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Sixteenth Century European Trade in the Southeastern United States: Evidence from the Juan Pardo Expeditions (1566-1568)

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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 Vandera 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A fourth, unpublished account written by Juan de la Vandera (1569) provides more details concerning all aspects of Pardo's second trip into the interior.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 Philip 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 (Priesstly 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 [70] located 100 leagues inland from the Atlantic coast. This conclusion he 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 Cuachi, Ft. San 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 Escamacu, 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. 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.

Comparablesixteenth-century Trade Materials

A review of the literature suggests that Vandera'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), Fernandez 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. Estevão 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 (Barcà 1951:98-122; 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 tins of Agnus Dei medals (Barcà 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 (Barcà 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."
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:II: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 Vendra 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 Vendra 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 "ceils" are the most commonly recovered artifact among the types mentioned in the Vendra 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, tumbled 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."
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<td>Guomas</td>
<td></td>
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<td>3 +</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 adze</td>
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<td>2 +</td>
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TOTALS: 61 + 77 + 70 + 30 + 23 + 31 + 50 +

X = sets
+ indicates minimum number
Cloth is taffeta unless otherwise identified
Buttons were Damaskeen
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MATERIALS</th>
<th>Forts</th>
<th>San Pedro al Cobre</th>
<th>San Pablo al Cocho</th>
<th>San Juan al Guadarrama</th>
<th>Sanlúcar al Guadarrama</th>
<th>Santa Tomás al Caños</th>
<th>Nuestra Señora de Nuestra Esperanza</th>
<th>LOJAIS</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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<td>Powder (pounds)</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>18</td>
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<td>Match cord (pounds)</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>210</td>
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<td>Biscayan hatchet</td>
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<td>Nails (pounds)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>Azolejos (chisel-like)</td>
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Table 2. European Materials Left at Six Interior Forts By Juan Pardo 1567-1568.
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:II: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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