modern knowledge on compass variations to determine that Verrazano's Magliabecchi map, dated 1524, and used by the French colonists led by Ribault, shows that the navigator sighted Florida at 28 degrees latitude north and sailed off Cape Breton before returning to Europe.
- 181 HOFFMAN, Paul E. 'The Narrow Waters Strategies of Pedro Menéndez'. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Jacksonville, 45:1, 1966, pp 12-17.
The author holds that Menéndez de Avilés devised a plan during his governorship of Florida to control the Bahamas channel to ensure the defense of the Spanish Empire's northern approaches, vital for the safe navigation of its fleets.
- 182 HOFFMAN, Paul E. *The Defense of the Indies, 1535-1574: A Study in the Modernization of the Spanish State*. Gainesville: University of Florida Microfilms, 1969, 361 pages, illustrations, tables.
A doctoral thesis on the strategy for the defense of the Indies between 1535 and 1572 of the lands conquered and colonized by the Spanish in the Indies, when it was found necessary to devise a plan to protect both territory and navigation routes from pirate and privateer attacks and from the ambitions of other European kingdoms in America. The author analyzes the subject from the point of view of the modernization of the Spanish monarchy.
- 183 HOFFMAN, Paul E. 'A Study of Florida Defense Costs, 1565-1585: A Quantification of Florida History'. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Jacksonville, 51:4, 1973, pp 401-422, tables.
Using sources from the Archive of the Indies, the author quantifies the expenditure necessary to guarantee Spain's dominion over Florida and its defense during the period it was governed by Pedro Menéndez de Avilés and his first successors. The region was strategically vital for the security of the fleets that crossed the Atlantic between Spain and its American colonies.
- 184 HOFFMAN, Paul E. 'The Chicora Legend and Franco-Spanish Rivalry in La Florida'. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Jacksonville, 62:4, 1984, pp 419-438.
An analysis of the legends on the location of the land of Chicora and of their effects on the Spanish and French explorers of Florida, and on their mutual rivalry.
- 185 HOFFMAN, Paul E.; Eugene LYON. 'Accounts of the Real Hacienda, Florida: 1565-1602'. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Jacksonville, 48:1, 1969, pp 57-69, illustrations.
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- 186 HOLMES, Jack D. L. 'Interpretations and Trends in the Study of the Spanish Borderlands: The Old Southwest'. *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Austin, 74:4, 1971, pp 461-477.
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- 187 HUDSON, Joyce R. *Looking for De Soto: A Search Through the South for the Spaniard's Trail*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1993. 230 pages, bibliography, illustrations.
A brief narrative and description of the expeditions of Hernando de Soto.
- 188 HUDSON, Charles. *Knights of Spain, Warriors of the Sun: Hernando de Soto and the South's Ancient Chiefdoms*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2003, 112 pages, bibliography, indices, illustrations, maps.
Based on archaeological resources, archival material and contemporary chronicles, the author reconstructs the route followed by Soto's expedition to Florida, which has been subject to much speculation. This profusely illustrated study also analyses the geography and the indigenous communities who came into contact with the Spanish.
- 189 HUDSON, Charles M.; Carmen CHAVES (eds.): *The Forgotten Centuries: Indians and Europeans in the American South, 1521-1704*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994, 482 pages, bibliography, indices, illustrations.
A collection of studies of unequal quality on the indigenous communities of the southern United States and their first contacts with

- Europeans (conquest, conflict, acculturation and destruction). Most are based on information from Spanish chroniclers, various archival sources, archaeological findings and linguistic analyses.
- 190 ISABELLA & FERDINAND, Kings of Castile and Aragon. 'Carta de merced para Cristóbal Colón, Santa Fe, Granada, 30 de abril de 1492', http://es.wikisource.org/wiki/Carta_de_merced_para_Col%C3%B3n_%2830_de_abril_de_1492%29, accessed 15/III/2010.
The text of the so-called *capitulaciones de Santa Fe* or Royal concessions on the basis of which Columbus set off on his voyage to America.
- 191 JACKSON, Robert H. (ed.). *New Views of Borderlands History*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998. 250 pages, bibliography, indices, illustrations.
Five studies on the borderlands of the United States, Florida among them.
- 192 JACKSON, William R. *Florida in Early Spanish Colonial Literature*. Urbana, n. n., 1952, 14 pages.
A brief summary of the most wide-ranging study on the Spanish literature on Florida of the 16th and 17th centuries, published in 1954.
- 193 JACKSON, William R. *Early Florida Through Spanish Eyes*. Miami: University of Miami Press, 1954, 179 pages.
An analysis of the vision of Florida as seen through the narratives of the first Spanish chroniclers of the area's conquest, exploration and colonization. The study focuses especially on the legends, the riches that were expected to be found, the description of the Indians and their relations with the Europeans.
- 194 JOHN B. Stetson *Collection of Books in English, Spanish, French and Other Languages on Exploration, History, Anthropology, and Similar Subjects Relating to the Western Hemisphere*. New York: Parke-Benet Galleries, 1953, 1400 pages.
An exceptional collection of books, articles and documents assembled by Stetson. South America is generally better represented than the North, except for Florida, for whose study it is particularly valuable.
- 195 JONES, Maxine D.; Kevin M. McCARTHY. *African Americans in Florida*. Sarasota: Pineapple Press, 1993, 189 pages, appendices.
A description and analysis of the life and times of a group of around 50 African-Americans in Florida from 1528 to the present who have distinguished themselves for their contribution to fields like education, religion, politics, sports and journalism.
- 196 KEAGAN, Gregory J.; Leandro TORMO. *Experiencia misionera en la Florida, siglos XVI-XVIII*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1957, 409 pages.
An extensive study of the ecclesiastical history of Florida in the 16th and 17th centuries. It analyzes Spain's missionary and evangelizing activities although it also deals with colonization in general.
- 197 KELLEY, James E., 'Juan Ponce de León's Discovery of Florida: Herrera's Narrative Revisited'. *Revista de Historia de América*, Mexico, 111, 1991, pp 31-65.
An English translation of Herrera's narrative of Ponce de León's expedition to Florida with profuse annotations and comments.
- 198 KENNY, MICHAEL S.J. *The Romance of the Florida*. New York: Bruce Publishing Company, 1935, 263 pages.
A classic study on Florida with interesting data on Spain's first colonization attempts and its conflict with the French in the 16th century.
- 199 KOEGEL, John. 'Spanish and French Mission Music in Colonial North America'. *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, Ontario, 126:1, 2001, pp 1-53.
A study of music in the Spanish and French evangelization of different parts of America. The author holds that despite the many negative aspects of the European conquest there are some positive ones, like music, which was especially important in the missions established and run by the Spanish Franciscans and Jesuits in areas like Florida, both for the task of Christianizing and for the day-to-day life of the missions. The author shows that this was equally true of the French in New France and Louisiana, having adapted this and other practices from the Spanish.
- 200 LANDERS, Jane G. *Black Society in Spanish Florida*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999, 390 pages, appendices, indices, illustrations, maps.
A detailed study of the population of African descent in Florida, both free and slave, since the beginning of Spanish colonization. It essentially uses Cuban and US archival sources and analyzes not only confrontation but also integration into Spanish Catholic society.

- 201 LARKIN, Tanya. *Hernando de Soto*. New York: PowerKids Press, 2001, 24 pages, illustrations, maps. A popular account of the explorations and conquest and colonization campaigns of Hernando de Soto. Well illustrated.
- 202 LAUDONNIÈRE, René de. *L'histoire notable de la Floride. Contenant les trois voyages décrits par le capitaine Laudonnière; also gourgues circa 1560 mise en lumiere par M. Basanier gentilhomme francois mathematicien*. Paris: n. n., 1853, 228 pages. A mid-18th century edition of Laudonnière's history of Jean Ribault's expedition to Florida, which after the latter's return to France was led by the author. An essential source for the venture, of France's interest in establishing stable colonies in North America, for its conflicts with the Spanish and for the general relations between Europeans and the Indians.
- 203 LAWSON, Edward W. *The Discovery of Florida and its Discoverer Juan Ponce de León*. St Augustine: E.W. Lawson, 1946, 127 pages. A discussion of the conclusions in True's study regarding the exact landfall of Ponce de León's expedition to Florida. Lawson refutes True's theory that the Spaniard reached the coast near Miami, not St Augustine.
- 204 LAWSON, Edward W. *Determination of the First Landing Place of Juan Ponce de León on the North American Continent in the Year 1513*. St Augustine: Record Press, 1954, 25 pages, maps. The author holds that Ponce de León sailed from Puerto Rico to Gran Avaco in March of 1513, and not 1512, and that only afterwards did he reach Florida, landing in the area where Pedro Menéndez de Avilés later established St Augustine on April 3rd. He bases his theory on the nautical skills of the period and on corrections in magnetic variation of the errors in the different accounts of the expedition.
- 205 LE CHALLEUX, Nicolas. *Historia memorable de la reconquista de la isla de la Florida*. In Eugenio Ruidíaz Caravia (ed.). *La Florida, su conquista y colonización por Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*. Madrid: Hijos de J.A. García, 1893 (2 v), v II. Le Challeux's narrative is one of the earliest accounts of the first French attempt to colonize Florida and of their defeat by the Spanish under the command of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés.
- 206 LEÓN PINELO, Antonio de; Juan SOLÓRZANO PEREIRA (ed.). *Recopilación de las leyes de los reynos de las Indias*. Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1680, <http://www.congreso.gob.pe/ntley/LeyIndiaP.htm>, accessed 15/III/2010. A compilation of all Spain's legislation for the government and administration of the Indies up to its publication in 1680.
- 207 LLOYD, Robert B. 'Development of the Plan of Pensacola During the Colonial Era, 1559-1821'. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Jacksonville, 64:3, 1986, pp 253-272, maps. An analysis of the contributions of the various countries that colonized the area (Spain, France and Great Britain) to Pensacola's design and development between the 16th and 19th centuries.
- 208 LÓPEZ DE GÓMARA, Francisco. *Historia general de la Indias*. Madrid: Atlas, 1965 (1st ed. 1552). One of the many editions of the general history of the Spanish conquest of America written five decades after its discovery. It provides information of the leading characters but as regards Florida, since it was published at the beginning of the 1550s, it only describes the expeditions of Ponce de León, Soto, Vázquez de Ayllón and Cabeza de Vaca.
- 209 LÓPEZ DE MENDOZA GRAJALES, Francisco. 'Relación de los viajes de Pedro Menéndez de Avilés'. In Joaquín F. Pacheco; Francisco de Cárdenas y Espejo; Luis Torres de Mendoza (eds.). *Colección de documentos inéditos, relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de América y Oceanía, sacados de los archivos del reino, y muy especialmente del de Indias*. Madrid: Kraus, 1864 (42 v), v II. A period account of the exploration, conquest and colonization of Florida by Menéndez de Avilés.
- 210 LÓPEZ DE VELASCO, Juan. *Geografía y descripción universal de las Indias. Recopilada por el cosmógrafo y cronista desde 1571 a 1574 y publicado por primera vez por Justo Zaragoza*. Madrid: Sociedad Geográfica de Madrid, 1894, 808 pages. A geographical and descriptive chronicle of the Indies in the 1560s.
- 211 LORIER, Eduardo. *Historia de Florida*. Montevideo: Ediciones Banda Oriental, 1989, 247 pages, bibliography.

- A well-written and documented general history of Florida with an excellent selected bibliography.
- 212 LOWERY, Woodbury. *The Spanish Settlements Within the Present Limits of the United States. Florida, 1562-1574*. New York: Russell & Russell, 1959 (2 v), 515 pages, illustrations.
Lowery's lengthy study is a classic on the early Spanish colonization of Florida, originally published in 1901. Still of use thanks to the ample information it provides, especially on the Timucua culture, the Jesuits' missionary activities and the conflict between the French and Spanish settlers in the region.
- 213 LYON, Eugene. 'The Captives of Florida'. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Jacksonville, 50:1, 1971, pp 1-24.
A study of the fate of the French captured by Menéndez de Avilés when he destroyed the colony they had established in Florida in 1565.
- 214 LYON, Eugene. 'The Enterprise of Florida'. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Jacksonville, 52:4, 1974, pp 411-422.
Lyon stresses the private character of the colonization of Florida between 1565 and 1577 by Menéndez de Avilés and his Asturian companions, occasionally in conflict with the interests of the Crown, in whose name they governed the territory.
- 215 LYON, Eugene. *The Enterprise of Florida: Pedro Menéndez de Avilés and the Spanish Conquest of 1565-1568*. Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1976, 253 pages, illustrations.
An exhaustive analysis of the first permanent settlement established by the Spanish in Florida during the colonization begun in 1565 by Pedro Menéndez de Avilés. As in the article published in 1974, that precedes this book, the author emphasizes the enterprise's private character and the value of the concessions attached to the appointment of *Adelantado* as incentives (privileges, land and office), not always in accordance with the King's interests. Primarily based on Spanish archival material.
- 216 LYON, Eugene. 'La visita de 1536 y la transformación del gobierno en La Florida española'. In Antonio Acosta; Juan Marchena (eds.). *La influencia de España en el Caribe, la Florida y la Luisiana, 1500-1800*. Madrid: Instituto de Cooperación Iberoamericana, 1983, pp 184-207.
A study of the changes in the government and administration of Florida after the inspection carried out in the territory in 1536.
- 217 LYON, Eugene. 'Aspects of Pedro Menéndez the Man'. *El Escribano*, St Augustine, 24, 1987, pp. 39-52.
A brief study of the human aspects of the life and times of Menéndez de Avilés as explorer, conquistador, colonizer and first Governor of Florida.
- 218 LYON, Eugene. 'Spain's Sixteenth-Century North American Settlement Attempts: A Neglected Aspect'. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Jacksonville, 59:3, 1981, pp 275-291.
Although the author considers that Spain's difficulty in controlling the Indian population was the main problem it encountered in its colonization of what is now the United States, including Florida, he maintains that Spain's colonizing efforts have been underestimated by the historians.
- 219 LYON, Eugene. 'Pedro Menéndez's strategic plan for the Florida peninsula'. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Jacksonville, 67:1, 1988, pp 1-14, bibliography.
Lyon holds that the first Governor of Florida displayed in his administrative and command decisions an extensive knowledge of the Spanish Empire's geostrategic interests and he analyzes his projects in that respect.
- 220 MACCAULEY, Clay; William STURTEVANT. *The Seminole Indians of Florida*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000 (ed. Jerald T. Milanich), 112 pages, illustrations (1st ed. 1887).
An edition by Milanich of the classic study on the Seminoles, originally published in 1887 and officially commissioned as a report on Florida's native population. It includes illustrations and several additional documents.
- 221 MAHLKE, Kirsten. *Offenbarung in westen: frühe berichte aus der Neuen Welt*. Frankfurt: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 2005, 347 pages, illustrations.
An analysis of Protestant and Calvinist travel and exploration narratives about Brazil, Canada and Florida in the 16th century, including the French Huguenot expeditions to Florida under Ribault's command.
- 222 MANUCY, Albert C. 'Notes on the *Catálogo de los fondos de las Floridas* and the Distribution of Other Florida Archival Material for the Period'. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Jacksonville, 25:1, 1946, pp 44-63.

- Notes on the inventory of the material contained in the *Catálogo de los fondos de las Floridas*.
- 223 MANUCY, Albert C. 'Florida in North Carolina Spanish Records'. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Jacksonville, 25:4, 1947, pp 319-322; 26:1, 1947, pp 77-91.
Information on the Hispanic document transcriptions from the North Carolina Records Department, of great value for the history of all Spanish settlements in the United States. As regards Florida its resources are second only to Stetson's.
- 224 MANUCY, Albert C. 'The Man who was Pedro Menéndez'. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Jacksonville, 44:1/2, 1965, pp 67-80.
An analysis based on archival material of the character and personality of Florida's first Spanish Governor.
- 225 MANUCY, Albert C. *Florida's Menéndez: Captain General of the Ocean Sea*. St Augustine: St Augustine Historical Society, 1983, 130 pages.
A study of the administration of Menéndez de Avilés in Florida.
- 226 MANUCY, Albert C. *Sixteenth-Century St Augustine: The People and Their Homes*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997, 160 pages, bibliography, indices, illustrations, maps.
An investigation on the architecture and design of St Augustine over the centuries. It especially focuses on the earliest buildings of the Spanish colonists and the native influence on them.
- 227 MARBAN, Jorge A. *La Florida, cinco siglos de historia hispánica. Florida, Five Centuries of Hispanic History*. Miami: Ediciones Universal, 1979, 622 pages.
A bilingual history of Florida with a special emphasis on its Spanish heritage.
- 228 MARCHENA, Juan. 'La emigración canaria a la Florida oriental española (1600-1821)'. *Coloquio de Historia Canario-Americana*, Las Palmas: Cabildo Insular de Gran Canaria, 1992, pp 511-549.
A study of the migration from the Canary Islands to eastern Florida from the end of the 16th century to the 19th century.
- 229 MAROTTI, Frank. 'Juan Baptista de Segura and the Failure of the Florida Jesuit Mission, 1566-1572'. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Jacksonville, 63:3, 1985, pp 267-279.
An Analysis of the Jesuit mission to Florida in the 1560s and 1570s and of the human factors, especially as regards its leaders, that caused its failure. According to the author the venture was beyond their ability and capacity.
- 230 MARQUARDT, William; Claudine PAYNE (eds.). *Culture and Environment in the Domain of the Calusa*. Gainesville: Institute of Archaeology and Paleoenvironmental Studies, University of Florida, IAPS Books, 1992, 440 pages, indices, illustrations, tables.
A collection of historical, archaeological and anthropological studies on Florida's enigmatic Calusa culture, that stress the environmental factor and cast a new light on the complex social organization of a community that was little involved in agriculture and engaged in fishing, seafaring and even piracy, and dominated other neighboring groups. They also cover events after the arrival of the Europeans and the Calusa's relations with them.
- 231 MÁRTIR DE ANGLERÍA, Pedro. *Décadas del Nuevo Mundo*. Paris: n. n., 1587.
Mártir de Anglería wrote the first chronicle of the Indies. The author was never in America, but his position as Royal Secretary allowed him to collect information from travellers that he later used in his work.
- 232 MARTÍNEZ Y GÁLVEZ, Inmaculada; Valentín H. MEDINA. 'Expediciones canarias a la Florida española'. *Coloquio de Historia Canario-Americana*, Las Palmas: Cabildo Insular de Gran Canaria, 1992, pp 551-576.
A study of the participation of Canary Islanders in the exploration, conquest and colonization of Spanish Florida.
- 233 MATTER, Robert A. 'Economic Basis of the Seventeenth-Century Florida Missions'. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Jacksonville, 52:1, 1973, pp 18-38.
A study of the economy of the Spanish missions in Florida shows that the agricultural produce of the evangelized Indians was the essential basis for life in the region.
- 234 MATTER, Robert A. 'Missions in the Defense of Spanish Florida, 1566-1710'. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Jacksonville, 54:1, 1975, pp 18-38.
The author holds that the military efficiency of the unfortified missions on the frontiers of the Spanish Empire should be re-examined and that in the case of Florida the opposition of the Franciscans to the establishment of garrisons

- with permanent military and settler populations helps to explain the scant success of Spanish colonization in the area.
- 235 MATTHEWS, Janet S. *Edge of Wilderness: A Settlement History of Manatee River and Sarasota Bay, 1528-1885*. Tulsa: Caprine Press, 1984, 464 pages.
A brilliant study of Manatee and Seminole history, which is practically the only one to cover such a long period (from the arrival of the Spanish in Florida up to the end of the 18th century). The author analyzes the life, organization and customs of the Indian communities and their relations with the Europeans.
- 236 MATTHEWS, Janet S. *Sarasota: Journey to Centennial: A Pictorial and Entertaining Commentary on the Growth and Development of Sarasota, Florida*. Sarasota: Coastal Printing, Incorporated, 1998, 224 pages, illustrations.
A well-documented and illustrated study of the historical development of Sarasota, Florida.
- 237 MCCARTHY, Kevin M. *Teacher's Manual of Native Americans in Florida*. Sarasota: Pineapple Press, 1999, 219 pages, bibliography.
A detailed study of Florida's various native communities, their tribal organization, relations and coexistence, material life and settlements. It analyzes the importance of archaeological excavations for historical studies, as well as of linguistic research.
- 238 McDONALD, Jerry N.; Susan L. WOODWARD. *Indian Mounds of the Atlantic Coast: A Guide to Sites from Maine to Florida*. Newark: McDonald & Woodward Publishing Company, 1987, 162 pages.
An excellent study of the pre-Columbian American south-east focusing on the mounds built by various native cultures in the coastal regions between Maine and Florida. The authors examine the construction, uses and other characteristics of the 42 that have been preserved, starting with the first to have been discovered, which is 5,000 years old.
- 239 MCEWAN, Bonnie G. (ed.). *The Spanish Missions of La Florida*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993, 210 pages, bibliography, indices.
A study of the Spanish missions in Florida from the early 16th century to their demise in the 18th century at the time of the British occupation. It focuses on how the natives were perceived by their evangelizers, mainly Franciscans, and on the conflicts inherent to two different world views, of which one, the European, triumphed over the other.
- 240 MCEWAN, Bonnie (ed.) *Indians of the Greater Southeast*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000, 342 pages, illustrations.
A collection of studies on the native cultures of the south-eastern United States mainly based on archaeological evidence. It provides a good idea as to the state of knowledge on the subject thanks to the quality of the contributors. It essentially focuses on the pre-Columbian period, although some study colonial themes.
- 241 MCGOUN, William E. *Prehistoric Peoples of South Florida*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1993, 152 pages.
A study of the pre-Columbian cultures of southern Florida up to the arrival of the Spanish. It begins with its first inhabitants, who arrived 10,000 years before Christ and mainly analyzes the way they adapted to the environment and related to it to provide for their needs.
- 242 MENÉNDEZ, J. *Elogio fúnebre de Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*. n. p., n. n. (delivered in Avilés on August 9th 1924).
A panegyric on the life and deeds of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, Florida's first Spanish Governor.
- 243 MENÉNDEZ DE AVILÉS, Pedro. *Menéndez de Avilés, Pedro, 1519-1574. Cartas sobre la Florida, 1555-1574*. Madrid; Frankfurt: Iberoamericana Vervuert, 2002 (ed. Juan C. Mercado), 293 pages, illustrations, maps.
An edition by Mercado of the correspondence of the first Spanish Governor of Florida, with a study of his explorations, conquests, administration and geopolitical project. These are essential material for the study of Florida's early history.
- 244 MERCADO, Carlos (ed.). *Menéndez de Avilés y la Florida: crónicas de sus expediciones*. Lewington: Edwin Mellen Press, 2006, 386 pages, bibliography, indices, illustrations.
An edition and study by Mercado of the works of Solís y Merás and Barrientos on Menéndez de Avilés's rule in Florida.
- 245 MILANICH, Jerald T. "Tacatacuru and the San Pedro de Mocamo Mission". *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Jacksonville, 50:3, 1972, pp 283-291.
A study of the Indian settlement of Timucuan on Cumberland Island in Florida and of the

- Franciscan mission of San Pedro de Mocamo, based on archaeological excavations of the sites.
- 246 MILANICH, Jerald T. *Florida Archaeology*. New York: Academic Press, 1980, 496 pages, bibliography, illustrations.
An excellent synthesis on archaeological research in Florida. Starting with a detailed analysis of the evidence, it goes on to describe and analyze the various cultures that arrived in the region and arose or developed there over the past 12,000 years. The author looks at the physical remains and at the material life and social organization that can be deduced from them to explain what these societies were like, how they developed and why.
- 247 MILANICH, Jerald T. "The Hernando de Soto Expedition to the Florida". *New York Times*, New York, 19/VIII/1987, p 17.
A brief journalistic article that summarizes the author's research and conclusions on Hernando de Soto's expedition to Florida.
- 248 MILANICH, Jerald T. *Archaeology of Pre-Columbian Florida*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1994, 473 pages, bibliography, indices, illustrations.
Starting with a brief history of archaeology in Florida, it then focuses on the knowledge derived from the pre-Columbian remains found at different sites in Florida.
- 249 MILANICH, Jerald T. *Florida's Indians and the Invasion from Europe*. Gainesville, University Press of Florida, 1995, 290 pages, bibliography, indices, illustrations, maps.
A study of the decline and extinction of the Timucua and other aboriginal groups in Florida.
- 250 MILANICH, Jerald T. (ed.). *Archaeology of Northern Florida*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998. 224 pages, bibliography, illustrations.
A collection of studies on the native culture of Weeden Island, focusing on its pottery, statuettes and other cultural artefacts that have marvelled researchers on account of their skill and artistry. Fundamentally based on archaeological research, they analyze the materials used and, through the evidence provided, the social organization and life of these communities.
- 251 MILANICH, Jerald T. *Florida's Indians from Ancient Times to the Present*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998 194 pages, bibliography, illustrations, maps.
A simple but outstanding study of the Appalachees of Florida and their neighbors essentially based on archaeological research.
- 252 MILANICH, Jerald T. *Laboring in the Fields of the Lord: Spanish Missions and Southeastern Indians*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1999, 210 pages, bibliography, indices, illustrations.
An excellent piece of research on the Spanish missions in Florida between the 16th and 18th centuries. It analyzes the conquistadors' perception of the Indians, the establishment of the missions and their subsequent decline, especially of the Franciscan ones, the conflict between two worlds and the virtual eradication of the weakest. It also looks at the friars' explorations in the area.
- 253 MILANICH, Jerald T. (ed.) *Famous Florida Sites: Mount Royal and Crystal River*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1999, 256 pages, bibliography, illustrations.
A collection of studies on the archaeological excavations at Mount Royal and Crystal River in Florida, the remains found, their description, use and controversies as to their interpretation.
- 254 MILANICH, Jerald T.; Charles HUDSON. *Hernando de Soto and the Indians of Florida*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, Museum of Natural History, 1992, 292 pages, bibliography, illustrations, maps.
An investigation and reconstruction of Soto's route in his expedition across Florida. A valuable geographical study that provides excellent data and analysis on the area's native populations in the 16th century.
- 255 MILANICH, Jerald T.; Samuel PROCTOR (eds.). *Tacachale: Essays on the Indians of Florida and Southeastern Georgia During the Historic Period*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997, 232 pages, bibliography, illustrations.
A study of the aboriginal cultures of Florida and Georgia after the arrival of the Europeans. The various essays examine how each of them engaged with the invaders and resisted their destruction and acculturation.
- 256 MILBRATH, Susan; Jerald T. MILANICH (eds.). *First Encounters: Spanish Explorations in the Caribbean and the United States, 1492-1570*. Gainesville: University of Florida Press; Florida Museum of Natural History, 1989, 72 pages, bibliography, indices, illustrations, maps.
An illustrated guide to the first European explorations in the Antilles and Florida on

- occasion of the exhibition at Florida's Natural History Museum. With 13 studies by different authors directed at the general public, it is especially valuable for the information it provides on the indigenous communities encountered by the explorers, conquistadors and colonists in the 16th century.
- 257 MILLER, James. *An Environmental History of Northeast Florida*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998, 223 pages, bibliography, indices, illustrations, maps.
A well-documented and adequately illustrated glance at Florida's environmental history.
- 258 MIRÓ QUESADA, Aurelio. 'La Florida del Inca Garcilaso'. *Ipna*, Lima, 3:5-5, 1946, pp 25-30.
A chapter in the biography of the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega devoted to his *La Florida del Inca*.
- 259 MONTÉQUIN, François A. de. 'El proceso de urbanización en San Agustín de la Florida, 1565-1821: arquitectura civil y militar'. *Anuario de Estudios Americanos*, Sevilla, 37, 1980, pp 583-647, illustrations, maps.
A study of the architecture and urban planning of what was the capital of Spanish Florida from the time of its establishment until the 19th century. Based on archival material and focused on civil and military buildings, since religious structures have been comprehensively studied elsewhere, the book includes a good set of maps, charts, engravings and illustrations.
- 260 MORALES, José M. *Arquitectura y urbanismo hispanoamericano en Luisiana y Florida occidental*. Málaga: Universidad de Málaga, 1987, 229 pages, illustrations and bibliography.
An analysis of the Spanish architecture and urban heritage in the territories of the United States formerly held by Spain.
- 261 MORALES PADRÓN, Francisco. *Teoría y leyes de la conquista*. Madrid: Ediciones Cultura Hispánica del Centro Iberoamericana de Cooperación, 1979, 540 pages.
A study of the legislation issued in Spain for the conquest and colonization of America and of its underlying theories, projects and ideologies.
- 262 MORRIS, Allen. *Florida Place Names*. Sarasota: Pineapple Press, 1995, 291 pages.
An investigation on the place names of Florida, that looks at the changes wrought in them and at the various influences of the Spanish, French and British colonizers and even of other origins who took part in the various expeditions.
- 263 MORRISON, Samuel E. *The European Discovery of America: The Southern Voyages, A D 1492-1616*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993, 722 pages, bibliography, indices, illustrations, tables, maps.
An extensive study of the European discovery of North America between the late 16th century and the early 19th century with an introduction on its pre-Columbian past. It includes a large number of reproductions of documents, illustrations and maps, as valuable as the actual analyses, of which the biographical ones are of particular interest.
- 264 MURGA SANZ, Vicente. *Juan Ponce de León. Fundador y primer gobernador del pueblo puertorriqueño, descubridor de la Florida y del Estrecho de la Bahamas*. San Juan: Ediciones de la Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1959, 387 pages, appendix.
An amply-documented biography of the conqueror of Puerto Rico and discover of Florida, essentially based on sources at the Archive of the Indies and other Spanish collections. Valuable on account of the wide-ranging and detailed information it provides. An appendix includes a selection of the sources employed.
- 265 NEWCOMB, Rexford. *Spanish Colonial Architecture in the United States*. New York: J. J. Augustin, 1937, 39 pages, illustrations.
An excellent and profusely illustrated study of Spanish architecture and town planning in the United States. The author holds that each region has its distinctive character. Starting with a list of extant examples in California, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas and Florida it ends by looking at the restoration work carried out on various monuments.
- 266 NÚÑEZ CABEZA DE VACA, Alvar. *La relación que dio Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca de lo acaecido en las Indias, en la armada donde fue por gobernador Pánfilo de Narváez, desde el año de veintisiete hasta el año de treinta y seis, que volvió a Sevilla con tres de sus compañeros*. Zamora, Mexico: Agustín de Paz and Juan Picardo, 1542.
The original edition of Cabeza de Vaca's narrative of his voyage through Florida and the south of the present-day United States.
- 267 NÚÑEZ CABEZA DE VACA, ALVAR. *Relación de los naufragios y comentarios de Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, ilustrados con varios documentos inéditos*. Madrid:

- Librería General de Victoriano Suárez, 1906 (2 v), 676 pages (1st ed. 1555).
A facsimile reprint by Manuel Serrano y Sanz and Pedro Hernández of the writings of Cabeza de Vaca on America originally published in Valladolid in 1555. It includes several documents that had so far been unpublished.
- 268 NÚÑEZ CABEZA DE VACA, ALVAR. *Naufrajios*. In Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca *et al. Viajes por Norteamérica*. Madrid: Aguilar, 1958 (2 v) 1.126 pages (ed. Manuel Ballesteros Gaibrois).
An edition by Ballesteros Gaibrois of Cabeza de Vaca's *Naufrajios* and other writings on the Spanish explorations of Florida and North America in general, including those of Menéndez de Avilés, Sebastián Vizcaíno, Eusebio F. Kino, Nicolás de Lafora, Juan A. de Morfi, Claude J. D. Charnay, Francisco Palóu, Lorenzo de Zavala and Pedro Tamarón y Romeral.
- 269 NÚÑEZ CABEZA DE VACA, ALVAR. 'Naufrajios (1 1537-40)'. In Roberto Ferrando. *Viajes y viajeros, viajes por Norteamérica*. Madrid: Quórum, 1987 (2 v), v I, pp 11-59.
An edition of the *Naufrajios* by Ferrando, with a study of the author along with narratives of other Spanish chroniclers who travelled around North America.
- 270 NÚÑEZ CABEZA DE VACA, ALVAR. *Naufrajios*. Madrid: Cátedra, 1989, 222 pages, illustrations (ed. Juan F. Maura).
Maura's critical edition of Cabeza de Vaca's *Naufrajios* is one of the best narratives of his explorations in Florida and the southern United States in the 16th century.
- 271 O'SULLIVAN, Maurice; Jack C. LANE (eds.). *The Florida Reader: Visions of Paradise from 1530 to the Present*. Sarasota: Pineapple Press, 1991, 269 pages.
An anthology of writings on Florida that shows its rich cultural heritage through the successive contributions of Seminoles, Spanish, French, British and Africans and how they coexisted.
- 272 OCAMPO, Juan de. 'La gran Florida'. In Juan de Ocampo, fray Salcedo y Ordóñez & Diego Albéniz de la Cerrada. *La gran Florida por el maestro Juan de Ocampo; los Chiapas (ríos de La Plata y Paraguay), por F. Salcedo y Ordóñez; los desiertos de Achaguas (llanos de Venezuela) por Diego Albéniz de la Cerrada*. Madrid: Edición América [1920], 269 pages.
The testimony of Juan de Ocampo, pseudonym of Rafael Bolívar Coronado, about Florida during the first years of Spanish colonization, published along with similar texts on other parts of America by Salcedo and Albéniz. Especially important for its descriptions of native communities.
- 273 OFFICIAL *List of Documentary Funds of the Floridas, Now Territories of the States of Louisiana, Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia and Florida, Kept in the National Archives*. Havana: Archivo Nacional de Cuba, 1945, 316 pages.
An inventory of the material at the Cuban National Archives on the territory of the United States that was part of the Spanish Empire, with 2,500 references with the necessary data for their precise location. Accompanied by an introductory essay.
- 274 ORÉ, Luis G. *Relación de los mártires que a avido en La Florida*. [Madrid]: [1917].
A little-known bibliographical rarity written by a Franciscan friar who was active in Peru but who was appointed at the beginning of the 18th century his Order's commissary in Florida, recruiting missionaries for the area's evangelization. He visited the territory and met the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, whose *La Florida del Inca* is closely linked to this *Relación de los mártires, crónica religiosa de la conquista y colonización de dichas tierras*.
- 275 PACHECO, Joaquín F.; Francisco de CÁRDENAS Y ESPEJO; Luis TORRES DE MENDOZA (eds.). *Colección de documentos inéditos, relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de América y Oceanía, sacados de los archivos del reino, y muy especialmente del de Indias*. Madrid: Kraus, 1864 (42 v).
A voluminous collection of archival material on the Spanish colonies, known in abbreviation as *Codinoao*.
- 276 PARKER, JEAN (ED). *The Oldest City: St Augustine, Saga of Survival*. St Augustine: St Augustine Historical Society, 1983, 264 pages.
An edition of various essays on the history of St Augustine in Florida.
- 277 PARKMAN, Francis. *Pioneers of France in the New World*. New York: Literary Classics of the United States, 1983, 473 pages (ed. Colin G. Calloway).
A classic study, originally published in 1865 and newly edited by Calloway, of the French colonies in America, in lands never conquered by Spain. As regards Florida in the 16th century, it presents an analysis of the Huguenot colony established there by Ribault in the 1560s.

- 278 PARSONS, Lee A. *Columbus to Catherwood, 1494-1844: 350 Years of Historic Book Graphics Depicting the Islands, Indians, and Archaeology of the West Indies, Florida, and Mexico*. Miami Lakes, Jay I. Kislak Foundation Incorporated, 1993, 121 pages, bibliography, illustrations.
A selection of 44 illustrations from the Kislak Collection on the New World, with comments by the editor.
- 279 PATRICK, Rembert W. *Florida under Five Flags*. Gainesville: Florida University Press, 1945, 140 pages, illustrations, maps.
A brief and well-written general history of Florida by one of its best scholars. Interesting illustrations.
- 280 PEARSON, Fred L. 'Spanish-Indian Relations in Florida, 1602-1675: Some Aspects of Selected Visitas'. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Jacksonville, 52:3, 1974, pp 261-273.
A study of five civil and ecclesiastical *visitas* to the Spanish colony of Florida during the 17th century and their contribution to our historical knowledge of the area.
- 281 PECK, Douglas T. 'Reconstruction and Analysis of the 1513 Discovery Voyage of Juan Ponce de León'. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Jacksonville, 71:2, 1992, pp 133-154, maps.
A revision from a different point of view using a new methodology of Ponce de León's voyage to Florida in 1513. The author follows in his footsteps, determines his exact route and confirms the geographical descriptions in the original narrative.
- 282 PÉREZ BUSTAMANTE, Ciriaco. 'Fr Bartolomé de Barrientos y su vida y hechos de Pedro Menéndez de Avilés'. *Revista de Indias*, Madrid, 1:1, 1940, pp 73-88.
An analysis of Barrientos' work on the expeditions and government of Menéndez de Avilés in Florida. It concludes that it was copied from Solís de Merás and offers an alternative version to Lowery on the life and times of the Spanish conquistador and of his confrontation with the French colonists under Ribault, who he expelled from the region.
- 283 PÉREZ CABRERA, José M. *El capitán Hernando de Soto, gobernador de la isla Fernandina de Cuba, adelantado de la Florida*. Havana: Imprenta El Siglo XX, Academia de la Historia de Cuba, 1939, 168 pages.
An analysis using new evidence of Hernando de Soto's preparations in Cuba for his campaigns on the American mainland.
- 284 PERRY, I. Mac. *Indian Mounds You Can Visit: 165 Aboriginal Sites on Florida's West Coast*. St Petersburg: Great Outdoors Publishing Company, 1998. 192 pages, bibliography, illustrations.
A study of 165 mounds built by the aboriginal cultures of Florida's west coast.
- 285 PIQUERAS, Ricardo. 'Sin oro y muertos de hambre: fracaso y alimentación en la expedición de Pánfilo de Narváez a la Florida'. *Boletín Americanista*, Barcelona, 31:39/40, 1989-1990, pp 175-184.
A study of Narváez's exploration of Florida and of the reasons for its failure, which according to the author were related to the fact that he never found the riches he expected and, particularly, to problems with food supplies, which are closely analyzed.
- 286 PRATTER, Chester B. de; Charles M. HUDSON; Marvin T. SMITH. 'The Route of Juan Pardo's Exploration in the Interior Southeast, 1566-1568'. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Jacksonville, 62:2, 1983, pp 125-158.
A reconstruction of Juan Pardo's 16th century expedition in the southern United States with extremely interesting data and analysis, particularly on the aboriginal populations with which he came into contact.
- 287 PRIESTLEY, Herbert I. *Tristán de Luna. Conquistador of the Old South: A Study of Spanish Imperial Strategy*. Glendale, California. Arthur H. Clark Company, 1936, 215 pages.
An unsurpassed study, many of whose conclusions still stand, on the *Adelantado* Tristán de Luna and of his failed expedition to Florida at the end of the 1550s. His campaign was organized directly from the Viceroyalty of New Spain at Royal command as the previous failures led by Ponce de León, Vázquez de Ayllón and Soto had been private ventures although authorized by the Crown, while Cáncer's had an exclusively religious, missionary and evangelizing character.
- 288 PURDY, Barbara A. *Florida's Prehistoric Stone Technology*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1981, 165 pages, bibliography, indices, illustrations, maps.
A new study from an original viewpoint of the stone remains found at sites in Florida and of their technological value, that considers their structure, use and other characteristics. It is additionally a treatise on how archaeological work is carried out and should be carried out, and is therefore useful for both professionals and the general public.

- 289 PURDY, Barbara A. *Art and Archaeology of Florida's Wetlands*. Boca Raton: CRC Press, 1991, 223 pages, bibliography, indices, illustrations, maps.
A study of the archaeological remains found in the Florida wetlands. According to the author, remains in this type of environment are usually more vulnerable than in dry areas as they are subject to the effects of water and are habitually destroyed by drainage and development projects. Nonetheless, they provide highly valuable information on the region's indigenous communities and on how they adapted their way of life to their environment and exploited its natural resources. The author examines the subject from this viewpoint, examines the physical, chemical and structural components of the sites, analyzes the remains and indicates how they should be preserved.
- 290 PURDY, Barbara A.; Roy C. CRAVEN. *Indian Art of Ancient Florida*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996, 192 pages, bibliography, indices, illustrations.
A description and analysis of 116 native artistic remains of different type and use and of various materials (stone, wood, bone or metal). Their study is essential to improve our knowledge of the natives of Florida.
- 291 PUGGINI, Darío. 'Elementos de narración novelesca en *La Florida del Inca* Garcilaso'. *Revista Nacional de Cultura*, Caracas, 40:240, 1979, pp 26-47, illustrations.
A well-documented and argued study on *La Florida del Inca*. The author considers it a historical discourse and one of the first instances of the Mannerism that preceded the Baroque.
- 292 PUPO-WALKER, Enrique. '*La Florida del Inca* Garcilaso: notas sobre la problematización del discurso histórico en los siglos XVI y XVII'. *Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos*, Madrid, 139:417, 1985, p 91-111.
The author links the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega with other writers of the time and argues the value of *La Florida del Inca* as a model of historical discourse.
- 293 QUINN, David B. 'Some Spanish Reactions to Elizabethan Colonial Enterprises'. *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, London, 5:1, 1951, pp 1-23.
Quinn investigates what the Spanish colonists in Florida knew about the English expeditions and campaigns of conquest and colonization in that area and in Virginia between 1562 and 1603. Based on English and Hispanic sources, both period chronicles and archival material.
- 294 RABASA, José. 'On Writing Back: Alternative Historiography in *La Florida del Inca*'. In Ameryll B. Chanady (ed.). *Latin American Identity and Constructions of Difference*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994, pp 130-148, bibliography.
A study based on an analysis of *La Florida del Inca* and Hernando de Soto's expedition of concepts such as civilization, noble savage and barbarity in colonial literature and historiography.
- 295 RABASA, José. 'Porque Soy Indio: Subjectivity in *La Florida del Inca*'. *Poetics Today*, Durham, 16:1, 1995, pp 79-108.
An analysis of Western epistemology and its vision of the *other* through the discourse constructed by the Spanish about the American Indians in the chronicles of the Indies and, particularly, Garcilaso de la Vega, who is devoted a chapter to himself, since, according to the author, he constructed a minority version with a different and mixed-race perspective.
- 296 RABASA, José. *Writing Violence on the Northern Frontier: The Historiography of Sixteenth Century New Mexico and Florida and the Legacy of Conquest*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2000, 359 pages, bibliography, indices, illustrations.
From the perspective of the new cultural history and neo-colonial studies the author presents in six interesting essays a series of investigations and considerations that re-think the past of the northern frontier of New Spain in the 16th century, especially New Mexico and Florida. The analysis focuses on the violence revealed by the conquistadors' narratives, with which a geocultural and colonial discourse is constructed that includes a program of domination, its theoretical foundations and the necessary visual and verbal representations.
- 297 RAMOS, Demetrio. *Audacia, negocios y política en los viajes españoles de descubrimiento y rescate*. Valladolid: Casa-Museo de Colón, Seminario Americanista de la Universidad, 1981, 629 pages, tables, illustrations.
A study of Spanish discoveries and explorations.
- 298 RAMOS, Demetrio. 'El impacto español en la Florida, siglos XVI y XVII'. In Antonio Acosta, Juan Marchena (eds.). *La influencia de España en el Caribe, la Florida y la Luisiana, 1500-1800*. Madrid: Instituto de Cooperación Iberoamericana, 1983, pp 113-127.
An analysis of the Spanish expeditions of conquest and exploration of Florida and of the first settlements they established and how they developed over the 16th and 17th centuries.

- 299 RANDOLPH, I. Daniel; Michael WISENBAKER. *Harney Flats: A Florida Paleo-Indian Site*. Farmingdale: Baywood Published Company, 1987, 192 pages, bibliography, illustrations.
A study of a paleo-Indian site in Florida.
- 300 RASICO, Philip D. 'The Spanish Lexical Base of Old St Augustine Mahonese: A Missing Link in Florida Spanish'. *Hispania*, Connecticut, 69:2, 1986, pp 267-277.
A refutation of Canfield's theory on the lack of continuity of the Spanish spoken in Florida with that spoken by the first settlers. The author points out that after the British conquest there remained a Hispanic population, mainly Catalan—although there were also Corsicans—and that there is sufficient evidence of their way of speaking having been preserved, both as regards Castilian and Catalan.
- 301 REEVES, F. Blair (comp). *A Guide to Florida's Historic Architecture*. Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1989, 149 pages.
A detailed guide to Florida's architecture and of its various historical influences and characteristics.
- 302 REILLY, Stephen E. 'A Marriage of Expedience: The Calusa Indians and Their Relations with Pedro Menéndez de Avilés in Southwest Florida, 1566-1569'. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Jacksonville, 59:4, 1981, pp 395-421.
An analysis of the relations between the Spanish conquistadors and the natives in the 1560s, with abundant information on the latter based on narrative sources and focusing especially on the intermarriage of the elites in both groups.
- 303 REITZ, Elizabeth J. 'Dieta y alimentación hispano-americana en el Caribe y la Florida en el siglo XVI'. *Revista de Indias*, Madrid, 51:191, 1991, pp 11-24, tables.
A study of the role of domestic livestock, their rearing and use for food in the success of the Spanish colonizing ventures in Florida and the Caribbean in the 16th century.
- 304 RIVA AGÜERO, José de la (ed.). *Garcilaso de la Vega Inca. Páginas escogidas*. Paris: Biblioteca de Cultura Peruana, 1938, 460 pages, bibliography.
A selection from Garcilaso de la Vega's *Comentarios reales* and *La Florida del Inca*, with an excellent introduction and lengthy bibliography. In general a laudatory essay.
- 305 ROBERTS, William. *An Account of the First Discovery, and Natural History of Florida*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1976 (1st ed. 1763), 120 pages, maps, illustrations, tables.
A new edition of Roberts's classic work on the discovery of Florida and its natural history, dated 1763. It has valuable and detailed information on the various expeditions and an excellent general map as well as of specific areas.
- 306 ROBERTSON, James A. *Fernando de Soto y el descubrimiento de la Florida*. New York: n. n., 1935, 175 pages.
One of the classic studies of Hernando de Soto's voyage to Florida. Still of value on account of some of the information it provides.
- 307 ROBERTSON, James A. 'Letter of De Soto to the Secular Cabildo of Santiago de Cuba'. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Jacksonville, 16:3, 1938, pp 174-178.
An English translation of the letter sent to the *Cabildo* of Santiago de Cuba by the discoverer of Florida, with a comment on the letter's value for the study of its author's activities in the conquest.
- 308 ROUSE, Irving. 'The Southeast and the West Indies'. In John W. Griffin, (ed.). *The Florida Indian and his Neighbors*. Winter Park: Rollins College, Inter-American Center, 1949, pp 117-137.
Rouse defends a thesis contrary to Willey's and holds that there was scant diffusion of the native cultures from south to north and that the main connexions were probably the result of the migration to southern lands of the Siboneys of Florida.
- 309 ROUSE, Irving. *A Survey of Indian River Archaeology, Florida*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1951, 256 pages, tables.
A study of the relations between Indians and Spaniards in colonial Florida based on archaeological evidence, especially that showing commercial contacts as proved by objects found at various sites. It also analyzes data from pre-ceramic remains in the region that could be linked to the Cuban Siboney cultures.
- 310 ROUSE, Irving. 'Archaeological Similarities Between the Southeast and the West Indies'. *Florida Anthropology*, Tallahassee, 2, 1958, pp 3-14.
The author holds that there is significant evidence of cultural contacts between south-

- eastern North America and the Antilles in the Marginal or Archaic development strata, except in the Pre-formative, but very little proof of common features in the Formative strata.
- 311 ROWLAND, Donald W. (ed.). 'Spanish Information on Early English Colonization'. *Journal of Southern History*, Hanover, 20:4, 1954, pp 530-532.
Spanish translation of an undated report, probably from the early 17th century, on the information the Spanish possessed about the early English colonization of the southern United States.
- 312 RUBIO MAÑÉ, José I. 'Fin de los días de don Tristán de Luna y Arellano, genearca de los mariscales de Castilla en México, año de 1573'. *Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación*, Mexico, 2:8.1/2, 1967, pp 17-21.
A brief biographical analysis of the Spanish explorer, who led an expedition to Florida in 1559, but focusing especially on his last days.
- 313 RUIDÍAZ CARAVIA, Eugenio (ed.). *La Florida, su conquista y colonización por Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*. Madrid: Hijos de J.A. García, 1893 (2 v), 627 pages, illustrations, maps.
A voluminous and detailed description and synthesis of the early history of Spanish Florida, centred on the conquest and colonization of its first Governor, Menéndez de Avilés, and essentially based on the testimony of Solís de Merás. It has an interesting collection of illustrations and maps.
- 314 RUIDÍAZ CARAVIA, Eugenio. *Conquista y colonización de La Florida*. Madrid: Istmo, 1989, 851 pages, illustrations, maps (ed. José M. López Tabanera).
An updated edition of the author's work, originally published in 1893.
- 315 SÁINZ SASTRE, María Antonia. *Florida en el siglo XVI: descubrimiento y conquista*. Madrid: MAPFRE, 1992, 317 pages, bibliography, indices, illustrations, maps.
The study on which the present edition is based, using sources such as the archive of the Counts of Revillagigedo and others, as well as information provided by the chronicles of the Indies. It analyzes the Spanish conquest and exploration of Florida in the 16th century, especially focusing on the leading characters involved.
- 316 SALVADOR Y CONDE, J. 'El padre Domingo de la Anunciación y su personalidad misionera'. *Missionalia Hispanica*, Madrid, 7:19, 1950, pp 81-162.
A lengthy and highly favorable biographical study of the Spanish Dominican missionary Domingo de la Anunciación who, in addition to his work in Mexico, organised an evangelizing venture to Florida in 1559.
- 317 SANCHO DE SOPRANIS, Hipólito. 'Notas y documentos sobre Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca'. *Revista de Indias*, Madrid, 23, 1993, pp 207-241, appendix.
Using unpublished material from the Archivo de Protocolos of Jerez de los Caballeros, the author provides evidence that the explorer of Florida and the southern United States originated there. Ten of the main documents used in the study are included as an appendix.
- 318 SCHWALLER, John F. 'Nobility, Family and Service: Menéndez de Avilés and His Men'. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Jacksonville, 66, 1988, pp 298-306.
A study of the social and family status of the Spanish *Adelantado* and Governor of Florida Pedro Menéndez de Avilés and of the prestige he earned in the King's service along with his military companions and colonists.
- 319 SCISCO, Louis D. 'The Discovery of Chesapeake Bay, 1525-1573'. *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Baltimore, 40:4, 1945, pp 276-286.
A brief analysis of the discovery of Chesapeake Bay in Florida by Spanish explorers between 1525 and 1573.
- 320 SCISCO, Louis D. 'Voyage of Vicente González in 1588'. *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Baltimore, 42:2, 1947, pp 95-100.
New information on the discovery of Chesapeake Bay in Florida, which the author had researched in an article published two years previously. In this case, he studies the little-known expedition of Vicente González in 1588, analyzing its route and the local geography.
- 321 SERRANO Y SANZ, Manuel (ed.). *Documentos de la Florida y la Luisiana, siglos XVI al XVIII*. Madrid: Librería General de Victoriano Suárez, 1912, 616 pages.
A selection of documents on Florida and Louisiana, mainly from Spanish archives, and on the Spanish colonization of the territories between the 16th and 18th centuries. It includes some that had never before been published.
- 322 SHOFNER, Jerrell H. *Florida Portrait: A Pictorial History of Florida*. Sarasota: Pineapple Press, 1990, 256 pages, illustrations.
An album on the history of Florida since pre-Columbian times to the end of the 20th century.

- Its value resides in its collection of photographs and illustrations, many of them original and previously unpublished.
- 323 SIEGEL, Peter E. 'Migration Research in Saladoid Archaeology: A Review'. *Florida Anthropologist*, Gainesville, 44:1, 1991, pp 79-91, bibliography, tables. An assessment of the studies on pre-Columbian migrations in North America and the Antilles. The author considers Rouse's theories to be the most coherent and appropriate so far.
- 324 SIERRA, Vicente D. *Así se hizo América: la expansión de la hispanidad en el siglo XVI*. Madrid: Ediciones Cultura Hispánica, 1955, 406 pages. A study of Spain's early expansion in America, its colonization and the bases on which the Empire was established during the 16th century.
- 325 SMILEY, Nixon. *Yesterday's Florida*, Miami: E.A. Seemann, 1974, 256 pages, illustrations. A well-illustrated book on the history of Florida, that is especially valuable for its iconographic collection..
- 326 SMITH, Hale G. 'Archaeological Significance of Oriental Porcelain in Florida Sites'. *Florida Anthropologist*, Gainesville, 8:4, 1955, pp 111-116, maps. As in the study by Aga-Oglu, of the same period, Smith's work looks at the Oriental pottery found in Indian sites in Florida and suggests similar theories on how it reached the region through the Spanish.
- 327 SMITH, Marvin T. *Coosa: The Rise and Fall of a Southeastern Mississippian Chiefdom*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000, 176 pages, bibliography, illustrations. A study of the development and collapse of the Coosa culture, located in Georgia and adjacent States, such as Florida. At least three Spanish expeditions of conquest and colonization came into contact with them in the 16th century.
- 328 SMITH, Roger; James MILLER; Sean KELLEY; Linda HARBIN. *An Atlas of Maritime Florida*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997, illustrations. An atlas of Florida's littoral, seas and coastal geographical features.
- 329 SOLÍS DE MERÁS, Gonzalo. *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*. Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1964, 286 pages, illustrations, maps (ed. Lyle McAlister). An edition in English of Solís's testimony on the Spanish *Adelantado* of Florida Méndez de Avilés.
- 330 SOLÍS DE MERÁS, Gonzalo. *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés y la conquista de la Florida, 1565*. Oviedo: Grupo Editorial Asturiano; Principadolibros, 1990, 222 pages, bibliography, illustrations, maps (ed. José M. Gómez-Tabanera). The testimony of Solís, Méndez de Avilés's brother-in-law, is one of the most valuable documents for the study of the conquest, colonization and government of the *Adelantado* of Florida.
- 331 SOLÍS DE MERÁS, Gonzalo. 'Memorial que hizo el doctor Gonzalo Solís de Merás, de todas las jornadas y suceso del adelantado Pedro Menéndez de Avilés'. In Carlos Mercado (ed.). *Menéndez de Avilés y la Florida: crónicas de sus expediciones*. Lewingston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2006, 386 pages, bibliography, indices, illustrations. An edition and study by Mercado of the classic account by Solís de Merás on Méndez de Avilés's rule in Florida. It also includes Barrientos's work on the subject.
- 332 STE CLAIRE, Dana M. *Cracker: the Cracker Culture in Florida History*. Daytona Beach: Museum of Arts and Sciences, 1998, 256 pages, bibliography, illustrations. A study of the Cracker culture of Florida, their way of life, buildings and economy until their disappearance.
- 333 STOJANOWSKI, Christopher M. *Biocultural Histories in La Florida: A Bioarchaeological Perspective*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2005, 123 pages, bibliography, indices. A study of Florida's biocultural history based on archaeological finds and completed with documentary and historiographical information. It analyzes the demography of the Appalachees and their crisis following contact with the Spanish conquistadors and their mission system. It combines local and global analyses and has an interesting methodological chapter.
- 334 STONE, Doris. 'Relationship of Florida Archaeology to that of Middle America'. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Jacksonville, 47:17, 1939, pp 211-218. A classic study of archaeological work in Florida and Mesoamerica. Essentially a list of excavations.
- 335 STRAIGHT, William M. 'Medicine in Spanish Florida'. In José A. Balseiro (ed.) *The Hispanic Presence in Florida*. Miami: E.A. Seemann, 1976, pp 77-93. A well-grounded study on the historical development of medicine in Florida during the

- Spanish colonial period. There are other studies on the same subject by Childs, Eberson and Coker.
- 336 SWANTON, John R. *The Early History of the Creek Indians and their Neighbors*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, 1922, 508 pages, illustrations, tables.
A classic detailed study of Florida's Creek Indians.
- 337 SWANTON, John R. 'The Landing Place of De Soto'. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Jacksonville, 16:3, 1938, pp 149-173.
An examination of the possible landfall of Hernando de Soto's expedition to Florida, subsequently the subject of controversy between True, Lawson and other authors.
- 338 SWANTON, John R. *The Indians of the Southeastern United States*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1946, 943 pages, illustrations, maps, tables.
A compilation of the early exploration of North America and descriptions of the natives.
- 339 TAPIA Y RIVERA, Alejandro. *Biblioteca histórica de Puerto Rico*. San Juan: Imprenta de Márquez, 1854, 489 pages.
A compendium on the history of Puerto Rico, containing original documents from the 16th to the 18th centuries including some on the conquest and colonization of Florida.
- 340 TEBEAU, Charlton. *A History of Florida*. Coral Gables: University of Miami Press, 1971, 257 pages, illustrations, maps.
The classic general study on the history of Florida, still valuable on account of its analysis and some of the data provided.
- 341 THOMAS, Cyrus. *Work in Mound Exploration of the Bureau of Ethnology*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of Ethnology, 1894, 160 pages.
A report to the Smithsonian Institution on the mounds of North American native cultures excavated by the author and other archaeologists, such as Wills de Haas.
- 342 TIBESAR, Antonine (ed.). 'A Spy's Report on the Expedition of Jean Ribault to Florida, 1565'. *The Americas*, Washington, 11:4, 1955, pp 589-592.
A highly detailed study of the French expedition to Florida in 1565, led by Ribault, its conquest, colonization, settlement and elimination by the Spanish.
- 343 TORMO, Leandro. 'Siete cartas de Menéndez al rey desde 13 de agosto de 1565 al 30 de enero siguiente'. In Leandro Tormo. *Viajes por Norteamérica*. Madrid: Aguilar, 1958 (2 v), v II, pp 899-943.
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- 344 TORMO, Leandro. *Viajes por Norteamérica*. Madrid: Aguilar, 1958 (2 v), 1,143 pages.
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- 345 TRUE, David O. 'The Freducci Map of 1514-1515'. *Tequesta*, Jacksonville, 4, 1944, pp 49-55, map.
Discussion on the location of Ponce de León's landfall in his first expedition to Florida. The author maintains that it was in the Miami area and not St Augustine, a theory later answered by Lawson.
- 346 TRUE, David O. 'Some Early Maps Relating to Florida'. *Imago Mundi*, Burden, 11, 1954, pp 73-84.
A critical examination of the first maps of Florida. The author presents theories distinct from those current at the time and that have subsequently been refuted.
- 347 UREÑA Y HEVIA, J. *Aproximación al conocimiento y personalidad de Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*. n. p.: n. n.
An unpublished study of the life and times of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, Governor of Spanish Florida.
- 348 VACCARELLA, Eric. 'Echoes of Resistance: Testimonial Narrative and Pro-Indian Discourse in El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega's *La Florida del Inca*'. *Latin American Literary Review*, Washington, 2, 2004, pp 100-119, bibliography.
This study argues that Garcilaso de la Vega incorporated native, in addition to Spanish, voices to construct a historical discourse and debates the author's ideological motivations.
- 349 VARONA, Frank de (ed.). *Hispanic Contributions to American History 1492-Present*. Miami: Hispanic Contributions to American History Project, 1996.
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- 350 VARGAS UGARTE, Rubén. *First Jesuit Mission in Florida*. New York: Catholic Historical Society, 1935, 218 pages.

- Presentation, description and analysis of 20-odd documents regarding the first Jesuit missionary expedition to Florida between 1568 and 1572.
- 351 VARGAS UGARTE, Rubén. *Los mártires de La Florida, 1566-1572*. Lima: 1940, 100 pages, illustrations.
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- 352 VAS MINGO, Milagros del. *Las capitulaciones de Indias en el siglo XVI*. Madrid: Cultura Hispánica, 1986, 417 pages, annexes, bibliography.
An analysis of the *capitulaciones* issued by the Kings of Spain in the 16th century for the exploration, conquest, colonization, exploitation and government of America.
- 353 WEBER, Hanne. 'Dialectics of Discovery: Cabeza de Vaca in Texas and Florida, 1528-1536'. *Folk: Journal of the Danish Ethnographic Society*, Copenhagen, 34, 1992, pp 119-143.
An anthropological study of Cabeza de Vaca's *Naufragios* in which the account is presented as the result of the insoluble confrontation of two different value systems and practices (European and Native American).
- 354 VEGA, Garcilaso de la. *The Florida of the Inca. A History of the Adelantado, Hernando de Soto*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1951, 655 pages.
An English translation of *La Florida del Inca*, with very few notes and based on the edition published in Madrid in 1723, although it does compare it with the original, published in Lisbon in 1605. The author, a Peruvian half-caste who is considered to be the father of Latin American literature, recounts the adventures of Hernando de Soto and the fabulous story of his expedition to Florida and other parts of the present-day United States between 1539 and 1543. The facts were probably related to the author by a member of the expedition, Gonzalo Silvestre.
- 355 VEGA, Garcilaso de la. *La Florida del Inca. Historia del adelantado Hernando de Soto, gobernador y capitán general del reino de la Florida y de otros heroicos caballeros españoles e indios escrita por el Inca Garcilaso de la Vega*. Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1956, 471 pages (1st ed. 1606, ed. Aurelio Miró Quesada).
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- 356 VEGA, Garcilaso de la. *La Florida del Inca*. Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1982, 315 pages (ed. Sylvia L. Hilton).
Hilton's first critical edition of *La Florida del Inca*.
- 357 VEGA, Garcilaso de la. *La Florida del Inca*. Madrid: Historia 16, 1986. 599 pages, bibliography, maps (ed. Sylvia L. Hilton).
An annotated edition, with modernized spelling, of *La Florida del Inca* based on the original publication of 1605 and more updated than the editor's previous version of 1982. It includes a biographical chronology of the author and a critical study of the work and its possible literary influences.
- 358 VEGA, Garcilaso de la. *La Florida*. Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1988, 632 pages (ed. Carmen de Mora).
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- 360 VICENS VIVES, Jaime. *Historia general moderna*. Barcelona: Editorial Vicens Vives, 1971 (2 v), 1373 pages.
A modern history written by the main renovator of Spanish historical studies at the time.
- 361 VIDAL, F. Gavazzo P (ed.). *Relaçam verdadeira dos trabalhos que o governador don Fernando de Souto e certos fidalgos portugueses passaram no descobrimento da provincia da Florida*. Lisbon: Agencia Geral das Colonias, 1942, 319 pages, indices.
Facsimile edition by Vidal of the 1557 manuscript on Hernando de Soto's voyage to Florida written by a Fidalgo of Elvas, with abundant notes, indices and a glossary.
- 362 VIGIL, Ciriaco M. *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*. Avilés: La Unión, 1897, 211 pages, map.
Biographical and genealogical notes on the Adelantado of Florida, covering the territory's conquest and colonization, as well as of other Asturians who accompanied him and continued his work. It includes a pedigree.

- 363 VIGNERAS, L. A. 'Fortificaciones de la Florida'. *Anuario de Estudios Americanos*, Seville, 16, 1959, pp 533-552.
A study based on sources from the Archive of the Indies of the fortifications built by the Spanish in Florida for its defense and that of the fleets travelling between Europe and the Indies.
- 364 VILA VILAR, Enriqueta. 'La esclavitud en el Caribe, Florida y Luisiana: algunos datos generales para su estudio'. In Antonio Acosta; Juan Marchena (eds.). *La influencia de España en el Caribe, la Florida y la Luisiana, 1500-1800*. Madrid: Instituto de Cooperación Iberoamericana, 1983, pp 223-242.
An analysis of African slavery in Spain's Louisiana and Florida territories since the start of colonization and of how to study it.
- 365 VOIGHT, Lisa. 'Captivity, Exile, and Interpretation in *La Florida del Inca*'. *Colonial Latin American Review*, Albuquerque, 11:2, 2002, pp 251-273, bibliography.
A well-documented and ably-argued study of *La Florida del Inca*, that holds that its author, a half-caste, used his environment's racial and socio-cultural complexity to present himself as an authoritative new voice and to construct a discourse of self-legitimation.
- 366 WEISMAN, Brent R. *Excavations on the Franciscan Frontier: Archaeology at the Fig Springs Mission*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida; Florida Museum of Natural History, 1992, 254 pages, illustrations, maps.
The excavations carried out in 1959 at the Fig Springs uncovered the location of one of Florida's first Franciscan missions of the 16th century. Weisman's subsequent archaeological studies have returned to this mission, one of the few to have been studied in the Timucua's territory. His research shows, on the basis of an analysis of the myriad remains and structures, that the work of the Spanish friars went far beyond mere evangelization, as they engaged in education, technical training, building, healthcare and cookery.
- 367 WEISMAN, Brent R. *Unconquered People: Florida's Seminole and Miccosukee Indians*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1999, 184 pages, bibliography, illustrations.
Combining, archaeological, anthropological, ethnographic and historical analysis, this study looks at the provenance and development of the Seminole and Miccosukee cultures in Florida.
- 368 WENHOLD, Lucy L. 'Manrique de Rojas' Report on French Settlement in Florida, 1564'. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Jacksonville, 38:1, 1959, pp 45-62.
An English translation of the writings of Manrique de Rojas on the French Huguenot colony established in Florida in the 1560s by Ribault, including his version of the controversial episode with the Spaniards' captives following the settlement's destruction.
- 369 WHEELER, Ryan J. *Treasure of the Calusa: The Johnson/Willcox Collection from Mound Key, Florida*. Ryan J. Wheeler Publishing, 2000, 200 pages, illustrations.
An analysis of the various remains of the Calusa culture found at Mound Key around a century ago and presently at the University of Pennsylvania Museum. Some of the remains are of Indian origin and others Spanish. The collection is catalogued and placed in its archaeological and historical context.
- 370 WHITE, Nancy M.; Lynne P. SULLIVAN, Rochelle A. MARRINAN (eds.). *Grit-Tempered*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2001, 329 pages, illustrations.
A collection of archaeological studies based on new methods.
- 371 WICKE, Charles R. 'Pyramids and Temple Mounds: Mesoamerican Ceremonial Architecture in Eastern North America'. *American Antiquity*, Mensha, 3:4, 1965, pp 409-420, illustrations.
An analysis of the cultures of eastern and south-eastern North America, focusing on architecture and its Mesoamerican influences, that were probably due to the fact that the area was populated by migrants from what is now Mexico and Central America.
- 372 WIDMER, Randolph J. *The Evolution of the Calusa: A Nonagricultural Chiefdom on the Southwest Florida Coast*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1998, 334 pages, illustrations.
A study of the evolution of the Calusa that aims to explain how, why and under what circumstances such a sophisticated culture managed to develop on Florida's south-western coast despite practicing subsistence agriculture. The author combines information from archaeological, environmental, geological and historical studies and presents a specific, integrated and dynamic model of cultural

- adaptation that is very useful to study such a complex phenomenon. Nevertheless, his results are not conclusive.
- 373 WILLEY, Gordon R. 'The Southeastern United States and South America: A Comparative Statement'. In John W. Griffin, (ed.). *The Florida Indian and his Neighbors*. Winter Park: Rollins College, Inter-American Center, 1949, pp 101-116.
Willey maintained that there was a cultural diffusion in pre-Columbian times from north to south through the Antilles, an idea subsequently questioned by Rouse.
- 374 WILLEY, Gordon R. *Archaeology of the Florida Gulf Coast*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998, 696 pages, bibliography, illustrations.
A review of the archaeological work undertaken since the 19th century in Florida's Gulf of Mexico coast, with an analysis of the remains that have been found.
- 375 WILLIAM, John L. *Territory of Florida*. New York: A. T. Goodrich, 1837, 303 pages, illustrations, appendix.
A classic study of Florida's geography and native communities, with valuable data.
- 376 WILLIAMS, Schafer. 'Hoffman Atkinson, Translator of *La Florida del Inca*'. *Revista Interamericana de Bibliografía*, Washington, 4:1-2, 1954, pp 52-62.
A well-documented study of the first English translation of *La Florida del Inca*, made at the beginning of the 20th century, that remained virtually unknown at the Library of Congress in Washington.
- 377 WILMER, Lambert A. *The Life, Travels and Adventures of Ferdinand de Soto: Discoverer of the Mississippi (1858)*. New York: Kessinger, 2001, 24 pages, illustrations, maps.
An account of Hernando de Soto's life and campaigns of exploration and conquest in Florida and the southern United States.
- 378 WINSBER, Morton D. *Florida's History Through its Places: Properties in the National Register of Historic Places*. Tallahassee: Institute of Science and Public Affairs; Florida State University; Bureau of Historic Preservation, Florida Department of State, 1988, 188 pages, illustrations, maps.
The historical context of Florida's 800 most distinctive monuments, as recorded at the National Register of Historic Places, with notes on architectural styles, materials, designers and other features.
- 379 WORTH, John E. *The Timucuan Chiefdoms of Spanish Florida*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998 (2 v), 552 pages, bibliography, indices, illustrations, maps.
The result of more than a decade's archaeological and documentary research, this is an essentially archaeological investigation, although incorporating the latest historiographical techniques, of the Timucua culture in Florida's St Augustine area. It studies the impact on it of the Spanish missionary system and its virtual destruction after Great Britain took over the area, to which the second volume is devoted. The first, in addition to analyzing the Spanish period, examines the pre-Columbian history of this native community. Especially valuable on the nature and function of the missionary system established by Spain.
- 380 WRIGHT, Irene A. (ed.). *Further English Voyages to Spanish America, 1583-1594*. London, Hakluyt Society, 1951, 314 pages.
An analysis with material from the Archive of the Indies of the first English expeditions to Florida and Virginia and how they came to be known about by the Spanish authorities.
- 381 WRIGHT, J. Leitch. 'Sixteenth Century English-Spanish Rivalry in La Florida'. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Jacksonville, 38:4, 1960, pp 265-279.
A brief history of Anglo-Spanish rivalry in Florida in the 16th century, largely based on archival sources.
- 382 WRIGHT, J. Leitch. *Creeks & Seminoles. The Destruction and Regeneration of the Muscogulge People*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986, 383 pages, bibliography, indices, illustrations, maps.
A study on the historical context, location and analysis of the Creek and Seminole cultures of Georgia, Alabama and Florida –the most numerous in the area– following the arrival of the European conquerors.
- 383 WROTH, Lawrence C. 'Source Materials of Florida History in the John Carter Brown Library of Brown University'. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Jacksonville, 20:1, 1941, pp 3-46.
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- 386 ZALAMEA, Luis. *España omnipresente en La Florida*. Miami: Ediciones Universal, 1978, 130 pages.
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- 387 ZUBILLAGA, Félix. *La Florida, la misión jesuítica (1566-1572) y la colonización española*. Rome: Institutum Historicum S I, 1941, 473 pages.
An essentially ecclesiastical analysis, with less relevance to civil history, of the colonization and evangelization of Florida in the second half of the 16th century. It had the virtue of presenting previously unknown documents from the Jesuit archives in Rome.
- 388 ZUBILLAGA, Félix. *Monumenta antiquae Floridae, 1566-1572*. Rome: Monumenta Historica Soc Iesu, 1946, 692 pages.
A collection of documents used by the author for his work on the Jesuit missions in Florida between 1566 and 1572.
- 389 ZAMALACÁRREGUI, Leopoldo. 'Las ordenanzas de 1531 para la Casa de Contración de las Indias'. *Revista de Indias*, Madrid, 30, 1947, pp 749-782.
An analysis of the laws issued in 1531 to regulate the *Casa de Contratación* substituting, reforming and amplifying those of 1503 and 1510, and which would be further modified in 1571. They were entrusted to Doctors Bernal and Maldonado, who were resident in the institution for that purpose in 1526.