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South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology--University of South Carolina

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A quarterly journal of reports and activities of mutual interest to the individuals and organizations within the framework of the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology at the University of South Carolina and for the information of friends and associates of the Institute.

BRUCE E. RIPPETEAU, DIRECTOR
KENN PINSON, EDITOR
"MODELING SUBSISTENCE CHANGE IN THE LATE PREHISTORIC PERIOD IN THE INTERIOR LOWER COASTAL PLAIN OF SOUTH CAROLINA"

ASSEMBLED BY

MARK J. BROOKS AND VELETTA CANOUTS

SEPTEMBER 1984

A REPORT ON ARCHAEOLOGICAL, ETHNOHISTORICAL, AND ENVIRONMENTAL DATA FROM TWO ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES IN SOUTH CAROLINA, TRACING SUBSISTENCE PATTERNS BETWEEN MIDDLE-LATE WOODLAND AND MISSISSIPPian PERIODS.

335 PAGES; 74 FIGURES

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FOREWORD

Bruce E. Rippeteau
Director and State Archaeologist

After 19 years of uninterrupted publication, the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology will cease publication of the Notebook with this 1987 issue. As our readers may surmise, it is with considerable regret that we do this. A review of these past 19 years shows that only in one year was this intended-monthly actually issued as many times as nine per year and this was only in the first year. Thereafter, in 1970-1975, it came out six times a year. Since then, the last 12 years, it has been issued only twice or thrice--or even once per year.

The reasons come down not to economics (although as with many Institute publications, the Notebook was distributed free to some 1200 individuals and libraries), but to the width of "publishing space." Generally its purpose and identity has been narrowed over the recent years by other publications, and specifically by the recent and lauded rise in the Archaeological Society of South Carolina's Antiquities. Other decision factors include a considerable recent difficulty in obtaining pertinent material for its schedule and the need for SCIAA staff to reconcentrate on the editing and production of the Anthropological Studies Series, now edited by Stanley South. And again, as with Antiquities, the rise of the SCIAA Research Manuscript Series, Annual Reports, and Popular Series, tended to crowd the Notebook.

Yet I want to remind you that the Notebook has well been the vehicle that its creator, the then new State Archaeologist and Director of the Institute, foresaw. Robert Stephenson, writing in Volume I, Number 1, issued in January 1969, wanted a "newsy yet scientific sort of thing that helps keep us in touch...." And it did this, even if it later varied in its actual number of yearly issues.

Chester DePratter as Editor of this last volume and Kenn Pinson as Series Editor join me as the Director in thanking you for understanding. Save your back issues: they are a time capsule!
Explorations in Interior South Carolina by Hernando De Soto (1540) and Juan Pardo (1566-1568)

Compiled and edited by Chester B. DePratter

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INTRODUCTION

During the 16th century, the interior of South Carolina was visited by three major Spanish expeditions of exploration and conquest. The first of those expeditions, led by Hernando De Soto, passed through the state during the spring of 1540. The other two expeditions, led by Juan Pardo, each spent several weeks in the interior of South Carolina between 1566 and 1568. At the conclusion of his explorations, Captain Pardo established a garrison of twenty soldiers in a fort on the Wateree River, and other forts were established in what are today North Carolina and Tennessee. Despite the fact that these expeditions and Pardo's forts played an important role in the early history of our state and region, most residents of South Carolina know little about either De Soto or Pardo.

Our state is still young, existing under the name South Carolina for only 259 years. Looking forward, into the future, we envision a long and glorious existence for South Carolina between 1566 and 1568. At the conclusion of his explorations, Captain Pardo established a garrison of twenty soldiers in a fort on the Wateree River, and other forts were established in what are today North Carolina and Tennessee. Despite the fact that these expeditions and Pardo's forts played an important role in the early history of our state and region, most residents of South Carolina know little about either De Soto or Pardo.

Our state is still young, existing under the name South Carolina for only 259 years. Looking forward, into the future, we envision a long and glorious existence for South Carolina. A little over four hundred years ago, Parris Island on our coast was the site of a Spanish town, Santa Elena, that served as the capital of all of “La Florida.” Nearly 450 years ago, Hernando De Soto traveled through the Wateree Valley where he found a powerful Indian society ruled by a woman. Four hundred seventy-five years ago, Ponce de Leon made the first recorded landing on the coast of “La Florida” in his quest for the Fountain of Youth. Go back just 500 years and we are at time of Columbus’ first arrival in the Caribbean. Before that, this land was occupied solely by “Native Americans.”

When Columbus “discovered” the Caribbean Sea and the islands along its margins nearly 500 years ago, those islands and the rest of the New World were inhabited by a multitude of different peoples that we now lump together under the name “Indians.” These “Indians” or Native Americans spoke hundreds of different languages and dialects and lived in thousands of different societies from one end of our hemisphere to the other. In the centuries following Columbus’ arrival, these people died by the hundreds of thousands as a result of newly introduced diseases, battles with Europeans, or exploitation of their labor. The history of these Native Americans was dramatically altered by the invasion precipitated by Columbus’ discovery of this new land. The expeditions of De Soto and Pardo were a part of this invasion and exploitation of the region by Europeans. The written accounts left by members of these two expeditions provide important, detailed information on the Native American chiefdoms present in South Carolina and adjacent states in the 16th century.

I do not intend to minimize the important role played by English explorers and settlers like Walter Raleigh, Francis Drake, the Jamestown and Charles Town founders and settlers among others in the history of South Carolina and the rest of the Southeast. I do not dwell on them here because they are the subjects of our history books. They are part of our direct heritage, and we therefore know more about them than we do about the French, the Spanish, the Dutch, and the Portuguese with whom they competed for new territories during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries.

This volume of the Notebook is an attempt to make information on the early history of our state more readily available. Reprinted excerpts include original exploration narratives from the expeditions of Hernando De Soto and Juan Pardo through South Carolina. Previously published research papers reprinted here concern reconstructions of the routes followed by these two explorers. While there is still heated debate on portions of their exploration routes, there can no longer be any doubt that both De Soto and Pardo passed through the center of South Carolina.

Sixteenth Century Explorations in “La Florida”

Following Columbus’ “discovery” of the New World in 1492, European explorers, adventurers, and conquerors soon flocked to this new land. The Caribbean islands were rapidly explored and settled. Exploration and colonization of Central and South America followed shortly thereafter. The southeastern section of the North American continent did not for long escape the attention of those seeking wealth and glory through conquest and settlement.

Columbus reached the island of Cuba in October, 1492, on his first voyage, and within two decades, Cuba, Hispaniola (now Haiti and the Dominican Republic) and Puerto Rico were all Spanish strongholds. As early as 1500, the Florida peninsula began to appear on maps, and by 1513 that unknown finger of land had attracted the attention of Juan Ponce de León. Following a brief exploration of the peninsula, de León decided to settle a colony there. In 1521, he arrived in Florida with 200 colonists, but he was killed in an Indian attack shortly after he arrived, and his remaining colonists soon withdrew to Puerto Rico.

In the same year that Ponce de León was killed, another attempt to settle “La Florida” was getting underway. Lucas Vásquez de Ayllón, an official in Hispaniola, sent a ship to the Bahamas and up the east coast of Florida in a search for slaves to work on his sugar plantations. Based on information obtained from the commander of this slaving expedition, Ayllón decided to establish a colony along what is today the coast of South Carolina (although some would argue that he settled on the Georgia coast). In 1526, Ayllón arrived in “La Florida” from Hispaniola with 500 colonists, but his settlement was short lived. A harsh winter and hostile Indians killed many of the colonists including Ayllón, and the settlement was abandoned early in 1527.

In 1528, another expedition set out from Cuba to explore the west coast of the Florida peninsula. Pánfilo de Narváez, who had participated in the conquest of Cuba, obtained a charter to explore and occupy the region between the southern tip of Florida and Panuco on the coast of what is today Mexico. He landed in Tampa Bay in the spring of 1528 with an army of 500-600 men, and he then fought his way north to the Indian town of Apalache in the vicinity of present-day Tallahassee, Florida. Narváez soon decided to abandon his plan to march through the interior; he moved to the coast and built several ships to transport his men along the rim of the gulf. A series of storms and shipwrecks led to the destruction of this expedition, and only four of Narváez’ men survived to reach Mexico.

For the next decade, there were no major attempts to explore or settle the land areas of Florida although water-bourne expeditions continued to refine the map of its coastline. Beginning as early as 1536, Hernando de Soto began planning an expedition to “La Florida.” De Soto had been involved in the conquest of Panama, Nicaragua, and
De Soto landed in Tampa Bay on the gulf coast of Florida in June, 1539, beginning what turned out to be a four year trek across all of what is today the southeastern United States. De Soto's army of over 600 soldiers encountered many hardships during those four years, and the accounts of their adventures make exciting reading even today, four hundred fifty years later. De Soto's quest for mineral wealth in the region took him from peninsular Florida, through present-day Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, and Arkansas. This intrepid explorer died on the bank of the Mississippi River in May, 1542, and his successor, Luis de Moscoso then led the expedition on an overland trek through Texas in an attempt to reach Mexico. That attempt failed because the Indians of interior Texas did not possess sufficient foodstuffs to supply the expedition; Moscoso and his men returned to the Mississippi River. There they built several barges and floated down the river to the gulf, finally reaching safety in Mexico in September, 1543.

A decade and a half passed before there was another attempt to explore and colonize "La Florida." Tristán de Luna was appointed Governor of Florida and Santa Elena (on the present-day South Carolina coast) in 1558. In July, 1589, Luna landed on the coast with about 500 soldiers and 500 settlers with the intent of establishing a series of settlements on the coast, at the Indian town of Coosa in the interior, and at Santa Elena on the east coast of the continent. Operating from Pensacola Bay (his Bay of Ochuse), Luna sent a squadron of soldiers inland to relocate the town of Coosa, formerly visited by De Soto. In the months after the expedition landed in Pensacola Bay, storms, food shortages, and dissent among the expedition's leadership eventually led to Luna's resignation. The party sent to Coosa was discouraged by the Indian settlements that they found in the interior, and no attempt was made to relocate the main body of the colony there. Ultimately, the entire expedition abandoned Florida after only two years, thus ending this most ambitious attempt at colonization.

The final sixteenth century attempts at exploration of the interior Southeast consisted of two expeditions in 1566-1568. These two expeditions, led by Captain Juan Pardo, occurred after Spain had finally established two permanent outposts on the coast of Florida. These two Spanish settlements, St. Augustine and Santa Elena, were founded following an attempted French colony beginning in 1562. Three French expeditions established first a short lived outpost on Port Royal Sound, South Carolina, followed by a larger fort at the mouth of the St. Johns River near present-day Jacksonville, Florida. Soon after Fort Caroline was constructed, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, with assistance provided by King Phillip II, arrived in Florida to establish a Spanish stronghold. Menéndez arrived in Florida in September, 1566, and within a few weeks he routed the French and thereby eliminated that threat to Spanish control of the region. To consolidate and defend his holdings, Menéndez immediately established a fort at St. Augustine, and six months later he founded the town and fort at Santa Elena on present-day Parris Island, South Carolina.

A large contingent of reinforcements sent by King Phillip arrived in Florida in June, 1566; 250 of those soldiers, under the command of Captain Pardo, were sent to Santa Elena. Faced with the problem of feeding such a large number of soldiers, Menéndez dispatched Pardo and 125 of his men into the interior to visit Indian towns and obtain supplies of corn. Pardo was also charged with opening an overland trail to Mexico while at the same time watching for mines of mineral resources that might be in the possession of interior groups. Pardo made two journeys into the interior, reaching as far as the Tennessee Valley on his second trip. He never came close to Mexico, but he did stake claims on several mines, and he obtained much needed supplies of corn which he carried back to Santa Elena. Following his second expedition, Pardo disappears from the documentary record. There is no indication that Menéndez made any further attempt to explore the area inland from Santa Elena.

Thus ended the Spanish attempts to explore the vast interior of "La Florida" during the sixteenth century. Menéndez did establish a series of outposts around the coastline of peninsular Florida, and he also attempted to establish a mission post on Chesapeake Bay, but no other expeditions were sent inland. The Indians who resided in the vast interior were to remain isolated from intrusion for another century.

De Soto Documents

There are at present only four narrative accounts available detailing the exploits of the De Soto expedition. These four accounts vary greatly in their character and in their content, but taken together they provide a rather complete picture of the expedition as well as of the land and peoples of "La Florida."

The shortest of the four known accounts was written by Luys Hernandez de Biedma, the King's representative on the expedition. Biedma traveled with the expedition through all of "La Florida," and his report was delivered to Charles V, King of Spain, in 1544, the year after survivors of the expedition reached Mexico. The original manuscript of Biedma's account is in the General Archive of the Indies in Seville, Spain. Available only in manuscript form for nearly three hundred years, an abridged French translation of Biedma's account was published in 1841. In 1850 and 1851, English translations based on the abridged French version were published, but it is Buckingham Smith's 1866 English translation from the original Spanish manuscript that is the most widely used English version today. Smith's translation of Biedma has been reprinted several times, and it is his translation as edited by Edward Gaylord Bourne in 1904 that is reprinted in this volume (see pages 11-12).

Another of the De Soto expedition narratives was written by a Portuguese "gentleman" who was among the several Portuguese members of the expedition. This narrative, authored by "A Gentlemen of Elvas," is generally referred to as the Elvas account; the identity of its author remains unknown.

Elvas' account was the first published De Soto expedition narrative. Published initially in Portuguese in 1557, English translations appeared in 1609 and 1611.
Both the 1609 and 1611 volumes, published by Richard Hakluyt, were intended to encourage settlement in the new English colony of Virigina. In the following century, Dutch and French versions were printed, and during the 19th century several additional English versions with their associated reprints were published. Buckingham Smith's translation from the original Portuguese was first published in 1866, and his version as reprinted by Bourne in 1904 is reprinted here (see pages 13-17, this volume).

A third narrative was authored by Rodrigo Ranjel, De Soto's private secretary. Although the original manuscript copy of Ranjel's account has been lost, most of its text is preserved in Oviedo's Historia General y Natural de las Indias published in 1851. Throughout Ranjel's text are numerous comments interjected by the historian Oviedo, but most of these comments are readily identifiable. More troubling than these insertions is the fact that Oviedo's volume contains only a portion of what must certainly have been a more complete work initially compiled by Ranjel. The Ranjel account in Oviedo ends at a point where the expedition was still in what is today Arkansas. The final two years of the expedition, including the death of De Soto and the arrival of the expedition's survivors in Mexico, are absent from Oviedo's text. Perhaps the missing portion of this document will eventually be found in some forgotten archive, but for now we must be satisfied with the portion of Ranjel's account that is available.

Following the 1851 publication, in Spanish, of Ranjel's account, it was nearly 50 years before an English version appeared. An abridged version was published in the American Antiquarian in 1900-1901, but a complete translation was not published until 1904. It is the 1904 translation by Edward Gaylord Bourne that is reprinted in this volume (see pages 6-10).

A fourth account detailing De Soto's exploits was first published in 1605, more than sixty years after the expedition ended. This narrative, authored by Garcilaso de la Vega, an Inca historian, is a second-hand account based on interviews and perhaps some written documents provided by soldiers who were with De Soto. Garcilaso de la Vega was not a member of De Soto's expeditionary force.

An abridged version of Garcilaso's epic was translated into French in 1670 and into German in 1753, and an English translation from the abridged French appeared in 1881. It was not until 1951 that a reliable English translation from the original Spanish was published. That volume, translated and edited by John G. Varner and Jeanette Johnson Varner, contains Garcilaso's complete text. No excerpt from that work is reprinted in the present volume, but the Varner and Varner translation, published by the University of Texas Press, is still in print.

As was noted above, the four De Soto expedition chronicles vary in reliability and degree to which useful details are included. Ranjel's account provides a day-by-day record of places and events, but the extant portion of his account ends near the mid-point of the expedition's four year duration. Ranjel was a careful observer, and overall, his account is the most consistently reliable. The accounts of both Elvas and Biedma provide less precise day-by-day descriptions of places and events, but they provide details and descriptions of episodes not mentioned by Ranjel. Although Garcilaso provides us with the longest and the most detailed narrative of the De Soto expedition, his is the least reliable of the four extant accounts.

The four accounts are the sources on which all reconstructions of De Soto's expedition must be based. For the past decade, Charles Hudson, Marvin Smith, and I have been working on tracing the route of De Soto's expedition through its entire four year trek. Our paper discussing the South Carolina portion of De Soto's route is included here (pages 18-28, this volume).

Pardo Documents

There are four known accounts describing the expedition of Juan Pardo. Three of these accounts are quite brief, while the fourth is much longer. Only the three shorter accounts have been published in English, but the longer account will soon be available.

The first of the three brief accounts was authored by Juan Pardo, leader of the two expeditions charged with finding an overland route to Mexico. Pardo's account describes both expeditions in a cursory manner, but it does provide some useful information relating to travel times and distances between named Indian towns. A second brief account, written by a soldier named Francisco Martínez, provides information on events that occurred in the interior at the end of Pardo's first expedition. The third account was written by Juan de la Bandera (or Vandera), scribe and notary for the second expedition. Each of these narratives was published in Eugenio Ruidiaz y Caravia's La Florida, su Conquista y Colonización por Pedro Menéndez de Avilés (Madrid, 1894). The Bandera account was also included in Buckingham Smith's Colección de Varios Documentos para la Historia de la Florida y Tierras Adyacentes (London, 1857).

These three accounts have also been translated into English and published. In 1954, Herbert E. Ketcham published his edited and annotated translations in the Georgia Historical Quarterly. Stanley Folsom and Madeline Kneberg published another set of translations by Gerald Wade in The East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications in 1965. David B. Quinn provides his own translations of these three documents in his New American World published in 1979. It is the Ketcham translations that are reprinted in this volume (pages 29-36).

There is also a fourth account detailing Pardo's second foray into the interior. That account, written by the notary Juan de la Bandera, has not yet been published in either English or Spanish, although such a publication is currently being planned by Charles Hudson and Paul Hoffman. At present, the most accessible copy of this document can be found in the State of North Carolina archives in Raleigh.

This longer Bandera account contains far more information concerning travel time, distances, and directions than any of the other Pardo or De Soto documents. It was this long Bandera document that proved invaluable to Charles Hudson, Marvin Smith, and me in our tracing of Pardo's route into the interior. Our reconstruction of the routes followed on the two Pardo expeditions is reprinted following the Ketcham translations (pages 37-51, this volume).

The final reprint in this volume (pages 52-61) is a paper based on information contained in the long Bandera account. As Pardo moved inland from Indian village to village, he was greeted by chiefs from the area surrounding each stopping place. Pardo gave gifts to each of these
chiefs (and other officials) who came to meet with him, and Bandera carefully recorded the kind of gift given and the name and title of each recipient. This careful listing of both the gifts distributed and the recipients provides useful information on both the kinds of trade materials being distributed by the expedition and on what the expected area distribution of those objects should be on archaeological sites.

Notes on the Reprints

The reprinted papers and excerpts contained in this volume come from several books and journals, each with its own distinctive format. Text contained in the original Bandera carefully recorded the kind of gift given and the name and title of each recipient. This careful listing of both the gifts distributed and the recipients provides useful information on both the kinds of trade materials being distributed by the expedition and on what the expected area distribution of those objects should be on archaeological sites.

There is some variation among the papers in the spelling of place names and personal names, and I have made no attempt to standardize these variant spellings. Each name is reproduced as it occurred in the original document. Variations in the use of accent marks were handled in the same manner as variant spellings.

I have taken the opportunity in this volume to correct an error that appeared in one of the included papers that I co-authored. In the Pardo route paper from the Florida Historical Quarterly, Figures 2 and 3 were incorrectly numbered in the original; those figures have been renumbered in this volume.

In reproducing the De Soto and Pardo documents, I decided to present the original, sixteenth century accounts first, followed by published interpretations of the routes taken by these two expeditions. This order of presentation may cause some confusion to readers not so intimately familiar with the Spanish accounts as I am, because not everyone knows where these expeditions encountered the Indian chiefdoms of Apalachee, Ocute, Cofitachequi, or Chiaha. Reference to the De Soto (page 22) and Pardo (page 39) route maps should aid the reader in following the movements and activities described in the expedition accounts. A modification of Pardo's route beyond Chiaha has been published by Charles Hudson (1987).

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An Excerpt From

A Narrative Of De Soto's Expedition
Based On The Diary Of Rodrigo Ranjel, His
Private Secretary
By
Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo Y Valdés*

Transliterated By Edward Gaylord Bourne

[This excerpt begins in the middle of Ranjel's Chapter IV with De Soto already at Apalachee.] They spent the winter there [at Apalachee] and remained until the 4th of March, 1540, in which time many notable things befell them with the Indians, who are the bravest of men and whose great courage and boldness the discerning reader may imagine from what follows. For example, two Indians once rushed out against eight men on horseback; twice they set the village on fire; and with ambushes they repeatedly killed many Christians, and although the Spaniards pursued them and burned them they were never willing to make peace. If their hands and noses were cut off they made no more account of it than if each one of them had been a Mucius Scaevola of Rome. Not one of them, for fear of death, denied that he belonged to Apalache; and when they were taken and were asked from whence they were they replied proudly: "From whence am I? I am an Indian of Apalache." And they gave one to understand that they would be insulted if they were thought to be of any other tribe than the Apalaches.

The Governor decided to go further inland, [81] because an Indian lad gave great reports of what there was in the interior; and he sent Johan de Añasco with thirty horse for Captain Calderon and the soldiers left in the harbour; and they burned the supplies which they left and the village; and Captain Calderon came by land with all the soldiers, and Johan de Añasco came by sea with the brigantines and boats to the harbour of Apalache.

On Saturday, November 19, Johan de Añasco arrived at the harbour and immediately Maldonado was despatched along shore with the brigantines to discover a harbour to the west. At the same time Captain Calderon arrived with all his force, less two men and seven horses, that the Indians killed on the way. Maldonado discovered an excellent harbour and brought an Indian from the province adjacent to this coast which was called Achuse, and he brought a good blanket of sable fur. They had seen others in Apalache but none like that. Captain Maldonado was sent to Havana and left Apalache the 26th of February, 1540, with the instructions and [82] command of the Governor that he should return to the port that he had discovered and to that coast where the Governor expected to arrive. The Province of Apalache is very fertile and abundantly provided with supplies with much corn, kidney beans, pumpkins, various fruits, much venison, many varieties of birds and excellent fishing near the sea; and it is a pleasant country, though there are swamps, but these have a hard sandy bottom.


CHAPTER V

How the Governor, Hernando De Soto, and his army set out from Iviiahica in search of Capachequi; how the Guide that they carried, when he knew nothing further about the road, made believe that he was possessed of the Devil; and also about various other notable incidents.

The departure from Iviiahica in search of Capachequi began on Wednesday, March 3, 1540, and by night the Governor came to the river Gaucca; and departing from there they came to the river Capachequi, where they arrived early the following Friday; and they made a canoe or barge to cross it. And the river was so broad that Christopher Mosquera, who was the best thrower, was not [83] able to throw across it with a stone. And they took the chains in which they were bringing the Indians, and with "S" hooks of iron, fastened them together and made one chain of them all. They fastened one end of the chain to one bank and the other to another in order to take over the barge, and the current was so strong that the chain broke twice. Seeing this, they fastened many ropes together and made of them two, and they fastened one to the stern and the other to the bow and drawing the barge first one way and then the other, they got the people and the baggage across. To get the horses over they made long ropes and tied them about their necks and although the current carried them down, by pulling on the ropes they drew them over, yet with toil and some were half drowned.

On Wednesday, March 9 [Wednesday was the tenth], the whole force finished crossing the river Capachequi and went on to sleep in a pine wood. The next day, Thursday, they came to the first village of Capachequi, which contained an abundance of supplies. They passed through much undergrowth or land closely covered with bushes, and then came by nightfall to another village further along where they struck a bad swamp close to the village with a strong current, before they arrived. And they crossed [84] a great stretch of water up to the girths and saddlepads of the horses; and it was not possible for all the force to get across that day, on account of the hard passage. And there a hundred soldiers [probably only five] with swords and bucklers strayed off, and as many Indians beset them and killed one of them and would have killed all if they had not been rescued.

On the 17th of March they left Capachequi and at nightfall came to White Spring. This was a very beautiful spring with a large flow of good water and containing fish. The next day they came at nightfall to the river Toa where they made two bridges; and the horse belonging to Lorenzo Suarez, son of Vasco Porcallo was drowned. On the following Sunday, March 21, they came to cross the river Toa, and they twice made a bridge of pines and the strong current broke them.

Another bridge was made with timbers crisscrossed [85] in a way suggested to them by a gentleman named Nuño de Tovar, at which everybody laughed; but it was true what he said, and after it was made they passed over very well by that means; and Monday all the force got across and came by nightfall to a pine wood, although separated into many sections and in bad order. On Tuesday morning they arrived early at Toa, a large village, and the Governor wanted to go on further, but they would not suffer him. On Wednesday, the 24th, the Governor went off at midnight in secret with about forty horse, knights and gentlemen and some others,
who for various reasons had not wished to be under another captain. And they went on all that day until night, when they came to a bad passage of water quite deep. Although it was night, they got over it, and that day the went twelve leagues. And the next day, in the morning, which was Holy Thursday, they arrived at the settlement of Chisi and they crossed a branch of a big river, very broad, wading and a good part of it swimming. And they came to a village, which was on an island in this river, where they captured some people and found some provisions; and, as it was a perilous place, before canoes should appear, they turned to go back the way they came; but [86] first they breakfasted good part of it swimming. And they came to a village, principal Indians appeared as messengers from Ichisi; and placed upon a framework of sticks, as for roasting on a griddle. And though it was to eat flesh; and there the lad Perico, whom they brought from Apalache as a guide, took them, and they passed on to other villages drowned. The horses swam with their saddles, while their masters crossed on a beam stretched over the channel, and in so crossing, one Benito Fernandez, a Portuguese, fell off the log and was drowned. This day they came to a village where some principal Indians appeared as messengers from Ichisi; and one of them addressed the Governor and said three words, one after the other, in this manner: "Who are you, what do you want, where are you going?" And they brought presents of skins, the blankets of the country, which were the first gifts as a sign of peace. All of this took place on Holy Thursday and [87] on the Day of the Incarnation. To the questions of the Indian the Governor replied that he was a captain of the great King of Spain; that in his name he had come to make known to them the holy faith of Christ; that they should acknowledge him and be the Supreme Pontiff and Vicar of God, who lived there; and that in temporal affairs they should acknowledge for king and lord the Emperor, King of Castile, our Lord, as his vassals; and that they would treat them well in every thing and that he would maintain toward them peace and justice just the same as towards all his Christian vassals.

Monday, March 29, they went from there to Ichisi; and it rained very hard and a small stream rose so much that if they had not made great haste in crossing all the army would have been in danger. This day Indian men and women came forth to receive them, and the women were clothed in white and made a fine appearance; and they gave the Christians corn cakes and some bunches of young onions just like those of Castile, as big as the end of the thumb and larger. And from now on, this food was of great assistance to them and they ate the onions with the cakes roasted and boiled and raw, and they [88] were a great refreshment, for they are very good. The white clothing, with which the Indian women were clothed, were mantles, apparently of homespun linen and some of them were very thin. They make the thread of them from the bark of the mulberry tree, not the outside, but the intermediate layers; and they know how to make use of it and to spin it, and to dress it as well and to weave it. They make very fine mantles, and they wear one from the girdle down and another fastened on one side with the end over the shoulders like those Bohemians, or gypsies, who wander sometimes through Spain; and the thread is of such a quality that one who was there assured me that he saw the women spin it from that mulberry bark and make it as good as the best thread from Portugal that women can get in Spain for their work, and finer and somewhat like it and stronger. The mulberry trees are quite like those of Spain, just as tall and larger, but the leaf is softer and better for silk, and the mulberries are better eating and larger than those of Spain, and they were very frequently of great advantage to the Spaniards for food.

That day they came to a village of a chief, a subject of Ichisi, a small village with abundant food; and he gave of what he had with good will. They rested there Tuesday [89] and on Wednesday the last of March the Governor set out with his army and came to Great River, where they took many canoes, in which they crossed easily and came to the village of the lord, who was one-eyed and he gave them much food and fifteen Indians as porters. As he was the first that came to them in peace they did not wish to burden him much. They were there Thursday, the first of April, and they set up in the mound of the village a cross and interpreted to them the holiness of the cross, and they received it and worshipped it devoutly to all appearance. On Friday, April 2, the army departed from that place and slept in the open country. On the next day they came to a considerable stream and found deserted cabins, and there messengers came from Altamaha and took them to a village where they found an abundance of food; and a messenger came from Altamaha with a present and the next day they brought many canoes and the army crossed very comfortably. And from there the Governor sent to call the chief Camumo, and they told him that he always ate and slept and went about armed; that he never laid aside his arms because he was on the borders of another chief named Coffitachequi, his enemy; and that he would not come without them; and the Governor replied and said: that [90] he might come as he pleased; and he came, and the Governor gave him a large plume adorned with silver. And the chief took it very gladly and said to the Governor: "You are from Heaven, and this plume of yours which you have given me, I can eat with it; I shall go to war with it; I shall sleep with my wife with it;" and the Governor said, yes, he could do all that. And this Camumo and the others were subjects of a great chief whose name was Ocute. And the chief with the plume asked the Governor to whom he should give tribute in the future, whether to the Governor or to Ocute; and the Governor suspected that this question was put with cunning; and he replied that he regarded Ocute as a brother and that he should pay his tribute to Ocute until the Governor ordered otherwise.

From there he sent messengers to summon Ocute, and he came thither; and the Governor gave him a cap of yellow satin and a shirt and a plume; and he set up a cross there in Altamaha and it was well received. The next day, Thursday, April 8, the Governor departed from that place with his army and took with him Ocute, and they passed the night in some cabins; and Friday he came to the village of Ocute; and the Governor was angry with him and he trembled [91] with fear. Soon a large number of Indians came with supplies and offered as many Indians as porters as the Christians needed; and a cross was set up and they received it very devoutly to all appearances and worshipped it on their knees as they saw the Christians do. Monday, April 12, they departed from Ocute and reached Cofaquí and the leading men came with gifts. This chief Cofaquí was an old man, with a full beard, and his nephew governed for him. Himber came the chief Tatofa and another principal Indian; and they gave their present, both food and tamañes, all that they had need of. And in that language tameme means the same as carrier. Thursday, the 15th of this month, Perico, who was the Indian lad whom they took for a guide from Apalache, began to lose his bearings because he no longer knew anything of the country. And he made believe that he was possessed of the devil, and he knew how to act the part so well that the Christians believed it was real, and a priest whom they brought with them named Friar John, the
Evangelist, said it was so. The upshot of it was that they had to take guides that Tatofa gave them to go to Cofitachequi through a desert country some nine or ten day's march.

I have wondered many times at the venturesomeness, stubbornness, and persistency or firmness, to use a better word for the way these baffled conquerors kept on from one toil to another, and then to another still greater; from one danger to many others, here losing one companion, there three and again still more, going from bad to worse without learning by experience. Oh, wonderful God! that they should have been so blinded and dazed by a greed so uncertain and by such vain discourses as Hernando de Soto was able to utter to those deluded soldiers, whom he brought to a land where he had never been, nor put foot into, and where three other leaders, more experienced than he, had ruined themselves: Johan Ponce, Garay, and Pamphilo de Narvaez, any one of whom had more experience than he in the affairs of the Indies, and inspired more confidence than he; for he neither in the islands nor in the mainland of the north had knowledge except of the government of Pedrarias, in Castilla del Oro and Nicaragua, and in Peru, which was quite another sort of embroilment with Indians. He thought that that experience in the South was sufficient to show him what to do in the North, and he was deceived as the history will tell. Let us return now to the narrative and the march of this captain or Governor, whom I knew very well, and with whom I talked and associated, as well as with the other three mentioned above, and with the Lawyer Ayllón.

On Friday, the 16th of the month, this Governor and his army spent the night by a small stream on the way to Cofitachequi; and the next day they crossed a very large river, divided into two branches, wider than a long shot from an arquebuse. And the fords were very bad, with many flat stones, and the water came up to the stirrups and in places to the saddlepads. The current was very strong and none of the horsemen dared to take a foot soldier on the croup. The foot soldiers crossed the river further up where it was deeper in this way. They made a line of thirty or forty men tied together and so they crossed over supporting each other; and although some were in much danger, it pleased God that none was drowned, for the horsemen helped them with their horses and gave them the butt of the lance or the tail of the horse, and in that way they all got out and passed the night on a hill. That day they lost many pigs of those which they had brought tame from Cuba, as they were carried down by the current.

The next day, Sunday, they came to another hill or grove to stop, and the next day, Monday, they marched without any trial and crossed another very large river. Tuesday they passed the night beside a small stream and Wednesday reached another very large river and hard to cross which was divided into two streams which were very difficult to enter and worse to get out of. The Christians now were without provisions and with great labour they crossed this river and reached some huts of fishermen or hunters. And the Indians whom they carried had now lost their bearings and no longer knew the way; nor did the Spaniards know it, or in what direction they should go; and among them were divers opinions. Some said they should turn back; others said they ought to go on in a different direction; and the Governor protested, as he always had done, that it was best to go on, without knowing, either himself or they, what they were aiming at or whither they were wandering. And being at a loss in this labyrinth, on Friday, the 23d of April, the Governor sent to look for roads or villages in the following manner: Baltasar de Gallegos was to go up the river northwest, and Johan de Añasco was to go along the river southeast, each with ten horsemen and rations of ten days. And on that day other captains returned from searching and they had found nothing. And on Saturday the Governor sent Johan Ruiz Lobillo with four horsemen to the north, with ten days' rations, and he ordered that some of the grown pigs in the army should be slaughtered, and they gave as rations to each man a scant pound of flesh and with it herbs and blite that they gathered. And so as best they could they supplied their needs, not without great struggle and toil, the horses without any food; they and their masters dying of hunger; with no trail, drenched with continual rain, the rivers always rising and narrowing the land, and without hope of villages or knowledge where to find them, lamenting and calling on God for mercy. And our Lord did bring the succour in the following manner. That Sunday, April 25, Johan de Añasco came, with news that he had found a village and food, and he greatly cheered the soldiers, and he brought an interpreter and guide. And so they stopped the rations of flesh and each one helped himself out as he could with unknown herbs and blite that the flesh might be left for a reserve.

[96] And the Governor decided immediately to set out, and writing some letters and putting them in some pumpkins he buried them in a secret place and wrote on a tall tree some directions where to find them. And so they set out with Johan de Añasco on Monday, April 26. That day the Governor, with some of the horse, although a few, reached the village which was called Hymahi; and the army remained two leagues behind, the horses exhausted. There was found in the village a barbacoa covered with corn and more than thirty bushels of pinol prepared, which is parched corn. And the next day the main force arrived and rations of corn and pinol were distributed. And there was no end of mulberries, because there were many trees and it was their season; and this was a great help. And likewise there were found in the plains some berries such as in Italy grow on vines close to the ground and are like madroños, [strawberries] very savoury, palatable, and fragrant and they also grow abundantly in Galicia. In the Kingdom of the Naples this fruit is called fraoles [strawberries] and it is a finer delicate fruit and highly thought of. And besides those, they found there along the trails countless roses growing wild like those [97] in Spain; and although they have not so many leaves since they are in the woods they are none the less fragrant and finer and sweeter. This village they named Succour.

The next day Captain Alonso Romo came who likewise had been out reconnoitering, and he brought four or five Indians, and not one would show any knowledge of his lord's village or discover it, although they burnt one of them alive before the others, and all suffered that martyrdom for not revealing it. The next day Wednesday, Baltasar de Gallegos came with an Indian woman and news of a populated region. The next day Lobillo returned with news of trails, and he had left behind two companions lost; and the Governor rated him soundly and without suffering him to rest or to eat made him go back to look for them under pain of death, if he brought them not back. And that was a better order and a better deed and judgement than burning alive the Indian that Alonso Romo brought for not consenting to reveal his lord; for to such a one as him the Romans set up a memorable statue in the Forum; and to Christians no such cruelty is allowable toward any one and especially toward an Indian who was ready to die to be loyal to his country and to his lord. But later on the account was squared.
How the Governor Hernando De Soto came to the village of Jalameco; how the woman Chief, Lady of this Land, welcomed him and placed upon his neck a string of pearls that she wore around the neck; and how they found many other pearls; and how, by the fault of the Governor, they failed to find all that they wanted to; and how later Pearls were found in Streams of fresh Water; and many other Details, appropriate to the course of this Narrative.

Let us return to the sequel and continuation of what we have in hand and are here narrating. Friday the last day of April the Governor took some horse, those that were most refreshed, and the Indian woman that Baltasar de Gallegos brought for a guide, and went along the road to Cofitachequi, and spent the night near a large, deep river; and he sent on Johan de Añasco with some horsemen to secure some interpreters and canoes for crossing the river, and he got some. The next day the Governor came to the crossing opposite the village, and the chief Indians came with gifts and the woman chief, lady [99] of that land whom Indians of rank bore on their shoulders with much respect, in a litter covered with delicate white linen. And she crossed in the canoes and spoke to the Governor quite gracefully and at her ease. She was a young girl of fine bearing; and she took off a string of pearls which she wore on her neck, and put it on the Governor as a necklace to show her favour and to gain his good will. And all the army crossed over in canoes and they received many presents of skins well tanned and blankets, all very good; and countless strips of venison and dry wafers, and an abundance of very good salt. All the Indians went clothed down to their feet with very fine skins well dressed, and blankets of the country, and blankets of sable fur and others of the skin of wild cats which gave out a strong smell. The people are very clean and polite and naturally well conditioned.

Monday, May 3, all the rest of the force came up; but all were not able to get across until the next day, Tuesday, nor then without the cost and loss of seven horses that were drowned, from among the fattest and strongest ones which struggled against the current. [100] The thin ones that let themselves go with the stream got across better.

Wednesday, May 13, the Governor went on from Cofitachequi, and in two days came to the territory of Chalalque; but they were not able to come upon the village of the chief, nor was there an Indian that would reveal it. And they bivouacked in a pine wood, whither many Indian men and women began to come in peace with presents and gifts; and they were there on Whitsuntide, and from there the Governor sent a letter to Baltasar de Gallegos with some Indians to the barbacoas where, as has been said above, [101] they had gone to eat the corn, requesting him to come on behind the Governor. On Monday, the 17th of this month, they departed thence, and spent the night at a mountain; and on Tuesday they came to Guaquili, and Indians came forth in peace and gave them corn, although little, and many fowls roasted on a barbacoa, and a few little dogs which were good eating. These are dogs of a small size that do not bark; and they breed them in their homes for food. Likewise they gave them tamemes, which are Indians to carry their burdens. On Wednesday, the next day, they came to a region full of reeds, and Thursday to a small plain where one of the horses died, and some of the foot soldiers who had been with Baltasar de Gallegos came up to inform the Governor that he would come soon. The next day, Friday, they were at Xuala, which is a village in a plain between two rivers, and the chief was so prosperous that he gave the Christians whatever they asked—tamemes, corn, dogs, petacas, and as much as he had. [104] Petacas are baskets covered with leather and likewise ready to be covered with their lids, for carrying clothes or whatever they want to. And on Saturday Baltasar de Gallegos came there with many sick and lame who must needs be restored whole, particularly in view of the mountain ranges before them. In that Xuala region it seemed that there were more indications that there were gold mines than in all the
country they had traversed and viewed in that northern region.

Tuesday, May 25, they left Xuala, and on that day went over a very high range and at nightfall they encamped at a little mountain; and the next day, Wednesday, in a plain where they suffered from severe cold, although it was the 26th of May. There they crossed the river, wading up to their shins, by which later they were to depart in the brigantines they had made. This, when it reaches the sea, the chart indicates to be the Rio del Spiritu Santo (River of the Holy Spirit), which, according to the maps of the geographer Alonso de Chaves, empties into a great bay; and the mouth of this river, where the water is salt, is in 31 degrees north of the equator.

Returning to my narrative, from this place where, as was said, they waded across the river, the woman chief of Cofitachequi, whom they carried with them in return for the good treatment which they had received from her, escaped; and that day there remained behind, it was supposed intentionally, Mendoza de Montanjes and Alamino of Cuba. And since Alonso Romo kept that day the rearguard and left them, the Governor made him return for them, and they waited for them one day. When they arrived, the Governor wished to hang them. In that region of Xalaque was left a comrade whose name was Rodriguez, a native of Peñafiel; and also an Indian slave boy from Cuba, who knew Spanish, and belonged to a gentleman named Villegas; and there was also left a slave belonging to Don Carlos, a Berber, well versed in Spanish; and also Gomez, a negro belonging to Vasco Gonzalez who spoke good Spanish. That Rodriguez was the first, and the rest deserted further on from Xalaque. The next day they passed the night in an oak grove, and the day following along a large stream, which they crossed many times. The next day messengers of peace appeared and they arrived early at Guasili, and they gave them many tamemes, many little dogs and corn; and since this was a fine stopping place, the soldiers afterwards in throwing dice called out "the house of Guasuli," or, a good throw.

Monday, which was the last day of May, the Governor left Guasili and came with his army to an oak wood along the river; and the next day they crossed by Canasoga, and at night they slept in the open country. Wednesday they slept near a swamp, and that day they ate an enormous amount of mulberries. The next day, Thursday, they went along a large stream near the river which they had crossed in the plain where the woman chief went off. It was now very large. The next day, Friday, they came to a pine wood on the stream, where appeared peaceful Indians from Chiaha and brought corn. The next day, Saturday, in the morning the Governor sent to call the chief and he came immediately; and the next day the Governor took him off with him to make his people come back, and the result was they came back. In the land of this Chiaha was where the Spaniards first found fenced villages. Chiaha gave them five hundred carriers, and they consented to leave off collars and chains.

It was Saturday, the 5th of June, that they entered Chiaha, and since all the way from Xuala had been mountainous and the horses were tired and thin, and the Christians were also themselves worn out, it seemed best to tarry there and rest themselves; and they were given an abundance of corn, of which there was plenty of good quality, and they were also given an abundance of corn cakes, and no end of oil from walnuts and acorns, which they knew how to extract very well, which was very good and contributed much to their diet. Yet some say that the oil from nuts produces flatulence. However, it is very delicious. The Indians spent fifteen days with the Christians in peace, and they played with them, and likewise among themselves. They swam with the Christians and helped them very much in every way. They ran away afterwards on Saturday, the 19th of the month, for something that the Governor asked of them; and, in short, it was because he asked for women. The next day in the morning the Governor sent to call the chief and he came immediately; and the next day the Governor took him off with him to make his people come back, and the result was they came back. In the land of this Chiaha was where the Spaniards first found fenced villages. Chiaha gave them five hundred carriers, and they consented to leave off collars and chains.

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An Excerpt from

Relation of the Conquest of Florida
presented by
Luys Hernandez de Biedma
in the year 1544 to the King of Spain In Council*

Translated by Buckingham Smith

[6] We set out for another town, named Aguile, which is on the confines of Apalache, a river dividing the one from the other province. Across this stream we made a bridge, by lashing many pines together, upon which we went over with much danger, as there were Indians on the opposite side who disputed our passage; when they found, however, that we had [7] landed, they went to the nearest town, called Iviitchuco, and there remained until we came in sight, when as we appeared they set all the place on fire and took to flight.

There are many towns in this Province of Apalache, and it is a land abundant in subsistence. They call all that other country we were travelling through, the Province of Yustaga.

We went to another town, called Iniahico. There it appeared to us to be time we should know of those who remained at the port, and that they should hear from us; for we proposed to travel so far inland that we might not be able to hear of them again. The distance we had now marched from them was one hundred and ten leagues, and the Governor gave orders that they should come to where we then were.

From that town we went to look for the sea, which was about nine leagues off, and we found, on the shore, where Panfilo de Narvaez had built his boats. We found the spot whereon the forge had stood, and many bones of horses. The Indians told us, through the interpreter, what others like us there had done. Juan de Añasco put signals on some trees standing near the water, because he was commanded to return to the port, and bid the people there come on by the way we had [8] marched, while he should sail in the two brigantines and the boat that were left, and we would await his arrival, at the Province of Apalache.

Juan de Añasco sent the people on by land, while he came by sea, as the Governor had ordered, encountering much fatigue and danger; for he could not find the coast he had observed from the land before leaving, discovering no marks whatsoever from the sea, as these were in shallow inlets, that with the rise of tide had water in them, and with the ebb were bare. We made a piragua, which went out every day two leagues to sea, looking for the brigantines, to show them where to stop. I was thankful when the people arrived, not less for those that came by land than those by water.

On the arrival of the brigantines, the Governor directed that they should sail westwardly to discover a harbour, if one were near, whence to ascertain, by exploring the coast, if any thing could be found inland. Francisco Maldonado, a gentleman of Salamanca, had the command. He coasted along the country, and entered all the coves, creeks, and rivers he discovered, until he arrived at a river having a good entrance and harbour, with an Indian town on the seaboard. Some inhabitants approaching to traffic, he took one [9] of them, and directly turned back with him to join us. On this voyage he was absent two months, which appeared to us all to be a thousand years, inasmuch as it detained us so long from advancing to what we understood was to be found in the interior.

After Maldonado got back, the Governor told him, that, as we were about to set off in quest of the country which that Indian stated to be on another sea, he must return with the brigantines to Cuba, where the Doña Ysabel de Bobadilla, his wife, remained; and if within six months' time he should hear nothing of us, to come with the brigantines, and run the shore as far as the River Espiritu Santo, to which we should have to resort. The vessels went to the Island, and we took our way again northward, going to seek after what the Indians had told us of.

We marched five days through an uninhabited country, when, coming to a great river, as we could not build a bridge over it, because of the stiffness of the current, we made a piragua. With this we reached the opposite shore, where we found a Province called Acapachiqui, very abundant in the food to which the Indians are accustomed. We saw some towns, and others there were we did not visit, because the country was one of very large swamps. There was a change in the [10] habitations, which were now in the earth, like caves: heretofore they were covered with palm-leaves and with grass. We continued on, and came to two other rivers, over which we had to make bridges, in our usual manner, by tying pine-trees together. Arrived at another Province, called Ota, we found a town rather larger than any we had seen to that time. We went thence to towns of another province, which may be about two days' march distant, where we took some persons not on the look-out, they never having heard of us. The people agreed to come and serve us peacefully for the return of the captives, whom the Governor gave up, keeping only a part as interpreters and guides, for the use of the way.

We were five or six days going through this Province, called Chisi, where we were well supplied by the Indians from their slender stores; and having marched three days more without seeing any large town, we came to the Province of Altapaha. Here we found a river that had a course not southwardly, like the rest we had passed, but eastward to the sea, where the Licentiate, Lucas de Ayllón, had come; whence we gave still more credit to what the Indian said, and we came to believe as true all the stories that he had told us. This province was thickly peopled, and the inhabitants all desired to serve us. The [11] Governor inquired of them for that province, Cofitachique, of which we came in pursuit; they said it was not possible to go thither, there being no road, and on the journey we should famish, there being no food. We went on to other caciques, of the names Ocuti and Cafaqui, who gave us of what they had to eat. They said if we were going to make war on the Lady of Cofitachique, they would give us all we should desire for the way; but we should understand there was no road over which to pass; that they had no intercourse, because of their enmity, except when they made war upon each other, which was carried on through obscure and intricate parts, out of which no one would be expected to issue, and that they were on the journey from twenty to twenty-two days, eating in the time only plants and the parched maize they took with them. Seeing our

determination, they gave us eight hundred Indians to carry our loads of clothing and provisions, and also others as guides.

We were taken directly to the eastward, and thus travelled three days. The Indian who deceitfully led us had said, that he would place us whither we were going in that time; and notwithstanding, towards the close, we began to discover his perfidy, the Governor did not desist from the course, but commanded [12] that we should husband our provisions as much as possible, since he suspected we should find ourselves—which did actually come to pass—in embarrassment and want. We went on through this wilderness, and at the end of thirteen days arrived at some cottages. The Indians had now become so bewildered, that they knew not in what direction to turn. The road had given out, and the Governor went around to regain it, but, failing to find it, he came back to us desperate. He directed that the people should return some half a league to a great river, and there he began to give out rations of fresh pork from the hogs we drive with us, a pound to each man, which we ate boiled, without salt or other seasoning.

The Governor sent in two directions to find a path, or any mark indicating inhabitants—one person up the river to the north and northeast, and the other down along it to the south and southeast, and he allowed to each ten days in which to go and return. He that went to the south and southeastward came in, after being gone four days, with the news that he had come upon a little town having some houses. The Indians had now become so bewildered, that they knew not in what direction to turn. The road had given out, and the Governor went around to regain it, but, failing to find it, he came back to us desperate. He directed that the people should return some half a league to a great river, and there he began to give out rations of fresh pork from the hogs we drive with us, a pound to each man, which we ate boiled, without salt or other seasoning.

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Again we took the direction of the north, and for eight days we travelled through a poor country, scarce of food, until arriving at one called Xuala, where we still found some Indian houses, though a thin population, for the country was broken. Among these ridges we discovered the source of the great river whence we had taken our departure, believed to be the Espiritu Santo. We went on to a town called Guasuli, where the inhabitants gave us a number of dogs, and some maize, of which they had but little. From there we marched four days, and arrived at a town called Chiha, which is very plentiful in food. It is secluded on an island of this river of Espiritu Santo, which, all the way from the place of its rise, forms very large islands. In this province, where we began to find the towns set about with fence, the Indians get a large quantity of oil from walnuts. We were detained twenty-six or twenty-seven days to refresh the horses, which arrived greatly fatigued, having worked hard and eaten little.

Thence we set out for the town of Cofitachiqué, two days' journey from the village, seated on the banks of a river, which we believed to be the Santa Elena, where the Licentiate Ayllón had been. Having arrived at the stream, the Lady of this town sent to us her niece, borne in a litter, the Indians showing her much respect, with the message that she was pleased we had arrived in her territory, and that she would give us all she could or might possess. She likewise sent the Governor a necklace of five or six strings of pearls. We were furnished with canoes in which to pass over the river, and the Lady gave us one-half of the town; but after staying three or four days, she suddenly went off into the woods. The Governor caused her to be [14] sought, and not finding her, he opened a mosque, in which were interred the bodies of the chief personages of that country. We took from it a quantity of pearls, of the weight of as many as six arrobas and a half, or seven, though they were injured from lying in the earth, and in the adipose substance of the dead. We found buried two wood axes, of Castilian make, a rosary of jet beads, and some false pearls, such as are taken from this country to traffic with the Indians, all of which we supposed they got in exchange, made with those who followed the Licentiate Ayllón. From the information given by the Indians, the sea should be about thirty leagues distant. We knew that the people who came with Ayllón hardly entered the country at all; that they remained continually on the coast, until his sickness and death. In strife for command, they then commenced to kill each other, while others of them died of hunger; for one, whose lot it was to have been among them, told us that of six hundred men who landed, only fifty-seven escaped—a loss caused, to a great extent, by the wreck of a big ship they had brought, laden with stores. Having remained in the town of this Lady some ten or eleven days, it became necessary that we should go thence in quest of a country which might furnish food, as the quantity where we were was [15] sufficient only for the necessities of the Indians, and we, our horses and followers, consumed it very fast.
An Excerpt from True Relation of the Vicissitudes that Attended the Governor Don Hernando De Soto and Some Nobles of Portugal in the Discovery of the Province of Florida by Fidalgo of Elvas*

Translated by Buckingham Smith

CHAPTER XII

[This excerpt begins in the middle of Elvas' Chapter XII.] [47] Sunday, the twenty-fifth of October [1539], he arrived at the town of Uzela, and on Monday at Anhaya Apalache, where the lord of all that country and Province resided. The Campmaster, whose duty it is to divide and lodge the men, quartered them about the town, at the distance of half a league to a league apart. There were other towns which had much maize, pumpkins, beans, and dried plums of the country, whence were brought together at Anhaya Apalache what appeared to be sufficient provision for the winter. These *ameixas* [persimmons] are better than those of Spain, and come from trees that grow in the fields without being planted.

Informed that the sea was eight leagues distant, the Governor directly sent a captain thither, with cavalry and infantry, who found a town called Ochete, eight leagues on the way; and, coming to the coast, he saw where a great tree had been felled, the trunk split up [48] into stakes, and with the limbs made into mangers. He found also the skulls of horses. With these discoveries he returned, and what was said of Narvaez was believed to be certain, that he had there made boats, in which he left the country, and was lost in them at sea. Presently Juan de Anasco made ready to go to the port of Espiritu Santo, taking thirty cavalry, with orders from the Governor to Calderon, who had remained there, that he should abandon the town, and bring all the people to Apalache.

In Uzachel, and other towns on the way, Anasco found many people who had already become careless; still, to avoid detention, no captures were made, as it was not well to give the Indians sufficient time to come together. He went through the towns at night, stopping at a distance from the population for three or four hours, to rest, and at the end of ten days arrived at the port. He dispatched two caravels to Cuba, in which he sent to Doña Ysabel twenty women brought by him from Ytara and Potano, near Cale; and, taking with him the foot-soldiers in the brigantines, from point to point along the coast by sea, he went towards Apalache. Calderon with the cavalry, and some crossbow-men of foot, went by land. The Indians at several places beset him, and wounded some of the men. On his [49] arrival, the Governor ordered planks and spikes to be taken to the coast for building a piragua, into which thirty men entered well armed from the bay, going to and coming from sea, waiting the arrival of the brigantines, and sometimes fighting with the natives, who went up and down the estuary in canoes. On Saturday, the twenty-ninth of November, in a high wind, an Indian passed through the sentries undiscovered, and set fire to the town, two portions of which, in consequence, were instantly consumed.

On Sunday, the twenty-eighth of December, Juan de Anasco arrived; and the Governor directed Francisco Maldonado, Captain of Infantry, to run the coast to the westward with fifty men, and look for an entrance; proposing to go himself in that direction by land on discoveries. The same day, eight men rode two leagues about the town in pursuit of Indians, who had become so bold that they would venture up within two crossbow-shot of the camp to kill our people. Two were discovered engaged in picking beans, and might have escaped, but a woman being present, the wife of one of them, they stood to fight. Before they could be killed, three horses were wounded, one of which died in a few days. Calderon going along the coast near by, the Indians came out against him [50] from a wood, driving him from his course, and capturing from many of his company a part of their indispensable subsistence.

Three or four days having elapsed beyond the time set for the going and return of Maldonado, the Governor resolved that, should he not appear at the end of eight days, he would go thence and wait no longer; when the Captain arrived, bringing with him an Indian from a Province called Ochus, sixty leagues from Apalache, and the news of having found a sheltered port with a good depth of water. The Governor was highly pleased, hoping to find a good country ahead; and he sent Maldonado to Havana for provisions, with which to meet him at that port of his discovery, to which he would himself come by land; but should he not reach there that summer, then he directed him to go back to Havana and return there the next season to await him, as he would make it his express object to march in quest of Ochus.

Francisco Maldonado went, and Juan de Guzman remained instead, Captain of his infantry. Of the Indians taken in Napetuca, the treasurer, Juan Gaytan, brought a youth with him, who stated that he did not belong to that country, but to one afar in the direction of the sun's rising, from which he had been a long time absent visiting other lands; that [51] its name was Yupaha, and was governed by a woman, the town she lived in being of astonishing size, and many neighbouring lords her tributaries, some of whom gave her clothing, others gold in quantity. He showed how the metal was taken from the earth, melted, and refined, exactly as though he had seen it all done, or else the Devil had taught him how it was; so that they who knew aught of such matters declared it impossible that he could give that account without having been an eye-witness; and they who beheld the signs he made credited all that was understood as certain.

CHAPTER XIII

How the Governor went from Apalache in quest of Yupaha, and what befell him.

On Wednesday, the third of March, in the year 1540, the Governor left Anhaya Apalache to seek Yupaha. He had ordered his men to go provided with maize for a march through sixty leagues of desert. The cavalry carried their grain on the horses, and the infantry theirs on the back; because the Indians they brought with them for service, being naked and in chains, had perished in great part during the winter. On the fourth day of the journey they arrived at
a deep [52] river, where a piragua was made; and, in consequence of the violence of the current, a cable of chains was extended from shore to shore, along which the boat passed, and the horses were drawn over, swimming thereto, by means of a windlass to the other side.

A day and a half afterwards, they arrived at a town by the name of Capachiqui, and on Friday [Thursday], the eleventh, the inhabitants were found to have gone off. The following day, five Christians, going in the rear of the camp to search for mortars, in which the natives beat maize, went to some houses surrounded by a thicket, where many Indians lurked as spies, an equal number of whom, separating from the rest, set upon our men, one of whom fled back, crying out to arms. When they who could first answer to the call reached the spot, they found one of the Christians killed, and the three others badly wounded, the Indians fleeing into a sheet of water, full of woods, into which the horses could not go. The Governor left Capachiqui, passing through a desert; and on Wednesday, the twenty-first [twenty-fourth] of the month, came to Toalli.

[53] The houses of this town were different from those behind, which were covered with dry grass; thenceforward they were roofed with cane, after the fashion of tile. They are kept very clean: some have their sides so made of clay as to look like tapia. Throughout the cold country every Indian has a winter house, plastered inside and out, with a very small door, which is closed at dark, and a fire being made within, it remains heated like an oven, so that clothing is not needed during the night-time. He has likewise a house for summer, and near it a kitchen, where fire is made and bread baked. Maize is kept in barbacoas, which is a house with wooden sides, like a room, raised aloft on four posts, and has a floor of cane. The difference between the houses of the masters, or principal men, and those of the common people is, besides being larger than the others, they have deep balconies on the front side, with cane seats, like benches; and about are many barbacoas, in which they bring together the tribute their people give them of maize, skins of deer, and blankets of the country. These are like shawls, some of them made from the inner bark of trees, and others of a grass resembling nettle, which, by treading out, becomes like flax. The women use them for covering, wearing one about the body from the waist [54] downward, and another over the shoulder, with the right arm left free, after the manner of the women but one, which they carry over the shoulder in the same way, the loins being covered with a bragueiro of deer-skin, after the fashion of the woollen breech-cloth that was once the custom of Spain. The skins are well dressed, the colour being given to them that is wished, and in such perfection, that, when of vermilion, they look like very fine red broadcloth; and when black, the sort in use for shoes, they are of the purest. The same hues are given to blankets.

The Governor left Toalli on the twenty-fourth day of March, and arrived on Thursday, in the evening, at a little stream where a small bridge was made, and the people passed to the opposite side. Benito Fernandes, a Portugues, fell off from it, and was drowned. So soon as the Governor had crossed, he found a town, a short way on, by the name of Achese, the people of which, having had no knowledge of the Christians, plunged into a river; nevertheless, some men and women were taken, among whom was found one who understood the youth, the guide to Yupaha, which rather confirmed what he stated, as they had come through regions speaking different languages, some of which he did not understand. By one of the Indians taken there, the Governor [55] sent to call the Cacique from the farther side of the river, who, having come to him, thus spoke:

Very High, Powerful, and Good Master:

The things that seldom happen bring astonishment. Think, then, what must be the effect on me and mine, the sight of you and your people, whom we have at no time seen, astride the fierce brutes, your horses, entering with such speed and fury into my country, that we had no tidings of your coming-----things so altogether new, as to strike awe and terror to our hearts, which it was not nature to resist, so that we should receive you with the sobriety due to so kingly and famous a lord. Trusting to your greatness and personal qualities, I hope no fault will be found in me, and that I shall rather receive favours, of which one is that with my person, my country, and my vassals, you will do as with your own things; and another, that you tell me who you are, whence you come, whither you go, and what it is you seek, that I may the better serve you.

The Governor responded, that he greatly thanked him for his good-will, as much so as though he had given him a great treasure. He told him that he was the child of the Sun, coming from its abode, and that he was going about the country, seeking for the greatest prince there, and the richest province. The Cacique stated that farther on was a great lord, whose territory was called Ocute. He gave him a guide, who understood the language, [56] to conduct him thither; and the Governor commanded his subjects to be released. A high cross, made of wood, was set up in the middle of the town-yard; and, as time did not allow more to be done, the Indians were instructed that it was put there to commemorate the suffering of Christ, who was God and man; that he had created the skies and the earth, and had suffered for the salvation of all, and therefore that they should revere that sign; and they showed by their manner that they would do so.

The Governor set out on the first day of April, and advanced through the country of the Chief, along up a river, the shores of which were very populous. On the fourth he went through the town of Altamacca, and on the tenth arrived at Ocute. The Cacique sent him a present, by two thousand Indians, of many conies and partridges, maize bread, many dogs, and two turkeys. On account of the scarcity of meat, the dogs were as much esteemed by the Christians as though they had been fat sheep. There was such want of salt also, that oftentimes, in many places, a sick man having nothing for his nourishment, and was wasting away to bone, of some ail that elsewhere might have found a remedy, when sinking under pure debility he would say: "Now, if I had but a slice of meat, [57] or only a few lumps of salt, I should not thus die."

The Indians never lacked meat. With arrows they get abundance of deer, turkeys, conies, and other wild animals, being very skilful in killing game, which the Christians were not; and even if they had been, there was not the opportunity for it, they being on the march the greater part of their time; nor did they, besides, ever dare to straggle off. Such was the craving for meat, that when the six hundred men who followed Soto arrived at a town, and found there twenty or thirty dogs, he who could get sight of one
and kill him, thought he had done no little; and he who proved himself so active, if his Captain knew of it, and he forgot to send him a quarter, would show his displeasure, and make him feel it in the watches, or in any matter of labour that came along, with which he could bear upon him.

On Monday, the twelfth of April, the Governor took his departure, the cacique of Ocute giving him four hundred tamemes, the Indians that carry burdens. He passed through a town, the lord of which was called Cofaqui, and came to the province of another, named Patofa, who, being at peace with the Chief of Ocute and other neighbouring lords, had heard of the Governor for a long time, [58] and desired to see him. He went to call on him, and made this speech:

**Powerful Lord:**

Not without reason, now, will I ask that some light mishap befall me, in return for so great good fortune, and deem my lot a happy one; since I have come to what I most wished in life, to behold and have the opportunity in some way to serve you. Thus the tongue casts the shadow of the thought; but I, nevertheless, am as unable to produce the perfect image of my feelings as to control the appearances of my contentment. By what circumstance has this your land, which I govern, deserved to be seen by one so superior and excellent that all on earth should obey and serve as prince. And those who here inhabit being so insignificant, how can they forget, in receiving this vast enjoyment, that, in the order of things, will follow upon it some great adversity? If we are held worthy of being yours, we can never be other than favoured, nor less than protected in whatsoever is reasonable and just; for they that fail of deserving either, with the name of men can only be considered brutes. From the depth of my heart, and with the respect due to such a chief, I make mine offer; and pray that, in return for so sincere good-will, you dispose of me, my country, and my vassals.

The Governor answered that his offers and good-will, shown in works, would greatly please him, and which he should ever bear in memory to honour and favour him as he would a brother. From this Province of Patofa, [59] back to the first Cacique we found at peace, a distance of fifty leagues, the country is abundant, picturesque, and luxuriant, well watered, and having good river margins; thence to the harbour of Espiriui Santo, where we first arrived, the land of Florida, which may be three hundred leagues in length, a little more or less, is light, the greater part of it of pine-trees, and low, having many ponds; and in places are high and dense forest, into which the Indians that were hostile betook themselves, where they could not be found; nor could horses enter there, which, to the Christians, was the loss of the food they carried away, and made it troublesome to get guides.

**CHAPTER XIII**

How the Governor left the Province of Patofa, marching into a desert country, where he, with his People, became exposed to great Peril and underwent severe Privation.

In the town of Patofa, the youth, whom the Governor brought with him for guide and interpreter, began to fret at the mouth, and threw himself on the ground as if he were possessed of the Devil. An exorcism being said over him, the fit went off. He stated that four days' journey from there, towards the sunrise, was the Province he spoke of: the Indians at Patofa said that they knew of no dwellings in that direction, but that towards the northwest there was a province called Coça, a plentiful country having very large towns. The Cacique told the Governor that if he desired to go thither he would give him a guide and Indians to carry burdens, and if he would go in the direction pointed out by the youth, he would furnish him with everything necessary for that also.

With words of love, and tendering each other services, they parted, the Governor receiving seven hundred tamemes. He took maize for the consumption of four days, and marched by a road that, gradually becoming less, on the sixth day it disappeared. Led by the youth, they forded two rivers, each the breadth of two shots of a crossbow, the water rising to the stirrups of the saddles, and passing in a current so powerful, that it became necessary for those on horseback to stand one before another, that they on foot, walking near, might cross along above them: then came to another of a more violent current, and larger, which was got over with more difficulty, the horses swimming for a lance's length at the coming out, into a pine-grove. The Governor menaced the youth, motioning that he would [61] throw him to the dogs for having lied to him in saying that it was four days' journey, whereas they had travelled nine, each day of seven or eight leagues; and that the men and horses had become very thin, because of the sharp economy practised with the maize. The youth declared that he knew not where he was. Fortunately for him, at the time, there was not another whom Juan Ortiz understood, or he would have been cast to the dogs.

The Governor, leaving the camp among the pine-trees, marched that day, with some cavalry and infantry, five or six leagues, looking for a path, and came back at night very cast down, not having found any sign of inhabitants. The next day there was a variety of opinion about the course proper to take, whether to return or do otherwise. The country through which they had come remained wasted and without maize; the grain they had so far brought with them was spent; the beasts, like the men, were become very lean; and it was held very doubtful whether relief was anywhere to be found: moreover, it was the opinion that they might be beaten by any Indians whatsoever who should venture to attack them, so that continuing thus, whether by hunger or in strife, they must inevitably be overcome. The Governor determined [62] to send thence in all directions on horseback, in quest of habitations; and the next day he dispatched four captains to as many points, with eight of cavalry to each. They came back at night leading their beasts by the bridle, unable to carry their masters, or driven before them with sticks, having found no road, nor any sign of a settlement. He sent other four again the next day, with eight of cavalry apiece, men who could swim, that they might cross any ponds and rivers in the way, the horses being chosen of the best that were; Baltasar de Gallegos ascending by the river, Juan de Atasco going down it, Alfonso Romo and Juan Rodriguez Lobillo striking into the country.

The Governor had brought thirteen sows to Florida, which had increased to three hundred swine; and the maize having failed for three or four days, he ordered to be killed daily, for each man, half a pound of pork, on which small
allowance, and some boiled herbs, the people with much difficulty lived. There being no food to give to the Indians of Patofa, they were dismissed, though they still wished to keep with the Christians in their extremity, and showed great regret at going back before leaving them in a peopled country. Juan de Añasco came in on Sunday, in the afternoon, bringing with him a woman and a youth he [63] had taken, with the report that he had found a small town, twelve or thirteen leagues off; at which the Governor and his people were as much delighted as though they had been raised from death to live.

On Monday, the twenty-sixth of April, the Governor set out for Aymay, a town to which the Christians gave the name of Socorro. At the foot of a tree, in the camp, they buried a paper, and in the bark, with a hatchet, they cut these words: "Dig here; at the root of this pine you will find a letter;" and this was so fixed that the Captains, who had gone in quest of an inhabited country, should learn what the Governor had done and the direction he had taken. There was no other road than the one Juan de Añasco had made moving along through the woods.

On Monday the Governor arrived at the town, with those the best mounted, all riding the hardest possible; some sleeping two leagues off, others three and four, each as he was able to travel and his strength held out. A barbacoa was found full of parched meal and some maize, which were distributed by allowance. Four Indians were taken, not one of whom would say anything else than that he knew of no other town. The Governor ordered one of them to be burned; and thereupon another said, that two days' journey [64] from there was a province called Cutifachiqui.

On Wednesday the three Captains came up: they had found the letter and followed on after the rest. From the command of Juan Rodriguez two men remained behind, their horses having given out, for which the Governor reprimanded him severely, and sent him to bring them. While they should be coming on he set out for Cutifachiqui, capturing three Indians in the road, who stated that the mistress of that country had already information of the Christians, and was waiting for them in a town. He sent to her by one of them, offering his friendship and announcing his approach. Directly as the Governor arrived, four canoes came towards him, in one of which was a kinswoman of the Cacica, who, coming near, addressed him in these words:

_Excellent Lord:_

My sister sends me to salute you, and to say, that the reason why she has not come in person is, that she has thought to serve you better by remaining to give orders on the other shore; and that, in a short time, her canoes will all be here, in readiness to conduct you thither, where you may take your repose and be obeyed.

The Governor thanked her, and she returned to cross the river. After a little time [65] the Cacica came out of the town, seated in a chair, which some principal men having borne to the bank, she entered a canoe. Over the stern was spread an awning, and in the bottom lay extended a mat where were two cushions, one above the other, upon which she sat; and she was accompanied by her chief men, in other canoes, with Indians. She approached the spot where the Governor was, and, being arrived, thus addressed him:

_Excellent Lord:_

Be this coming to these your shores most happy. My ability can in no way equal my wishes, nor my services become the merits of so great a prince; nevertheless, good wishes are to be valued more than all the treasures of the earth without them. With sincerest and purest good-will I tender you my person, my lands, my people, and make you these small gifts.

The Cacica presented much clothing of the country, from the shawls and skins that came in the other boats; and drawing from over her head a large string of pearls, she threw them about his neck, exchanging with him many gracious words of friendship and courtesy. She directed that canoes should come to the spot, whence the Governor and his people passed to the opposite side of the river. So soon as he was lodged in the town, a great many turkeys were sent to him. The country [66] was delightful and fertile, having good interval lands upon the streams; the forest was open, with abundance of walnut and mulberry trees. The sea was stated to be two days' travel. About the place, from half a league to a league off, were large vacant towns, grown up in grass, that appeared as if no people had lived in them for a long time. The Indians said that, two years before, there had been a pest in the land, and the inhabitants had moved away to other towns. In the barbaconas were large quantities of clothing, shawls of thread, made from the bark of trees, and others of feathers, white, gray, vermilion, and yellow, rich and proper for winter. There were also many well-dressed deer-skins, of colours drawn over with designs, of which had been made shoes, stockings, and hose. The Cacica, observing that the Christians valued pearls, told the Governor that, if he should order some sepulchres that were in the town to be searched, he would find many; and if he chose to send to those that were in the uninhabited towns, he might load all his horses with them. They examined those in the town, and found three hundred and fifty pounds' weight of pearls, and figures of babies and birds made of them.

The inhabitants are brown of skin, well formed and proportioned. They are more [67] civilized than any people seen in all the territories of Florida, wearing clothes and shoes. This country, according to what the Indians stated, had been very populous. It appeared that the youth who was the guide had heard of it; and what was told him he declared to have seen, and magnified such parts as he chose, to suit his pleasure. He told the Governor that they had begun to enter upon the country he had spoken to him about, which, because of its appearance, with his being able to understand the language of the people, gained for him some credit. He wished to become a Christian, and asked to be baptized, which was done, he receiving the name of Pedro; and the Governor commanded the chain to be struck off that he had carried until then.

In the town were found a dirk and beads that had belonged to Christians, who, the Indians said, had many years before been in the port, distant two days' journey. He that had been there was the Governor-licentiate Ayllon, who came to conquer the land, and, on arriving at the port, died, when there followed divisions and murders among the chief personages, in quarrels as to who should command; and thence, without knowing any thing of the country, they went back to Spain.

[68] To all it appeared well to make a settlement there, the point being a favourable one, to which could come all
the ships from New Spain, Peru, Sancta Marta, and Tierra-Firme, going to Spain; because it is in the way thither, is a good country, and one fit in which to raise supplies; but Soto, as it was his object to find another treasure like that of Atabalipa, lord of Peru, would not be content with good lands nor pearls, even though many of them were worth their weight in gold (and if the country were divided among Christians, more precious should those be the Indians would procure than those they have, being bored with heat, which causes them to lose their hue): so he answered them who urged him to make a settlement, that in all the country together there was not support for his troops a single month; that it was necessary to return to Ochus, where Maldonado was to wait; and should a richer country not be found, they could always return to that who would, and in their absence the Indians would plant their fields and be better provided with maize. The natives were asked if they had knowledge of any great lord farther on, to which they answered, that twelve days' travel thence was a province called Chiha, subject to a chief of Coça.

The Governor then resolved at once to go [69] in quest of that country, and being an inflexible man, and dry of word, who, although he liked to know what the others all thought and had to say, after he once said a thing he did not like to be opposed, and as he ever acted as he thought best, all bent to his will; for though it seemed an error to leave that country, when another might have been found about it, on which all the people could have been sustained until the crops had been made and the grain gathered, there were none who would say a thing to him after it became known that he had made up his mind.

CHAPTER XV

How the Governor went from Cutifachiqui in quest of Coca, and what occurred to him on the Journey.

On the third [thirteenth] day of May the Governor set out from Cutifachiqui; and, it being discovered that the wish of the Cacica was to leave the Christians, if she could, giving them neither guides nor tamemes, because of the outrages committed upon the inhabitants, there never failing to be men of low degree among the many, who will put the lives of themselves and others in jeopardy for some mean interest, [70] the Governor ordered that she should be placed under guard and took her with him. This treatment, which was not a proper return for the hospitable welcome he had received, makes true the adage, For well doing . . . ; and thus she was carried away on foot with her female slaves.

This brought us service in all the places that were passed, she ordering the Indians to come and take the loads from town to town. We travelled through her territories a hundred leagues, in which, according to what we saw, she was greatly obeyed, whatsoever she ordered being performed with diligence and efficacy. Pedro, the guide, said she was not the suzeraine, but her niece, who had come to that town by her command to punish capitaly some principal Indians who had seized upon the tribute; but to this no credit was given, because of the falsehoods in which he had been taken, though all was put up with, from the necessity of having some one whereby to understand what the Indians said.

In seven days the Governor arrived at the Province of Chelaque, the country poorest off for maize of any that was seen in Florida, where the inhabitants subsisted on the roots of plants that they dig in the wilds, and on the animals they destroy with their arrows. They are very domestic people, are slight of [71] form, and go naked. One lord brought the Governor two deer-skins as a great gift. Turkeys were abundant; in one town they presented seven hundred, and in others brought him what they had and could procure. He was detained in going from this province to that of Xualla five days, where they found little grain, but remained two days, because of the weariness of the men and the leanness of the horses.

From Ocute to Cutifachiqui are one hundred and thirty leagues, of which eighty are desert; from Cutifa to Xualla are two hundred and fifty of mountainous country; thence to Guaxule, the way is over very rough and lofty ridges.

One day while on this journey, the Cacica of Cutifachi, whom the Governor brought with him, as has been stated, to the end of taking her to Guaxule, the farthest limit of her territories, conducted by her slaves, she left the road, with an excuse of going into a thicket, where, deceiving them, she so concealed herself that for all their search she could not be found. She took with her a cane box, like a trunk, called petaca, full of un bored pearls, of which, those who had the most knowledge of their value said they were very precious. They were carried for her by one of the women; and the Governor, not to give [72] offence, permitted it so, thinking that in Guaxule he would beg them of her when he should give her leave to depart; but she took them with her, going to Xualla, with three slaves who had fled from the camp. A horseman, named Alimamos, who remained behind, sick of a fever, wandering out of the way, got lost; and he laboured with the slaves to make them leave their evil design. Two of them did so, and came on with him to the camp. They overtook the Governor, after a journey of fifty leagues, in a province called Chiha; and he reported that the Cacica remained in Xualla, with a slave of André de Vasconcelos, who would not come with him, and that it was very sure they lived together as man and wife, and were to go together to Cutifachiqui.

At the end of five days the Governor arrived at Guaxule. The Christians being seen to go after dogs, for their flesh, which the Indians do not eat, they gave them three hundred of those animals. Little maize was found there, or anywhere upon that route. The Governor sent a native with a message to the Cacique of Chiha, begging that he would order some maize to be brought together at his town, that he might sojourn there some time. He left Guaxule, and after two days' travel arrived at Canasagua, where twenty [73] men came out from the town on the road, each laden with a basket of mulberries. This fruit is abundant and good, from Cutifachique to this place, and thence onward in other provinces, as are the walnut and the amrex; the trees growing about over the country, without planting or pruning, of the size and luxuriance they would have were they cultivated in orchards, by hoeing and irrigation. Leaving Canasagua, he marched five days though a desert.

Two leagues before coming to Chiha, fifteen men met the Governor, bearing loads of maize, with word from the Cacique that he waited for him, having twenty barbacoas full; that, moreover, himself, his lands, and his vassals, were subject to his orders. On the fifth day of July the Governor entered Chiha.
The Hernando De Soto Expedition: From Apalachee To Chiaha*

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The De Soto Commission (Swanton 1939) reconstructed De Soto’s 1539-1543 route through the Southeast. In this paper we report our research on the segment of that route from northern Florida through Georgia, South Carolina, and North Carolina, ending at Chiaha in eastern Tennessee. We believe that our reconstruction is more accurate than that of the De Soto Commission, and that continued archaeological and documentary research into the De Soto expedition’s route will greatly enrich our understanding of southeastern Native American societies.

In recent years it has become evident to students of the aboriginal Southeast that the reconstruction of the route of Hernando De Soto’s exploration by the U.S. De Soto Expedition Commission (Swanton 1939) contains errors of interpretation. Recent examinations of portions of the Commission’s route by Brain et al. (1974), Lankford (1977), and Smith (1976) have raised doubts about it, and this has led to new research and to new reconstructions of portions of the route.

Several new kinds of evidence have made these revisions feasible, indeed necessary. Recent advances in archaeological research have provided a strong basis for new revisions, and, partly as a by-product of this research, new understandings of sixteenth-century aboriginal settlement patterns have come to light. During Swanton’s era, information on the late prehistoric Southeast was at best rudimentary, and at worst wildly erroneous, and when this information was used to amplify documentary evidence for the De Soto expedition, it simply compounded error. Additionally, recent advances in the dating of historic artifact types have made it possible to identify the artifacts from the earliest explorers were quickly used as grave goods (Smith 1984:45). Hence, wherever these artifacts occur in aboriginal sites, it suggests that these sites were population centers that date to the sixteenth century.

Another source of new information is additional documents that have come to light since the Commission’s research. Especially important is a document by Juan de la Banderia, scribe for Juan Pardo’s second expedition, which has greatly amplified our understanding of Pardo’s expeditions in 1566-1568. Our recent studies based on this document (DePratter, Hudson, and Smith 1983) have enabled us to achieve a detailed reconstruction of Pardo’s route in which he visited several of the same towns visited by De Soto twenty-seven years earlier. Specifically the Banderia document has allowed us to establish probable locations for Hymahi or Aymany (Pardo’s Guimomae), Cofitachequi, Xuala (Pardo’s Joara), and Chiaha, as well as the general location of the Chisca Indians. Even though the locations of these sites are at present only probable, we expect that archaeological research will make it possible to establish one or more of them with certainty. Short of this, we feel that we now have some reference points in the interior that are more securely established than in any previous work on this part of the De Soto route.

In our reconstruction of the De Soto route [Fig.1], we have relied heavily on the account by Rodrigo Ranjel, De Soto’s secretary, and upon the account by the Gentleman of Elvas. In cases where we were doubtful about Bourne’s translation of Ranjel, we read the original, as published in Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdes’ Historia General y Natural de las Indias. The accounts of Luis Hernandez de Biedma and Garcilaso de la Vega are far less useful as evidence for locating the activities of De Soto and his men with respect to time and place, though we have used both of them as ancillary evidence.

Garcilaso is remarkably unreliable for the route from Apalachee to Chiaha, and particularly so for the segment of the route from Apalachee to Cofitachequi, where his narrative is curiously condensed. He does not even mention the chiefdoms of Capachequi (though, as will later be seen, he gives valuable details about a village that may have been the main village of Capachequi), Toa, and Ichisi. He appears to have had Ichisi in mind in his discussion of what he calls “Altapa,” this latter word being evidently a confusion of the “Altamaha” of the other chroniclers. Moreover, when he narrates the expedition’s progress from “Altapa” to “Cofa” (which the other chroniclers call “Ocute”) and Cofaqui, he spuriously inserts some material on the Chalqueaus, who were not encountered until a month later, as the expedition went from Cofitachequi northward to Xuala (Garcilaso 1962:263-271).

[66] In reconstructing the route of De Soto from Apalachee to Chiaha, our research has been guided by several generalizations. One generalization, for which there is actually much evidence in the four narratives, is that De Soto constantly used Indian guides and that he virtually always followed Indian trails. This has been accepted by researchers for many years and needs no further elaboration. We have utilized known Indian trails, such as those reconstructed by William E. Myer (1928) and Marion Hemperly (n.d.), or else we reconstructed them ourselves using old maps as evidence.

Sixteenth century Spaniards in the New World used two leagues in measuring distances: the legua comun, which was 5.57 km or 3.45 miles, and the legua legal, which was 4.19 km or 2.63 miles (Chardon 1980). Our research on the Pardo expedition indicates that they generally measured or estimated distances in terms of the legua comun. On most days, the Pardo expedition covered five leagues, though on some days only four leagues, and on rare occasions they covered six or more leagues. When distances are specified by the De Soto chroniclers, they generally fall within this range (e.g., Garcilaso 1962:329), and hence we have felt justified in using the legua comun. Like the Pardo expedition, the De Soto expedition appears to have covered about 5 leagues per day, though on some occasions more, and this was particularly the case when they were traversing an area where they could not obtain sufficient food from the Indians.

It should be noted that the De Soto commission used the legua legal in their reconstruction. Perhaps it is for this

reason that the Commission generally covered shorter distances than we on particular segments of the expedition. Unlike the De Soto Commission, we have attempted to estimate the approximate location of the expedition at the end of each day of travel. When the documents do not specifically mention a day’s distance of travel, we have estimated travel at five leagues.

This brings us to another generalization. It is clear from the narratives that De Soto’s movements were governed by two substances—precious metals and food—both of which he expected to find at centers of dense Indian population. He was searching for a high civilization, such as the one he had encountered when he was with Pizzaro in the conquest of the Incas. Like all sixteenth-century explorers, De Soto’s men lived on food that they took from the Indians along the way.

Finally, our overall research into various sixteenth-century Spanish exploratory expeditions has given us valuable insight into some Spanish conceptions of New World geography. The wealth of Mexico and Peru had been found in mountainous country. Perhaps because of this, as well as for other reasons, it is clear that for sixteenth-century Spaniards the coastal plain of the Southeast was an area to be traversed as quickly as possible. This is very clear in the Bandera document, and this premise serves as one of the cornerstones of our reconstruction of the route of De Soto.

It is clear that Juan Pardo did not avoid the mountains, and neither did De Soto. De Soto had, after all, only a few years earlier participated in conquering people who lived in the Peruvian Andes, and after that adventure, no mountains in the southeastern United States could have deterred him. Indeed, it appears that De Soto purposefully entered the Appalachian mountains, probably to search for mineral wealth and high civilizations.

Although we are currently doing research on the entire De Soto route, we have limited our present discussion to a single segment of the route, from Apalachee to Chiaha. Our reconstruction of the early part of this segment resembles that of the De Soto Commission, but later it departs from it in important ways.

Regrettably, because we have not been able to pinpoint the precise location of Apalachee, we have to begin on less than firm ground. However, it can confidently be said that Apalachee was in the vicinity of present Tallahassee, Florida (Tesar 1979, 1980).

De Soto and his men wintered in Apalachee from early October, 1539 until early March, 1540. All through the winter the Apalachees kept attacking them (Ranjel 1922:80). And all through the winter De Soto kept interrogating the Indians they had captured about the location and nature of other Indian societies in the Southeast. While seeking this intelligence, they learned that they had in captivity two boys of 16 or 17 years of age who had been traveling about with Indian traders, and who claimed to possess more detailed knowledge than did others of trails into the interior (Garcilaso 1962:253). One of these boys, whom they named Marcos, was to guide them to Ocute and Cofaqui (Garcilaso 1962:280). The other, who was named Perico or Pedro, was from Yupaha, a province located to the east, which was governed by a woman to whom her subjects gave quantities of what he believed was gold (Elvas 1968:49-50). Yupaha appears to have been another name (perhaps in a Timucuan language) for Cofitachequi, or else it was the name of a group which was tributary to Cofitachequi. Yupaha may have been the Timucuan word Ybaha, which meant "Guale," or it could have meant "my home" (J.T. Milanich, personal communication, 1984). Like Marcos, Perico knew the trail from Apalachee into the interior, but in addition he also persuaded De Soto that he knew how to guide them to Cofitachequi. Later it became clear that Perico had probably never visited Cofitachequi (Elvas 1968:64), but he spoke a language that was intelligible to the Indians of Cofitachequi (Ranjel 1922:95), and he perhaps possessed knowledge of the Ayllon colony that had been founded on the coast of South Carolina or Georgia in 1526 (Biedma 1922:67[10-11]). Hence, it is probable that his home was somewhere on the coast of South Carolina or Georgia. In addition to his own native language, he was able to speak a Timucuan language understandable to Juan Ortiz, a Spaniard whom De Soto had rescued from captivity among the Indians, who translated everything into Spanish.

Perico appears to have possessed great powers of persuasion. When De Soto and his men showed him gold and silver jewelry and precious stones, he told them that all of this could be had in Cofitachequi. And, he added, great quantities of pearls could be had there (Garcilaso 1962:254). He also indicated to them that he knew how the gold was taken from the earth, melted, and refined (Elvas 1968:50).

When they departed Apalachee, the expedition carried enough corn to cross sixty leagues of "desert" (Elvas 1968:51). That is, De Soto did not expect to find much corn while they were crossing the coastal plain. On March 3, they departed Iwahica, the main town of Apalachee, and by nightfall Ranjel says they came to the river Guacua (Ranjel 1922:82). This must have been the Ochlockonee River. Evidently, the crossing of this river was uneventful. Next they came to a river that was deep, wide, and swift. Ranjel says they reached this river on the third day after having departed Apalachee (Ranjel 1922:82), Elvas says it took four days (1968:51), while Biedma (1922:9) says it took five days. It is probable that Ranjel was traveling in an advance party of mounted soldiers led by De Soto, while Elvas and Biedma traveled with the remainder of the expedition, which on several occasions in the expedition lagged a day or more in the rear.

It is not possible to trace this initial segment of the route with a high degree of confidence, but since no large late prehistoric sites are present on the well surveyed lower Ocmulgee River area (Snow 1977), or on the upper Satilla River (Blanton 1979), we can rule out their departing from Apalachee in a northeastwardly direction. Moreover, since both large and small late prehistoric sites are known for the eastern side of Chickasawhatchee Creek, it is likely that they set out almost due north from Apalachee (Fig. 1). They probably followed the Hawthorn Trail from present Cairo to Camilla, where they turned off to follow Barnard’s Path, which led from St. Augustine to the vicinity of present Newton, Georgia, where they probably crossed the River of Capachequi, i.e. the Flint. This river was so wide the best stone-thrower among them could not throw a stone across it, and it took them several days to devise a way to cross it. They built a barge in which to make a crossing and pulled it back and forth using a chain made by linking together the chains they used on their Indian slaves. Even so, the current was so strong that it broke the chain twice.
It took them until Wednesday, March 10, to get the entire party across the river. After crossing, they spent the night in a pine woods. The next day, March 11, they came to the first village of Capachequi, where they found plenty of supplies (Ranjel 1922:83). This village was probably located on the eastern side of Chickasawhatchee Creek. They continued on, probably following a trail up the eastern bank of Chickasawhatchee and Kiokee Creeks, traveling through terrain that was closely covered with bushes. They were possibly traveling through old fallow agricultural fields, or else through an area that had been repeatedly burned over. As they traveled, they saw several towns they did not enter because they were surrounded by large swamps (Biedma 1922:9). Some of these same swamps are clearly shown in the earliest survey (1819) of district #2 of original Early County. And in 1836 an important battle between a party of Creek Indians and Georgia militia took place in the swamp along Chickasawhatchee Creek. The Creeks had taken refuge on an island that was surrounded by mud and water from knee deep to waist deep (White 1854:262-264). Even though much draining has been done, these swamps are still very much in evidence in this area today.

After nightfall on March 11 they reached what was probably the main village of Capachequi. Its inhabitants had fled, abandoning the village. But in order to reach this village, they had to cross a bad swamp that had a swift current. The water came up to the girths and saddlespads of their horses (Ranjel 1922:83-84). This village was probably located at the mound site on Magnolia Plantation on Pine Island (9Du1), and they must have encountered the current in crossing Kiokee Creek. Garcilaso may in fact be describing the main town of Capachequi when he describes a village on a peninsula almost completely surrounded by a swamp, with deep mud, which came up to the middle of one's thighs. The Indians had constructed wooden footbridges that led from the town in several directions. The town was situated on a rise, from whence they could see other villages scattered about (Garcilaso 1962:263). It was here that five Spaniards strayed away from the main encampment, when the Indians attacked, killing one and wounding at least three others (Ranjel 1922:84; Elvas 1968:52).

Capachequi was but the first of a series of Lamar cultures De Soto would encounter as he traveled through the Piedmont and Ridge and Valley provinces. These Lamar cultures are defined primarily in terms of their ceramics, which are grit-tempered with complicated stamped decorations, thickened rims, and incising. They date to between about A.D. 1400 and A.D. 1600.

The location of this population center on Chickasawhatchee Creek explains why De Soto made the difficult crossing of the Flint River, when he could have simply proceeded north without crossing any major streams. That is, he undoubtedly made the crossing on the advice of his Indian guides, who knew that shelter [68] and supplies of food could be had there.

They departed from Capachequi on March 17 and came at nightfall to "White Spring," which had a large flow of water and contained fish (Ranjel 1922:84). This was probably one of the lime-sinks or "ponds" shown in the 1826 survey of original Lee County, which lay along Fowltown Creek, Kinchafoonee Creek, and Muckaloochee Creek, to the north of present Albany.

The next day, March 18, they came to the "River of Toa," which, because of its size, must have again been the Flint. Indian guides apparently named the rivers after nearby chiefdoms; therefore, it is possible that different segments of the Flint River had different names. This same nomenclatural convention probably accounts for the naming of the Catawba-Wateree-Santee River in South Carolina, which changes its name three times as it flows from the mountains to the sea. Another reason they may not have realized that the River of Toa was the same river they had crossed earlier is that this was probably the first time they had seen it again after having first crossed it ten days earlier.

The point at which they again came to the Flint River was somewhere in present Lee County. Ranjel is vague about what happened next, so that two scenarios are possible. They could have remained there at the river, spending March 19, 20 and 21 building two unsuccessful bridges out of pine poles before completing a third successful bridge with criss-crossed timbers. Then, on Monday, March 22, after all had successfully gotten to the other side, they would have on that same day had to travel a full five or six leagues to the north. Arguing against this is the fact that no nineteenth-century Indian trails crossed the Flint in Lee County (Hemperly 1982).

The other possibility, and perhaps the more likely one, is that after coming to the river they immediately proceeded up a trail paralleling the western side for two days before coming to the place where they were to cross, probably near the junction of Sumter, Macon and Dooly Counties, near the mouth of Hogcrawl Creek, where a nineteenth-century Indian trail crossed the river (Hemperly 1982). Then on Sunday, March 21, they built the three bridges. After all succeeded in crossing on Monday, they would have traveled only a short distance before camping in the open. Ranjel says that they were at this time not well organized, implying that after crossing the river they had not been reorganized for a march (Ranjel 1922:84-85). Then, the following day, on March 23, they again traveled only a short distance before arriving early in the morning at Toa, or Toall (Elvas 1968:32), or Otoa (Biedma 1922:10). Elvas makes it clear that in going from Capachequi to Toa they had passed through an uninhabited area of several days' duration (1968:52), and they were probably short on food.

Toa was a large village that was probably near present Montezuma, Georgia. Biedma (1922:10) says that Toa was larger than any they had seen up to this point, and this presumably includes Apalachee. Several mounds are said to have been located along the Flint River near Montezuma, but none are well known archaeologically. Perhaps Toa was located at the mounds some four miles south of Montezuma (Hays 1933:18).

At midnight on March 23, De Soto and a small force of about forty cavalry abruptly pushed ahead, rapidly traveling some eighteen hours straight for a distance of twelve leagues (Ranjel 1922:85). In this extraordinary maneuver, traveling more than twice the distance he ordinarily covered in a single day, De Soto evidently intended to surprise the Indians in the next chiefdom as well as to persuade his own men that he expected to find riches ahead. At the end of the day they encountered "a bad passage of water quite deep." And although it was dark when they arrived at it, they succeeded in crossing what was probably Big Indian Creek, near present Perry, Georgia. They probably followed an old trail that lay along present Georgia Highway 224 to
Buzzard's Roost, presently called Westlake (Marion Hemperly, personal communication). The next day, March 25, they came to the first settlement of Ichisi. It was on an island in the Ocmulgee River. In getting to the village, the branch of the river they crossed was very broad. They waded and swam across a good part of it. After taking some food from the village, they continued on, going northward up the west bank of the Ocmulgee River, parallelling a segment of the river that meanders through swampy country.

Many large and small Lamar sites are known to exist between the mouth of Big Indian Creek and Macon, and there are today a number of islands and cutoffs in this stretch of the river. But in this meander zone the course of the Ocmulgee River is today different than it was in 1540, so that the location of the island visited by De Soto and his men can be determined only if the course of the river can be geologically reconstructed. It is possible that this village was on an island in the Ocmulgee River near Westlake, where there is today a slough about a half a mile long, probably an old river channel (Hemperly 1982).

After raiding the village on the island for food, they traveled northward for a way, guided by Perico, past several more villages. They were probably following the old Hawkinsville Road (Hemperly 1982). In crossing one of the swamps along the way, some of the horses nearly drowned because they swam them across with their saddles on. The men crossed this swamp on a log that lay across the channel, but one, Benito Fernandez, fell off and drowned. This incident probably occurred on Echeconnee Creek at the Hawkinsville Road crossing, just past present Elberta (Marion Hemperly, personal communication).

They continued on, finally stopping at one of the villages. Here they were visited by some messengers [69] sent by the chief of the Ichisis (Ranjel 1922:86). De Soto and his men remained in this village for three days, resting and no doubt waiting for the rest of the expedition to catch up with them.

They resumed travel on March 29, still going up the west bank of the Ocmulgee, probably following what was later called Barnard's Trail and also the River Road. It rained very hard on this day, and while [70] crossing a small stream the water rose so rapidly it put them in danger. This stream was probably Tobsoskee Creek. Then they came to a small village with abundant food, where they spent the night and the next day.

On March 31, they crossed the "Great River" (the Ocmulgee) in canoes provided by the people of Ichisi, and they arrived at the main town of Ichisi on the same day (Ranjel 1922:88-89). Their crossing was in or near present Macon. The next day, April 1, they erected a cross on or near a mound in the village. It is clear from the narratives that Ichisi was a well organized and moderately large chiefdom. The people were able to provide food in abundance and many canoes. The main town clearly had at least one mound. We think it probable that Ichisi was at the Lamar site on the eastern side of the Ocmulgee River. Here they had reached what they had sought since leaving Apalachee: the Fall Line. The name Ichisi is quite similar to "O-cheese-hatche," the name that eighteenth-century Creek Indians applied to the Ocmulgee River (Hawkins 1848:83). At Ichisi, they first heard of Ocute, who was said to be the most powerful chief of that region.

Leaving Ichisi on April 2, the expedition probably followed a trail along the Fall Line to the northeast, probably the same as the well-known Lower Creek Trading Path of the eighteenth century (Myer 1928). They may have followed Hawkins' Road, which ran through southern Jones County, then through Coopers in Baldwin County, crossing the Oconee River just below the mouths of Reedy Creek and Buck Creek (Marion Hemperly, personal communication). Here our route begins to diverge from that of the De Soto Commission. Traveling two days, they came to a "considerable stream" where they found some deserted cabins. They had come to the Oconee River, about which Biedma says the following:

Here we found a river that had a course not southwestwardly, like the rest we had passed, but eastward to the sea, where the Licintiante, Lucas de Ayllón, had come; whence we gave still more credit to what the Indian [i.e. Perico] said, and we came to believe as true all the stories that he had told us (1922:9). This statement is somewhat puzzling in that the upper part of the Oconee River does not flow more noticeably eastward than does the Ocmulgee, which they had already crossed. It is possible that the Indians regarded the "River of Altamaha" (i.e. the Oconee) as having been continuous with the present Altamaha River, and they may have thus regarded the Ocmulgee as a tributary. If this was the case, then the "River of Altamaha" (the Oconee) was indeed the first river they encountered that flowed into the Atlantic Ocean.

After reaching the river, some messengers came from the chief of Altamaha, and later still more Indians came from Altamaha and furnished them with canoes for the crossing (Ranjel 1922:89). They then went to the town of Altamaha, which we believe was located at the Shinholser mound center, a few miles down the Oconee River from present Milledgeville, Georgia. This site is known to have a large Lamar component (Smith and Kowalewski 1980). The chief of Altamaha, whose name was Camuno, told the Spanish that he was subject to Ocute, and that he was at war with another chief named Cofitaacheu. Camuno stly said De Soto whether he was to pay tribute to him in the future, or whether he should continue to pay to Ocute, who was described as being a great chief. De Soto tactfully said that he could continue to pay tribute to Ocute, whom he considered to be like a brother (Ranjel 1922:89-90). Later De Soto set up a cross in this town of Altamaha.

De Soto sent for Chief Ocute, who came to Altamaha to meet with the Spaniards. Then, on April 8, De Soto and Ocute departed from Altamaha. By nightfall they had reached some "cabins," possibly near the mouth of Shoulderbone Creek, and the next day they arrived at the main village of Ocute (Garcilaso calls this province "Cofa," p. 271). We interpret this portion of the journal as a trip up the Oconee valley to the Shoulderbone mound site, which is known to have a Lamar component. Shoulderbone is a large site, with at least five mounds. The largest of these was 12 m high, and the diameter of its base was about 55 m. Three of the mounds lie within a 2 ha area surrounded by a ditch (Jones 1873:143-146). In a previous work, Smith and Kowalewski (1980) suggested that the Shoulderbone site was the capitol of a powerful province, with several other large mound sites, including Shinholser, subject to it. This interpretation was based on archaeological data alone, but it now appears to be substantiated by the historical...
Figure 1. Proposed route of the De Soto expedition.
documentation of the De Soto expedition. Indeed, at the time Smith and Kowalewski proposed their interpretation, they believed that De Soto had passed far to the south of this area. Biedma says that it was a thickly peopled province (1922:10). De Soto set up a cross in this town, just as he had in Ichisi and Altamaha, though at Ocute he set the cross up in the plaza instead of on a mound (Elvas 1966:54). This may be the town in which De Soto left a small cannon they had been carrying with them. It was heavy, and they could see they would probably never need to use it (Garcilaso 1962:273).

In Ocute, De Soto acquired both food and burden-bearers. From here he departed on March 12 and went to the town of Cofaqui (Elvas 1968:56; Ranjel 1922:91). The location of this town is uncertain, but it is likely that it was further up the Oconee River. Cofaqui was probably near the Dyar site, just west of present Greensboro (Smith and Kowalewski 1980; Smith 1981). This would have entailed 6 leagues of travel (20.7 miles, or 33.3 km), somewhat more than they usually covered. This would have taken them to the northwest, away from the northeastward trail they had followed from Ichisi to Altamaha, a trail that in the eighteenth century would be called the "Lower Creek Trading Path." But going north would have gained them an advantage. Here they picked up a trail that in the eighteenth century would be called the "Hightower Trail" ("Hightower" being an anglicization of Etowah), a trail to the Savannah River that avoided the water crossings that could make travel difficult on the Lower Creek Trading Path. While they were at Cofaqui an important chief named Patota came to visit them.12 Garcilaso says that Cofaqui was the elder brother (perhaps only in a manner of speaking) of Ocute (whom Garcilaso calls Cofa) and Patota was a war leader (Garcilaso 1962:273, 278). Because elder brothers were dominant over younger brothers among southeastern Indians, this contradicts Ranjel, who is probably to be trusted in saying that Ocute was the dominant chief (1922:90).

Neither Ranjel nor Elvas states when they departed from Cofaqui, but from what was later said about events occurring on April 21, when they reached the confluence of the Broad and Saluda Rivers, it is clear that they had traveled for nine days (Elvas 1968:59; Ranjel 1922:94). This means that they must have departed from Cofaqui on April 13. While at Cofaqui, the guide Perico "began to froth at the mouth, and threw himself on the ground as if he were possessed of the Devil" (Elvas 1968:58). He told De Soto that from Cofaqui it was only four days to Yupaha. The Indians of Cofaqui, however, said that they knew of no dwellings in that direction, and they knew of no trail, and if they went that way they would die from lack of food (Biedma 1922:119; Garcilaso 1962:276). They also told them that to the northwest lay the province of Coosa, a rich province with very large towns (Elvas 1968:58). The main town of the chiefdom of Coosa was on the Coosawatee River, just east of Carters, Georgia, but the influence of the chief of Coosa extended northward into Tennessee and southward into Alabama (Hudson et al., 1983). Their being told of the existence of Coosa at this point is consistent with our placing Cofaqui on the upper Oconee River, because at this point De Soto was the nearest to Coosa that he would come until he actually passed through it, three months later. More importantly, at the time they were told about Coosa, they were on or near the "Hightower Trail," which led directly to Itaba (Etowah) near Cartersville, Georgia, and from there to the main town of Coosa.13

But, trusting Perico, they set out directly eastward (Biedma 1922:11), following the Hightower Trail, which ran on or near Georgia Highway 12 most of the way. They were accompanied by Patofa and a force of his warriors, who went along to take revenge on their enemy, Cofitachequi (Garcilaso 1962:277). The further they traveled, the more the trail became indistinct. According to Ranjel, on April 15 Perico no longer knew where he was, and he began again to act as if he were possessed by the devil. On April 16 they came to a small stream, probably Butler Creek, where they spent the night. On April 17, on the fifth day after having left Cofaqui, they came to a very large river (un gran disimo rio), the Savannah. Ranjel describes the stream as being divided into two branches, wider than a long shot from an arquebus. There were flat stones in the water where the fords were located, but the water still came up to the stirrups and the saddlebags of their horses, and the current was so strong that some of the pigs they herded along as they traveled were swept away and lost. The foot soldiers crossed further upstream, where the river was deeper. In order to cross the swift river, they made a line of thirty or forty men tied together (Elvas 1968:59; Ranjel 1922:93).

In all probability, they crossed the Savannah River near the bluff upon which Fort Moore stood. A meander zone begins a few miles upstream, and several old channels of the river are apparent on late eighteenth century maps. From Ranjel's description, it is clear that they crossed the river where an island had been formed by a cutoff. In William Faden's map of the Augusta area in 1780, an old channel can be seen to have been located about two miles west of Fort Moore Bluff. When it was open, this channel would have formed an island about two miles long. Still further west was an old channel that in the late eighteenth century was called Alligator Pond. When this channel was open it would have formed an island about four or five miles long. Either of these islands could have given the Spaniards the impression that the river had two branches.

When Archibald Campbell visited Augusta in January of 1779, he described the channel (there was only one at this time) of the Savannah as being not less than 200 yards wide, 10 feet deep, and with a moderately fast current (Cashin and Robertson 1975:26-27). It is clear that at this depth neither mounted nor foot soldiers could have forded the Savannah. As Ranjel implies, De Soto and his men probably got to the other side by fording one channel, crossing the island, and then fording the other channel. Trails in the Southeast often crossed rivers where there were islands because here the water was both narrower and shallower than would otherwise have been the case.

At this point our proposed route already differs considerably from that of the U.S. De Soto Commission. The Commission report places Ichisi on the Flint River, and it places Altamaha, Ocute, and Patofa (or Cofaqui) all on the Ocmulgee. This was one reason why the Commission placed Cofitachequi on the Savannah River. As will presently be clear, evidence from the Pardo expeditions show[s] that Cofitachequi was far to the northeast.

They had expected to arrive at Cofitachequi, and food, after four days of travel, but clearly they had not. Had not Perico been the only Indian who could translate from his language into the Indian language spoken by Juan Ortiz, who translated everything into Spanish, De Soto would have thrown him to the dogs at this point (Elvas 1968:59). Now desperate, they began [72] traveling rapidly, covering seven or eight leagues per day according to Elvas (1968:59), and traveling rather wildly, turning from their crossing of the
Savannah River to the southeast instead of to the northeast, where they would have been able to travel without crossing any large streams. Their crossing at Fort Moore would have predisposed them to go in this direction, because it was from here that the trails went to the coast (Marion Hemperly, personal communication). Two days further they crossed another large river (otro rio muy grande), which can only have been the south fork of the Edisto. The trail they took lay on or near highways 278 and 781 to present White Pond. They probably crossed the South Fork of the Edisto just below the mouth of Pond Branch, at or near the site where Guignard’s bridge stood in the early nineteenth century. The next day they continued on, probably going northward and crossing the shallow North Fork of the Edisto River without comment. By nightfall they encamped by a small stream, probably on upper Black Creek or upper Twelve Mile Creek (Mills 1980).

The next day, April 21, by the end of the day, they again came to another very large river, divided into two streams, which were hard to cross (Ranjel 1922:94). They had come to the confluence of the Saluda and Broad Rivers which formed the Congaree River, near present Columbia, South Carolina. They appear to have crossed both the Saluda and the Broad, and therefore they probably crossed the latter several miles to the northwest of present Columbia. But, remarkably, there were no villages or towns here, only some fishermen’s or hunter’s shack. At this point Patofa and the Indian guides were completely lost. It was here that De Soto learned that even though Patofa was at war with Cofitachequi, none of his men had ever been to Cofitachequi. Rather, they fought their war when small groups happened to encounter each other while hunting or fishing (Garcilaso 1962:284).

Being completely lost, on April 23 De Soto sent a scout up along the Broad River to the northwest, and another down the Congaree River to the southeast. On April 24, he sent a scout to the north. It rained continually, and the rivers rose alarmingly. Those who remained behind were now altogether without food, so they had to kill and butcher some of their pigs. Then, on April 25, the scout he had sent to the southeast returned and reported that he had found a town. He brought with him several Indians to serve as guides and interpreters. They were able to speak a language understood by Perico (Biedma 1922:12; Ranjel 1922:94-95). According to Garcilaso, Patofa and some of his warriors killed some of the inhabitants of this town and robbed their temple (1962:292-293).

They called this town Hymahi or Aymay, and it was almost certainly the same as the Guio-mae of the Pardo expeditions, whose chief was called Emae orata (DePrater et al. 1983). It was located near the present town of Wateree between the Congaree and Wateree Rivers, and not far from their junction. Just as he had done at Toa, De Soto and a few horsemen rode twelve leagues and reached Hymahi or Aymay in a single day, with those on foot falling short by two, three, or four leagues, depending on how exhausted they were (Elvas 1968:61; Ranjel 1922:96). Elvas’s statement that Hymahi was twelve or thirteen leagues from where they crossed the river agrees with our measurements using the legua común. Mills’ (1980) Atlas shows two early nineteenth-century roads going from Columbia to the junction of the Congaree and the Wateree Rivers. Even if the precise location of Hymahi can be archaeologically discovered, the evidence is probably insufficient to allow a determination of which of these trails they followed.

It is striking that Hymahi was the first Indian town De Soto had encountered since leaving the Oconee River, a distance of over 130 miles (209 km) as the crow flies, and much of it is today prime real estate. They called this the “desert of Ocute” (Elvas), and there were no clear trails going through it. Recent archaeological research confirms that this area was uninhabited in the sixteenth century (Hally 1982). Here, clearly, is something that must be explained. We suggest that this “desert of Ocute” was a large buffer zone between two antagonistic chiefdoms.

After they emptied the storehouses at Hymahi, they would then travel upriver for two days before arriving at Cofitachequi, near present Camden, South Carolina. The Mouzon map of 1775 shows a trail leading from the confluence of the Congaree and Wateree Rivers to Camden, as does Mills’ (1980) Atlas. Cofitachequi was situated on the Wateree River, which Biedma believed was the River of Santa Elena, where Ayllón had had his colony (Biedma 1922:13). According to Garcilaso (1962:329), he got this information from some “mariners” who were members of the De Soto expedition, and who had possibly been members of the Ayllón colony. However, it may be doubtful that they correctly identified this river.

Departing Hymahi on April 30, De Soto again rode ahead with a small party toward Cofitachequi, the town he had been seeking since departing from Apalachee. De Soto and several other members of this party stopped short of Cofitachequi, encamping near a large river, but he sent others ahead to Cofitachequi to arrange for interpreters and canoes for crossing the river. Judging from Mills’ Atlas, the only place the road from the Congaree-Wateree junction to Camden comes close to the river is on upper Spears Creek, near the town of McCaskill. By our measurements, this was a distance of about seven and a half leagues. Those who went ahead had to travel another three leagues, arriving after dark at the place where the trail crossed the river (Garcilaso 1962:296-297; Ranjel 1922:98).

The next day, May 1, De Soto arrived at the crossing that lay opposite the town. If the trail they were following lay along the road shown in Mills’ Atlas, this means that the main town of Cofitachequi lay between present Camden and the Wateree River. A number of prehistoric sites and mound centers are located in this area (Ferguson 1974; Stuart 1970). It is clear that Cofitachequi had been a populous place in the past; two years before De Soto arrived disease had struck, causing great loss of life, so that several entire towns were abandoned, including the main town Talimeco. Talimeco was described as being on a bluff above a river (Garcilaso 1962:314), and this would seem to place it at the Mulberry or McDowell site. However, because so little is known about the nearby Adamson site, a definite location for Talimeco must await further archaeological research at both of these sites.

In Cofitachequi they were given food, including strips of dried venison, tanned skins, and a plentiful supply of very good salt. However, the food supply was none too plentiful in Cofitachequi because of the epidemic that had killed many people and prevented others from planting their crops (Garcilaso 1962:300, 325). After arriving at Cofitachequi, Baltasar de Gallegos took a large detachment of soldiers with him to a place called Ilapi, where there were seven cribs of corn belonging to the Chiefesses of Cofitachequi (Ranjel 1922:100). They arrived at Ilapi on May 7. Assuming that they departed on May 5, the day after all had crossed the river, this would mean that they traveled three days in getting to Ilapi, and this travel time implies that
Ilapi was probably the same as the Ylasi which Juan Pardo visited, and which was located in the vicinity of Cheraw, South Carolina. Like Gallegos, it took Pardo three days to get from this place to Cofitachequi (DePratter et al. 1983). Garcilaso (1962:325) says that this town was 12 leagues from Cofitachequi, but the actual distance is about 17 leagues, or three long days of travel.

From the Indians of Cofitachequi De Soto learned that a powerful chief, Chiaha, was located two days away, and he determined to go there. One compelling motive was that the food at Cofitachequi was quickly being depleted by the hungry men and horses (Biedma 1922:14-15). While the general movement of the expedition northward (Biedma 1922:15) from Cofitachequi is clear enough, too little information is given by the chroniclers to trace their route precisely. Ranjel says that they departed Cofitachequi on Wednesday, May 13, but because Wednesday fell on May 12, we have a choice between these two days (Ranjel 1922:102). Elvas says they departed on May 3, clearly an error (Elvas 1968:66). Perhaps this is a misprint of May 13, and if so, this suggests that they departed on May 13. When they departed, De Soto forced the Lady of Cofitachequi—-the niece of the Chiefainess——-to go along as a hostage.

De Soto’s first destination was Guaquili, which was almost certainly the same as the Guaquiri of the Pardo expedition, a town located in the vicinity of Hickory, N.C. Depending on whether De Soto departed from Cofitachequi on May 12 or 13, he reached Guaquili after five or six days of travel. From Camden to Hickory the trail distance was about 120 miles (193 km), or 34.8 leagues. This means that on this leg of their journey the party traveled 6.9 or 5.8 leagues per day. And the implication of this is that De Soto was either going ahead with a small mounted force, as he had before, or else the entire force was traveling at a faster than usual pace.

When the Pardo expedition went from Cofitachequi to Joara (i.e. De Soto’s Xuala), many towns were mentioned in between. It is clear enough that De Soto and his men went through several towns (Elvas 1968:66), but they mention only one by name, Guaquili, the last town before they reached Xuala (Ranjel 1922:103). But Ranjel does say that they came to the territory (población) of “Chalaque” two days after departing Cofitachequi, presumably arriving on May 15, i.e., after three days on the road. This “Chalaque” may be the Muskogean word cilo-kkiita, meaning “people of a different language.” From their time on the trail, this would have put them somewhere west of Charlotte, North Carolina. In Pardo’s day, this was where the town of Otari was located, and there is evidence that a linguistic boundary between Muskogean-speakers and Siouan-speakers lay in this general area.

In traveling through Chalaque, De Soto encountered so few people, it is possible that he was traveling up the west side of the Catawba River. Such was the case when Juan Pardo made his first entrada following a trail on the western side of the river. De Soto could have forded the river where Pardo is thought to have made his crossing. This was probably at McDonald’s Ford, a short distance above the mouth of Fishing Creek (Mills 1980, Chester District). However, none of the De Soto chroniclers mentions a river crossing, so it is also possible that they proceeded up the eastern side of the Catawba-Wateree River.

De Soto sought in vain to find the main town of Chalaque. Not finding such a town, they encamped in a pine woods, and some Indians came to visit them, bringing food and gifts. But all of the chroniclers agree that this was a very poor area for corn. And the reasons were probably two-fold: they were in Chalaque in May, when little of the past year’s corn crop would have remained, and the epidemic of the previous year would have reduced the past year’s yield. They were struck by the fact that hardly any young people were to be seen in Chalaque, and many of the old people were blind.

According to Ranjel, while encamped in the territory of Chalaque, on May 16 De Soto sent a letter by some [74] Indians to Gallegos, who was at Ilapi, telling him to come on behind him (Ranjel 1922:102-103). If Ranjel is correct about when and where this letter was sent, then seemingly it poses a problem of interpretation. If our location of Ilapi is correct, it lay over 65 miles (105 km) to the east of where De Soto was encamped. Even with swift and long-winded runners, it would have taken them a day, perhaps two, for this letter to have reached Gallegos. If he began marching when he received this letter, he would have departed from Ilapi no sooner than May 17 or 18. Yet Gallegos reached Xuala only a day after De Soto did—-clearly an impossibility.

Fortunately, here is one instance in which Garcilaso can come to our aid. According to Garcilaso, when Gallegos departed Cofitachequi to go to Ilapi, De Soto gave him an order to pick up some corn there and then to proceed on and join him on the trail while he, De Soto, was going north to Chalaque. Hence, the messengers dispatched by De Soto either encountered Gallegos and his party on the move a day or two away from De Soto’s camp in Chalaque, or else the messengers missed them entirely. In any case, Garcilaso makes it plain that the Gallegos contingent reached the trail after five days of travel (about right for our locations), and when they did they saw that De Soto had preceded them. And upon seeing this, they came near to mutiny because they were afraid they might be walking into another uninhabited region like the “desert of Ocute” (Garcilaso 1962:326). They continued on to Xuala, where they arrived a day or two later than De Soto did (Garcilaso 1962:328).

After De Soto and his contingent departed from his camp in Chalaque on May 17, they traveled a day and again had to camp out in the open (“a un monte”). If our reckoning is correct, they would have been somewhere near present Lincolnton, North Carolina. The next day they reached Guaquili, where the Indians gave them corn, roasted fowl (turkeys), and a few little dogs, which they ate (Ranjel 1922:103).

They departed from Guaquili on Wednesday, May 19, and came to a region full of reeds (a un carrizal). At this point they were following a trail that ran along the upper Catawba River. On May 20 they came to a little plain, and again slept in the open. On Friday, May 21, they arrived at Xuala, a village in a plain among several rivers, almost certainly the same as Pardo’s Joara. We have located it slightly to the north of Marion, North Carolina (DePratter et al. 1983:142; Keeler 1971). According to Ranjel, they saw more evidence here that there might be gold in the vicinity of Xuala than in any place they had visited up to this point (Ranjel 1922:104). The reason for this probably is that Xuala was situated on the trade route to the Chiscas, who traded in copper, and who lived on the other side of the Blue Ridge Mountains, on the upper Nolichucky River (DePratter et al. 1983:134).
On May 25 they departed from Xuala and climbed "over a very high range," going through Swannanoa Gap and probably reaching the vicinity of present Ridgecrest, North Carolina (Ranjel 1922:104). The next day they continued on, reaching a little plain where they waded in the headwaters of the French Broad River, near present Asheville, North Carolina. Presumably they learned from the Indians that the water of this river eventually flowed into the Mississippi River (el río del Espíritu Santo). Here, although it was already late May, the weather turned very cold. And it was here that the Lady of Costachequi escaped and presumably made her way back to her people.

The chroniclers of the Juan Pardo expedition indicate that in 1567 there was in the vicinity of Asheville a small town named Tocae (DePrattet al. 1983:143). If this town existed in De Soto's day, no mention is made of it by any of the chroniclers. The next day they traveled along a large stream (arroyo) which they crossed and re-crossed many times, i.e. the French Broad River. The following day, on May 29, they arrived in Guasili, which was probably located near present Marshall, North Carolina (Elvas spells it "Guaxule"). In Pardo's time, this town was called "Cauchi." Why the change in name, we are unable to explain. According to Elvas, little corn was to be had here, but they did eat several hundred of the Indian's dogs, which the Indians themselves did not eat (Elvas 1968:68). Garcilaso says there were three hundred dwellings in Guasili (probably an exaggeration), and that the chief's house was on a mound (Garcilaso 1962:335-336).

On May 31, they departed Guasili, still following along the French Broad River. The next day they passed near the town of Canasoga, but it must have been small because they slept in the open (Ranjel 1922:106). Twenty men came out from Canasoga carrying baskets of mulberries, evidently the only food they possessed (Elvas 1968:69). This town was possibly located in the vicinity of present Hot Springs, North Carolina, where there is a stretch of arable soil. Pardo does not mention a town at this location, but when he was in Cauchi (i.e., Guasili), he was visited by a chief from "Canosa aqui" (Bander manuscript). The next day De Soto continued on, spending the night near a swamp or bog (cienega), probably near present Del Rio, Tennessee, where the valley through which the French Broad flows widens rather abruptly, with an expanse of bottomland, and beyond which it again abruptly narrows.

On Thursday, June 3, they followed a "large stream near the river which they had crossed in the plain where the woman chief went off. It was now very large." When we first began research on this part of the expedition, this was a most troublesome sentence. In time we came to understand that it means this: On this day they left the French Broad River and crossed over a narrow neck of land to the lower Pigeon River, which they forded and then followed a few miles to its confluence with the French Broad. It is probable that in doing this they were following a trail that lay near the [75] present day route of the Southern Railway tracks, and also U.S. Highway 25, which runs parallel to it. That is, they were no doubt following a well-established trail.

The next day, June 4, they came to a pine woods near the French Broad River. Here they were visited by Indians from Chiaha, who brought corn for them to eat. On the morning of the next day, they reached Chiaha, which was situated on an island in the French Broad River (Ranjel 1922:106-107). From our research on the Pardo expeditions, we were able to identify this as Zimmerman's Island, near present Dandridge, Tennessee (DePrattet al. 1983:145-146). Ranjel notes that all the way from Xuala they had traveled through mountains, and the horses were tired and thin, and the members of the expedition were likewise worn out.

In Chiaha, they found abundant food, and they experienced little resistance from the Indians. They remained here from June 5 until June 28, when they set out again, traveling to the southwest through the Ridge and Valley province, heading toward the main town of the province of Coosa, which they had heard about two months earlier, when they were at Cofaqui, in north Georgia (Ranjel 1922:108).

We have several reasons for believing that our reconstruction of De Soto's route of exploration from Apalachee to Chiaha is more accurate than that of the U.S. De Soto Commission. The most important reason is that we have confirmation from the documentation of the Juan Pardo expedition for the location of several of the interior towns visited by De Soto. In addition, our reconstruction accords with the distribution of known archaeological sites better than the Commission's route. In particular, our location of the "desert of Ocute" falls in an area that is known to have been uninhabited in the late prehistoric period, and it is difficult or impossible to find any other area in the upper South where such a large uninhabited area could have been. Also, our reconstruction accords with the topography better than the Commission's route. Where we need swamps there are swamps, and where we need rivers there are rivers, and of the right size. Finally, we have at least two interesting and unanticipated coincidences of place names: Ichisi near O-cheese-hatchee Creek, and Altamaha on one of the two rivers which join to form the Altamaha River.

The members of the De Soto expedition were the first Europeans to explore the interior of the Southeast and to encounter the Indians who lived there. As such, the expedition was a major episode in that fateful collision of Europeans and Indians that shaped the early history of the New World. Thus, the particulars of the De Soto expedition are important for their own sake. But quite beyond these particulars, an accurate reconstruction of the route will enable us to advance greatly our understanding of the aboriginal people of the Southeast. It will provide archaeologists with more chronological precision than they now possess, and this will allow them to do more precise descriptive and comparative work. It will, for example, make it possible to establish the contemporaneity of late prehistoric archaeological assemblages near Chickasawhatchee Creek, Montezuma, Macon, the upper Oconee River, and Camden. Moreover, by combining the information in the De Soto documents with archaeological information, we can gain at least some insight into the internal structure of the Southeastern chiefdoms, as well as some understanding of the kinds of relationships which existed between chiefdoms (see Hudson et al. 1983).

To those who say that we can never be certain about our reconstructed route, we have to agree. But at the same time, one can be more confident about a reconstruction that is consistent with all the available information than about one that is not. Moreover, on the basis of our reconstruction, it is possible to do archaeological research that can provide us with additional confirmation. We have identified several specific sites between Apalachee and Chiaha that were visited by the De Soto expedition. If, upon archaeological investigation, some or all of these sites yield sixteenth-
century European artifacts, then our reconstruction gains confirmation. Moreover, any sites that were visited by De Soto deserve to be excavated extensively, because doing so will enable us to expand our understanding of the aboriginal societies of the sixteenth-century Southeast. Some parts of this archaeological research can be done by simple surveys; other parts will take many years, even decades to complete.

It is our hope that an accurate reconstruction of the De Soto route will enable us to draw a social map of the sixteenth-century Southeast. We would like to be able to locate specific, named societies and towns on specific rivers and creeks. Such a map could be used as a base line from which to move both backwards and forwards in time. That is, it may become possible for scholars to reconstruct the prehistoric antecedents of the societies that De Soto visited, as well as to reconstruct the ways in which these societies were transformed into the far different societies that existed in the eighteenth century (DePratter 1983; Smith 1984). This would put the social history of the Southeast on a new footing.

Notes

1On the trail they followed to Ichisi (at the fall line), as measured on a map it is about 58 leagues, or about 200 miles.

2As shown on a manuscript of early Georgia trails and roads compiled by Marion Hemperly. Barnard's Trail to St. Augustine is shown on Eleazer Early's Map of 1818.

3Biedma calls this Acapachiqui (p. 9).

4Manuscript map in the Georgia Surveyor-General's Office.

5Marion Hemperly contends that Capachequi was the same as the Indian town of Chofigecia, which, in 1827, was located between Bay Branch and Chokee Creek in land lots 262 and 269, Dist. 14, Lee County.

6Manuscript map in the Georgia Surveyor-General's Office.

7Elvas spells this "Toalli" (p. 52). The Eleazer Early Map shows a Thlonoto Creek (now Hogcraw Creek) in this area, just north of the site where Fort Early stood.

8Perhaps because they built two unsuccessful bridges, Biedma incorrectly remembered that they crossed two rivers before arriving at Otoa (p. 10).

9Biedma, who evidently traveled with those who were left behind, says this segment of the journey lasted about two days (p. 10).

10This may be evidence that Perico was from the Georgia or South Carolina coast.

11Biedma calls it Altapaha, and confirms that it was three day's travel from Ichisi (p. 10).

12Elvas says that they passed through the town of Cofaqui before coming to the town of Patofa (1968:56). Ranjel spells this "Tatofa."

13Had they chosen to go to Coosa instead of going on to Cofitachequi, they would have traveled about 148 (238 km). With no stopovers, they could have made it in nine days.

14This is confirmed by Biedma (p. 12), who erroneously says that it took them 13 days to reach these huts. He may have been thinking of the travel time from Cofaqui to Hymahi, a distance of fourteen days.

15"...fueron a par de un arroyo grande cerca del rio que hablan pasado en la sabana (donde se fue la cacica), qui iba ya grande."

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Three Sixteenth Century Spanish Chronicles Relating To Georgia

Edited and Translated by Herbert E. Ketcham

The expeditions started from Santa Elena (Parris Island, S.C.) in 1565 and 1566. Led by Captain Juan Pardo, they were ordered by Governor Menéndez de Avilés for the purposes of exploring and conquering the interior, converting the Indians, and establishing a land route to New Spain (Mexico).

These translations had their genesis in a fortunate bit of browsing, about 1945, in the Spanish Collection of the North Carolina State Archives in Raleigh. One large bundle of photostats showing a carefully written manuscript hand bore this typed notation: "Observe that this is your Banderas Document. It is equal in importance to the Luna Papers about to be published. W" Other studies prevented further investigation at that time. In 1950, when the matter could be taken up again, Dr. C.C. Crittenden[,] Director of the North Carolina Archives, was still interested in having the writer attempt an annotated edition of the extensive Banderas Document. Meanwhile, two editions of the Luna Papers had been published by Herbert Ingraham Priestly.[67] A sentence in his first preface gave a clue to the cryptic note of "W." It turned out to have been written by Miss Irene Wright, who collected most of the material in Spain for the Luna Papers and for Dean W.W. Pierson's collection deposited in the North Carolina Archives. Preliminary studies in Woodbury Lowery's and Herbert Bolton's works and in their Spanish sources, especially Ruidiaz and the Coleccion of Buckingham Smith, brought to light what appears to be three shorter first-hand accounts of the same expedition. They seemed of sufficient interest to deserve publication as soon as an annotated English version could be prepared. They may be considered as forming a first part of the much longer project of editing the Banderas Document. Though already under way, it may still take a considerable length of time to decipher the more than nine hundred close-written manuscript pages. It is hoped that this present work will be part of the sequel to the story of De Soto, now available according to the account of the Inca in a scholarly English version,[4] and to the Luna Papers. Another aim is to make available primary source materials to historians and archeologists who do not care to decipher Spanish of the older period.

It might be worth noting that the chronicles here presented are quite similar, in the way of vocabulary and syntax to the Quijote probably begun by Cervantes at about the same time. Some of the everlasting unpunctuated Ciceronian sentences are here broken up for the sake of clarity in English, though they are quite clear in the original. An attempt is made to render each account into a corresponding twentieth-century English style as close as possible to the original. If they ever sound like [68] the all-too-familiar "translationese" or a would-be archaic grand manner, may they be consigned to the fire with some of the noxious books of Don Quijote.[5]

The first account published was found in the Coleccion of Buckingham Smith. It is by Joan [Juan] de la Vandra, who is the same as Miss Wright's Banderia mentioned above, when one realizes that B and V are generally not differentiated in Spanish. His version gives abundant description, with some distances and compass directions which may be illuminating. It is literary, even poetic, at times. This same account was published later by Ruidiaz, who apparently collated several manuscripts to establish his reading. No variants, however, are given, as modern scholars would wish. Spellings are somewhat modernized. He also adds two supporting accounts: that of a soldier named Marínez, or rather his account as set down by a royal notary, and that of Captain Pardo himself. Marínez supplies some interesting details. Pardo, variously called "Captain of Spanish Infantry" and the "valiant Captain from Asturias," appears to have been a bluff and occasionally tough-minded soldier. His story is severely factual, and will remind some readers of Caesar, others of the battle accounts of Xenophon. He admits that he forgets names and he may well oversimplify the diplomatic and religious results of his mission. The three writers all transcribe Indian names as best they can. The readings of Ruidiaz are followed in general here, since they appear better in most cases. Significant variants in Vandera's story are noted. The translator's notes are chiefly linguistic, although such historical data as were found on investigation, particularly in Spanish sources, are included. It is hoped that the information here set down will enable historians and archeologists to gain some idea of the routes described, even in advance of the publication of the complete Banderas Document. They will probably see many interesting correlations that have escaped the translator in his pleasant labors. [Printers did not have unaccented letters.]

1 Report of the entry and conquest made by order of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés 1565 into the interior of Florida by Captain Juan Pardo, written by himself.

[69] I left the port of Sanlúcar in the year 65 and the third of Sancho de Archimiega[6] with eighteen capital ships, the day before Easter, and in them I took my company of two hundred and fifty soldiers, and we arrived within three months at Saint Augustine, the day before Saint Peter's Day[7] because one lost its way, but later appeared, and, as I have said, we disembarked all the infantry at St. Augustine. We did not find Governor Pedro Menéndez at that place, but the Camp Master from San Mateo[8] arrived with the captains and General Sancho de Archimiega. They said that San Mateo should be provided with a garrison, and it was so provided: the Colonel's company was sent there. And he likewise said that another company should be sent to Santa Elena,[9] and so they sent me with two naos,[10] the flagship and the Zebeita. When we had been there a few days, Governor Pedro Menéndez de Avilés arrived and took a muster of my company. He found it had two hundred and forty-eight soldiers.[11] This done, he ordered me to set out on Saint Andrew's Day[12] next to explore the interior, as a first comer, to make the Indians understand the error of their ways, and to see that they became subject to His Holiness and His Majesty.[13] And so, when Saint Andrew's Day came, I set out with a hundred and twenty-five soldiers. I do not mention in this report the first forty leagues[14] because it is swampy land, has few Indians, and part of them came to Santa Elena and they had already heard of His Majesty and His Holiness, and so by my journeys[15] where there is a large river. I had the Indians called, since the chiefs were [70] there, and I spoke to them about God and His Majesty, as it commanded to me, and they answered
that they were ready to obey His Holiness and His Majesty, and from there I headed for Canos [Cofitachequi].

The first day I halted in open country since there was no village. The next day I arrived at the said Canos, where I found a great number of chiefs and Indians, and I made them the usual talk about God and His Majesty, and they remained very content in the service of God and His Majesty. There is a large river and the land is very good. From there, I left for Tagaya, where I brought together the Indians and chiefs, and I made them the appropriate talk, and in the same manner they remained under the dominion of His Holiness and His Majesty.

The next day, I went to Tagaya the Lesser and had all the Indians and the chief brought together and I made them the appropriate speech, and they remained under the dominion of His Holiness and His Majesty. From there I went to Ysa, who is a great chief; there I found many chiefs and a great quantity of Indians and made them the customary speech, and they remained under the dominion of His Holiness and His Majesty. From there I left the next day and went to an outlying district of the said Ysa, and brought together the Indians and made them the appropriate speech and they remained under the dominion of His Holiness and His Majesty. All this is very good land and has a large river. The next day, I left and slept in the open, as there was no village. The next day, I left and went to Juada where I found a large number of Indians and chiefs, and made them the customary talk, and all remained under the dominion of His Holiness and His Majesty. Here I spent two weeks because they asked for Christians to teach them and I made a fort where my Sergeant, Boyano, remained, and certain soldiers with their provisions of powder and gun-match and ball, and corn to eat. When the two weeks had passed I left in a northerly direction and spent the night in the country as there was no village, near a large river which passes through Juada; all this land is very good. The next day, I followed the road down river and spent the day in an unpopulated section in very good land. The next day, I left and went to Quinahaqui, and brought together the chiefs and the Indians, who are numerous, and I made them the customary speech, and they remained under the dominion of His Holiness and His Majesty. Here I spent four days. The country has very fine meadows and the large river passes through it. At the end of this time, I left and went to another chief whose name I do not remember and brought them together. . . etc. etc. Here I spent two days. It is a very good land and the large river passes through it. The next day, I left and passed through an unpopulated section without any villages, and the next, I arrived at Guatari where I found more than thirty chiefs and a great number of Indians, where I made the usual speech. . . etc. etc. Here I spent about fifteen or sixteen days. When the chiefs asked me to leave some one to teach them, I left the clerk of my company and four soldiers. At this time, there came to me a letter from Estévan de las Alas to the effect that I should return to Santa Elena in order to do His Majesty's service, as there was news of Frenchmen. At this news, I made the speech at the said Juada and to its Indians as usual, and they answered that they were ready to fulfill their promises, as they were the first time, under the dominion of His Holiness and His Majesty. And so I left at once and went through the wilderness for four days until I reached Tocalques, a very good village that has wooden houses, and there were a great number of Indians and chiefs and I made them a talk about His Holiness and His Majesty, and they answered that they wanted to be Christians and have His Majesty as their lord. The next day, I left, and slept in the open. The next day, I left and arrived at Canche [Cauchi] where the land is very good. It has a great river and very large meadows, and there I found a large number of Indians and chiefs, and I made them the usual talk about His Holiness and His Majesty, and they answered that they wanted to be Christians and have His Majesty as their lord. Here I spent four days, because I understood that the Indians which had been considered enemies were already friends, understanding my attitude. The next day, and the following one, I went through the wilderness. The next, I
reached Tanasqui, where there is a large river and the town is surrounded on one side by a wall with its watch towers and traverses. There I had all the Indians and chiefs assembled, and made the usual talk, and they answered that they were ready to do what His Holiness and His Majesty ordered. This land is very good and I believe that there are metals of gold and silver. The next day, I left, and arrived at Chibaque, otherwise known as Lameco, where I found Sergeant Boyano and the soldiers. There they told me how the Indians had kept them cut off, and so I caused to be assembled all the Indians and chiefs and made them the talk about His Holiness and His Majesty and they remained under the dominion of His Holiness and His Majesty like the rest. Here I remained ten or twelve days so that the men could rest, and here I learned through friendly Indians that there were waiting for me, in a pass, six or seven thousand Indians, where were Carrosa and Chisca and Costehycoza. Nevertheless, I determined to continue on my way, and set out toward the Zacatecas and mines of St. Martin. I traveled three days along wilderness ways, and at the end of that time, reached a village whose name I do not remember and assembled the chiefs and Indians and made them the customary talk, and they answered that they were ready to do what His Holiness and His Majesty commanded, and that they wanted to be Christians. This land is very good, and I think it has metals of gold and silver.

The next day, I left and went to Satapo, where I found a large number of Indians, and there I was not well received, as I had been previously, because the chief refused. When I called them together to tell them what they should do for God and His Majesty, few arrived, though there were many, and they did not answer a thing without laughing first, and there were many who understood us. As a result, that night the interpreters came to tell me that they would not go with me because they knew that there were a large number of Indians waiting to decapitate me and my men. And then there came to me an Indian from that very village and he told me how the Indians of Chisca and Carrosa and the rest. Here I remained ten or twelve days so that the men could rest, and here I learned through friendly Indians that there were waiting for me, in a pass, six or seven thousand Indians, where were Carrosa and Chisca and Costehycoza. Nevertheless, I determined to continue on my way, and set out toward the Zacatecas and mines of St. Martin. I traveled three days along wilderness ways, and at the end of that time, reached a village whose name I do not remember and assembled the chiefs and Indians and made them the customary talk, and they answered that they were ready to do what His Holiness and His Majesty commanded, and that they wanted to be Christians. This land is very good, and I think it has metals of gold and silver.

Juan Pardo

[Flo urish]31

II

The story of the voyage and reconnaissance into the interior of Florida in 1566 by Captain Juan Pardo, by order of Governor [75] Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, written by the soldier Francisco Martínez. 32

This is an account well and faithfully drawn from a simple account that was drawn from a book and Memorandum of the conquest and land of the provinces of Florida, which the illustrious Sr. García Osorio, Governor and Captain General of this island for His Majesty gave to the scribe written below, which was drawn from a book and Memorandum submitted to His Excellency by Francisco Martínez, a soldier of the conquest of the said Florida, which treats of the entry into the said land and its conquest and new discovery. Its content is as follows:

"From the city of Santa Elena Captain Juan Pardo started on the first day of November in the year 1566, to penetrate into the interior to make it known and conquer it from here to Mexico, and so he reached a chief named Juada, where he made a fort and left his sergeant with thirty soldiers, because there was so much snow in the mountains that he could go no farther, and the said Captain returned with the rest of the force to this Point of Santa Elena where now is the land that has been seen so far. It is good in itself for bread and wine and all kinds of cattle raising because it is flat country with many rivers of fresh water and many groves where there are nuts and blackberries and medlars and liquidambars and many other kinds of groves; it is also a land of much hunting, not only deer but hare and rabbit and birds and bear and lions.

After thirty days when he had reached this point from Santa Elena, there came a letter to the Captain from his Sergeant. In it he told of warlike operations with a chief named Chisca, who is an enemy of the Spanish. They had killed more than a thousand Indians, and burned fifty huts, and he had done this with fifteen soldiers, and there were only two of them wounded, and that not seriously. In the same letter, he said that if Estévan de las Alas and the Captain ordered him to do so, he would push forward and see what happened. The Captain answered that he should leave ten soldiers in the fort of Juada and a squad leader
Therefore, leaving the fort of St. John with twenty soldiers, he journeyed four days by mountain trails and one morning reached the enemy, and found them so well fortified that he was astonished, for they were surrounded by a very high wooden wall with a small door and its traverses. When the Sergeant saw that he could only get in by the door, he made a movable shield, by means of which they entered at great peril, for they wounded the Sergeant in the mouth and nine other soldiers in various places, but none dangerously. Finally, gaining control of the fort, they drove the Indians into the inner underground huts from which they made sorties to skirmish with the Spanish. After killing a great number of them, the latter won the entrances to the huts and set fire to them and burned all the Indians, leaving a total of 1500 killed and burned. There the Captain’s letter reached the Sergeant, ordering him to do what I have told above: to leave ten soldiers in the fort of St. John and set out with the rest to discover what he could. Taking the road to the village of a great chief named Chiaha whose land is on that spur of the mountain, he reached him after four days’ travel. He found him well surrounded by a wall and its very strong detached square towers. This town is midway between two very large rivers, and there were more than three thousand warriors in it, for there were no others; neither women nor children. There they were very well received and well fed.

The next day, they turned back toward the land of the chief already mentioned and traveled for twelve days, still in the lands of this chief, who gave them all they needed, and Indians to carry their burdens. They arrived at the village of the principal chief, who received them very well, and gave them Indians so that they could make a fort at that place and await the Captain, because this chief said that he wanted to be a friend of the Captain and do what he ordered. Thus [77] the Sergeant mentioned above built the fort where he awaited the Captain who was to leave from this fort in mid-August. To this outpost of Santa Elena there have come many chiefs and Indians of the back-country, each bringing the best he had, which was antelope36 and blankets37 and meat. A great number of Indians came out four and six leagues to meet the Captain, and carried him in a chair38 until he reached the town. There they brought him all the clothing needed for his company; also corn and venison and poultry and fish, and the Indian who did not reach the Captain’s chair considered himself slighted. Some came dancing; others dancing and painted in many colors. The land is very good: that in which we were as well as that farther on, because we provided wheat to sow and barley, and it grows as well as in Spain. It is the same with other crops of radishes, turnips, squashes large enough to hold three or four gallons;39 and any crop does very well.

The fort that the Captain made in Juada is distant from the Point of Santa Elena one hundred and twenty leagues, and from there to the Sergeant’s outpost one hundred and forty; so that all that is conquered is two hundred and sixty leagues.40 And all that is written here was seen by the witnesses whose signatures are appended, and it is the truth.

Done in Santa Elena the eleventh day of the month of July in the year 1567. - - Alonso Garcia. - - Pedro de Hermossa. - - Pedro de Guitierrez Pacheco. - - Pedro de Olivares."

That which has been set down, I the scribe mentioned below had taken out, corrected, and checked the said simple account, by order of the above mentioned Governor, to whom I gave it and handed it over in the city of Habana of this island of Cuba the sixth day of the month of October in the year 1567, which I gave him signed with my name and seal witnessed by Aloso de Reyna and Vernaldino de Mata.

And finally, I affixed my Seal [Sealed].

In testimony of the truth,
Bartolomè De Morales
Scribe of his Majesty, Public and Registers

[Flourish]41

III

Account written by Joan de la Vandra of the villages and what kind of land is each one through which Captain Juan Pardo passed in the provinces of Florida; he set out at the order of Pedro Mendénez de Aviles to discover a road to New Spain, from the point of Santa Elena of the said provinces, in the years 1566 and 1567. All is as follows.42

First he left Santa Elena with his company in accordance with the said purpose, and the day he left, he went to sleep at a village43 called Uscamacu; here is an island surrounded by rivers, a sandy place of very good clay for cooking pots and tiles and other things that might be necessary. There are in this land many good plots of land for corn and many grape stocks.

From Uscamacu he went straight to another village called Ahoya, where he made an auto44 and slept. This Ahoya is an island, with a few corners surrounded by rivers and the rest like the mainland, and a land suitable for corn and also many grape stocks and many shoots.

From Ahoya, he went straight to another village called Ahoyabe, a small village subject to Ahoya, and the same kind of land as Ahoya.

From Ahoyabe, he went straight to another village called Cozao, which is the name of a rather important chief who has a great deal of land. It is good like the ones mentioned, and has many plots of stony land where can be cultivated corn, wheat, barley, vineyards, and all kinds of fruit and orchards, because there are rivers and sweet water brooks and land good for everything.

From Cozao, he went straight to another small village which is a tributary of the same Cozao; the land of this village is good, but small.

From this village, he went straight to another which is called El Enfrenador;45 the land is poor although many corners are good like the ones mentioned.

[79] From El Enfrenador, he went straight to another village called Guiomaez, from whence to the Point of Santa Elena it is forty leagues. The road that he followed was
somewhat difficult, but land that can be cultivated the same as in Cozao and even better. There are some large and shallow swamps, but this is caused by the flatness of the land.

From Guiomaez, he went straight to Canos, which the Indians call Canosi, and by another name Cofetazque. There are at the end of this land three or four rivers, and one of them has a very large volume of water, and even two of them. There are some small swamps that any one, even a boy, can cross on foot. There are in this section deep valleys, with much stone and boulders and low ones. The earth is red and very good; much better in fact than all the preceding.

Canos is a land through which passes one of the great rivers, near it, and other streams. It has very large and good meadows, and here and from here on is harvested much corn and there are many large and good grapes; also bad ones, large and small, and of many other kinds; finally, it is a land in which a major settlement can be situated. It is fifty leagues to Santa Elena, and to the sea about twenty leagues; you can go to it by the said river, following the land, and much farther by the same river. You can do the same by the other river which passes through Guiomaez.

From Canos, he went straight to another village called Tagaya, a very important land without swamps; flat, with few groves, good soil that is black and red, well watered, with springs and brooks.

From Tagaya, he went straight to another village Gueza, a land neither more nor less than the above, abounding in good things.

From Gueza, he went straight to another village called Aracuchi; also very good land.

From Aracuchi, he went straight to another village called Otariatiqui, which is the name of the chief and language of much of the land from there on, a land very abundant in good things. From this Otari [sic] to another place named Guatary, it is about fifteen or sixteen leagues, on the right hand, less to the north than this other. In this one there have been and are two women chiefs who are ladies, and no less, in comparison with the other chiefs, for in their retinue they are served by pages and ladies. It is a rich land; there are in all the villages very good houses and earthen huts; round and very large and very good. It is a land of mountains and good arable land. We saw this village and halted twenty days nearby. Near this village passes a very great river which empties at Saupa and Usi, where it becomes salty, near the sea, sixty leagues from Santa Elena. From Santa Elena to this Guatary, it is eighty leagues, and it is said that any ship can go up this river more than twenty leagues.

From Otariatiqui, he went straight to another village called Quinahauqui, where there passes another very great river; it is a very good land.

Twelve leagues from the village described above, to the left, is another called Issa, which has beautiful meadows, and all the land very beautiful, and many rivers and springs. In the jurisdiction of this Issa, we found three mines of very good crystal. They are partly worked as if they were to be used soon. All this we saw and heard on the way back to Santa Elena.

From Quinahauqui, he went straight to another village called Aiguaquiri, which is a land abounding in good things and fertile.

From Aiguaquiri, he went straight to another village called Joara, which is near the mountain and it is where Juan Pardo arrived on his first trip and where his Sergeant remained. I can say that it is as beautiful a land as the best in all Spain, for all kinds of things men wish to cultivate. It is one hundred leagues from Santa Elena.

From Joara, he went straight ahead through the mountains to another village called Tocar, where it took us three days to get through. In this mountain, there are many grapes, many chestnuts, and many nuts. It is better than the Sierra Morena, because there are many meadows and the land is very slightly craggy. In Tocar there is very good land, where extensive farming of any kind can be done.

From Tocar, he went straight to another place called Cauchi, a very important land. From here on, I compared this land with Andalucía because all of it is very rich land.

From Cauchi, he went straight to Tanasqui, which it took us three days to reach through an unpopulated section. It is a land so rich that I cannot praise it enough.

From Tanasqui, he went straight to another village called Solameco, and by another name Chiaha. It is a land very rich and wide, a large village surrounded by very beautiful rivers. There are behind this village, at one, two, and three leagues and at more and less distance, many small villages, all surrounded by rivers. There are a few exquisite meadows, many fine grapes, many medlars; in fact, it is a land of angels.

From Solameco, he went directly West, to a village called Chalahume, which it took us three days to reach through an unpopulated section, where we found mountains more rugged than the ones mentioned. In those rocky places through which we passed there is land that is very rich and agreeable and cool. On climbing one of these mountains we found metallic deposits, and when we asked the alchemists, they swore that it was silver ore. We arrived at Chalahume, which has such a good location that it may be compared with that of Cordoba. It has very large and good meadows. There we found grapes as good as those in Spain. I can say that it is a land so good that it seems as if Spaniards had cultivated it.

From Chalahume, he went straight to another village, which is two leagues from there and is called Satapo. We turned back from there. It is a fine town, with good houses and much corn and many forest fruits. Also, the land is rich and very agreeable, and all these villages and those beyond are situated near very beautiful rivers.

From Satapo, we had to go straight to Cosaque. I believe, according to what I learned from the Indians and from a soldier who reached there from this company and returned and gave an account of what he saw, that it is five or six days to Cosa, a very thinly populated land, because there are no more than three small villages. The first, two days from Satapo, is called Tasqui; in this two day trip there is good land and three large rivers. A little farther on is another village called Tasquiqui. From there, a day beyond, there is a destroyed town called Olitifar. It is all
good flat country. From there, two days more through the wilderness, is a small village, and beyond this another, at about a league.

Cossa is a large town, the best there is until Santa Elena, by the way we went until our return. It must have about one hundred and fifty inhabitants, according to the size of the town. It is a richer village than any of those mentioned; there are generally a large number of Indians in it. It is situated on low ground on the slope of a mountain. There are around it, at half a league and a quarter league, and at a league, many small villages; it is very abundant land. Its site is toward the South. It is situated on low ground on the slope of a mountain. 

It is said that Trascaluzu is the South, and that from here to the land of New Spain, it is, some say nine days, others eleven, others thirteen, but the majority nine. All is wilderness, and in the middle of all this road there is a village of four or five houses; and that, following in the same direction, the first settlement is in New Spain, according to what is said.

I pray our Lord to do according to the way that he has been served. Amen.

Done at the Point of Santa Elena, the twenty-third day of the month of January, 1569.

Joan de la Vandera.

(Archives of the Count of Revilla-Gigedo, Marquis of San Esteban del Mar, Bundle 2, number 3, F.)

General Archives of Simanancas "Populations and descriptions."


Buckingham Smith, Coleccion de varios documentos para la historia de la Florida. Madrid, 1857, volume 1, page 15.57

Notes

1See Albert C. Manuey, "Florida History in the Spanish Records of the North Carolina Department of Archives and History," in Florida Historical Quarterly, XXV, 4 (April, 1947). Further information was supplied to me by Dr. W.W. Pierson, now Dean of the Graduate School, University of North Carolina. After some of the background story had been pieced together, I wrote to Dean Pierson. Part of his encouraging reply is as follows: "I am certain that the symbol 'W' is an identification mark used by Miss Irene Wright. The documentary materials were, as I remember, set aside for copying when I was in Spain, but the actual completion of this work was done under Miss Wright's direction. I was in Sevilla in 1925." A short time later, Miss Wright, now with the Department of State, wrote that, after so long a time, she could give no further information, but that the Banderas Document seemed something of a prize at the time.

2The Luna Papers (Deland: Florida State Historical Society, No. 8, Vols. I, II. A later, semi-popular, version of the same story appeared as Tristan de Luna Conquistador of the Old South (Glendale, California: A. H. Clark, 1936).

3Eugenio Ruidiaz y Caravia, La Florida Su Conquista y Colonizacion por Pedro Menendez de Aviles (2 vols., Madrid, Garcia, 1894). Buckingham Smith, Coleccion de varias Documentos para la Historia de la Florida y Tierras Adyacentes (London, Truebner, 1857).

4The work of Lowery is largely a reworking of Ruidiaz, as the notes indicate. It is interesting to note that, in the summer of 1950, booksellers in Madrid still considered Ruidiaz the most complete history of Spanish Florida. My friend Senor Dario Pedrao obtained a copy for me in Madrid at that time.


6Although the first part of the Quijote did not appear until 1605, the work was probably begun or planned many years before, possibly while Cervantes was a captive of the Moors before 1580, of while he was in a Spanish jail for a suspected shortage in his public accounts.

7The story of the examination of the books, or escrutinio de los libros is told in Part I, Chapter VI. The good ones are saved as priceless, while the false ones that had turned the knight's head are summarily burned.

8General in command of the troops sent from Spain to re-enforce Menendez de Aviles, first Spanish governor of Florida, in the impending operations against the French. Text of Rudiaz, II. 465-73.

9The French Port Royal, a Huguenot colony sponsored by Admiral Coligny on Parris Island, now the Marine Corps training base, near Beaufort, South Carolina. Modern road maps show the general area, while there is much historical data to be found on the map of Mexico and Central America published by the National Geographic Society, Washington, D.C. Those in Lowery and Ruidiaz are either too small or too conjectural to be of much value. The clearest generally available were found in the James Truslow Adams, editor, Atlas of American History (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1943.) These were drawn under the supervision of E. Merton Coulter.


11Two of the original company had been summarily executed by Captain Pardo as amotinados or trouble makers at Santa Elena. See Rudiaz, I, 258-61.

12November 30.

13Pope Pius IV d. 1565 or Saint Pius V elected 1566, and Phillip II.

14The legua or league is equivalent to about three U.S. miles. The Dictionary of the Spanish Academy, 17th edition (1947) gives the following figures: legua, 20,000 feet or 6,666 varas or 5,572 meters and 7 decimeters. These distances may refer to the maritime league of 19,938 Castilian feet or three miles or 5,555 meters and 55 centimeters. The vara was three feet or 835.9 millimeters.

15 Gap in the manuscript.

16 Pardo says: “Les hice el parlamiento de parte de Dios y de S.M.” See Ruidiaz, II, 466. This account, like so many others of the period, was in the nature of a report to the “home office,” that is, the king and other sponsors of the expedition. Vandera refers to these talks by the name *auto*, which can mean a dramatic presentation or any act of faith.

17 Possibly the Broad or the Savannah. Pardo had set out from Santa Elena (see Adams, ed., *Atlas of American History*, plates 8, 9). The later French name of Fort Royal may still be seen on current road maps.

18 Vandera transcribes this name as Joada. Either spelling represents much the same sound, a semi-vowel before the a, phonetically [wa]. Note that Vandera spells his first name as Joan, while Pardo writes his as Juan.

19 The text says: “me demandaron criptianos para que les doctrinase.” The last word has much the same meaning as our indoctrinate. Here it refers to religious teaching, cf. Latin *doctrina*.

20 *Querda*, modern Spanish *cuerda*; also called *mecha* in other accounts of the period (hence the English *match*). This was a wicklike substance, similar to that still used on some cigarette lighters for outdoorsmen. It was used to ignite the powder in the so-called *matchlock*. For a recent study of the mechanism, see the *American Rifleman* for January, 1951, pp. 23-26. The article also shows an “action shot” drawn by Lemoine in 1564. The wick burned slowly, and was lighted in advance when trouble was expected. Contemporary accounts often stated the number of *arcabuceros*, or riflemen, as they would now be called, that went on landing parties *con las mechas encendidas*, that is, with their wick or “match” lighted. Similarly Cervantes, Part I, Chapter XLI, speaks of a landing party: “... doce franceses bien armados, con sus arcabuces y cuerdas encendidas...”. See edition of Rodriguez Marin in the Clasicos Castellanos series (Madrid: Espasa, 1943), IV, 89.

21 *Caminaba*: the verb indicates that there was some kind of a road, or *camino*. On the network of Indian roads, see among others, Varner and Varner, trans., *The Florida of the Inca*, 294, 296.

22 The monotonous repetition about *el parlamento* or “the speech” will be merely indicated from now on. It seems to have been as invariable as the modern politician’s remarks.

23 Lowery in *The Spanish Settlements within the Present Limits of the United States*. Florida, 1562-1574 (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1911), p. 447 recounts the various speculations on this part of the route, but draws no definite conclusion. Perhaps an archeologist familiar with the region will find some key in the texts here translated.

24 *Clerigo*: implies a man in some kind of Holy Orders.

25 *Vide supra*, notes 9, 17. Esteban was the naval commander of the fleet of Asturias and Biscaya, which followed Menendez de Aviles to Florida and helped to cut off the forces of Jean Ribaut and his French expedition.

26 Probably seeking to avenge the massacre by the Spanish at Fort Caroline. See Lowery, *Florida*, 314-35.

27 Transcribed as *Tocaz* by Vandera.

28 *Principal*: Outstanding like a prince (principe) among men.


29 *Camine*: the same verb discussed in note 21 again implies a network of roads.

30 *Consejo*: a discussion between the commander and his officers; standard procedure at the time.

31 *Rubrica*: a distinctive flourish, used by scribes to mark off sections of a manuscript. The original of this document is in Series I, Box 1, Bundles 1-19, in Archivo General de Indias, Royal Domain.

32 This account is found in Ruidiaz, pp. 477-80. It apparently refers only to the second half of Captain Pardo’s trip, which was in 1566. Pardo himself says that he was ordered to leave on September 1 of that year, while Martinez gives the actual starting date as November 1. The discrepancy is not explained.

Martinez was probably a private. *Soldado* often has this meaning, and other military personnel are referred to by their appropriate rank.

33 Governor of Cuba and a constant opponent of Menendez de Aviles.

34 *Escribano* (older spelling *escrivano*). This scribe was a public official, with duties similar to the modern notary public or justice of the peace. The one who set down this account states that he held a royal commission. Again Cervantes furnishes some useful information. In the concluding chapters, we are told how Don Quijote calls on the *escribano* to witness his presence, and later to make his will. See edition Rodriguez Marin, Vol. VIII, 324, 328-31.

35 The descriptions of flora may furnish archeological evidence for establishing the route followed by the expedition. The term *nogales* may be applied to any kind of nuts, and could refer here to the ancestors of the pecan groves for which the region is famous to-day. The *Nispola* or medlar is probably best described in the *Century Dictionary and Encyclopedia*: “the European species, *Mespilus germanica*, grew wild in central and southern Europe, but it had been introduced from Western Asia. It was known in England at the time of Shakespeare, who mentions it in *As you like it*, iii 2.123: You’ll be rotten ere you’re half ripe, and that’s the virtue of the medlar. The fruit in the early stages of decay has an acid flavor much relished by some. A mention of the fruit, called *nispero*, was found by the present translator in the very helpful Cervantes, Part I, Chapter LIX (Edition of Rodriguez Marin, VIII, 83) as follows: ... *ahi nos tendemos en mitad de un prado y nos hartamos de bellotas o de nisperos*.

This was something of a last resort, when the inn was full and Don Quijote and Sancho Panza faced the possibility of sitting in a meadow (prado) and trying to fill themselves with acorns (bellotas) and medlars.

Of particular interest here is the description found under *Medlar* in C.E. Faxon and Mary W. Gill, *Manual of the Trees of North America* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1933) p. 434: “*Mespilus aestivalis* or *Craeiagus aestivalis*, May Hawk, Apple Hawk... a slender tree 20-25 feet high, stem 6-8 inches in diameter... leaves armed with straight grey spines... Distribution: low river banks and swamps... the banks of the Ogeechee river and Combahee river near Yemassee, Hampton County... also in Florida and... in North Carolina, near New Bern.”

36 *Gamucas*, modern Spanish *ganuzas*, from Arabic *chamas*; originally applied to the North African antelope, according to the Academy dictionary. The use of the word here suggests that some of the Indians may have come from the region where the antelope was common. It may furnish another archeological clue.
37 **Mandiles** (cf. English *Mantele*). This term may refer to an Indian blanket, or to an apron-like garment, a more probable meaning at the time of this account. This name was also applied later to a saddle blanket.

38 **Silla corriendo**, literally a "running chair." This must have been similar to those used in Mexico and Peru. See any of the accounts of the Cortez expedition, also Hiram Bingham, *Lost City of the Incas* (New York: Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, 1948), 41. Ruidiaz reproduces an engraving (I, 302) made in 1591, but without indication of source. See also in the *National Geographic Magazine*, December, 1951, p. 808, an account of ancient Aztec sculpture in Chapultepec Park, Mexico City.

39 *De una arroba*: this was a measure of 3.32 gallons of oil or 4.26 gallons of wine. See Haggard and McLean, *Handbook*, 72.

40 Vandera will give the distance as one hundred leagues, and introduce other figures which may upset previously accepted locations of some of these towns.

41 Source indicated by Ruidiaz; the same as for the account of Juan Pardo: Series I, Box 1, Bundles 1-19, in Archivo General de Indias, Royal Domain.

42 The translation follows in general the text established by Ruidiaz, pp. 481-86, since it seems generally better than that of Smith. This account appears to be a very brief abstract of the extensive *Banderas Document* mentioned above.

43 **Lugar** (Latin *locus*) means *place* in modern Spanish, but here it means *Village*; it was so used by Cervantes. See edition of Rodriguez Marin, I, 135; *Y quiso la suerte que, cuando llego a este verso, acerto a pasar por ali un labrador de su mismo lugar y vecino suyo*.

44 **Auto**, an act of faith of any kind, whether it be the carrying out of sentences by the Inquisition, a religious drama, or a public exhortation, as here. Pardo himself calls it *simply parlamento*, a speech.

45 Means literally *reined-in* (Latin *frenum*), like a horse. Here, as often, the [In]dian word must have sounded like a Spanish expression, and was so set down. Other well-known instances of this practice are Cuernavaca (cow horn) in Mexico, and the American GI's switch of the Italian volcano's name from Eempedocle to "Okle Dokle." Still another example is almost in the translator's front yard, where the sturdy Pennsylvania Dutch settlers transcribed some strange Indian name by the very Dutch-sounding *Goshenhoppen*.

46 This place was visited by De Soto. He called it *Cofaqui*; it is also called *Cofitachequii*. See the itinerary in Adams, ed., *Atlas of American History*. It has always been considered to be on the Savannah River, but if the figures given by Vandera are to be trusted, they introduce some disturbing thoughts. In attempting a "fix" of the position by using dividers on a modern map, it was found that arcs drawn at 50 leagues (150 miles) from Santa Elena (Beaufort, South Carolina) and 20 leagues (60 miles) from the sea would fall near the Pee Dee River east of Darlington, S.C. This translator will only venture to state that he has crossed the Pee Dee many times on the nearby coastal highway, and that the volume of water certainly is enormous, and it flows through a land where most of the soil is red. It seems to be this same river which is described a little farther on as flowing past the city of the women chiefs, to empty into the sea sixty leagues (180 miles) from Santa Elena. Beyond raising these points, the translator leaves the matter to geographers and archaeologists.

47 **Registrados en feto**. Note of Ruidiaz, p. 484: "En feto, that is to say, in embryo, in the project stage."

48 Boyano. See account of Pardo, who calls the village Juada.

49 Pardo says northward. See Ruidiaz, p. 467: *"me parti la buelta del Norte."*

50 *Brown Mountains,* a range in the South of Spain.

51 The fertile agricultural region on the South of Spain. See the finely illustrated article by Luis Marden in the *National Geographic Magazine* for April, 1951. Note especially pp. 515-17.

52 **Vegas de benedicicon[,] meadows like a blessing, or benediction, surely a poetic phrase. This is the reading found in Smith; it seems much better than the *leguas* (leagues) read by Ruidiaz, who must have nodded at this point, as his reading is meaningless.

53 See above, note 45 to account of Martinez.

54 See the article mentioned in note 51.

55 This is the *Coza de De Soto*; see account of the Inca, p. 341. Either spelling in the sixteenth century probably indicated a pronunciation of *ko-sa* as it would today in Latin America.

56 **Al sol de mediodia**: This expression is most troublesome. *Mediodia* alone would be quite clear, as it means *mid-day*, or *South* in geographical terms; the direction of the sun at its zenith in lands above the equator. The addition of the other words in the reading seems to be a peculiarity of this manuscript, as the expression in its complete form is not listed in the Academy Dictionary, the *Espasa encyclopedia*, nor in the *Tentative Dictionary of Medieval Spanish* compiled by Boggs, Keniston, Kasten & Richardson (2 vols., Chapel Hill, N.C., 1947.) It seems best to take it here as simply meaning "South," as it obviously does below in describing the site of Trascaluza. Furthermore, any place from the end of the expedition to New Spain, or Mexico, would have to lie to the South.

57 Sources given by Ruidiaz. The first two titles are translated since they may not be as familiar to American historians as the work of Buckingham Smith.

The Munoz mentioned is probably Jesus Munoz Rivero, who published in 1880 his *Manual de Paleografia diplomatica espanola de los siglos XII al XVII*. This work is still considered a classic. A second edition appeared in Madrid. Munoz Rivero also published a number of other paleographical works and *Colecciones* in the period 1880-1887. Ruidiaz, whose work appeared in 1894, must have had access to an extensive *Coleccion* which he does not further identify.
In 1566-1568 Captain Juan Pardo led two expeditions through the length of what is now South Carolina, through western North Carolina, and into eastern Tennessee. Both expeditions departed from Santa Elena, a Spanish outpost which Pedro Menendez de Avilés had established on Parris Island, near present-day Beaufort, South Carolina, and which was then part of la Florida.1 The route which Pardo and his men followed is important both to anthropologists and historians because it sheds light on the Indians who lived along the route, and also because the northern part of Pardo’s route closely parallels a portion of the route followed twenty-six years earlier by Hernando de Soto after wintering in Florida. If the route of Pardo’s expeditions can be established with confidence, it will then be possible to pinpoint some interior points of reference for the De Soto expedition, an achievement that has proved to be impossible using the De Soto documents alone.

The Pardo expeditions were set in motion by the sixteenth-century Habsburg-Valois struggle in Europe, which was ended by the peace of Cateau-Cambrésis in 1559, only to spill over into the New World. Taking advantage of the breathing spell in 1562, Europe, France determined to try to establish a colony on the southern Atlantic coast of North America, where she could challenge Spanish colonial claims and, incidentally, also prey on Spanish shipping.2 In 1562 Jean Ribault established a tiny post, Charlesfort, somewhere on Port Royal Sound, probably on Port Royal Island or Parris Island. He left behind about thirty men to hold this post while he returned to France for reinforcements. During the winter, when these men began to starve, they revolted, built a small boat with the help of local Indians, who supplied them with cordage, and they set sail for France. Only one, a boy named Guillaume Rouffi, remained behind with the Indians. In early 1564, Rouffi, dressed like an Indian, was picked up near St. Helena Sound by Hernando Manrique de Rojas, who had been sent by Spain to reconnoiter the coast.3 The Spanish called him Guillermo Ruffin.

Later, in 1564, René de Laudonnière established a second French colony, Fort Caroline (La Caroline), near the mouth of the St. Johns River. When King Philip II was informed of these French actions, he sent Pedro Menendez de Avilés to attack the French colony. The king had already approved a plan to establish a colony in Florida and had entered into a formal contract with Menendez for that purpose. In September 1565, Menendez attacked and overcame Fort Caroline, putting many of the French defenders to death and capturing others.4 He then quickly set about building a series of forts to protect an empire which, as he envisioned it, would eventually include all the territory from Newfoundland southward to Florida, and from there around the Gulf coast to the Panuco River in Mexico. He meant to control the interior as well.

After building Fort San Felipe at Santa Elena on the southern tip of Parris Island, Menendez directed Pardo to explore the interior, where De Soto had been earlier. Pardo was ordered to pacify the Indians and arrange for them to supply the Spanish with food, to examine and describe the land, to look for gems and precious metals, and to establish a trail to the Spanish silver [127] mines in Mexico. Remarkably, even though Alonso Alvarez de Pineda had, in 1519, sailed along the Gulf coast all the way from southern Florida to Vera Cruz, and even though the De Soto expedition had wandered for four years in the vastness of the interior southeast, Menendez evidently believed that the distance from Santa Elena to Mexico was not great. Even at the end of the sixteenth century officials in Florida believed it was only a few hundred miles overland from Florida to Mexico.5

Previous interpretations of the Pardo expeditions have been based on three short accounts: Pardo’s account of both of his expeditions, published in Eugenio Ruidiaz y Caravia’s La Florida, su Conquista y Colonización par [por] Pedro Menendez de Avilés (Madrid, 1894); a highly condensed account of the first expedition by a soldier, Francisco Martinez, also published in Ruidiaz’s La Florida; and a brief account of the second expedition by Juan de la Vandera, the official scribe of the expedition, first published by Buckingham Smith in his Colección de varias Documentos para la Historia de la Florida y Tierras Adyacentes (London, 1857), and later included in Ruidiaz’s La Florida.6

Two influential reconstructions of the route—both erroneous—have been proposed. Mary Ross takes Pardo from Santa Elena in a north-by-west direction to present-day Columbia, South Carolina, then northwesterly along the Broad River into what is now Polk County, North Carolina, and from there along a broadly arcing southwestwardly route through northern Georgia, down the Tallapoosa River into Alabama, reaching perhaps a third of the way down the Alabama River.7

[128] In the other proposed route, John Swanton takes Pardo northwest along the eastern bank of the Savannah River into the northwestern corner of South Carolina, and from there along an arc through western North Carolina, the southeastern corner of Tennessee, and into northern Alabama.8

More recently, Steven Baker has correctly concluded that the “province” of Coftachequi was centered on the lower Wateree River, and that Pardo and his men followed the river to the north. But on other details of Pardo’s movements, as well as the locations of specific towns visited by Pardo, Baker’s solution differs from the one contained herein.9

A fourth document, little used by scholars, allows for a more precise determination of the route than has previously been possible. This document is Juan de la Vandera’s full official documentation of the second journey which he prepared for Pedro Menendez de Avilés about a year after the second journey ended. It is dated April 1, 1569.10 This second Vandera manuscript contains detailed information on directions, distances traveled, local topography, the activities of Pardo and his men, Indians encountered, and other details which make possible a more accurate reconstruction of the route.

Some additional evidence on the Pardo explorations can be gleaned from a report in 1600 by Don Gonzalo Mendez de Canco, governor of Florida. This report contains

testimony by Juan de Ribas, a soldier who, as a boy of seventeen or eighteen, had traveled with Pardo thirty-four years earlier. In addition, it contains testimony from an Indian woman, Teresa Martín, who was a girl in the interior when Pardo and his men appeared.11

[129] On December 1, 1566, Pardo set out on his first expedition from Santa Elena with 125 soldiers.12 They traveled through swampy country to Guioama, and all along the way the Indians they encountered had already heard about the Spanish presence (see fig. 1). From Guioama they went on to Canos, which was also called Cofigachequi. As Pardo moved from town to town, he commanded the Indians to build houses to be reserved for use by the seventeen or eighteen, had traveled with Pardo thirty-four expedition from

14 During a two-week stay at Joara, they proceeded to conquer the land all the way to Mexico, as he had been ordered to do.14 During a two-week stay at Joara, Pardo and his men built a fort, which he named San Juan. He garrisoned it with thirty men under the command of Sergeant Hernando Moyano de Morales.15

Then Pardo took the remainder of his force in a northeasterly direction, on a road which followed downstream along the river which passed through Joara.16 He traveled through Quinahauqui and another town whose name he could not remember when he wrote his report.17 The Spanish went next to a place called Guatari, where they spent fifteen or sixteen days. While there a letter was delivered from Santa Elena calling him back to be on hand in case the French attacked in reprisal for their defeat at Fort Caroline. Pardo and his men departed Guatari, leaving behind his chaplain Sebastian Montero and four soldiers.18

They moved south, going through Guatariatiqui, Arauchi (also called Racuchili), a town whose name he subsequently forgot, and then to Tagaya the Lesser, which he had visited on [131] his journey into the interior. From here on they followed the same trail back to Santa Elena by which they had come, arriving there on March 7, 1567.19

Sergeant Moyano, who had been left behind to defend Joara, was to remain in the interior some nine months before he saw Pardo again. He did not remain idle, although one learns of his actions primarily from Martinez, who evidently heard about them from one or more letters which Moyano had sent back to Santa Elena. Martinez either read or heard these letters discussed.20

According to Martinez, about thirty days after Pardo had returned to Santa Elena (this must have been in early April 1567), he received a letter from Moyano who reported having fought the Chisca Indians. He claimed to have killed more than 1,000 and to have burned fifty of their houses, while only two of his men were wounded. Moyano indicated in the letter that if ordered to do so, he would push ahead and make further discoveries.21

According to Martinez, Pardo agreed that Moyano should leave ten soldiers in the fort at Joara and with the rest make further discoveries. But before Moyano received Pardo's message, another Indian chief, presumably also a Chisca, threatened him by sending word that he was going to come over and eat Moyano, his soldiers, and even his dog. Moyano decided to attack. He took twenty soldiers and traveled four days along a mountain trail where they were astonished to find a town defended by a very high wooden palisade. Moyano claimed he destroyed it, killing 1,500 Indians. By this time Pardo's letter had caught up with him, and he marched four days further to the island town of Chiaha (also called Olamico, see infra), likewise surrounded by a palisade and very strong square towers. Moyano explored in the vicinity of [132] Chiaha for twelve days before building a small fort for himself and his men. All of this probably took place in April 1567.22

The question is, which trail did Moyano take through the mountain? He does not seem to have taken the trail which Pardo was later to take, because when Pardo went through the mountains, neither he nor Vanderena mentions any Indians having been previously attacked by Spaniards, nor is there any mention of the Chiscas, nor of any other Indians who were hostile (see fig. 2)

On the basis of evidence to be discussed, Joara has been placed in the vicinity of Marion, North Carolina. It was near the crossing of two major trails which led through the mountains into the Tennessee Valley. One trail went from Joara westward through Swannanoa Gap to the site of present Asheville, and thence down the French Broad River. This trail down the French Broad River could also be reached from South Carolina through Saluda Gap. After this trail was improved for wagon travel by American frontiersmen, it was known as the Old Warm Springs Road, and after 1827 it was part of the Buncombe Turnpike.23

The second trail went from Joara northward to the North Toe River, and at Little Yellow Mountain it forked.24 The left fork ran alongside the Toe River, which becomes the Nolichucky River. On modern maps, the Clinchfield Railroad closely follows this trail. The right fork of the trail led to the Doe River, which it then followed to the Watauga River. On modern maps this fork of the trail lies near Highway 19E.25

[134] Of the two trails from Joara, the one leading north was the one used earliest by Anglo-Americans, possibly as early as 1772, but once control of the trail along the French Broad River was wrested from the Cherokees, perhaps in 1788, it became the main road from the Carolinas to Tennessee. In 1795 the first wagons to reach Tennessee from the Carolinas came in along this road.26 Moreover, in the early nineteenth century the road along the French Broad River was used as a thoroughfare for driving large herds of stock---cattle, horses, mules, and especially hogs---from Tennessee into the Carolinas.27

There is evidence that Pardo took the trail along the French Broad River. Therefore, it is probable that Moyano followed the trail north to the Toe River, and from there he either attacked the Indians on the upper Nolichucky River or on the Watauga. From the vicinity of Marion, North Carolina, to the upper Nolichucky and the Watauga it is about sixty miles, a distance that could have been covered in four days. From the upper Nolichucky to an island in the French Broad River, near Dandridge, Tennessee, where it is believed that Chiaha was located, it was about sixty-eight miles, a distance they could have traveled in another four days. From the Watauga River the distance to Chiaha was eighty miles, a distance which a small party of men could have traveled in four days, though with some difficulty.
[130] Figure 1. Pardo's first expedition, December 1, 1566-March 7, 1567.
If this reconstruction of Moyano's route is correct, the Chiscas were located on the upper Nolichucky River or on the Watauga River, and perhaps they were on both. This location of the Chiscas is consistent with other evidence. Namely, when de Soto was in Chiaha he was told that gold [actually copper] could be had in the land of the Chiscas, who lived to the north. 28 It so happens that deposits of native copper occur in the western Virginia section of the Appalachian Mountains, [135] which lay just to the north of our proposed location for the Chiscas. 29

In 1600 the Indian woman, Teresa Martin, recalled that her people procured "gold" from the Chiscas, who lived in the mountains, three or four days journey from her town. She said that the Chiscas were white-skinned, blue-eyed, red-haired, and wore clothing. Obviously, they had taken on mythological status in her mind.30

On May 25, 1567, Menéndez again ordered Pardo to go into the interior to pacify the Indians, take possession of the land, find an overland route to the mines of San Martín in Zacatecas, and then return to Santa Elena by the following March, when he again contemplated the possibility of a French reprisal.31 Evidently, neither Menéndez nor Pardo realized that this was an impossible order. Pardo was authorized to take with him as many as 120 soldiers, arquebusiers, and archers. He was provided with a supply of presents to be given to the Indians to win their friendship.32 Juan de la Vendra was ordered to go along to serve as scribe, and he was specifically instructed to record the tributary and hegemonic relations which Pardo established with the Indians.

Accordingly, on September 1, 1567, Pardo again departed from Santa Elena with a company of men (see fig. 3). Whether he took along the full complement of 120 men, as authorized by Menéndez, is not known. The first night was spent at Uscamacu, on an island surrounded by rivers. It is probable that this part of their journey was made by boat, and Uscamacu was probably on the northern end of Port Royal Island. At this place, according to Vendra, there was fertile land for corn and many grape stocks, as well as very good clay for making cooking pots and tiles.33

On September 2, Pardo went to Ahoya, described as being an "island, with a few corners surrounded by rivers and the rest [137] like the mainland."34 This was probably near present Pocataligo or Yemassee, South Carolina. Ahoya was either on a neck of land, surrounded by rivers, or else the Spanish were under the mistaken impression that they were on another large island like Port Royal Island. On September 3, the Spanish went to Ahoyabe, a small village which was subject to Ahoya, and located on similar land. They were probably following a trail which ran close to the Coosawhatchie River, as shown on the map of Beaufort District in Mills' Atlas.35 Ahoyabe was probably on the Coosawhatchie River near present Hampton.

On September 4, Pardo went to Cozao, a rather important chief with a large quantity of good land. He first encountered "stony" land here, and the streams were "sweet."36 Cozao was probably located on the headwaters of the Coosawhatchie River, near present Fairfax. Pardo had reached the edge of the Aiken Plateau. When traveling inland from the coast, this is where small pebbles first occur after many miles of sandy coastal plain soil, and where the water in streams becomes more palatable, presumably because it flows more swiftly. On September 5, Pardo reached a small town which was a tributary of Cozao. The corn land was good here, but there was less of it than at Cozao, suggesting that the size of a village was conditioned by the amount of land suitable for the cultivation of corn. It was probably located on the Little Salkehatchie River.

On September 6, the force arrived at a place they call el Enfrenado (literally "reined in"), where the land was generally poor, though good in places.37 This must have been located somewhere between the north and south forks of the Edisto River. On September 7, Pardo moved on, and he and his men probably slept in the open (they had to sleep in the open in this vicinity also on their return trip). The were now somewhere in the vicinity of present St. Matthews, at the head of Four Hole Swamp.38

[138] On September 8, Pardo arrived at Guiomae.39 In his shorter account, Vendra says that at this point the men had come forty leagues from Santa Elena. The route they had traveled measures about 132 miles on a map, and allowing 3.45 miles to the league, this comes to about forty leagues. This means that Pardo could average five leagues per day over coastal plain terrain.40 The land at Guiomae was much like that at Cozao, but better in quality. It was said to have been flat, and there were large swamps in the area, namely those at the junction of the Congaree and Wateree rivers. Guiomae was probably located near the present town of Waterpee, South Carolina.41

After resting on September 9 at Guiomae, Pardo departed on September 10, going northward on a trail which paralleled the Wateree River, and which probably lay near present Highway 60.42 His force slept that night in the open, and on September 11 arrived at Cofitachequi (also called Canos) near present Camden, South Carolina. It is believed that Cofitachequi was either at or near the McDowell or Mulberry site (38KE12).43 [139] Here there were small swamps, but they were so shallow that even a boy could cross them on foot. The terrain changed here; it was a place of deep valleys, with much stone, and even boulders, and the soil was red in color, and better in quality than they had seen up to this point. It was a land of wild grapes where much corn was grown, and it was believed that a large colony could be situated here.44 In other words, they had come to the fall line region.45

In his shorter account, Vendra makes a puzzling, perhaps confused or misinformed, statement about the rivers in the interior: "There are at the end of this land three or four rivers, and one of them has a very large volume of water, and even two of them...Canos is a land through which passes one of the great rivers, near it, and other streams. It is fifty leagues to Santa Helena, and to the sea about twenty leagues; you can go to it by the said river, following the land, and much further by the same river. You can do the same by the other river which passes through Guiomae."

There are two puzzles. If the sites of these towns have been correctly located, Vendra seems not to have realized that the Congaree joins the Wateree just below Guiomae. It is possible, of course, that he may have been under the illusion that these two rivers followed parallel courses to the ocean. What is clear from his statement, however, is
that two major rivers passed through the vicinity of Guiomae. On the return journey, Pardo ordered his men to load several canoes with corn from Cofitachequi and take them down river to Guiomae, where they were to put it in a crib.\textsuperscript{47} Hence, Vandera had to have known that Guiomae was located near the Wateree River which ran by Cofitachequi. His mention of "the other river," then, has to have been a reference to the Congaree. The second puzzle is Vandera’s estimate that Cofitachequi was twenty leagues from the Atlantic coast, whereas the actual distance is about thirty-two leagues, or about 100 miles. However, it is probable that Vandera’s estimate of twenty leagues was based on the time of travel as reported \textsuperscript{140} by an Indian informant. The Indians probably estimated the distance in terms of days of travel by foot, and the Indians habitually covered considerably more distance on foot in a day than did Europeans.\textsuperscript{48}

On September 13, Pardo continued on to Tagaya, described as a place where there were no swamps, but one that was both black and red, and was well watered by springs and brooks.\textsuperscript{49} Tagaya was probably located near the junction of Beaver Creek and the Wateree River. None of the documents say that Tagaya was on a river or a creek, but this location is likely because in the late prehistoric period Indian towns were almost always located near the alluvial soils of rivers and creeks, and many of them were at the junction of two streams. Also, Juan de Ribas testified that he "went all the way up the river with Juan Pardo, from Canos. . .to Juaraz [i.e., Joara]."\textsuperscript{50} And since the river in question must be the Wateree-Catawba, this implies that all the towns along the way were near this river. On September 14, Pardo went on to Gueza, whose surrounding land was similar to that of Tagaya. It was possibly located on the Wateree River near Lancaster.\textsuperscript{51}

At this point an inconsistency occurs between Pardo’s account of his first expedition and Vandera’s accounts of the second. Pardo, in describing his return from his first journey, mentions a "Tagaya the Lesser" which must have been situated between Tagaya and Gueza, whereas Vandera does not mention "Tagaya the Lesser."\textsuperscript{52} On the first expedition, Tagaya the Lesser was evidently the place where Pardo swung northwest toward Ysa, several days’ travel away, although he does not say exactly how many days. If the present reconstruction is correct, on this segment of the first expedition Pardo probably followed the trail on the Mouzon map of 1775 which goes from the mouth of Fishing Creek to King’s Mountain, and from there along the Broad River to present Marion, North Carolina.\textsuperscript{53} On his return \textsuperscript{141} from the first expedition, which was different from the way he entered the interior, Pardo evidently spent the night at Gueza, although he could not recall the name of this town when he wrote his account. But he also says that he spent the next night at Tagaya the Lesser, which could not have been far from Gueza. He specifically says that at Tagaya the Lesser he picked up the road he had followed when coming into the interior. On September 15, he went on to Aracuchi, a place with very good land, probably located on the Wateree River north of present Van Wyck, South Carolina.\textsuperscript{54}

He spent one or two days (September 16 and/or 17) getting to Otari, probably located in the vicinity of present Charlotte.\textsuperscript{55} From Otari the distance to Guatari was said to be fifteen or sixteen leagues "on the right hand, less to the north than this other.\textsuperscript{55} That is, Guatari lay to the northeast of Otari. It is not clear when the Spanish departed from Otari. They could have left on September 18, giving them three days’ time to their next stop, or on September 19, giving them two days’ time. On September 20, they arrived at Quinahaqui, which was probably located on the Catawba River, possibly near Catawba or Sherrill’s Ford, North Carolina. Quinahaqui was specifically said to be located on one of the great rivers, and it was at a distance of two days from Guatari, which was on the other of the great rivers, i.e., the Yadkin-Pee Dee.\textsuperscript{56}

[142] In his shorter account, Vandera gives a location for Ysa that is ambiguous. He says that Ysa is twelve leagues to the left (i.e. the west) of "the village described above," but both Otari and Quinahaqui were so described.\textsuperscript{56} Placing Ysa at twelve leagues of trail distance from Otari would put it in the vicinity of Lincolnton, North Carolina; whereas twelve leagues from Quinahaqui would place it in the vicinity of Gastonia, North Carolina. The Lincolnton location is the more likely of the two, because it is the one that is consistent with information on their return journey. On September 21, the force departed Quinahaqui and went to Guaquiri, located either on the Catawba River or on Henry River near Hickory, North Carolina.\textsuperscript{57}

Pardo spent three days (September 22-24) traveling from Guaquiri to Joara, probably located near Marion, North Carolina.\textsuperscript{58} Joara was possibly located at the Me\textsuperscript{41}d site, on an alluvial terrace of the upper Catawba River, about two miles to the northwest of Marion.\textsuperscript{59} Joara was also called Cuenca, after Pardo’s native city in Spain. Here Pardo had built Fort San Juan on his earlier visit and had left Sergeant Moyano to defend it. Vandera says that Joara was "at the foot of a range of mountains, surrounded by rivers," which is accurate for our proposed location, with the Blue Ridge Mountains on one side and the Hickorynut Mountains on the other, and with several small streams here flowing into the Catawba.\textsuperscript{60} Joara was clearly the same as De Soto’s "Xuala," which was described by Ranje as a village on a plain between two rivers near the mountains. And in the country around "Xuala," Ranje says that members of the De Soto expedition saw more evidence of gold mines (presumably copper) than they had seen thus far.\textsuperscript{61} Vandera says that Joara was as beautiful a land as the best in all Spain, and he says that Joara was 100 leagues from Santa Elena.\textsuperscript{62} Once he arrived \textsuperscript{143} at Joara, Pardo learned that Moyano had gone on ahead and was surrounded by Indians.

Their time of departure from Joara is unclear. Pardo says they traveled through the wilderness four days before they reached the next town, Tocae.\textsuperscript{63} Vandera indicates that it took them "three days to get through."\textsuperscript{64} It is clear, though, that they arrived in Tocae on October 1, and spent only four hours at this place, talking with some chiefs, before going on to sleep in the open.\textsuperscript{55} Most likely they departed from Joara on September 28, and passed through Tocae on the third day after departing. Tocae was said to be situated at the far tip of a ridge of mountains, presumably the same mountains which lay near Joara. This may mean that Tocae was situated somewhat north of Asheville. The land was supposed to be good here, with many meadows. Pardo says that Tocae was a good village with wooden houses.

F.A. Sondley reports mounds and the remains of a village along both banks of the Swannanoa River where it joins the French Broad River.\textsuperscript{66} However, a location for Tocae somewhat further downstream on the French Broad
Figure 2. Moyano's activities, Spring 1567.
Figure 3. Pardo’s second expedition, September 1, 1567-March 2, 1568.
fits Pardo’s itinerary better. The name "Tocae" is possibly a Hispanicized version of the Cherokee word *untakiyastiyi*, literally "where they [the waters] race," the Cherokee name for the segment of the French Broad River downstream from Asheville.67 Upstream from Asheville the French Broad is placid, but beyond Asheville it becomes rapid, and through a series of cascades and falls it descends some 1,500 feet before it emerges from the mountains. Its bed is solid rock, and the banks on both sides are often perpendicular. The trail, and later the wagon road, followed the banks of the [144] river for almost its entire distance.68 In the early 1800s the land along the upper French Broad still consisted of extensive prairies or meadows.

The derivation of "Swannanoa"—the name of the gap and the river along Pardo’s route through the Blue Ridge Mountains—is also consistent with our proposed route. James Mooney notes that "Swannanoa" derives from the Cherokee word *Suwalinunnahi*, "the Suwali trail." The people the Cherokees called *Ani-Suwal* or *Ani-Suwal* lived east of the mountains.69 Cherokee *Suwal* is De Soto’s "Xuala" and Pardo’s "Joara."

On October 2, Pardo reached the town of Cauchi, probably located on the French Broad River at Marshall, North Carolina.70 It is described as being on a large stream with good land and large meadows. Alluvial lands do exist along the margins of the French Broad River near Marshall, but they are none too wide. In fact, according to an old history of Buncombe County, "it used to be said that pegged shoes were first made there because the hills so enclose the place that it would be impossible for a shoemaker to draw out his thread to the full width of his arms, and consequently had to hammer in pegs, which he could do by striking up and down."71 There is a moderately large island in the river at Marshall—Blennerhassett Island—which the Indians could have farmed. Pardo evidently remained at Cauchi for one day.72 After departing Cauchi and traveling through uninhabited mountains for three days, still following the French Broad River, Pardo reached the town of Tanasqui on October 6.73 Vander replaced the country which lay beyond Cauchi to Andalusia, i.e. a fertile valley surrounded by mountains.74 Tanasqui was situated between two copious rivers, the French Broad and the Pigeon. They were able to ford one of these rivers, probably the Pigeon, though with some difficulty. The town itself was located near the junction of the two rivers, with [145] its third side defended by a palisade stretching between the two rivers. Three defensive towers were positioned along this palisade. The cacique of this town, Tanasqui Orata, explained to Pardo that he had built the palisade to defend against his enemies. Presumably because of something he saw at Tanasqui, Pardo believed that gold and silver could be had in this general area.

The next day, October 7, Pardo continued on to a town which had two names: Chiaha and Olamico.75 Neither Pardo nor Vanders appears to have understood why it had two designations. The reason seems to have been that while the main towns of small southeastern chiefdoms had the same names as did the chiefdoms themselves, the larger chiefdoms had paramount towns and paramount chiefs. Hence, the chiefdom of Chiaha had as its paramount town Olamico (probably a variant of western Muskogean *okla miko*, meaning "leader of the chiefdom") and a paramount chief named Olamico.76 Additionally, there was in the chiefdom of Chiaha also a town named Chiaha governed by a chief named Chiaha Orata. To prevent confusion, henceforth "Olamico" will always be used to designate the paramount town of the chiefdom of Chiaha.

Olamico was a very strong town because it was on an island surrounded by a river. The French Broad River contains many islands, but the most likely one was Zimmerman’s Island, near Dandridge, Tennessee. De Soto also visited this town, and the description of the island by the Gentleman of Elvas closely resembles Zimmerman’s Island: "The town was isolated between two arms of a river, and seated near one of them. Above it, at the distance of two crossbowshots, the water divided, and united a league below. The vale between, from side to side, was the width of a crossbowshot, and in others two. The branches were very wide, and both were fordable: along their shores were very rich meadow-lands, having many maize-fields."77 There was a [146] thirty-foot high mound on Zimmerman’s Island which was situated some 550 to 600 yards from the upstream end of the island, and since a crossbow shot was on the order of about 300 yards, it agrees with Elvas’s description.78 Likewise, the island was about 550 to 600 yards wide at its widest. It was about two and one-half miles long, somewhat less than a league. No other island with a large mound in the Tennessee-French Broad River matches Elvas’s description as closely as Zimmerman’s Island.

Vanders says that Olamico was a large village inhabited by many Indians. It governed a rich land, watered by several rivers, with many small villages scattered at one, two, or three leagues away. There were also large meadows, fine grapes, and many "medlar" trees (i.e. persimmon). Vanders notes that they had to cross three large rivers to get to Olamico. These must have been the French Broad, the Pigeon, and then an arm of the French Broad at Zimmerman’s Island. This is the town in which Sergeant Moyano had been encircled and had built a "fort." Pardo learned from an Indian informant in Olamico that further on, "six or seven thousand" Indians were laying an ambush for him. These included the Indians of "Carrosa, Chisca, and Costheycoco."79

After having rested in Olamico for five days, Pardo and his men continued their journey, but their movements for the next few days are more difficult to reconstruct than any up to this point.80 Sergeant Moyano, who had been at Olamico for several months, went along with Pardo, presumably to give him benefit of the knowledge he had gained during his stay. They seem not to have followed the trail along which De Soto is thought to have taken when he departed from this same town.

When De Soto was here a cacique of Coste came and told him that one could find copper or gold to the north, in the province of Chisca, but that in Chisca there were mountains over which horses could not go. So De Soto sent two of his men on foot along [147] with some Indians who spoke the language of the Chiscas. These two Spaniards later rejoined De Soto at Coste (Bussells Island, near Lenoir City, Tennessee), having come downstream by canoe. They reported that the land of Chisca was full of high mountains and was so poor in maize that an army could not march in that direction.81 Ranjel partially contradicts Elvas, saying that it was from Coste that De Soto sent these men to the north. He adds that they brought back "good news," i.e. presumably news of
metals. It is probable that Pardo and Moyano had some knowledge of De Soto's experience.

It is likely that when Pardo departed from Olamico, he was not only seeking a trail south to Coosa, but was also looking for precious metals, which he thought might be in the vicinity. On October 13, he set out directly west from Olamico, traveling five leagues and sleeping in the open. This would have put the force near the Holston River, west of De Soto's knowledge of De la Vandera. It is probable that Pardo was looking for precious metals, which he thought might be in the vicinity, though it is possible that his identification was incorrect. But Pardo accepted this as evidence that gold and silver occurred in the vicinity.

Their whereabouts at this point are problematic. It is clear that they were traveling through an unpopulated area, away from the chiefdoms along the French Broad and Holston rivers. They must have been in the ridge and valley country north of present Knoxville. These mountains were much smaller than the Blue Ridge Mountains, but they could have been perceived as being more "rugged," in that no major trail led where they wanted to go, and they were beyond the pale of chiefly cultivation. Hence, the Spanish found themselves in a wilderness. A more serious problem is that it is difficult to see how in this area they would have been constrained to cross a "very high mountain," unless of course they deliberately sought it out for the purpose of prospecting for the silver ore they thought they had [148] succeeded in finding. This "high mountain" could have been the southern end of Clinch Mountain or Copper Ridge.

On October 15, after traveling an unspecified distance, Pardo reached Chalahume. This town was probably on the Tennessee River, in or near present Knoxville. Vandera compared this country to Cordova, with large meadows, and grapes as good as those in Spain. It was a land so pleasant it seemed to Vandera as if Spaniards had cultivated it.

On October 16, Pardo went two leagues further to Satapo, which also had good houses, much corn, and many forest fruits. Both towns were situated near beautiful rivers. There is an implication that Satapo was surrounded by a palisade. It was perhaps located just southwest of Knoxville, possibly near the mouth of Little River. At Satapo the Spanish learned that many Spaniards (i.e., the De Soto expedition) both on foot and on horseback had passed through "these parts" previously, and that the chief of Satapo claimed to have killed some of them. Later in the day on which they arrived, they heard that the Indians of Satapo, Coosa, Huchi, Casque, and Olamico (Chiaha) were planning to ambush them while they were en route to Coosa. They were told that these Indians had killed Spaniards before (i.e., De Soto's men). Some Indians of Olamico had been traveling with them and evidently were part of the conspiracy.

If this reconstruction is correct, Satapo was about a day's journey from De Soto's Coste, which was probably located on Bussells Island, in the mouth of the Little Tennessee River. The claim that the Indians of Satapo killed some of De Soto's men is evidently an exaggeration. When De Soto reached Coste (presumably a town allied with Satapo), the Indians became angry when the Spaniards began taking corn from their storehouses. The Indians of Coste grabbed up their clubs and bows and arrows and threatened to fight, but De Soto avoided conflict by a clever stratagem. None of the De Soto narratives report loss of life on either side. Nor do the De Soto narratives report loss of life at Coosa, where the Indians likewise became hostile.

[149] Facing imminent danger, Pardo decided to return to Olamico by a trail different from the one he had arrived on, a distance he expected to travel in three days. He evidently departed Satapo on October 17, traveling through an uninhabited area, and reaching, on October 19, the village of Chiaha, whose chief was Chiaha Orata. The next day the Spanish departed the village of Chiaha and arrived in Olamico.

While Pardo was in Satapo, an Indian told him that there was a much better route to Coosa which lay along the river that ran by Olamico. It is believed that this was the trail which ran from the French Broad River near the mouth of Dumpling Creek south through present Maryville. It is likely that De Soto followed this trail going south and Pardo followed it going north on his way from Satapo to Chiaha. Chiaha was probably located where this trail crossed the French Broad.

Again if this reconstruction is accurate, Pardo got no further south than just beyond Knoxville, Tennessee. From Indians and from one soldier who claimed to have traveled further than the rest, Juan de la Vandera collected some information on towns to the south. According to this information, from Satapo it was but a short distance to "Casque" (or "Casque"), which was probably the same as the town of Coste, which De Soto visited. It was on Bussells Island, about a day's travel from where Satapo is believed to have been. From Satapo to Coosa it was said to be five or six days' travel, and this also is consistent with the experience of De Soto.

Beyond "Casque," the trail to Coosa was said to be thinly populated, with no more than three small villages. The first village, Tasqui, was said to be two days' travel from Satapo, and in this entire distance there was good land and three large rivers. This agrees only in part with what De Soto experienced. It took De Soto four days to go from Coste to Tasqui, and he crossed two small streams and one large one, the latter being the Hiwassee River.

The other villages on the trail to Coosa included Tasqui, which was a short distance beyond Tasqui; a day further was Olitifar, a "destroyed town"; two days further was a small [150] village; and about a league beyond this was yet another small village. None of these villages was mentioned by name by the De Soto chroniclers. All of them presumably lay between Tasqui and Coosa, but if this was in fact the case, the travel time between Tasqui and Coosa indicated by Vandera is too long.

Coosa was said to be the best town in the entire region besides Santa Elena. It was situated on low ground, on the slope of a mountain, and it had many small villages around it at a distance of a quarter of a league to a league. It was said to have had about 150 "inhabitants." This physical description of Coosa is consistent with that in the De Soto chronicles. The population, however, is far lower than in De Soto's time, and it is probably too low even for Pardo's time. It may be that Vandera meant to report 150 houses instead of 150 inhabitants.
From Coosa it was said that one could go straight to Tascaluza, to the south, in seven days, with only two or three villages along the way. In fact, however, it took De Soto twelve travel days to go from Coosa to Talisi, a town which could be regarded as the first town of Tascaluza. Along the way, the De Soto chroniclers mention the names of only five villages. However, if Tuasi (one of the five) were to be regarded as the first town of Tascaluza, then Vandera's information is substantially correct.

From Tascaluza to New Spain it was said to be nine to thirteen days, but most of Vandera's informants said it was nine days. And in all this distance, there was only one village with four or five houses. It is difficult to see what the substance of this statement could have been. If by "New Spain" Vandera meant Mexico, then this estimate of distance was wildly inaccurate. If, on the other hand, "New Spain" meant the Gulf coast, then the travel time is about right.

What happened after Pardo and his men returned to Olamico is somewhat muddled. They began to build a "fort" there, presumably beginning on October 20, which they named San Pedro, "and after four days it was finished."92 But Vandera also says that the force departed from Olamico on October 22, and arrived in Cauchi on October 27, after six days of travel, a reasonable rate, since the men were ascending steep mountains.93 [151] They may have begun construction of the fort at Chiha and then departed, leaving a garrison behind to complete it. Pardo evidently passed through Tanasqui without stopping. In Cauchi he built another fort (San Pablo) in four days, completing work on October 30. Continuing on, he arrived in Tocae on November 1, after one or two days of travel. He and his men rested here on November 2.94

On November 3, they departed Tocae, going five leagues and sleeping in the open. Their camp for the night would have been on the Swannanoa River near the present town of Azalea. On November 4, they went five leagues further, and spent the night sleeping in a "ravine."This probably would have been in the vicinity of Ridgecrest, North Carolina. On November 5, they went four leagues further, sleeping in the open. Undoubtedly, the men were exhausted; otherwise they could easily have reached Joara before this day ended. As it was, some Indians came out from Joara bringing them food. At this time they would have been to the east of present Old Fort, North Carolina. Because of their fatigue, they may have been overestimating the distances they traveled these three days. On November 6, they arrived at Joara, Fort San Juan. Because they were very tired and had been poorly provisioned, they rested here for seventeen days.

While in Joara, Vandera noted down a series of puzzlingly inaccurate distances and directions between the string of forts they were building.95 According to Vandera, Chiha (i.e., Olamico) was fifty leagues to the west of Joara, whereas in fact the trail distance from Zimmermann's Island to Marion, North Carolina, is only a little over thirty-one leagues, and Zimmermann's Island is slightly to the northwest of Marion. He indicates that Cauchi was twenty-eight leagues to the northwest of Joara, whereas it was only about sixteen leagues of trail distance to the northwest. He says that Guatari was forty leagues northeast of Joara, whereas the trail distance from Salisbury to Marion is only thirty leagues or less, and it is very slightly to the northeast. Vandera writes that from Cofitachequi to Santa Elena it was fifty-five leagues to the south, whereas in fact Santa Elena is only fifty [152] leagues to the south of Camden. Finally, he notes that from Guatari to Cofitachequi it was forty-five leagues to the southeast, whereas the trail distance from Salisbury, North Carolina, to Camden, South Carolina, was only about thirty-four leagues, and Camden is slightly southwest of Salisbury. Of all the directions given by Vandera, this is the only one which is markedly in error. But it must be in error, because if it were taken literally it would mean that Guatari would have had to have been in the vicinity of Marion, North Carolina, or even in the Blue Ridge Mountains. Moreover, locating Guatari to the northwest of Cofitachequi would produce a reconstructed route which would contain a veritable swarm of inconsistencies.

Although it is impossible to determine the reason for Vandera's inaccuracies, it might be noted that all distances are made longer than they were, and the misstated directions tend to stretch the route toward the west, thus making the aborted trip to Zacatecas seem less of a failure than it really was. Interestingly, in his shorter account, Vandera gives some of these directions accurately. For example, he says that it was fifty leagues from Santa Elena to Cofitachequi, and he notes that it was eighty leagues from Santa Elena to Guatari.96

Another possible explanation for these discrepancies is that in this official summation of the line of forts he had built, Vandera may have been attempting to convert his "legua común" measurements (3.45 miles to a league), used in everyday affairs, to "legua legal" measurements (2.63 miles to a league), used in juridical matters. This explains his distances from Guatari to Joara and from Guatari to Cofitachequi. But his distances from Joara to Cauchi and from Joara to Olamico are too long even for the "legua legal." Both of these distances are for travel through mountains, and he was perhaps overestimating. None of these factors, however, account for his discrepant distance from Cofitachequi to Santa Elena, which is only five leagues longer than the actual distance.

On their return from Joara, Pardo and his men took a most interesting side trip to Ysa to prospect for gems.97 Earlier, on [153] November 7, the day after they arrived in Joara, Pardo had sent Moyano and the silversmith, Andres Xuarez, to locate at least one of the gem sources they later visited.98 On November 24, they departed Joara and slept in the open, probably in the vicinity of Morganton, a then uninhabited region. On November 25, they traveled five leagues farther, reaching the small village of Dudca, which was subject to the chief of Ysa. This would place Dudca in the extreme southeastern corner of Burke County or the southwestern corner of Catawba County, probably on upper Jacob's Fork.

On November 26, the Spanish went a quarter of a league beyond Dudca, and on the left side of the trail they found a "crystal mine."99 Juan de Ribas says that they broke off "a small point [of crystal]" using mauls and iron wedges, presumably the same kind of iron wedges they were giving to the Indians as presents.100 They continued on for another quarter of a league and found still more crystals, this time on the right side of the trail. If our locations are correct, they may have been the original discoverers of what is now the Bessie Hudson mine, situated west of North Carolina Highway 18, 0.4 miles east of the Burke-Catawba county line. This mine is in an area between two tributaries of Jacob's Fork. It has produced beryl, and in
the immediate vicinity of the mine chalcopyrite and garnet have been found. \[101\] Depending on which variety, beryl is semi-precious to very precious (i.e. emerald). Garnet has low to medium value.

Subsequently, the place where Moyano and Pardo found these gems seems to have entered the realm of myth. In 1600 Juan de Ribas remembered it as a high hill called "Los Diamantes." The crystal of this hill was so hard, claimed Ribas, that Moyano could only succeed in breaking off a small piece of it. Moyano himself was evidently responsible for much of this exaggeration. \[154\] Alferez Francisco Fernandez de Ecija reports having heard Moyano say that "Los Diamantes" was a crystal mountain, bare and entirely free of trees, with many diamonds. He told Ecija that it was so hard that when he tried to break into it with sharp iron wedges, the wedges broke into pieces. \[102\]

On November 28 Pardo traveled from the crystal mines to Ysa, which was near Lincolnton, North Carolina. He and his men remained here until December 11. On December 10 they learned that a league downriver from Ysa, on the "other side of the river," there was another source of gems. Assuming that Ysa was on the east side of the South Fork of the Catawba River, where an old trail did in fact pass, then the gems in question may have been along Beaverdam Creek in northern Gaston County, about a league south of Lincolnton. Here cassiterite, mica, feldspar, garnet, and spodumene have been found. \[103\]

On December 11, the Spanish departed Ysa and went three leagues to another town named Ysa (possibly Ysa the Lesser), probably located on the upper South Fork of the Catawba River. \[104\] Then, on December 12, they went five leagues further and arrived at Quinahaqui. They rested in Quinahaqui on December 13. The following day, they continued on for five leagues, spending the night in the open. The next day they made six leagues and arrived at Guatari; \[105\] Here they built Fort Santiago, a stronger fort than the ones they had erected previously. It was finished on January 6.

Near the town of Guatari, a great river passed (the Yadkin-Pee Dee), which was said to empty into the sea at Samp and Usi, where it becomes salty. The mouth of this river (Winyaw Bay) was said to be sixty leagues from Santa Elena. Vandera notes that any ship was supposed to be able to sail up the mouth of this river for twenty leagues. \[106\] He also says Guatari was \[155\] eighty leagues from Santa Elena. These distances and descriptions place Guatari in the vicinity of present Salisbury, North Carolina.

It is noteworthy that on the earliest English maps of the Carolinas, the Pee Dee-Yadkin River is called the "Watteree River," as for example, on the Joel Gascoyne map of 1682. But on the Edward Moseley map of 1733 this river has its modern name. \[107\] The reason for this westward migration of the name "Watteree" was that at some time after Pardo's visit the Guatari Indians moved westward and took their name with them. They were, in fact, living on the Watteree River as early as 1701, when John Lawson visited them. \[108\] This nomenclature is made even more confusing by the fact that the by 1600 the Spanish appear to have called the Watteree-Catawba River the "Guatari River" presumably because it ran alongside a part of the trail they traveled to reach the town of Guatari, which at that time was probably still where it was in Pardo's day. \[109\]

On January 7, 1568, Pardo departed Guatari, heading for Aracuchi. The force traveled for five days, making five leagues per day, thus covering twenty-five leagues in all. \[110\] At Aracuchi Pardo decided to split his party up, sending one group on south to Cofitachequi, while he would take the other group towards the east to Ylasi, where he was to meet some caciques he had not talked to before. So, on December 12, Pardo's group set out for Ylasi, but because they were short of food, they could only travel four leagues per day. In five days they made twenty leagues, thus placing Ylasi somewhere in the vicinity of present Cheraw, South Carolina. \[111\] Ylasi is surely the same as the Ilapi of the De Soto expedition. \[112\]

They remained in Ylasi for four days because it rained heavily, and on January 21 they departed and headed for Cofitachequi. \[156\] The first day upon leaving the village they had to cross a swamp a league wide with water up to their knees, and higher in some places, and covered with ice. This was probably water from Pee Dee Swamp which, swollen from the heavy rains, had backed up into the mouth of Thompson Creek. And even though they traveled through other swampy places that day, they still claim to have made five leagues, sleeping that night in the open. They were short of food, but even so they made six more leagues the next day, arriving at Yea, probably located at the head of Big Pine Tree Creek. Here they spent the night of January 22.

The next morning Pardo sent ahead a corporal with twenty men and twenty Indians to Guiomae, where they were to sack up some corn and carry it on ahead to Cozao, and there wait for the rest of the party to arrive. He commanded Moyano to go in advance of this party to Cozao, where he was to sack up corn and to await the arrival of Pardo and his company. From here they would carry the sacks of corn to Santa Elena, where supplies were running short. On January 23, Pardo then took his remaining men and went the final two leagues to Cofitachequi. They remained here for several days, sacking up corn in deerskin sacks and arranging for the use of canoes to carry them downriver to Guiomae. They sent part of the corn in canoes, while carrying the rest of it overland in the sacks. Pardo remained at Guiomae through February 11, when he dismissed almost all the Indian interpreters he had taken along, giving them presents in reward for their services.

They departed Guiomae on February 12, carrying the corn. Two days later, they arrived at Aboyaca, where there were some "fallen houses." Because they were carrying heavy sacks of corn, travel through the swamps was very difficult. The swamps they encountered on this day would have been those along the North Fork of the Edisto River and its tributaries, near present Orangeburg.

On February 15, they again headed through very large and deep swamps. Three were particularly bad and dangerous. These were probably Snake Swamp, the swamp along the South Fork of the Edisto River, and the swamp along the Little Salkehatchie River. But in spite of these swamp crossings, Vandera claims to have made seven leagues on this day. They spent the night in an uninhabited place. On February 16 they arrived at Cozao. On [157] this part of the journey they were eating roots and acorns supplied to them by the Indians, presumably
saving the corn they were carrying for Santa Elena. At Cozao they picked up sixty additional bushels of corn. Apparently traveling in haste, they did not spend the night at Cozao, but went two leagues beyond and stayed the night in the open. They continued on their way by canoe, and about two o’clock in the afternoon they landed and carried the corn a quarter of a league to Orista. The cacique of Orista promised to keep plenty of canoes on hand for the future use of the Spaniards. They constructed between February 20 and March 2 a stronghouse at Orista in which they could store food. They named Orista “Nuestra Señora de Buena Esperanza” because of its location at the very beginning of the interior.

Because he had learned that food supplies were so short in Santa Elena, Pardo directed Pedro de Hermosa, a sergeant, with thirty soldiers to go back and remain at Cofitachequi. Moreover, Pardo sent instructions that the Indians at Guiomae were to build four canoes which were to be reserved for use by the Spanish, and that the people of Ytasi were also to build three canoes for their use. Finally, he sent some soldiers to Guando to procure corn to be brought back to Orista by the Guando Indians.

Pardo ordered the Indians to assemble a number of canoes, and on March 2, 1568, they returned “on the direct road to the point and city of Santa Elena,” arriving around three o’clock in the afternoon. It is not clear from the documents whether they went the entire distance in the canoes, or whether they carried the corn overland part of the way.

At the conclusion of this, his second expedition, Juan Pardo [158] returned to Santa Elena after having been gone for six months and two days. Hernando Moyano had been away for fifteen months and two days. During this time they had explored the length of present South Carolina, western North Carolina, and crossed the Blue Ridge Mountains into eastern Tennessee, where they explored from the upper Nolichucky River to the upper Tennessee River south of Knoxville. From Orista on the coast of South Carolina to Cauchi in the Blue Ridge Mountains they had forced the Indians to build a string of houses in which they kept corn and other stores for the Spanish to use. They had built small fortifications at Olamico or Chiaha (Fort San Pedro), Cauchi (Fort San Pablo), Joara (Fort San Juan), Guatari (Fort Santiago), Canos or Cofitachequi (Fort Santo Tomas), and Orista (Nuestra Señora de Buena Esperanza). They had manned each of these fortifications with small detachments of soldiers. They had distributed presents to Indian leaders along the way, hoping to bring them into amity with Spain. And finally, Sergeant Moyano and his men had destroyed two Indian towns, including the town of the chief who had so rashly threatened to eat him, his men, and even his dog.

Notes

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1 Stanley South, “The Discovery of Santa Elena,” Research Manuscript Series #165, Institute of Archeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, July 1980.
2 David B. Quinn, North America from Earliest Discovery to First Settlements: The Norse Voyages to 1612 (New York, 1977), 240-41.
5 Quinn, North America, 275.
6 These three accounts were edited and translated by Herbert E. Ketcham, “Three Sixteenth Century Spanish Chronicles Relating to Georgia,” Georgia Historical Quarterly, XXXVIII (March 1954), 66-82. Ketcham erroneously says (p. 68) that Pardo began his first expedition in 1565, whereas it was in 1566, and that the Martínez account is of the second expedition, whereas it is of the first, and that the Vendra account pertains to the years 1566-1567, whereas it is an account of 1567-1568 (p. 78). These same accounts were translated by Gerald W. Wade and edited by Stanley J. Folsombe and Madeline Kneberg Lewis in “Journals of the Juan Pardo Expeditions, 1566-1567,” The East Tennessee Historical Society’s Publications, XXXVII (1965), 106-21. We have used the translations of Ketcham (hereinafter cited as Pardo, Martínez, and Vendra I).
7 Mary Ross, “With Pardo and Boyano on the Fringes of the Georgia Land,” Georgia Historical Quarterly, XIV (December 1930), 267-85.
10 Photostats of the original are in the Spanish Archives Collection of the North Carolina State Archives. An unpublished translation, believed to be by Herbert E. Ketcham, totals seventy-one typescript pages (hereinafter cited as Vendra II). This document has thus far only been used by Michael V. Gannon to reconstruct Pardo’s first expedition, and his conclusions about Pardo’s movements are quite different from ours. Michael V. Gannon, “Sebastian Montero, Pioneer American Missionary, 1566-1572,” The Catholic Historical Review, LI (October 1965), 543-46.
11 “Report made officially before Don Gonzalo Mendez de Canó, Governor of the Provinces of Florida, upon the situation of La Tama and its riches, and the English Settlement,” AGI 54-5-9, folio 17. Mary Ross Collection, Georgia State Archives (hereinafter cited as Canó).
12 Vendra II, 6. Pardo, p. 69, says they departed on Saint Andrews Day, i.e., November 30.
13 Pardo, 69-70. Pardo spells it “Juada.”

16 Pardo, 71. These details help fix the location of Joara on the Upper Catawba River. Unlike the Savannah, Saluda, Enoree, Pacolet, Broad, and South Fork of the Catawba River, all of which flow to the southeast, the upper Catawba River flows east northeast for a distance before it turns to flow southward.

17 Perhaps the other town was Guaquiri. See below.


19 Vendra II, 7, 2.

20 Martinez's memorandum is dated July 11, 1567. This was after Pardo returned from his first expedition and before he departed on his second expedition. Martinez evidently wrote an account of the first expedition in a book, which he gave, along with a copy of his memorandum, to Garcia Osorio, governor of Cuba. A scribe in Havana copied it on October 6, 1567. At this time Pardo had already embarked on his second expedition.

21 This letter may have been carried to Santa Elena by Sebastian Montero, who apparently came for a brief visit in the spring or summer of 1567. Gannon, "Sebastian Montero," 349.

22 Martinez, 76-77. This information implies that a second letter from Moyano reached Santa Elena, presumably arriving before Pardo departed on his second expedition.


25 Neither of these trails appear on the Mouzon map of 1775. This map does show an "Indian Road" from the upper Catawba River into the mountains, but this particular trail is one that went by Table Mountain, Grandfather Mountain, and northward to the headwaters of the Watauga River. Both of the trails from Joara through the mountains are shown for the first time on the Price-Strother map of 1808. Both trails were no doubt familiar to John Strother, one of the compilers of this map, who was an official surveyor of the boundary line run between North Carolina and what was later to be the state of Tennessee. The map was copyrighted in 1796, but publication was delayed until 1808. The Price-Strother map does not, however, show the fork of the trail leading from the North Toe River to the Doe and Watauga rivers. The first map to show both forks of the trail is the MacRae-Brazier map of 1833. See William P. Cumming, North Carolina in Maps (Raleigh, 1966), 23-27.

26 Sondley, Buncombe County, II, 610.

27 Ibid, 618. Sondley says that hogs could be driven eight to ten miles per day along this road. See also Edmund Cody Burnett, "Hog Raising and Hog Driving in the Region of the French Broad River," Agricultural History, XX (April 1946), 86-103.


30 Canço, 12.

31 Vendra II, 1-2.


33 Vendra I, 78. This clay may help in precisely locating Usamacucu, because clay only occurs in isolated places on the coast.

34 Ibid.


36 Vendra I, 78. Cozao was probably the namesake of the Coosawhatchee River.

37 Ibid.

38 Although Vendra does not mention a river crossing on this day, they must have crossed the North Fork of the Edisto River near present Orangeburg.

39 Vendra I spells this "Guiomaez." Pardo (p. 72) and Vendra II (p. 8) spell it "Guiomae." It was probably the same town as De Soto's "Aymay" or "Hymahi." It may in some way be related to seventeenth- and eighteenth-century "Yemassee," Elvas, "Narrative," 61; Rodrigo Ranjal, "Narrative," in Narratives of the Career of Hernando de Soto, Edward Gaylord Bourne, trans. and ed. (New York, 1922), 96.

40 Because the location of Guiomae is fairly certain, this is evidence that Pardo's usual unit of measurement was the legua común (5.57 km. or 3.45 miles) and not the legua legal (4.19 km. or 2.63 miles). See Roland Chardon, "The Elusive Spanish League: A Problem of Measurement in Sixteenth-Century New Spain," Hispanic American Historical Review, XL (May 1980), 294-302.

41 They had to cross the Congaree River in order to get to Guiomae, although no river crossing is mentioned in the documents. They probably made the crossing in Indian canoes. The site of this crossing was probably at or near McCord's Ferry, as shown on the map of Richland District in Mills, Mills' Atlas. One piece of evidence for a river crossing here is that on his return journey, when Pardo reached the coast he sent a small party of men back into the interior with orders to command the cacique of Guiomae to build four canoes which were to be reserved for use by the Spanish (Vendra II, 67).

42 Pardo says they were at Guiomae two days (p. 72).

43 Vendra II, 8, 9. The Indians called this place "Canosi," and also "Cofetazquez" (Vendra I, 79), and perhaps also "Cajuous" (Pardo, 71). Pardo's men sometimes called it canios (Vendra II, 12). This was De Soto's Cofitachequi (Elvas, "Narrative," 61-65). When De Soto reached Cofitachequi, Ranjal says that the house of the chief of Cofitachequi was called "caney" (Ranjal, "Narratives," 101). This word may be Eastern Muskogean kanusi, "little ground," possibly referring to a square ground, i.e. a ceremonial center. See George E. Stuart, "The Post-Archaic Occupation of Central South Carolina" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1975), 98-128.

44 Vendra I, 79.

45 These topographic features are evidence for not placing Guiomae further north, say, at Columbia. Namely, Guiomae was on land that was not yet fall line terrain.

46 Vendra I, 79.

47 Vendra II, 58-59.

48 Luys Hernandez de Biedma, one of the De Soto chroniclers, says this distance was thirty leagues, a far more accurate estimate than Vendra's: Biedma, "Relation of the Conquest of Florida," in Bourne, Career of Hernando de Soto, 14. Elvas says that Ayllon's colony had been two day's journey from Cofitachequi ("Narrative," 64); this would have been two days of fast travel, even for an Indian runner.
McDonald's Ford, as shown on the map of Chester District where this trail crossed the Wateree River near the present north at Land's Ford.

This location assumes five leagues of travel.

In Mills, leagues of travel.

Town of Great Falls. The crossing was possibly at this direction and distance from the Spaniards who had come down from Guatari to meet them on the trail. These had established on his first expedition.

This measure is approximately correct, using our proposed locations. Vandera must have gotten this direction and distance from the Spaniards who had come down from Guatari to meet them on the trail. These were men who had been living at the outpost which Pardo had established on his first expedition. If this measurement is to be taken literally, it places Otari just south of Charlotte. Pardo, on the return of his first expedition, made it from Guatari to Guatariatiqui (i.e. Otari) in two days; thus, Pardo and his men could travel seven or eight leagues per day when they had to (p. 71). It should be recalled that on their return from their first expedition, they were afraid of a French attack on Santa Elena, and this is the reason they traveled in such haste.

Vandera I, 79. This location assumes five leagues of travel.

The measured distance from Guaquiri to Joara is about thirteen or fourteen leagues. Pardo confirms that it took them three days (p. 72).


Vandera II, 17.

Ranjel, "Narrative," 103-04.

Vandera I, 80. But elsewhere (Vandera II, 17) he says it is 120 leagues from Santa Elena. The actual measurement is about 105 leagues by trail distance.

Pardo, 72. Pardo has this as Tocaliques (p. 72).

Vandera I, 80.

Vandera II, 19.

Sondley, Buncombe County, II, 32-33.

James Mooney, Myths of the Cherokee, 19th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology (Washington, 1900), 543. Duane King is of the opinion that "Tocae" is probably derived from the Cherokee place-name dakwai, which James Mooney (Myths, 405) locates on the French Broad River about six miles above Warm Springs (now named Hot Springs) in Madison County, North Carolina, and thirty miles downstream from Asheville. The dakwa was a monstrous fish which the Cherokees believed lived at this place in the river. Anglicized versions of this place-name are Toqua and Toco, both used to refer to an important eighteenth-century Cherokee town on the Little Tennessee River.

Sondley, Buncombe County, I, 412-14; II, 578-79. Anglicized versions of untakiyastiyi are "Tocheste" and "Tocheoste." 

Mooney, Myths, 532. Mooney correctly identifies Swali or Suwala as Pardo's Joara (p. 509), but incorrectly places the people on the Broad River, where he believed Joara had been located.

Vandera II, 21; Vandera I, 80. Pardo spells it "Canche."

Arthur, Western North Carolina, 195.

The Pardo account is garbled. It says they remained in Cauchi four days.

Vandera II, 22. Was this the place-name from which the state of Tennessee takes its name?

Vandera II, 80.

Vandera I (p. 80) also calls it Solamico. Pardo spells them Chihaque and Lameco (p. 73).

De Soto appears to have encountered this kind of terminology in the chiefdom of Cofitachequi, whose paramount town was Talomico (i.e., Eastern Muskogean talwa mico, meaning "leader of the chiefdom.").

Elvas, "Narrative," 70. Unfortunately, Zimmermann's Island now lies beneath the waters of Douglas Lake. T.M.N. Lewis and Madeline Kneberg excavated a ten-foot by thirty-foot trench into the top of this mound. Beyond this no extensive excavation was done before the island was flooded. The few artifacts recovered indicated it to have been of the right time period.


Pardo, 73.

Vandera says they were in Chihaia for eight days, although it is clear that they arrived on October 7 and departed on October 13 (Vandera II, p. 24).


Ranjel, "Narrative," 110.

Vandera II, 24-25.

Pardo, 73.

Vandera I, 81. Chalahume may have been located at the Brakkebil mound site, near the junction of the Holston and French Broad rivers.

Ibid. Actually, both were on the same river, the Tennessee.

Vandera II, 27-28. Pardo says they were the Indians of Chisca, Carrosa, and the Costehycosa, over a hundred chiefs, some of whom he claimed were aligned with the Indians of Zacatecas (73-74).


Vandera II, 30.

Ibid., 34; Pardo (p. 74) confirms that they were four days getting back to Olamico.

Vandera I, 81-82. The identity of this soldier is unknown.

Vandera II, 35. Perhaps they merely strengthened the fort Moyano built.

Ibid., 36. They had come from Cauchi to Olamico in four days.

Ibid., 38. Here called "Tocae." Pardo says it took two days to reach Tocae (p. 74).

These distances and directions are our translation from Vandera's Spanish. This portion of the translation of the Vandera II document in the North Carolina archives is erroneous on several matters.

Vandera II, 79-80.

In his shorter account, Vandera does not mention this side trip, and Pardo apparently falsifies his account. Pardo says he spent ten days in Joara, whereas he was there from November 6 until November 24; and he says that he spent
four days going to Guatari, whereas they remained in the vicinity of Ysa from November 28 until December 11, probably spending this time prospecting for gems and precious metals. They departed from Ysa on December 11, arriving in Guatari on December 15 (Yandera I; Pardo, 74).

98 Yandera II, 44.
99 Ibid. They were perhaps at this time on the trail to Ysa, but one cannot be certain.
100 Canço, 7; DePratter and Smith, "Sixteenth Century Trade."
102 Canço, 7, 15.
103 Wilson and McKenzie, Mineral Collection Sites, 31, 67. Unless corroborating evidence can somehow be found, it is questionable whether these precise gem sources are the ones Pardo visited.
104 This location works no matter whether Quinahaqui was near Catawba or near Sherrill's Ford.
105 Yandera II, 52. Here he calls it Guatatico, implying that it was a paramount town comparable to Olamico.
106 Yandera I, 80. "Sanpa" is probably the origin of the name of the Sampit River, which empties into Winyaw Bay at present Georgetown. The mouth of Winyaw Bay and Waccamaw River is 120 miles or 32.88 nautical leagues from Santa Elena; the mouth of the Cape Fear River is 204 miles or 55.43 nautical leagues. One can sail a small ship up either of these rivers for ten leagues or more. Since the town of Guatari was at about the same latitude as the mouth of the Cape Fear River, the Spanish may well have been confused about these two rivers.
109 Canço, 7, et passim.
110 Yandera II, 54-55. Using our locations for Guatari and Aracuchi, the actual distance was twenty-two leagues.
111 Yandera II, 56. The distance as measured on a map is about twenty leagues.
112 Ranjel, "Narrative," 100.
113 Yandera II, 67. Presumably Pardo intended to use these canoes to make river and swamp crossings.
114 Ibid. In the seventeenth century the Guando Indians lived on Wando River, near present Charleston. See Gene Waddell, Indians of the South Carolina Low Country 1562-1751 (Spartanburg, 1980), 325-32.
115 Yandera II, 70.
Sixteenth Century European Trade in the Southeastern United States: Evidence from the Juan Pardo Expeditions (1566-1568)*

By

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In 1566-68, two Spanish expeditions commanded by Captain Juan Pardo ventured inland from Santa Elena, a Spanish settlement on the south Atlantic coast of North America (DePratter et al. 1980). Accompanied by 125 soldiers, Pardo explored the area from the coast inland beyond the Appalachian Mountains. Despite the importance of these expeditions, they have attracted comparatively little scholarly attention, perhaps because of the limited nature of published primary documents recording these journeys.

Published Pardo expedition documents are three in number: 1) Pardo's account of both expeditions (Ruidiaz y Caravia 1894); 2) a highly condensed account of the first expedition by a soldier, Francisco Martinez (Ruidiaz 1894); and 3) a brief account of the second expedition by Juan de la Vendra who was the expedition's official scribe (Smith 1857; Ruidiaz 1894).

Translations of all three accounts into English have been published by Ketcham (1954), Folmsbee and Lewis (1965), and Quinn (1979). These three accounts provide only limited details about the route taken, local populations, and trade goods distributed. Previous studies of Pardo's explorations (Mooney 1900; Ross 1930; Lowery 1905; De Soto Expedition Commission 1939; and Baker 1974) have been based entirely on these three documents.

A fourth, unpublished account written by Juan de la Vendra (1569) provides more details concerning all aspects of Pardo's second trip into the interior. When used together, the four known accounts furnished a relatively complete picture of both expeditions, including the route followed and the trade materials that were distributed (DePratter et al. 1980).

[68]Historical Background

Pardo's explorations were Spanish initiatives in the sixteenth century rivalry between Spain and France. The southeastern United States, *La Florida* to the Spaniards, was the focus of this rivalry because of its proximity to the important shipping routes followed by treasure-laden Spanish ships returning to Europe from the Caribbean. France wanted a base from which to mount attacks against that shipping. The Atlantic coast of Florida was a natural choice for locating such a base because of the open sea route from there back to France.

In 1562, Jean Ribault founded a small French colony at Charlesfort on Port Royal Sound in present-day South Carolina (South 1980). Once the fort was built, Ribault assigned a garrison of 28 men to defend it. He then returned to France to obtain supplies and plan for the next year's expansion of the colony. Soon after Ribault's departure, the fort's storeroom burned down. The men ran short of food and dissension broke out (Bennett 1975:42-48; Quinn 1977). Finally the soldiers mutinied and killed their commander. Faced with the prospect of starvation, the soldiers built a small ship and sailed for France. One Frenchman, Guillaume Rufin, remained with the Indians. Most of the other soldiers ultimately were rescued by an English vessel.

In 1564, René Goulaine de Laudonnière, who served under Ribault, returned to Florida and established Fort Caroline at the mouth of the St. John's River. Spain immediately recognized this colony as a threat to her interest, and King Phillip II took steps to erase that threat. He chose Pedro Menéndez de Avilés to eradicate the French colony and establish Spanish settlements on the Florida mainland to prevent future French incursions (Quinn 1977:282).

On August 28, 1565, Menéndez arrived in Florida with 1,000 soldiers and established a town and fort at San Agustín (Fig. 1). Three weeks later he attacked Fort Caroline, which was undermanned and in poor repair. Menéndez's force routed the French defenders, and massacred more than 300 Frenchmen in the ensuing weeks.

When the French presence in Florida had been effectively eliminated, Menéndez turned his efforts to consolidating his control over all of what Spain then considered Florida. His plans encompassed an area extending from Chesapeake Bay in the north along the Atlantic coast and west along the Gulf coast to the Panuco River in modern Mexico. Menéndez had forts built at the mouths of the St. John's River (Fort San Mateo and two blockhouses, San Gabriel and San Esteban), the St. Lucie River (Fort Santa Lucía), and on Port Royal Sound (Fort San Felipe). Indian attacks and food shortages soon resulted in mutiny and desertion at all of the posts and by the summer of 1566 Menéndez's original force of 1,000 had been reduced by over 300.

In June, Sancho de Arciniega arrived at San Agustín with 1,500 soldiers and settlers in addition to much-needed supplies. Faced with the problem of feeding and housing such a large force, Menéndez stationed 250 soldiers at each of his three major forts (Fig. 1): San Felipe, San Mateo and San Agustín (Quinn 1977:268). Captain Juan Pardo commanded the contingent sent to San Felipe (Ketcham 1954; Folmsbee and Lewis 1965). Other soldiers established Fort San Pedro (Fig. 1) and most of Arciniega's settlers were sent to Santa Elena. Menéndez had the remaining soldiers placed aboard ships and sent into the Caribbean to chase pirates (Quinn 1977:268).

Once the east coast forts were garrisoned and settlements were in place at San Agustín and Santa Elena, Menéndez turned his attention to settlement and exploration of other parts of Florida. He established a fort, San Antonio, and a mission, Tocobaga, on the Gulf Coast, and dispatched an expedition to explore Chesapeake Bay (Quinn 1979:II:551-54). As part of the same effort, Menéndez ordered Captain Pardo to explore areas inland from Santa Elena.
Pardo's Mission

Pardo's explorations were intended to achieve several goals. Menéndez's most pressing need was to disperse his forces and thus reduce the drain on his insufficient supplies (Quinn 1979:V:523). Menéndez therefore ordered Pardo to take 150 men into the interior to establish forts there and to arrange for the Indians to supply provisions to the garrisons (Barrientos 1965:121,127).

A secondary function of the expedition was to find an overland route to Mexico, specifically the mines of Zacatecas and San Martín. The forts were to assist in keeping this overland route open. Such a route was considered feasible due to the relative ease with which de Soto had passed through much of the same area 25 years earlier. Geographic concepts had become somewhat distorted during that 25-year interval, however, and Menéndez thought that the distance from Santa Elena to the mines in Mexico was only 300 to 350 leagues, or 790 to 910 miles (Quinn 1979:II:398, 402). Tristán de Luna, who led an expedition inland from the Gulf coast in search of de Soto's Coosa in 1559-61, thought that the distance from the Gulf of Mexico to Santa Elena was only 80 leagues (Priestley 1928:II:259). Because of this deficient geographical knowledge, Pardo was expected to make the trip to the Mexican mines and back in only six months.

A third motivation lay behind the Pardo expedition: the search for treasure. Despite the fact that neither de Soto nor de Luna had found any gold or silver in the interior, Menéndez was convinced that those metals existed in the mountainous areas located 100 leagues inland from the Atlantic coast. This conclusion was based on several lines of evidence. First, Menéndez was told by French captives that the coastal Indians obtained both silver and crystals from the inland mountains (Quinn 1979:II:305). In fact, when he took Fort Caroline, Menéndez captured 5,000-6,000 ducats worth of silver reputed to be from that source. This line of evidence was further reinforced by Menéndez's geographical concepts. He thought that the mountains inland from Santa Elena were part of the same range that ran through Zacatecas (Quinn 1979:II:398). Finally the Spaniards thought that copper deposits were a sure sign of the presence of gold (Quinn 1979:II:535). Indians throughout the southeast possessed copper, so the Spaniards reasoned that gold deposits must be located nearby. Given the information available to him, Menéndez concluded that gold, silver, "crystals," and perhaps other important minerals existed in the area inland from Santa Elena.

Into the Interior

Juan Pardo led two separate forays into the interior. The first expedition of 125 men set forth November 1, 1566, and traveled through Canos (or Cofitachique) to Joara located at the base of the Appalachians (Fig. 1). While at Joara, Pardo received a message from Menéndez recalling him to the coast to help defend Santa Elena in case of a French summer offensive. Before departing to the coast, Pardo constructed Fort San Juan at Joara and stationed 30 men there under the command of Sergeant Boyano. Pardo then returned to the coast by way of Guatari and Canos.

While Pardo was in Santa Elena during the spring and summer of 1567, Sergeant Boyano led an expedition farther inland to Chiaha and beyond. After a fierce battle at a fortified town, Boyano returned to Chiaha to await Pardo's return the next fall (Martinez in Ketcham 1954:74-78).

In September, 1567, Pardo once again moved inland with 120 soldiers. He marched directly to Fort San Juan and then on to Chiaha, where he was reunited with Sergeant Boyano and his unit. They then continued toward Coosa, but reports of a large Indian force farther ahead dissuaded Pardo from reaching his destination. A single soldier apparently did continue on, ultimately passing through both Coosa and Tuscalusa before returning to Santa Elena (Méndez de Canzo 1600).

Although Pardo failed to establish a fort at Coosa as planned by Menéndez (Quinn 1979:II:402), he did establish six forts in the interior (Fig. 1): Ft. San Pedro (?) at Chiaha, Ft. San Pablo at Cauchi, Ft. Santa Juan at Joara, Ft. Santiago at Guatari, Ft. Santo Tomas at Canos, and Ft. Nueva Señora de Buena Esperanza at Orista (Vandera 1569). Garrisons of 10 to 30 men were assigned to each fort. Once most of his men were dispersed in the forts, Pardo returned to Santa Elena. On the return journey, Pardo halted at several "crystal" mines reported to him by Boyano and the Indians of Joara. He found crystals at several locations, and it is likely that one of these crystals was given to Menéndez (Ross 1930:285). The area from which the gem stone was collected contains beryl, garnet, and quartz, and diamonds have been found in the general vicinity (Wilson and McKenzie 1978:63, 66-67).

Trade Materials

Because of the Spanish interest in opening an overland route to Mexico and obtaining much needed supplies from the Indians, Pardo received orders to "Pacify and quiet the caciques or Indians of all the lands (in the interior) and to attract them to the service of God and His Majesty and likewise to take possession of all the said land in his royal name" (Vandera 1569:1). Menéndez specifically warned Pardo against alienating Indians of Escamauc, Orista, and Ahoya near the coast, because the Spaniards were at least partially dependent on supplies they provided for Santa Elena (Jones 1978, Fig. 17). Pardo was sent, then, to pacify with goodwill and not to conquer by force.

As a result of the frontier pacification policy, Pardo's expeditions carried large numbers of trade items for distribution to Indians. The three published exploration accounts provide no information concerning the types of trade materials distributed, but the unpublished Vandera account contains detailed information concerning both the kinds of items distributed and the manner and location of their distribution.

Trade items are carefully listed in the Vandera manuscript and both the location and the recipient are generally given. Most of the gift items were given to caciques or chiefs, "commanders," and to other important individuals who most often were referred to as "principal men." Interpreters also received gifts for services rendered. While some of the items may have been intended as gifts given without reciprocal obligations, it is clear that the Spaniards expected certain services in return for their generosity. In every major town, Pardo required the Indians to build a storehouse that was to be stocked with maize, meat, and salt to support the Spaniards. In other instances, tools were given to Indians for use in constructing dugout canoes to be used by Pardo's forces. These "gift" items
were in reality goods that were given to ranking Indians in exchange for specified goods and services.

At each town he visited, Pardo gave trade materials to both the resident chief and allied chiefs who came in from the surrounding area. [71] Each individual was generally given one to three items. In Table 1, goods are listed by towns in which they were distributed. At times the number of items given is ambiguous, and we have followed the convention of making conservative estimates when necessary. Our figures should, therefore, be considered as minimum numbers.

Metal tools (Table 1) given directly to chiefs and other important men include the following minimum number of items: 61 chisels, 77 wedges, 72 hatchets, 30 knives and one adze. Among the metal tools, wedges were frequently listed as either small, large, or small and adze-like. It is likely, therefore, that several different wedge forms were distributed. Hatchets included both common hatchets and "Biscayan axes." Figure 2 illustrates a Biscayan axe as identified by Russell (1967). Additional metal tools amounting to between 113 and 119 items were left at five of the interior forts and other unspecified tools were left at the sixth fort (Table 2). Ninety of the metal implements at the forts were intended to be distributed directly to Indians. These 90 implements included 48 assorted chisels and knives and 42 chisel-like wedges. Other items left at the forts included one drill, three spikes, four hoes, one shovel and 34 pounds of nails. These were to be used in building the forts. It is likely that most or all of these materials fell into Indian hands when the forts were overrun by Indians within a year or two of their construction (Quinn 1979:II:478).

Other goods distributed directly to Indians included at least 31 necklaces (probably consisting of glass beads), one marine shell, 23 sets of damaskeen buttons, six mirrors and over 50 pieces of cloth. Red taffeta, green taffeta, "colored" taffeta, satin, linen, silk, London cloth, and other "red cloth" were distributed as individual pieces rather than as finished items of clothing. Taffeta was the most common variety, with the others represented by only one or two pieces each. Damaskeen buttons may have been made of a combination of inlaid metals, although we are at present uncertain what they may have looked like. Toward the end of the expedition when the supply of European goods was running short, Indian cloth and blankets collected in the interior were given to coastal Indians by the Spaniards.

It is clear that Indians were eager to obtain European goods. Whenever the expedition halted for a few days, chiefs from outlying towns as distant as 100 leagues (200 to 260 miles) came to see the Spaniards and pledged allegiance to Phillip II. The expedition gave each important Indian trade materials. Indeed, one enterprising chief managed to provide food and deliver messages on several occasions and received gifts each time.

Comparable Sixteenth-Century Trade Materials

A review of the literature suggests that Vander's gift list is perhaps one of the best available sources of information about sixteenth-century trade materials. No other contemporary account provides such detail relating the type, number, and specific location of materials distributed.

Working with sixteenth century documents and archaeological data, Brain (1975) derived a list of European items he believes constituted a "gift kit" carried by early explorers including Christopher Columbus (1492-93), Fernando Cortés (1519-22), Pánfilo de Narváez (1528), Francisco Vázquez de Coronado (1540-42), Fernando de Soto (1539-43), and Tristán de Luna (1559-61). Brain did not list Pardo's expeditions among important sixteenth century Spanish journeys in North America. The core of Brain's (1975:130) gift kit is composed of beads and bells which were distributed by each of the expeditions he listed. Those expeditions also carried other trade materials including hatchets, knives, rattles, feathers, and cloth. Other uncited sixteenth-century expeditions also carried a variety of trade materials, but many of them did not carry both beads and bells. Estévez Gomes, for instance, carried bells, combs, scissors, and cloth for the Indian trade when he cruised along the entire Atlantic coast of North America in 1523 (Quinn 1977:160). When Pedro Menéndez de Avilés visited the [74] western shore of the Florida peninsula in 1565 and 1566, he distributed not only beads and bells, but also scissors, mirrors, knives, axes, cutlasses (perhaps machetes), and clothing (Barcía 1951:122; Quinn 1979:II:450). It bears emphasizing that while the Pardo expeditions carried a variety of metal tools, mirrors, cloth, buttons and indeed beads, they lacked bells.

The French also distributed a variety of goods during the sixteenth century. Giovanni de Verrazzano, a Florentine sailing under the French flag, sailed along most of North America's coast in 1524. He carried a variety of trade goods including not only beads and bells but also fish hooks, mirrors, knives, metal tools and other trinkets (Quinn 1979:1:282,287). Jacques Cartier, who explored the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the St. Lawrence River between 1534 and 1536, distributed glass beads, and in addition axes, knives, mirrors, scissors, rings and tin Agnus Dei medals (Barcía 1951:14-19). In 1562-65, Jean Ribault and René Laudomière attempted to colonize the coastal area now occupied by Florida, Georgia and South Carolina. Trade goods they distributed included axes, knives, sickles, saws, hatchets, scissors, mirrors, glass beads, combs, tin bracelets, and cloth (Barcía 1951:99-78; Bennett 1975:20-21,38,44-45; Quinn 1979:II:295, 304, 308).

Both French and Spanish expeditions carried a variety of goods because of what Europeans perceived to be the unpredictable nature of Indian interest in particular trade items. As Brain pointed out, Columbus encountered coastal South American populations that "would give nothing for beads," although they "gave everything they had for hawk's bells," not wanting any other item (Landström 1968:145). Fernando de Soto also found that some North American Indians cared little for beads (Bourne 1904:87). On the other hand, items that seemed worthless to Europeans sometimes proved to be highly desired by Indians. Columbus viewed as desperate the quest for European goods late in the fifteenth century among inhabitants of Guanahani (San Salvador): "they long to possess something of ours." On the other hand, they "fear that nothing will be given to them unless they give something in return," a perfectly logical attitude among people culturally conditioned to gift exchange. Consequently some of these Indians resorted to theft. "Those who have nothing take what they can and immediately hurl themselves into the water and swim away." Those possessing things to exchange sometimes impoverished themselves from a European viewpoint. "But all that they do possess, they give for anything which is given to them,

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so that they give things in exchange even for pieces of broken glass or crockery" (Landström 1968:70).

The same willingness to acquire new and unfamiliar items can be seen in Gonzalo Solís de Mera's account of Menéndez's visit to the Calusa in southwestern Florida. While there, Spanish soldiers traded with the natives who reportedly "did not know what gold or silver was..." This deduction stemmed from one Calusa giving a soldier a piece of gold worth 70 ducats for a playing card and half a bar of silver worth 100 ducats for a pair of scissors (Quinn 1979:II:482), and similar exchanges.

Not all trade materials from Europe were held in the same high esteem. Indians occasionally disdained beads, as already mentioned. Verrazzano made clear the fact that some European items were more desirable to Indians than others. In the vicinity of Cape Cod, he encountered Indians who wore "various trinkets hanging from their ears as the Orientals do." Moreover, these Indians possessed numerous sheets of "worked copper which they prize more than gold" as the explorer perceived their behavior. Verrazzano reported that these Indians valued things on the basis of their color, and did not value gold for that reason. "They think it the most worthless of all, and rate blue and red above all other colors." Verrazzano wrote that the gifts the Indians prized most were "little bells, blue crystals [beads?], and other trinkets to put in the ear or around the neck." They did not "appreciate" any sort of cloth, nor want steel or iron. They looked quickly at mirrors and then refused them "laughing" (Quinn 1979:II:285). Farther north, Indians had completely different ideas concerning trade items. They "would take in exchange only knives, hooks for fishing, and sharp metal" (Quinn 1979:1:287). That difference may reflect earlier contact and more extensive knowledge of European goods among the more northerly group.

Given the available evidence, one must conclude that most, if not all, Spanish and French colonization and exploring expeditions carried a variety of trade items. These included not only beads and bells, but also mirrors, cloth, clothing, combs, and metal implements such as axes, fish hooks, knives, chisels and wedges and scissors. Although differences between French and Spanish beads, or bells, or metal tools, may exist, the present knowledge of archaeological specimens from North America does not permit specification of distinctions. It is possible that assemblages would not be separable by nationality of origin because artifacts were very similar and because poor preservation has obscured original distinctions.

Archaeological Specimens

In considering archaeological specimens that may relate to the Pardo expeditions, it is important to keep in mind several complicating factors. First, it is quite clear from the Vandera account that trade items were rapidly dispersed for some distance beyond Pardo's immediate line of march. [75] One chief traveled a reported 100 leagues in 17 days to see Pardo, and numerous other chiefs traveled shorter distances. On Figure 1, the area 20 leagues (approximately 50 miles) to either side of the route Pardo followed is shaded. This area represents the minimal distribution of trade materials based on evidence Vandera provided.

A second complicating factor involves the explorations of Fernando de Soto, who followed the same route in 1540. Separation of Pardo and de Soto period artifacts could prove to be difficult, although some progress in that direction has been made by Smith (1976).

Differential preservation would also affect recovery of items distributed. Cloth, for instance, would be preserved only under particular conditions, whereas most of the other items should have survived, especially if they were buried with their owners.

Despite these problems, some Pardo period materials can be identified. Iron chisels or "celts" are the most commonly recovered artifact among the types mentioned in the Vandera document. These chisels are handmade from wrought iron, and are quite variable in size and shape. Common forms (Fig. 3) are usually rectangular or trapezoidal in outline and rectangular in cross-section, although examples with a round cross-section are also known. Artifacts of this type have been recovered from areas of the upper Coosa River drainage of Alabama and Georgia to the Little Tennessee River drainage of Tennessee (Smith 1975, 1976, and 1977). Poorly preserved items believed to have been knife blades were recovered at the King Site in northwestern Georgia (Smith 1975). These items, however, appear to be from outside the area directly contacted by Pardo, but within that visited by both de Luna and de Soto. These items are probably similar to those distributed by Pardo.

Several glass bead styles believed to date in the late sixteenth century have been found in the area explored by Pardo. Nueva Cadiz beads (Fairbanks 1968) are known from the little Tennessee River area of eastern Tennessee and the Coosa drainage of northwestern Georgia (Smith 1976). This type is now believed to predate the Pardo expedition, and the archaeological specimens may date to the earlier de Soto expedition (Smith 1976). Bead types believed to be characteristic of the Pardo era include numerous varieties of spherical blue beads, tubbed chevron beads, and fancy "eye" beads. Spherical blue beads of several shades and eye beads have been reported from Eastern Tennessee sites (Smith 1976).

[76] Northern Alabama, Georgia, and eastern Tennessee sites have yielded numerous artifacts believed to be typical of sixteenth century explorers' gifts to Indians. Such items have not been recovered in South Carolina. Only one example has been found in North Carolina (Thomas 1894:335-338; Smith 1976). This apparent distribution is undoubtedly a factor of the state of archeological investigation. North and South Carolina sites should also contain abundant sixteenth century materials (Fig. 1).

Interior sites containing iron implements, beads, and other sixteenth century artifacts often also contain brass (or European copper) ornaments, particularly large, circular gorgets (Smith 1976). While artifacts of this type are known to date to the mid-sixteenth century in Florida, their absence from available Spanish and French trade lists is puzzling. We are presently unable to explain this discrepancy, but several possibilities exist. The copper may have been carried by the de Soto and de Luna expeditions, inasmuch as complete lists of goods carried by these groups are unknown. It may also have been carried and traded by individual soldiers for personal gain, especially in the sassafrass trade (E. Lyons, personal communication; Quinn 1979:576-579).

One final point should be made concerning the objects distributed by Pardo. Iron chisels, wedges, and spikes were
[69] Figure 1. Map of portion of southeastern United States showing missions and outposts established by Pedro Menéndez (1565-1566) and Juan Pardo (1567-1568). The locations for interior towns visited by Juan Pardo are tentative and subject to further revision.
Figure 2. Biscayan axe or hatchet (redrawn from Russell 1967).

Figure 3. Iron implements from King site, Georgia. Upper left probably "chisels;" upper right probably "wedges;" lower example probably "spike" or "chisel."
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TOWNS</th>
<th>Chisels</th>
<th>Wedges</th>
<th>Hatchets</th>
<th>Knives</th>
<th>Buttons</th>
<th>Necklaces</th>
<th>Cloth</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
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<td>2</td>
<td>12+</td>
<td>2 X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2X</td>
<td></td>
<td>12 colored</td>
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<td>Canos</td>
<td>2+</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>2+</td>
<td>12 X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2+ colored</td>
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<td>1+</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>2+</td>
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<td>1 +</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1+</td>
<td>2+</td>
<td>1+</td>
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<td>8</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<td>1 +</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Joara</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2+</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
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<td>2 blankets</td>
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X = sets
+ indicates minimum number
Cloth is taffeta unless otherwise identified
Buttons were Damaskeen
Table 2. European Materials Left at Six Interior Forts By Juan Pardo 1567-1568.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MATERIALS</th>
<th>San Pedro del Obispo</th>
<th>San Pablo de Guevara</th>
<th>San Juan de los Caballeros</th>
<th>San Lázaro del Guadizo</th>
<th>Santa Elena de los Colorados</th>
<th>Santa María de la Concepción del Oeste</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
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<tr>
<td>Lead balls (pounds)</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>323</td>
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<tr>
<td>Powder (pounds)</td>
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<td>22</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>20</td>
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<td>68</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>210</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
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<td>Nails (pounds)</td>
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<td>34</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drill</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Spikes</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Chisels &amp; knives</td>
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<td>Azulejos (chisel-like)</td>
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<td>Other</td>
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</table>
intentional gifts to Indians. Such items recovered from archaeological sites in Florida have been interpreted as shipwreck salvage (Smith 1956:10-11). It is now clear that while some Florida items may have been shipwreck salvage (Quinn 1979:280, 340, 368 and 372), the same types of items were widely distributed directly to the Indians on the coast and in the interior by Spaniards during the sixteenth century.

Summary and Conclusions

Vandera's account provides detailed information relating to the distribution of trade materials on Juan Pardo's second foray into the interior. Pardo distributed goods of the same types that had been given out by earlier French and Spanish explorers. It is likely that Pardo carried similar trade materials on his first foray, but documentation on that point is lacking.

Many fifteenth and sixteenth century expeditions carried both beads and bells. We have shown, however, that these were not universal "gift kit" components as Brain concluded. Instead, a variety of goods was carried in anticipation of varying local Indian opinions about the desirability of various trade materials.

Pardo expedition trade materials were widely distributed, but they have been recovered infrequently to date in archaeological assemblages due to limited excavations in most of the areas he visited. Future excavations should produce additional sixteenth century artifacts distributed not only by Pardo, but also de Soto and de Luna.

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