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

PREL UDE

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 southwest, are all matters of dispute. 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. 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 Pasco Florida de Reestrucción 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 Mexicans. And they had reason to be. But although Florida was a frontier territory, they did not refrain from colonizing it, precisely


2 Luis Hernández de Borbón, Relección de la isla de La Florida. In Colecciones de cartas descubridores, Londres, n. a., 1857 (2, v, y 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, Nicolás Le Chaffreux, Historia memorable de la conquista de la isla de la Florida. In Eugenio Rueda García (ed.), La Florida, su conquista y colonización por Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, Madrid: Hijos de J. A. García, 1893 (2, v, y II, that recounts the conflict between the Spanish and French who tried to colonize the region in the 1560s. On the other
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 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 seen 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, 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 F. Muñoz, Mapas, Madrid: Catálogos, 1989; 


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 Álvarado — and by those — French and Spanish — who specifically wrote about events in the territory.

Barralon Barralino, Martín Rosario, Juan de Castellanos, Nicolás Le Châtellier, Fidalgo de Elda, Hernando de Escalante Fortaneda,
expedition who played the leading role in America’s greatest odyssey, as recounted in his *Naufragios.* 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 Amadeo 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.*

The conquest and colonization of America are known, primarily, from the accounts of those who participated in them and wrote chronicles, and the Floridian epic generated extremely valuable narratives, both for the information they provide and on account of their literary worth. 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. Garcilaso has generally been considered America’s first writer and, further, as a universal forerunner of the Manierism that preceded the Baroque due to his account

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* These are many editions. The bibliography gives some of them and many of the studies on the issue. Among the most recent are those by Silvia L. Eilert and Mercedes López-Banait, *Garcilaso de la Vega, La Florida del Inmueble, Madrid: Historia 16, 1986, and Conmemorando mudas, La Florida del Inmueble, Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 2003.

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. Such a contrast led Rabasa to suggest from the perspective of the new cultural history and of neo-colonial studies that the writer from Guizeo 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.

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 Floridans 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.14

The Spanish soon realized that the natives were interested in seeking alliances with them in their intertribal 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


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.4  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 defense. 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 1894.5

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,6 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 Alumada 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 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 indígenas, 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.¹⁴ 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,¹⁵ as occurred in the case of Cáncer and, as we shall see, of those who were

¹⁶ Tristán de Luna and Ochoa (Peninsula Bay), 1559. Florida Historical Quarterly, Jacksonville, 57:3-4, 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.8 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,8 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 Aducanisado 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 Floridian 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

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8 On the early history of these defenses and their subsequent development, see Vernon F. Churchin, *The Defense 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 southeast, 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. 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 familiar character, on occasion opposed to the Royal interest.

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, 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

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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, 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. 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 conquistadores 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. 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 Floridian 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 structure 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.26 Chance was also to blame, which is not altogether surprising, since the first mission to be established ended in the martyrdom of the clerics,27 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 Milianich 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 encuentro 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.28

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.29 But the new missionaries were

26 Frank Marotz, “Juan Bautista de Segura and the Failure of the Florida Jesuit Mission, 1566-1572,” Florida Historical Quarterly, 63:3, 1985, pp. 267-279, argues that leading the enterprise was beyond the Franc’s ability.


s. Over time there were some successes. Robert H. McFarland, "Economic Basis of the Seventeenth Century Florida Missions," Florida Historical Quarterly, Jacksonville, 52:1, 1973, pp. 3-53; has studied how the native inhabitants' agriculture allowed the settlers to survive and was the basis for their economy. Brent R. Weisman, Excavations on the Franciscan Frontier: Archaeology at the Friars Springs Mission, Gainesville: University Press of Florida, Florida Museum of Natural History, 1992, pp. 150 on the basis of archaeological excavations that in the Timucua's case the Spanish friars did not limit themselves to merely evangelizing. They carried out educational tasks, including technical training in bricklaying, blacksmithing and cooking, while more specifically and analyzing both Spanish and French practices, John Keelz, "Spanish and French Missionaires in Colonial North America," Journal of the Royal Musical Association, Ontario, 126:1, 2001, p. 3-53, focuses among such activities on the use of music as a pedagogical tool.


somewhat more successful than their predecessors, although as with much that was done in Florida, their success was only relative.28 When Menéndez de Avilés was in Spain to draw attention to the colony and obtain supplies, a French expedition was organized under Dominique de Gourgues 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.29 The French were aided by the Timucua 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 feud 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 Recesos's 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 forebears 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 fleet.29 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,28 although the convoy system, along with a well-developed intelligence and information network and


28 James W. Covington, Drake Denies 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 exercised 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 Topiquí – and at the start of the new century relative peace had been imposed and there were a growing number of evangelized Indians. This was Menéndez de Avilés’s undoubted legacy, built upon the efforts of his predecessors. Amade has studied how the Spanish Crown considered between 1593 and 1602 what to do with St Augustine and its Floridian possessions and finally decided to retain them, substitute the Governor, Gonzalo Menéndez, and assume direct control. So things remained for the following 160 years.

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.
The book was published almost two decades ago\(^7\) 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 16\(^{th}\) 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 16\(^{th}\) 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 Gueimes 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 Gueimes 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

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t erritory, 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 Floridian campaigns since the days of Ponce de León. Its first chapters, under the title 'Destination Florida' deal with Ponce, Narváez, Soto, Cáncele 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, 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
w 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. Furthermore, given the rather thin line between hunting and warring, the Spanish Discussed 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 Ocampa 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". Sánchez Sastre takes the latter quote from the account by Escalante Fontaneda about the natives' techniques of navigation and whaling, although he extracts it from a book by Jackson that covers similar ground since it is titled Early Florida through Spanish Eyes. 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'. 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."
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’)⁴ and that even Garcilaso de la Vega’s *alhambra* 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’).⁵ 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.⁶

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 element, and God gave much to the souls who went to his land’⁷. 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

⁴ Agustín Dávila Padilla, *Historia de la fundación y descenso de la provincia de Santiago de México, de la orden de Predicatoros por las tierras de sus curiosos lugares y otros notables de Nueva España*, Buenos Aires de Méxicopolis, 1573, p 268.
⁵ *Vega, Florida*, p 45.
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 capitulations for the discovery and colonization of Florida signed by the King in Menéndez de Avilés's favour in 1565 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. Sánz 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 Sánz 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 Guanges' 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'.

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* Okampo, 'La Gran Florida', p 17.
An Annotated Bibliography

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2. Álvaro, K. 'Late Ming and Early Qing Porcelain Fragments from Archaeological Sites in Florida'. *Florida Archaeology*, Gainesville, RI, 1985, 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 poses that they ended up at the site after being imported from Asia by the Spanish via Mexico.


4. Alderman, Joe A. *Florida Cracker, A History of Florida Cattle-Raising*. Kissimmee: Florida Cattlemen’s Association, 1976, 290 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.


6. Altamirano, Francisco J. *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en Nueva-España, Roma: Compañía de Jesús*, 1956, 3 v. (1st ed. 1841). Alegría's history of the Jesuits in Mexico aimed to explain and extol their activities and request their re-admission; 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, 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. 1530-1540. 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 to Garrido.


9. Alarcon, Luis R. ‘The Exploration of Florida and Sources on the Founding of St Augustine’. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Jacksonville, 44(12), 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 Alcalde Pedro Menéndez de Avilés’s foundation of St Augustine, the region’s first important settlement.


11. Alarcon, Luis R.; Eugenia B. Alarcon. ‘St Augustine’s First Baptism Entry’. *El Escritor*, St Augustine, 7, 7, 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.
A study and description of the private library of the military officer Pedro Benedito de Hornivater, 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.

A significant study in ecclesiastical history, primarily based on archival sources, on the Franciscans' missionary and evangelizing endeavors in Florida from the end of the 16th century to the second half of the 18th century.

A guide to the sources for the history of Florida during the Spanish colonization with brief annotations and comments.

A detailed study based on sources at the Archive of the Indies that completes the scant historiography—also employed by Amadeu—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 Aramesh, Charles W. *Tisitán de Luna and Ochlockonee (Panama Bay), 1595.* *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Jacksonville, 37:3-4, 1959, pp. 201-222.
A review of Tisitán de Luna's expedition to Florida in 1595, in a new attempt at conquer and colonization after the failure of the previous expeditions led by Ponce de León, Vázquez de Ayllón, Soto and Cáceres. 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 Prickett.

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, thus 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.

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.

A study of the population and settlement patterns of Spain's colonization of Florida centered 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.

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.

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.


24. Barreiro, Bandilo (dir.). Arribados en América. Avilés: Casa Municipal de Cultura de Avilés, 1992. 320 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 American City’s most famous sons, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, the colonizer of Florida.

25. Ballesteros Guirado, Manuel. La idea colonial de Juan Ponce de León. Un ensayo de interpretación. San Juan: Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña, 1990. 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 modern period of its Atlantic expansion. It includes a selection of the documentation employed.


27. Barta, Pius J. Franciscan Education and the Social Order in Spanish North America, 1562-1821. 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.


30. Barrientos, Bartolomé. ‘Vida y hechos de Pedro Menéndez de Avilés’. In Carlos Mercado (ed.). Menéndez de Avilés y la Florida: colonos de sus conquistas. Lewistown: Edwin Mellen Press, 2006. 386 pages, bibliography, indices, illustrations. Mercado’s edition and study of Barrientos’ classic work on Menéndez de Avilés’s governance in Florida. It also includes the account by Solis de Menéndez, on which, according to Pérez Bustamante, Barrientos’ work is primarily based.

31. Barreneche, Beatriz (ed.) L’histoire notable de la Floride citée en Indes Occidentales: contenant les trois voyagez faits en levée par certes capitaines et plusieurs francs, abrité par le capitaine Landaouenier qui y a commandé l’expédition d’un en trois ans, a laquelle eust avi laissé un quarante Amiravant par le capitaine Georges: mis en lamiers par M. Bassanier. Paris: Guillaume Anvay, 1586. First edition of the account of the voyages to Florida of the French Captain Laundonnière, 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 Bassanier’s expense, can also be found in Benjamin F. French’s Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida.

(where they come from) and the Black Seminole 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 American than the latter.

Translation into English of texts and documents on the conquest, colonization and early European history of Florida.

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.

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.

Bosch, Enrique: La población española en la Florida, Universidad de Sevilla, 1964, 160 pages, tables, graphs.
Unpublished general study of the demographics of Florida from the start of Spanish colonization.

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 analyses the causes of the failure of the successive Spanish attempts at colonization and attributes them to rough 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.

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.

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.

Bouton analyzes a map attributed to Alonso de Santa Cruz, dated between 1541 and 1563, 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 around 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.

An analysis of the first accounts of Hernando de Soto’s expedition to Florida. The oldest still extant was written by a Tidaloa 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.

A study of the Franciscan mission in western Florida, between St. Augustine and the Apalachee river. Combining historical and archaeological research, particularly the latter, the author contributes to the understanding of Spanish events and processes in Spanish colonial history, focusing on ecclesiastical and missionary activities.

Boucher, Frédéric de: 'Una casa de piedra de Ponce de León en Higuerón: gérmenes de la conquista de Borinquen y del descubrimiento de la Florida', Cilés, 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 Higuerón, 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.


48. BURR, George R. "The Search for the Seven Cities and Early American Exploration", Florida Historical Quarterly, Jacksonville, 71(2), 1992, pp. 155-168. A study of the medieval myths and legends used in the conquest of America, particularly the Seven Cities in territories such as Florida.


50. BURLE, Ripley P. "Did Paleo-Indian, Archaiic or Formative Man Enter the Antilles from Florida?". In International Congress of Americanists, Mexico: n. n., 1974 (3 v), pp. 595-599, bibliography, illustrations. A study of the Paleo-Indian, 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.


52. BURLE, 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 Coco and Cuba, confirming the connections between them as noted by Rousse.

53. BURNETT, George 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 Florida history, most of them already previously published and dealing with different periods, peoples and processes: pioneer, bands, heroes and heroines, war and peace and social conflicts.

54. BURLE, Ernest J. "Quincentennial of the Arrival of the First Jesuits in North America". Monastic, St Louis, 111-1, 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 Jesuit mission in the region was considered the presence of the Huguenots in the region required better-prepared clerics.

55. BURSTELL, Amy. The King's Coffee Proponents of the Spanish Florida Territory, 1565-1762. Gainesville: University Press 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 center 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. BISHOP, A.E. "The Noble and Loyal City, 1565-1568." In Jean Parker (ed.), *The Golden City: St Augustine, Saga of Survival*. St Augustine: St Augustine Historical Societies, 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.


58. CASTELLANO, D. Lincolns. *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 commingling and transforming it.

59. COXON, Gabriel. *Enciclopedia 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 J. "Charleston Thrall: 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 Buhlen.

61. CASAS, Bartholomé de las. *Tratados*. Valladolid, n. s., 1551. *Tratados* is the only text by Las Casas that he sent directly to the printer. He deals with various issues and polemics connected with the nature of the Indians, the laws of the Indies and their conquest and domination.


63. Coe, William. *The Story of Florida*. New York: n. n., 1938 (4 v), 1,001 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.


67. CATALÓGOS de los fondos de las Florida. *Impronta* El Siglo XX, 194, 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 Borders: Garcilaso de la Vega and La Florida del Inca*. Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2005, 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 bibliographical, illustrations and maps.

69. CHATTAWAY, Verne V. *The Defence of Spanish Florida*, 1565 to 1763. Washington: Carnegie Institution, 1941, 192 pages, illustrations, maps. An exhaustive and profoundly 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 problems of building defense works and presents an interesting collection of photographs, old and new illustrations and facsimiles.
An examination and analysis of a document written by a Spanish army officer on the exploration and reconnaissance of Tampa Bay and its surroundings.

A valuable investigation on the importance of disease, epidemics and health in the Spanish and French colonization efforts in Florida and Georgia around the Cape Hatteras area in the 16th and 17th centuries, based on material from various archives.

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.

A selection of studies on the architectural and environmental history of Florida, especially the Miami area and its surroundings.

A study of the first maps of New Spain made by Europeans in the 16th and 17th centuries, including representations of Florida. Excellent reproductions.

A history of medicine in Pensacola during the colonial period. Along with the studies by Childs, Echom and Straight, this is part of a relatively abundant corpus on the subject that includes general analyses and case studies.

An examination and listing of the documentary sources in the United States for studying the Spanish colonization and role in Louisiana and Florida.

A comparative study of the four four contemporary sources on the foundation of St. Augustine by Menéndez de Avilés, Solís de Mería, López de Mendoza Grajales and Barmiento.

A study on Ordóñez, a Franciscan born in Peru, but not especially focused on his evangelizing activities in America, despite being one of the most outstanding aspect of his biography in Peru and Florida in the late 16th and early 17th centuries. He was entombed 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 sucedió en las provincias de La Florida*.

An article written on occasion of the publication in English of *La Florida del Inca* in 1951, which Corso considers Garcielo de la Vega's least convincing piece of work.

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 organization, to their gradual decline following their contact with the conquistadors.

81. Cuttets, Brian E. *An Inventory of Sources in the Department of Archives and Manuscripts, Louisiana State University, for the History of Spanish Louisiana and Spanish West Florida*. *Lousiana History*, Lafayette, 92, 1979, pp. 231-240.
An inventory of documents on the history of the Spanish colonization of Louisiana and
Florida in the 17th collections of manuscripts at the Louisiana State University. It includes the necessary data for their location and some transcripts.

   A study of the commerce between Florida and Cuba from the end of the 17th century to the mid-18th century, essentially focusing on the fish trade.

   A descriptive account of Francis Drake's attack on St. Augustine, Florida, in 1586. It includes a list of the primary sources available.

   English edition of Génesis de la civilización in Spanish, 1842, with a preface of notes by the editor.

   A description and analysis of the conquest and colonization of Florida in the 16th and early 17th centuries.

   English edition, with almost no changes, of the article published by the author in Spanish in 1938.

   A study of the Spanish coins in the State of Florida Collection.

   Complementing the author's other studies on the State of Florida's numismatic collection, this one focuses on Spanish gold coinage.

   The author's third work on the State of Florida's numismatic collection. This volume focuses on Spanish silver coins.

   A brief study of the Spanish conquest and colonization of Florida between the 16th and 18th centuries.

   Description and illustrated analysis of the archaeological excavations at Key Marco, Florida, on which there is scant published material. The remains provide information for the study of the life, customs, economy, social-political organization and religious beliefs of the native communities that inhabited the area.

   An edition of some of the most important accounts by the early conquest and chieftains of the Indies annotated and illustrated by Dorf.

   The first volume of the general history of America edited by Levene a study of the physical aspects of the New World and an account of its native civilizations, including those of Florida.

   An outstanding geographical analysis that diverges with the theory that Vespucci sailed along the coast of the Gulf of Mexico, Honduras and Florida, and reached Virginia in 1497.

95. Díaz Padilla, Agustín. Historia de la fundación y discurso de la provincia de Serrantia de México, de la orden de Predicadores por las tierras de sus carreras insignes.


The author's anthropological, ethno- 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.


A valuable history of Florida's western islands because not much has been written on the subject and because of its illustrations.


A historical study of Florida that claims that most of the area's traditions are Spanish or French rather than British or American.


An excellent analysis of the artistic and cultural expression of the Seminole and Miccosukee Indians of Florida. Not strictly limited to art but encompassing ceramic vessels, basket weaving and pottery and through them the Indians' lifestyle and socio-political and economic organization. The author cautiously considers that changes come about not only through development but also through outside contacts and micticage. Poor quality illustrations.


A study that presents a large amount of data in defence of the chronology with which La Florida del Inca was published regarding the author's integrity and the veracity of its sources. The...
author argues that it was probably written 20 years before its publication in Lisbon in 1605.

A defense of the sources employed by Garcilaso de la Vega to compose La Florida del Inca.

A collection of articles on the history of gender in the cultures of the southeastern 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.

A study of medicine and society in Florida, about which Childs, Coker and Straight have also written in more general terms or about other areas.

An edition of the first account of Hernando de Soto’s voyage to Florida, written by an anonymous author known as the Fidalgo de Elías, who was most likely one of the Portuguese who accompanied the Spanish conquistador. The original edition was published in 1611.

111 ESCALANTE, Fray Pedro, Hernando de Soto’s 16th century, invaluable for the data and information it provides.

112 ERBANO, John H. History of Florida from its foundation by Spanish colonies in the 16th and 17th centuries, of interest because of its account of race relations, the various Spanish expeditions between 1523 and 1660 and the conflict between the Spanish and French colonies. It accuses the former of having behaved with great cruelty.

A study of the preparations of Soto’s host to winter in Florida. A preview of his subsequent book.

A study of the archaeological excavations at Soto’s winter quarters in Tallahassee.

An outstanding contribution to Soto’s exploration, due to both the sources it employs, the information it provides and the conclusions it draws, as well as for its illustrations.

A classic study of the history of St Augustine since its foundation by Spanish colonies in the 16th century, valuable for the data and information it provides.

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 1533 and 1560 and the conflict between the Spanish and French colonies. It accuses the former of having behaved with great cruelty.
A facsimile of Farnam’s book, originally published in 1854.

The 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 vols.), 626 pages. Fernández de Navarrette’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: Airenas, 1945 (5 vols., 1st ed. 1845), 626 pages.

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 was critical of Anglera’s version, since the latter had never been to the Indies and therefore based his account on indirect testimonies that were ensnared 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 Ovejero’s work.

A study of the life and achievements of the Spanish explorer, including his writings.


A concise 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-central Mesoamerica.

A weighty collection of documents for the history of Florida and Louisiana, including many original and English translations of texts regarding their discovery and colonization.

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*. Blackstone: 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 expedition’s honesty and rationality, at a time when these qualities were relatively rare.

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.
A well-documented analysis of Spain's missionary and evangelizing activities at the start of the colonization of Florida.

A description and analysis of the project aimed at collecting and microfilming the rich documentation at St Augustine on the conquest and first colonization of Florida. The project, begun in the early 1960s, carries the name of the Mission of Nombre de Dios Library.

An analysis of the work of Mestizo, 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.

A history of the Church in Florida since the first arrival of the Spanish in Florida and in connection with the more general processes of conquest and colonization. It also studies the subsequent history of the Catholic mission when Florida came under British domination. It uses abundant archival material and the existing historical materials.

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.

A compilation of 22 studies on various aspects of the history of Florida. Written by major specialists and based on the most novel methodologies and sources.

136. García, Genaro. Vida y hechos de Pedro Menéndez de Áviles, caballero de la Orden de Santiago, adelantado de La Florida, donde luego se tratan la conquista y población de la provincia de Florida.
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.
A narrative of Menéndez de Áviles' conquest and settlement of Florida by one of his contemporaries.

A voluminous Spanish-American heraldic and genealogical dictionary.

A brief history of the Franciscans in the conquest and early colonization of Florida.

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.

An alphabetical guide to the lives 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.

A study of the archaeology and history with data from mainly archeological sites that analyzes the Spanish-Indian tradition in Florida, particularly in its northern areas.

Rose's edition of research carried out by Geoghegan, previously unpublished on account of the latter's death. It analyses the Missions found by the author at Spanish colonial sites in Florida.
An analysis of the archaeological excavations at Matecumbe Key, Florida, and of the contacts between the Spanish and the Indians in the area.

144 GORCET, Dominique de. La esclavitud en la Florida. L'Aquila, avec les variantes, en la manuscrito de la Biblioteca Imperial, a prueba de G. Comunhlmont. 1667.
A 19th century edition of Gorce's writings on Florida in the 16th century and the French colonization. The author led a party that planned to avenge the defeat and execution of the colonists of the Ribault expedition by the Spanish under Menéndez de Avilés.

A study of Spanish exploration in the southeastern United States, with magnificent illustrations, focused on the legacy of Soto's expedition.

An analysis of the Royal documents at the Archive of the Indies on the Franciscan missions sent to Florida between 1573 and 1680.

A study of the French exploration of Florida. It includes El campo y verdad del descubrimiento de la tierra Florida by Jean Ribault, the Historia notable de la Florida, situada en las Indias Occidentales by Martin Basusac, the Diario de la historia de la Florida by Nicolás Le Challen; and the Historia memorable de la conquista de la isla de la Florida by Domínguez de Guzmán.

A catalogue of the 248 documents held by the various collections of the Archivo of the Indies, with maps of Florida and Louisiana, including a geographical index.

A chronological account of the Spanish discovery, colonization and government of Florida written by Góngora under the pen-name of González de Baca.

A magnificently illustrated work with original engravings by Arizkáiz and interesting maps. It analyses the Spanish explorations of Florida and their missteps, 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.

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 mission’s churches, convents, churches, public and military buildings and also the rural settlements. Interesting collection of illustrations and diagrams.

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.

of its survivors. The author discusses his role as an informant used by Guadalupe de la Vega to compose La Florida del Inno, and provides information from various sources concerning the conquistadors.


156 GRIFFIN, William B. Suggestions for Research in the Culture and Society of Spanish Florida. Florida Historical Quarterly, 38:3, 1960, pp. 226-238. An exhaustion to use parish registers and other infrequently employed material for historical research on Spanish Florida.


161 HANN, John H. Missions of the Calusa. Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1991, 484 pages, bibliography, illustrations. An exhaustive and profusely documented study of the Calusa, a complex and organized society encountered by the Europeans on their arrival in Florida in the 16th century and who continued to be an enigma for historians and archaeologists. This essentially ethnographical analysis is based on information provided by both chroniclers and archival sources and especially looks at the Franciscan missionary-colonization attempt in the area.


169. Hernández de Bedmar, José. Exposición de adelantado Hernando de Soto a la Florida. Obras y documentos relativos a la organización. Sevilla: 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 del Caribe. Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1934-1958 (17 vols., 1st 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 Enseñante Fontaneda, who takes the myth of the fountain of eternal youth as the motivation for the campaigns of conquest and colonization, particularly Soto’s.


175. Hilton, Sylvia L. 'Spanish Colonies in North America: Recent Historical Scholarship from Spain'. American Historical Review, 172, 1993, pp. 247-263. 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 Historical Review, 172, 1993, pp. 247-263. 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.

177. Hilton, Sylvia L. 'Spanish Colonies in North America: Recent Historical Scholarship from Spain'. American Historical Review, 172, 1993, pp. 247-263. 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.

178. Hilton, Sylvia L. 'Spanish Colonies in North America: Recent Historical Scholarship from Spain'. American Historical Review, 172, 1993, pp. 247-263. 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.


The author employs modern knowledge on compass variations to determine that Verazzano's Magellanisches, 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.


The author holds that Menéndez de Avilés devised a plan during his government 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.


A doctoral thesis on the strategy for the defense of the Indies between 1555 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.


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.


An analysis of the legends on the location of the land of Chiboes and of their effects on the Spanish and French explorers of Florida, and on their mutual rivalry.


An analysis of the accounting practices and the accounts of Spanish officials in Florida in the last third of the 16th century based on sources at the Archive of the Indies.


A bibliographical assessment of the studies on the south-western United States.


A brief narrative and description of the expeditions of Hernando de Soto.


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.


A collection of studies of unequal quality on the indigenous communities of the southern United States and their first contacts with
European (conquest, conflict, acculturation and destruction). Most are based on information from Spanish chroniclers, various archival sources, archaeological findings and linguistic analyses.


The text of the so-called "cartas de orden" of the same date on the basis of which Columbus set off on his voyage to America.


Five studies on the borderlands of the United States, Florida among them.


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.


An exceptional collection of books, articles and documents assembled by Johnston, South America is generally better represented than the North, except for Florida, for whose study it is particularly valuable.


A description and analysis of the life and times of a group of approximately 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.


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.


An English translation of Herrera's narrative of Ponce de León's expedition to Florida with profuse annotations and comments.


A classic study on Florida with interesting data on Spain's first colonization attempts and its conflict with the French in the 16th century.


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 the East and Florida, both for the task of Christianizing and for the daily 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.


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.

202. LAUNOITIÈRE, René de. *Jouet naviguant en la Floride. Contenant les treize voyages descripte par le capitaine Launontrie, clos quatre ans circa 1568 mise en lumière par M. Basandier en l’année 1610.* Paris: n. n., 1613, 228 pages. A mid-17th century edition of Launoitier’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 Discovery.* St Augustine: E.W. Lawson, 1946, 127 pages. A discussion of the conclusions in Tyson’s study regarding the exact landing of the Ponce de León’s expedition to Florida. Lawson refutes Tyson’s theory that the Spanish reached the coast near Miami, not St Augustine.

204. LAWSON, Edward W. *Determinations 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 Guanacaste 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 CHALLEUR, Nicolas. *Histoire memorable de la reconquista de la baie de la Florida.* In Eugenio Rúdiga Cerdá (ed.). *La Florida, su conquista y colonización por Pedro Menéndez de Avilés.* Madrid: Hijos de J. A. García, 1993 (2 v.), v. II. Le Challeur’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.


207. LEVIN, Robert B. *Development of the Pia de Florida 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 Florida’s design and development between the 16th and 19th centuries.

208. LÓPEZ DE COMBA, Francisco. *Historia general de la Florida.* Madrid: Alianza, 1967 (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, Vásquez de Ayllón and Cabrera de Vaca.

209. LÓPEZ DE MENDOZA GRAJAL, Francisco. *Relación de los viajes de Pedro Menéndez de Avilés.* In Joaquín P. Pacheco, Francisco de Cárcel and Ignacio Luis Torres de Mendosa (eds.), *Colocación de documentos antiguos, relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas provincias españolas de América y Oceanía, seguidos de los archivos del reino, y más 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.


Lowery’s lengthy study is a classic on the early Spanish colonization of Florida, originally published in 1951. 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.


A study of the fate of the French captured by Menéndez de Avilés when he destroyed the colony they had established in Florida in 1608.


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.


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, this 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 offices), not always in accordance with the King’s interests. Primarily based on Spanish archival material.


A study of the changes in the government and administration of Florida after the inspection carried out in the territory in 1536.


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.


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.


Lyon holds that the first Governor of Florida displayed in his administrative and command decisions an extensive knowledge of the Spanish Empire’s geopolitical interests and he analyzes his projects in that respect.


An edition by Milanich of the classic study on the Seminoles, originally published in 1987 and officially commissioned as a report on Florida’s native population. It includes illustrations and several additional documents.


An analysis of Protestant and Calvinist travel and exploration narratives about Brazil, Canada and Florida in the 17th century, including the French Huguenot expeditions to Florida under Ribault’s command.

Notes on the inventory of the material contained in the Catálogo de los fondos de las Floridas.


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.


An analysis based on archival material of the character and personality of Florida's first Spanish Governor.


A study of the administration of Menéndez de Avilés in Florida.


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.


A bilingual history of Florida with a special emphasis on its Spanish heritage.

228 MARBÉNENA, Juan. 'La emigración canaria a la Florida oriental española (1692-1821)', Coloquio de Historia Canaria-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 17th century to the 19th century.


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.


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, sea-faring and even piracy, and dominated other neighboring groups. They also cover events after the arrival of the Europeans and the Calusa relations with them.


Marti de Angéles 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.


A study of the participation of Canary Islanders in the exploration, conquest and colonisation of Spanish Florida.


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.


The author holds that the military efficiency of the authorized 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 parishes
with permanent military and settler populations helps to explain the scant success of Spanish colonization in the area.


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 19th century). The author analyzes the life, organization and customs of the Indian communities and their relations with the Europeans.


A well-documented and illustrated study of the historical development of Sarasota, Florida.


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.


An excellent study of the pre-Columbian American southeast 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.


A study of the Spanish missions in Florida from the early 16th century to their demise in the 19th 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 different world views, of which one, the European, triumphed over the other.


A collection of studies on the native cultures of the southeastern 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.


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.


A panegyric on the life and deeds of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, Florida’s first Spanish Governor.


A study of Menéndez de Avilés, the first Governor of Florida, with a study of his explorations, conquests, administration and geopolitical project. There are essential material for the study of Florida’s early history.


An edition and study by Mercado of the works of Solís y Menes and Barrientos on Menéndez de Avilés’s rule in Florida.


A study of the Indian settlement of Tocacumba on Cumberland Island in Florida and of the
Franciscan mission of San Pedro de Mocama, based on archaeological excavations of the site.


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 the material life and social organization that can be deduced from them to explain what these societies were like, how they developed and why.


A brief journalistic article that summarizes the author's research and conclusions on Hernando de Soto’s expedition to Florida.


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.


A study of the decline and extinction of the Timucua and other aboriginal groups in Florida.


A collection of studies on the native culture of Weedon Island, focusing on its pottery, statues and other cultural artifacts that have fascinated archaeologists and others, and the evidence provided by the social organizations and life of these communities.


An illustrated study of the cultures of Florida and their neighbors.

A simple but outstanding study of the Appalachians, Florida and their neighbors.


An excellent piece of research on the Spanish missions in Florida between the 16th and 18th centuries. It analyses the consequences of the missions, the establishment of the missions, and their subsequent decline, especially on the lives of the Indians. The book also looks at the factors in the decline of the missions and the involvement of the missions in the slave trade.


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.


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.


A study of the aboriginal cultures of Florida and Georgia after the arrival of the Europeans. The essays examine the effect of the invaders on the native populations and their destruction and acculturation.


An illustrated guide to the first European explorations in the Antilles and Florida.
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, conquerors and colonists in the 16th century.

A well-documented and adequately illustrated glance at Florida’s environmental history.

A chapter in the biography of the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega devoted to his *La Florida del Inca*.

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.

An analysis of the Spanish architecture and urban heritage in the territories of the United States formerly held by Spain.

A study of the legislation issued in Spain for the conquest and colonization of America and of its underlying theories, projects and ideologies.

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.

An extensive study of the European discovery of North America between the late 16th century and the early 17th 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.

An amply-documented biography of the conqueror of Puerto Rico and discoverer 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.

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 de la Vega, Vicente, *La relación que dio Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca de la asistencia en las Indias, en la armada donde fue por gobernador Pánfilo de Narváez, desde el año de cincuenta hasta el año de ciento y veinte y seis, que venció a Sevilla con tres de sus compañeros*. Zamora, México: Agustín de Paz y Juan Picado, 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 de la Vega, Vicente, *Relación de los naufragios y comentarios de Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca*, ilustrados con varios documentos inéditos. Madrid:
An Annotated Bibliography

Liberia General de Victoriano Suárez, 1906 (2 v), 676 pages (1st ed. 1555).
A facsimile reprint by Manuel Serrano y Sáez and Pedro Hernández, published in Valladolid in 1555. It includes several documents that had so far been unpublished.

An edition of Ballesteros Guzmán of Cabra de Vacs Naznoygo and other writings on the Spanish explorations of Florida and North America in general, including those of Mercedés de Avelés, Sebastián Vizcaíno, Eusebio F. Kino, Nicolás de Lafora, Juan A. de Mori, Claude J. D. Charnay, Francisco Pétélo, Lorenzo de Zavala and Pedro Tamayo y Romeral.

An edition of the Naznoygo by Ferdusio, with a study of the author along with narratives of other Spanish chroniclers who travelled around North America.

Mauro's critical edition of Cabra de Vaca's Naznoygo is one of the best narratives of his explorations in Florida and the southern United States in the 16th century.

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 and Ordóñez de Diego Albéniz de la Cernada. La gran Florida por el maestre Juan de Ocampo, los Chiquitos (río de La Plata y Paraguay), por Fr. Núñez y Ordóñez; los desiertos de Argentina (cueros de Venezuela) por Diego Albéniz de la Cernada. Madrid: Edición América [1919], 206 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, New Territories of the State 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 ORLO, Luis G. Relación de los indios que a servido 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 community 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 indios, ricerca religiosa de la conquista y colonización de tierras incas.

275 PACHECO, Joaquín E.; Francisco de Cáceres y Espinola, Luis Churbi de Mendizabal (eds.). Colección de documentos inéditos, relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de América y Oceanía, sarcos de los archivos del reino, y muy especialmente del de Indias. Madrid: Krems, 1964 (42 v).
A voluminous collection of archival material on the Spanish colonists, known in abbreviation as Estudios.

276 PEARL, Juan (ed.). The Older Cape, 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.

A classic study, originally published in 1905 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.
A selection of 44 illustrations from the Kislak Collection on the New World, with comments by the editor.

A brief and well-written general history of Florida by one of its best scholars. Interesting illustrations.

A study of five civil and ecclesiastical vicarios to the Spanish colony of Florida during the 17th century and their contribution to our historical knowledge of the area.

A revision from a different point of view using a new methodology of Ponce deLeón'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.

An analysis of Barrientos' work on the expeditions and government of Menéndez de Avilés in Florida. It concludes that it was copied from Solórzano de Mierás 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. PEREZ-CARRERA, José M. El Espíritu Hernando de Soto, gobernador de la isla Fernández de Cuba, adelantado de la Florida, Havaní 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 campaign on the American mainland.

A study of 165 mounds built by the aboriginal cultures of Florida's west coast.

A study of Navarrete'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.

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.

An unsung story, many of whose conclusions still stand, on the Adorerado 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, with the previous failures led by Ponce de León, Vázquez de Ayllón and Soto had been private ventures although authorized by the Crown, while Cáceres had an exclusively religious, missionary and evangelizing character.

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. Purwin, Barbara A., *Art and Archaeology of Florida’s Riverlands*, 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, examining the physical, chemical and structural components of the sites, analyzes the remains and indicates how they should be preserved.


295. Rama, José, "Pompey Says Indians: Subjectivity in *La Florida del Inca*. Poetics Today*, Durham, 61, 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, Hernando de Soto, who is devoted to himself, since, according to the author, he constructed a minority version with a different and mixed-race perspective.

296. Rama, 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 an interesting essay 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 composition of narratives, with which a geographical and cultural discourse is constructed that includes a program of domination, its theoretical foundations and the necessary visual and verbal representations.


304. RASKO, Philip D. "The Spanish Lexical Base of Old St. Augustine Mahonera: A Missing Link in Florida Spanish." Hispania, Connecticut, 69:2, 1986, pp. 267-277. A refutation of Cantfield'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 these remained a Hispanic population, mostly Catalan—although there were also Castilians—and that there is sufficient evidence of their way of speaking having been preserved, both as regards Castilian and Catalan.


310. ROBERTSON, James A. "Fernando de Soto and the 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.


312. ROUSE, Irving. "The Southeast and the West Indies." In John W. Griffin, (ed.), The Florida Indians and their 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 connections were probably the result of the migration to southern lands of the Siboney of Florida.

313. ROUSE, Irving. A Survey of Indus River: Archiology, Florida. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1931, 256 pages, tables. A study of the relations between Indians and Spaniards in colonial Florida based on archaeological evidence, especially that showing cultural 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.

314. ROUSE, Irving. "Archaeological Simplications Between the Southeast and the West Indies." Florida Anthropology, Tallahassee, 3, 1958, pp. 1-14. The author holds that there is significant evidence of cultural contacts between south-
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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.


A brief biographical analysis of the Spanish explorer who led an expedition to Florida in 1559, but focusing especially on his last days.


A voluminous and detailed description and synthesis of the early history of Spanish Florida, centered on the conquest and colonization of its first Governor, Menéndez de Avilés, and essentially based on the testimony of Solís de Meras. It has an interesting collection of illustrations and maps.


The study on which the present edition is based, using sources such as the Archives of the Confraternity of Rivallos and other, as well as information provided by the chronicles of the Indies, it analyzes the Spanish conquest and exploitation of Florida in the 16th century, especially focusing on the leading characters involved.


A lengthy and highly favorable biographical study of the Spanish Dominican missionary Domingo de la Aranzadi who, in addition to his work in Mexico, organized an evangelizing venture to Florida in 1559.


Using unpublished material from the Archivo de Indias, he provides evidence that the explorer of Florida and the southern United States originated there. Two of the main documents used in the study are included as an appendix.


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.


A brief analysis of the discovery of Chesapeake Bay in Florida by Spanish explorers between 1525 and 1575.


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.


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.


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.

343. Sheehy, Peter E. 'Migration Research in Salado 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 Ronze's theories to be the most coherent and appropriate so far.

344. Sierra, Vincent D. 'Asi se hizo America: La Expansion de la Hispanidad en el siglo XVII'. Madrid: Ediciones Cultura Hispanica, 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.


346. Smith, Hale G. 'Archaeological Significance of Oriental Pottery in Florida Sites'. Florida Anthropologist, Gainesville, 84:1, 1955, pp 111-116, maps. As in the study by Agosín, 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.

347. Smith, Marvin T. Gonor: 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 Gonor 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.


350. Solís de Mera, Gonzalo. 'Memorial que hizo el doctor Gonzalo Solís de Mera, de todas las pesadas y sucesos del adelantado Pedro Menéndez de Avilés'. In Carlos Mercedo (ed.). Menéndez de Avilés y la Florida, crónicas de sus expediciones. Lexington: Edwin Mellen Press, 2006, 386 pages, bibliography, indices, illustrations. An edition and study by Mercedo of the classic account by Solís de Mera on Menéndez de Avilés's role in Florida. It also includes Barrientos's work on the subject.


352. Stein, Christopher M. Biocultural History in the 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 Appalachians 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.


354. Streater, William M. Medicine in Spanish Florida'. In José A. Bobadilla (ed.) The Hispanic Presence in Florida. Miami: E.A. Seeman, 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
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336 SWANSON, John R. The Early History of the Creek
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Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, 1922, 508
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A classic detailed study of Florida's Creek
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337 SWANSON, John R. 'The Landing Place of De Soto'.
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338 SWANSON, John R. The Indians of the Southeastern United
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339 TAMAY RIVERA, Alejandro. Historias históricas de Puerto
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containing original documents from the 16th to
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mounds of North American native cultures
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342 THEISS, Antoine (ed.). A Spy's Report on the
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343 TORMO, Leandro. "Seis cartas de Menéndez al rey
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In Leandro Tormo. Viajes por Norteamérica: Madrid:
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345 TRIER, David O. 'The Fredericks Map of 1514-1515'.
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346 TRIER, David O. 'Some Early Maps Relating to
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354 VEGA, Gerónimo de la. La Florida del 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 1728, although it does not compare it with the original, published in Lisbon in 1665. The author, a Peruvian half-breed 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.


361 Vidal, F. Gavazzo P (ed.). Relación verdadera de los trabajos que el gobernador don Fernando de Soto e otros fidalgos portugueses pasaron en el descubrimiento de las provincias de Florida. Lisbon: Agencia Geral das Colónias, 1942, 319 pages, index. 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, index and a glossary.

362 VICENS, G. M. Padrón Menéndez de Arévalo. 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 other Asturians who accompanied him and continued his work. It includes a pedigree.
   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.

   An analysis of African slavery in Spain's Louisiana and Florida territories since the start of colonization and of how to study it.

   A well-documented and ably-argued study of La Florida del Infierno, that holds that its author, a half-caste, used his environment's racial and sociocultural complexity to present himself as an authoritative new voice and to construct a discourse of self-legitimization.

   The excavations carried out in 1959 at the Big Springs uncovered the location of one of Florida's first Franciscan missions of the 16th century. Weir'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 economy.

   Combining archaeological, anthropological, ethnographic, and historical analysis, this study looks at the provenance and development of the Seminole and Miccosukee cultures in Florida.

   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 Spanish colonists following the settlement's destruction.

   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.

   A collection of archaeological studies based on new methods.

   An analysis of the cultures of eastern and southeastern North America, focusing on architecture and its ceremonial function, that were probably due to the fact that the area was populated by migrants from what is now Mexico and Central America.

   A study of the evolution of the Calusa that aims to explain how and under what circumstances such a sophisticated culture managed to develop on Florida's southeastern coast despite practicing subsistence agriculture. The author combines information from archaeological, environmental, ecological 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.


Willey maintained that there was a cultural diffusion in pre-Columbian times from north to south through the Antilles, an idea subsequently questioned by Roscoe.


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.


A classic study of Florida's geography and native communities, with valuable data.


An account of Hernando de Soto's life and campaigns of exploration and conquest in Florida and the southern United States.


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.


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.


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 among the Spanish authorities.


A brief history of Anglo-Spanish rivalry in Florida in the 16th century, largely based on archival sources.


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.


A catalogue and analysis of the documents preserved at the John Carter Brown Library on the history of Florida.


A description and analysis of the main architectural monuments in Florida and especially Tallahassee.
A study discussing the initial whereabouts of Ponce de Leon's expedition to Florida, a controversy also covered by Thure and Lawson.

A study of Spain's legacy in Florida.

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.

A collection of documents used by the author for his work on the Jesuit missions in Florida between 1566 and 1572.

An analysis of the laws issued in 1531 to regulate the Casa de Contratación, establishing, reforming and amending those of 1503 and 1510, and which were further modified in 1571. They were contrasted to Doctors Bernal and Maldonado, who were resident in the institution for that purpose in 1526.