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## THE ROUTE OF JUAN PARDO'S EXPLORATIONS IN THE INTERIOR SOUTHEAST, 1566-1568

by CHESTER B. DEPRATTER, CHARLES M. HUDSON,  
AND MARVIN T. SMITH

**I**N 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 Menéndez de Avilés had established on Parris Island, near present-day Beaufort, South Carolina, and which was then part of *la Florida*.<sup>1</sup> 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 Câteau-Cambresis in 1559, only to spill over into the New World. Taking advantage of the breathing spell in

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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.

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.<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> The Spanish called him Guillermo Rufin.

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 Menéndez 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 Menéndez for that purpose. In September 1565, Menéndez attacked and overcame Fort Caroline, putting many of the French defenders to death and capturing others.<sup>4</sup> 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, Menéndez 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

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2. David B. Quinn, *North America from Earliest Discovery to First Settlements: The Norse Voyages to 1612* (New York, 1977), 240-41.

3. Lucy L. Wenhold (trans.), "The Report of Manrique de Rojas," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXVIII (July 1959), 45-62.

4. Eugene Lyon, "The Captives of Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, L (July 1971), 1-24.

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, Menéndez 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.<sup>5</sup>

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 Pedro Menéndez 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 *Collección de varias Documentos para la Historia de la Florida y Tierras Adyacentes* (London, 1857), and later included in Ruidiaz's *La Florida*.<sup>6</sup>

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 northwestwardly 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.<sup>7</sup>

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 Martinez account is of the second expedition, whereas it is of the first, and that the Vandera 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. Folmsbee 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, Martinez, and Vandera I).

7. Mary Ross, "With Pardo and Boyano on the Fringes of the Georgia Land," *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, XIV (December 1930), 267-85.

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.<sup>8</sup>

More recently, Steven Baker has correctly concluded that the "province" of Cofitachequi 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.<sup>9</sup>

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 Vandra's full official documentation of the second journey which he prepared for Pedro Menéndez de Avilés about a year after the second journey ended. It is dated April 1, 1569.<sup>10</sup> This second Vandra account 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 Canço, 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 Martin, who was a girl in the interior when Pardo and his men appeared.<sup>11</sup>

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8. John Swanton et al., *Final Report of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission* (Washington, 1939), 196-97; *The Indians of the Southeastern United States*, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin no. 137 (Washington, 1946), 64-70.
  9. Steven G. Baker, "Cofitachique: Fair Province of Carolina" (master's thesis, University of South Carolina, 1974), figure 2, V-1 to V-6.
  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 Vandra 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), 343-46.
  11. "Report made officially before Don Gonzalo Mendez de Canço, Governor of the Provinces of Florida, upon the situation of La Tama and its

On December 1, 1566, Pardo set out on his first expedition from Santa Elena with 125 soldiers.<sup>12</sup> They traveled through swampy country to Guioamae, and all along the way the Indians they encountered had already heard about the Spanish presence (see fig. 1). From Guioamae they went on to Canos, which was also called Cofitachequi. As Pardo moved from town to town, he commanded the Indians to build houses to be reserved for use by the Spaniards and cribs to be kept filled with corn. Continuing, they went through Tagaya, Tagaya the Lesser, Ysa, an outlying district of Ysa, and finally Joara, at the foot of a range of mountains.<sup>13</sup> Because the mountains were at that time covered with snow, Pardo could not proceed to conquer the land all the way to Mexico, as he had been ordered to do.<sup>14</sup> During a two-week stay at Joara, Pardo and his men built a fort, which he named San Juan. We garrisoned it with thirty men under the command of Sergeant Hernando Moyano de Morales.<sup>15</sup>

Then Pardo took the remainder of his force in a northeastern direction, on a road which followed downstream along the river which passed through Joara.<sup>16</sup> He traveled through Quinahaqui and another town whose name he could not remember when he wrote his report.<sup>17</sup> 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.<sup>18</sup>

They moved south, going through Guatariatiqui, Aracuchi (also called Racuchilli), a town whose name he subsequently forgot, and then to Tagaya the Lesser, which he had visited on

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riches, and the English Settlement," AGI 54-5-9, folio 17. Mary Ross Collection, Georgia State Archives (hereinafter cited as Canço).

12. Vandra II, 6. Pardo, p. 69, says they departed on Saint Andrews Day, i.e., November 30.

13. Pardo, 69-70. Pardo spells it "Juada."

14. Martinez, 75.

15. Vandra II, 7, 18. Confirmed in Martinez, 75.

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.

18. Gannon, "Sebastian Montero," 335-53.

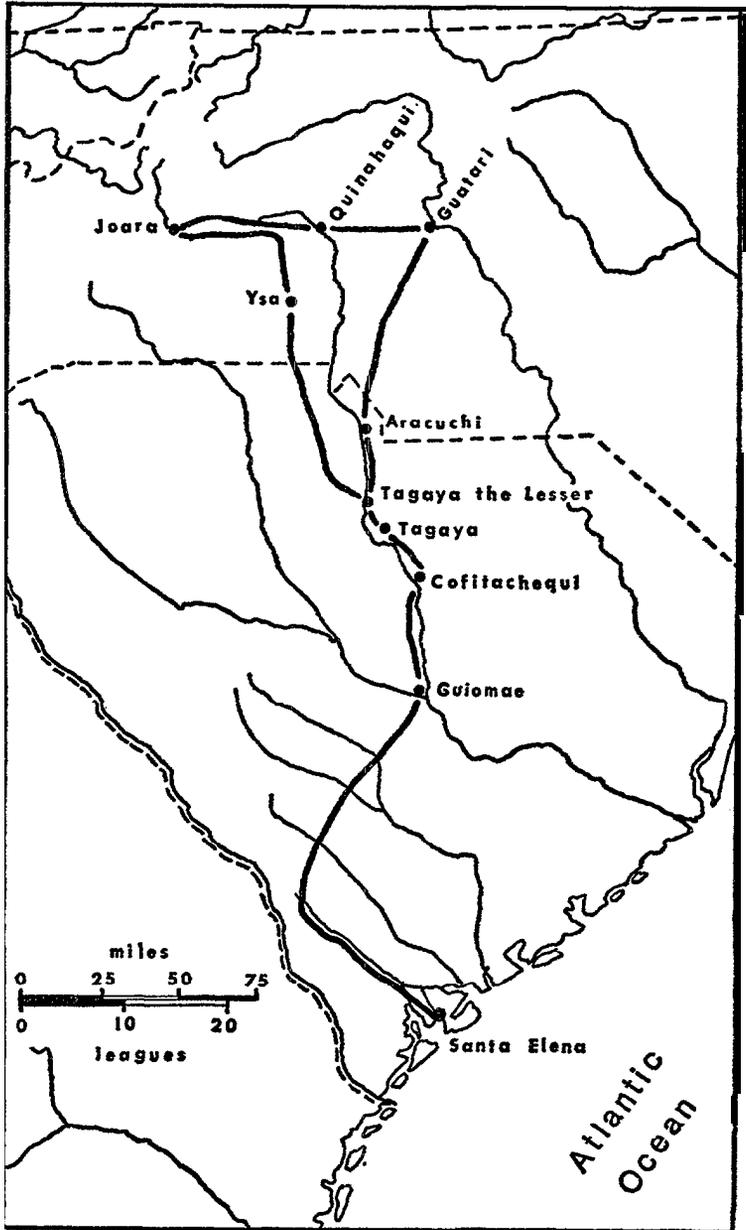


Fig. 1. Pardo's first expedition, December 1, 1566-March 7, 1567.

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.<sup>19</sup>

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.<sup>20</sup>

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.<sup>21</sup>

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

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19. Vandra II, 7.

26. 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. Cannon, "Sebastian Montero," 349.

Chiaha for twelve days before building a small fort for himself and his men. All of this probably took place in April 1567.<sup>22</sup>

The question is, which trail did Moyano take through the mountains? 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 Vandra 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.<sup>23</sup> The second trail went from Joara northward to the North Toe River, and at Little Yellow Mountain it forked.<sup>24</sup> 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.<sup>25</sup>

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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.
  23. F. A. Sondley, *A History of Buncombe County, North Carolina*, 2 vols. (Asheville, 1930), II, 618-19.
  24. John Preston Arthur, *Western North Carolina: A History* (Raleigh, 1914), 62-63.
  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



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.<sup>26</sup> 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.<sup>27</sup>

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.

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.<sup>28</sup> It so happens that deposits of native copper occur in the western Virginia section of the Appalachian Mountains,

map of 1833. See William P. Cumming, *North Carolina in Maps* (Raleigh, 1966), 2327.

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.

28. Gentleman of Elvas, "Narrative," in *Narratives of De Soto in the Conquest of Florida*, Buckingham Smith, trans. (New York, 1866; facsimile ed., Gainesville, 1968), 72.

which lay just to the north of our proposed location for the Chiscas.<sup>29</sup>

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.<sup>30</sup>

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.<sup>31</sup> 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.<sup>32</sup> Juan de la Vandra 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 Vandra, there was fertile land for corn and many grape stocks, as well as very good clay for making cooking pots and tiles.<sup>33</sup>

On September 2, Pardo went to Ahoya, described as being an "island, with a few corners surrounded by rivers and the rest

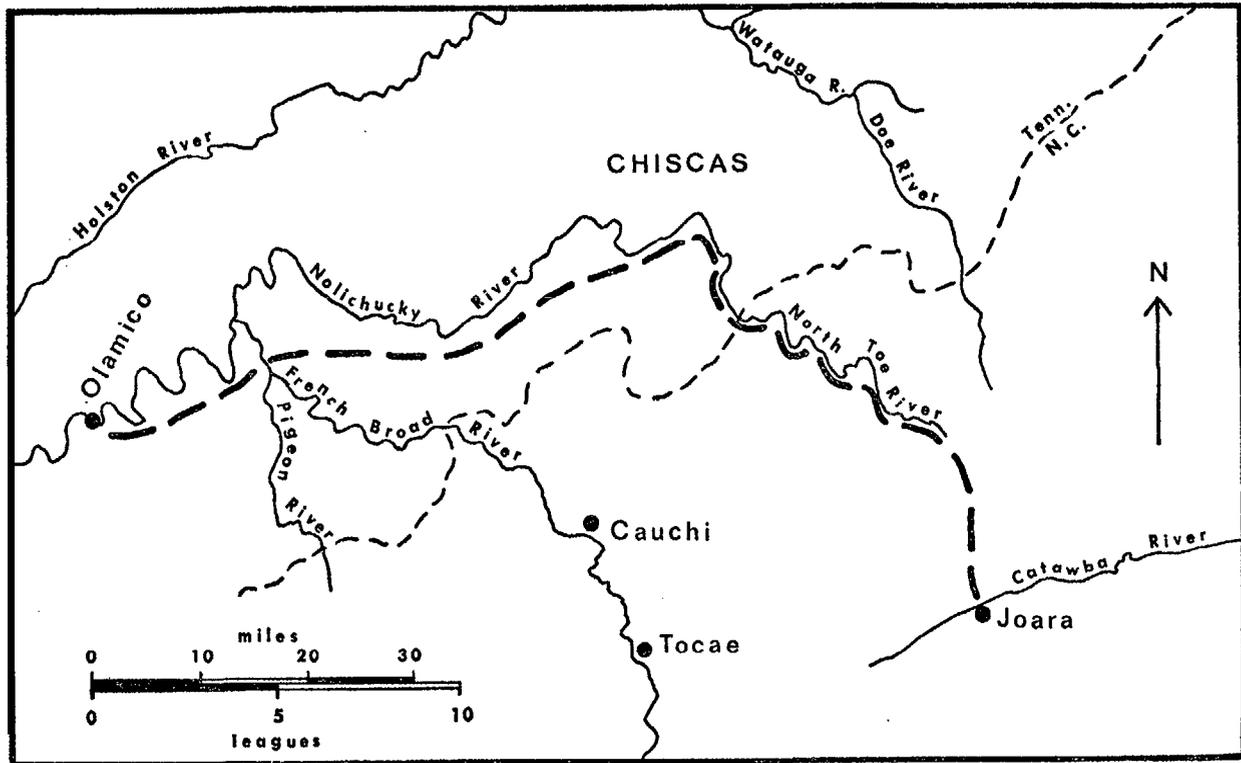
29. Sharon I. Goad, "Copper and the Southeastern Indians," *Early Georgia* IV, (September 1976), 49-67.

30. Canço, 12.

31. Vandra II, 1-2.

32. Chester B. DePratter and Marvin T. Smith, "Sixteenth Century European Trade in the Southeastern United States: Evidence from the Juan Pardo Expeditions (1566-1568)," in Henry F. Dobyns, ed., *Spanish Colonial Frontier Research* (Albuquerque, 1980), 57-77.

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



like the mainland.<sup>34</sup> This was probably near present Pocatigo 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*.<sup>35</sup> 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."<sup>36</sup> 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 called *el Enfrenado* (literally "reined in"), where the land was generally poor, though good in places.<sup>37</sup> 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). They were now somewhere in the vicinity of present St. Matthews, at the head of Four Hole Swamp.<sup>38</sup>

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34. *Ibid.*

35. Robert Mills, comp., *Mills' Atlas of the State of South Carolina, 1825* (Baltimore, 1825; reprint ed., Easley, S.C., 1980).

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

37. *Ibid.*

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

On September 8, Pardo arrived at Guiomae.<sup>39</sup> In his shorter account, Vandera 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.<sup>40</sup> 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 Wateree, South Carolina.<sup>41</sup>

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 601.<sup>42</sup> 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).<sup>43</sup>

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39. Vandera I spells this "Guiomaez." Pardo (p. 72) and Vandera 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 Ranjel, "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 (Vandera II, 67). Pardo says they were at Guiomae two days (p. 72).
42. Vandera II, 8, 9. The Indians called this place "Canosi," and also "Cofetazque" (Vandera I, 79), and perhaps also "Cajuou" (Pardo, 71). Pardo's men sometimes called it *canios* (Vandera II, 12). This was De Soto's Cofitachequi (Elvas, "Narrative," 61-65). When De Soto reached Cofitachequi, Ranjel says that the house of the chief of Cofitachequi was called "*caney*" (Ranjel, "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.

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.<sup>44</sup> In other words, they had come to the fall line region.<sup>45</sup>

In his shorter account, Vandera 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 Guioмаez."<sup>46</sup>

There are two puzzles. If the sites of these towns have been correctly located, Vandera seems not to have realized that the Congaree joins the Wateree just below Guioмаe. 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 Guioмаe. On the return journey, Pardo ordered his men to load several canoes with corn from Cofitachequi and take them down river to Guioмаe, where they were to put it in a crib.<sup>47</sup> Hence, Vandera had to have known that Guioмаe 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

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44. Vandera I, 79.

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

46. Vandera I, 79.

47. Vandera II, 58-59.

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.<sup>48</sup>

On September 13, Pardo continued on to Tagaya, described as a place where there were no swamps, with soil that was both black and red, and was well watered by springs and brooks.<sup>49</sup> 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]."<sup>50</sup> 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.

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."<sup>51</sup> On the first expedition, Tagaya the Lesser was evidently the place where Pardo swung northwestward 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.<sup>52</sup> On his return

48. Luys Hernandez de Biedma, one of the De Soto chroniclers, says this distance was thirty leagues, a far more accurate estimate than Vandera'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.

49. Vandera I, 79; Vandera II, 11.

50. Canço, 7.

51. Pardo, 70-71.

52. This may mean that Tagaya the Lesser was located where this trail

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.<sup>53</sup>

He spent one or two days (September 16 and/or 17) getting to Otari, probably located in the vicinity of present Charlotte.<sup>54</sup> 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."<sup>55</sup> 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.

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crossed the Wateree River near the present town of Great Falls. The crossing was possibly at McDonald's Ford, as shown on the map of Chester District in Mills, *Mills' Atlas*. Gueza was possibly just to the north at Land's Ford.

53. Vandera I, 79; Vandera II, 12-13. This assumes six leagues of travel. Pardo has this as "Racuchi" (p. 72).
54. Vandera I, 79; Vandera II, 15. Pardo has this as "Guatariatiqui." Vandera also has it as "Otariatiqui" (Vandera I, p. 79). The *-atiqui* segment of this word may be a variant of Eastern Muskogean *yatika*, or Yuchi *y'atik'e*, meaning "speaker or interpreter."
55. Vandera I, 79. 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.

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.<sup>56</sup> 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.<sup>57</sup>

Pardo spent three days (September 22-24) traveling from Guaquiri to Joara, probably located near Marion, North Carolina.<sup>58</sup> Joara was possibly located at the Mc<sup>o</sup>41 site, on an alluvial terrace of the upper Catawba River, about two miles to the northwest of Marion.<sup>59</sup> 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.<sup>60</sup> Joara was clearly the same as De Soto's "Xuala," which was described by Ranjel as a village on a plain between two rivers near the mountains. And in the country around "Xuala," Ranjel says that members of the De Soto expedition saw more evidence of gold mines (presumably copper) than they had seen thus far.<sup>61</sup> 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.<sup>62</sup> Once he ar-

56. Vandera I, 80.

57. *Ibid.*; Vandera II, 16-17. It was also called Aguaquiri. This location assumes five leagues of travel.

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

59. Robert Winston Keeler, "An Archaeological Survey of the Upper Catawba River Valley" (Honors thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1971), 19.

60. Vandera II, 17.

61. Ranjel, "Narrative," 103-04.

62. 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.

rived 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, Tocaé.<sup>63</sup> Vandera indicates that it took them "three days to get through."<sup>64</sup> It is clear, though, that they arrived in Tocaé on October 1, and spent only four hours at this place, talking with some chiefs, before going on to sleep in the open.<sup>65</sup> Most likely they departed from Joara on September 28, and passed through Tocaé on the third day after departing. Tocaé 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 Tocaé was situated somewhat north of Asheville. The land was supposed to be good here, with many meadows. Pardo says that Tocaé 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.<sup>66</sup> However, a location for Tocaé somewhat further downstream on the French Broad fits Pardo's itinerary better. The name "Tocaé" is possibly a Hispanicized version of the Cherokee word of *untakiyastiyi*, literally "where they [the waters] race," the Cherokee name for the segment of the French Broad River downstream from Asheville.<sup>67</sup> 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

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63. Pardo, 72. Pardo has this as Tocalques (p. 72).

64. Vandera I, 80.

65. Vandera II, 19.

66. Sondley, *Buncombe County*, II, 32-33.

67. 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 "Tocaé" 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.

river for almost its entire distance.<sup>68</sup> 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 *Suwalinunna*, “the Suwali trail.” The people the Cherokees called *Ani-Suwali* or *Ani-Suwala* lived east of the mountains.<sup>69</sup> Cherokee Suwali 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.<sup>70</sup> 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.”<sup>71</sup> 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.<sup>72</sup> 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.<sup>73</sup> Vandera compared the country which lay beyond Cauchi to Andalusia, i.e. a fertile valley surrounded by mountains.<sup>74</sup> 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

68. Sondley, *Buncombe County*, I, 412-14; II, 578-79. Anglicized versions of *untakiyustiyi* are “Tocheste” and “Tocheeoste.”

69. Mooney, *Myths*, 582. Mooney correctly identifies *Suwali* or *Suwala* as Pardo’s Joara (p. 509), but incorrectly places the people on the Broad River, where he believed Joara had been located.

70. Vandera II, 21; Vandera I, 80. Pardo spells it “Canche.”

71. Arthur, *Western North Carolina*, 195.

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

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

74. Vandera II, 80.

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.<sup>75</sup> Neither Pardo nor Vandra 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.<sup>76</sup> 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."<sup>77</sup> There was a

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

76. 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.")

77. Elvas, "Narrative," 70. Unfortunately, Zimmerman'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

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.<sup>78</sup> 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.

Vandera 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). Vandera 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 Costeheycoza."<sup>79</sup>

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.<sup>80</sup> 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

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island was flooded. The few artifacts recovered indicate it to have been of the right time period.

78. John Swanton, *Final Report of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission*, 76th Cong., 1st sess., House Document no. 71 (Washington, 1939), 107-08.

79. Pardo, 73.

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

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.<sup>81</sup> 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.<sup>82</sup> 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 Olamico. On October 14, the Spanish went five leagues further, over very rough country, where they "found mountains more rugged than the ones mentioned." They climbed one "very high mountain" and near the top of it Pardo found a small reddish stone which Andres Xuarez, a melter of gold and silver, identified as being silver ore, though it is possible that his identification was incorrect.<sup>83</sup> But Pardo accepted this as evidence that gold and silver occurred in the vicinity.<sup>84</sup>

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

81. Elvas, "Narrative," 72-74.

82. Ranjel, "Narrative," 110.

83. Vandra II, 24-25.

84. Pardo, 73.

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.<sup>85</sup>

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.<sup>86</sup> 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.<sup>88</sup> Nor do the De Soto narratives report loss of life at Coosa, where the Indians likewise became hostile.

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

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

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

88. Elvas, "Narrative," 73-74; Ranjel, "Narrative," 109-10.

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.<sup>89</sup> The next day the Spanish departed the village of Chiaha and arrived in Olamico.<sup>90</sup>

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 Vandra collected some information on towns to the south.<sup>91</sup> According to this information, from Satapo it was but a short distance to "Cosaque" (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 Tasquiqui, which was a short distance beyond Tasqui; a day further was Olitifar, a "destroyed town"; two days further was a small

89. Vandra II, 30.

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

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

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."<sup>92</sup> 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.<sup>93</sup>

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

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

They may have begun construction of the fort at Chiaha and then departed, leaving a garrison behind to complete it. Pardo evidently passed by Tanasqui without stopping. In Cauchi he built another fort (San Pablo) in four days, completing work on October 30. Continuing on, he arrived in Tocaé on November 1, after one or two days of travel. He and his men rested here on November 2.<sup>94</sup>

On November 3, they departed Tocaé, 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.<sup>95</sup> According to Vandera, Chiaha (i.e., Olamico) was fifty leagues to the west of Joara, whereas in fact the trail distance from Zimmerman's Island to Marion, North Carolina, is only a little over thirty-one leagues, and Zimmerman'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

94. *Ibid.*, 38. Here called "Tocahe." Pardo says it took two days to reach Tocaé (p. 74).

95. 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.

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.<sup>96</sup>

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.<sup>97</sup> Earlier, on

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96. Vandera II, 79-80.

97. In his shorter account, Vandera does not mention this side trip, and Pardo apparently falsifies his account. Pardo says that 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

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.<sup>98</sup> 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."<sup>99</sup> 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.<sup>100</sup> 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.<sup>101</sup> 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.

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 (Vandera I; Pardo, 74).

98. Vandera 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."

101. W. F. Wilson and B. J. McKenzie, *Mineral Collection Sites in North Carolina*, Information Circular 24, North Carolina Department of Natural Resources and Community Development (Raleigh, 1978), 28, 68.

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.<sup>102</sup>

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.<sup>103</sup>

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.<sup>104</sup> 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.<sup>105</sup> 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 Sanpa 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.<sup>106</sup> He also says Guatari was

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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. Vandera II, 52. Here he calls it Guatatico, implying that it was a paramount town comparable to Olamico.

106. Vandera 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

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 "Watere 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.<sup>107</sup> The reason for this westward migration of the name "Wateree" 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 Wateree River as early as 1701, when John Lawson visited them.<sup>108</sup> This nomenclature is made even more confusing by the fact that by 1600 the Spanish appear to have called the Wateree-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.<sup>109</sup>

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.<sup>110</sup> 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.<sup>111</sup> Ylasi is surely the same as the Ilapi of the De Soto expedition.<sup>112</sup>

They remained in Ylasi for four days because it rained heavily, and on January 21 they departed and headed for Cofitachequi.

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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.

107. William P. Cumming, *The Southeast in Early Maps* (Chapel Hill, 1962), plates 39, 51, 52.

108. John Lawson, *A New Voyage to Carolina* (Chapel Hill, 1967), 37-39.

109. Canço, 7, *et passim*.

110. Vandra II, 54-55. Using our locations for Guatari and Aracuchi, the actual distance was twenty-two leagues.

111. Vandra II, 56. The distance as measured on a map is about twenty leagues.

112. Ranjel, "Narrative," 100.

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 Yca, 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

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. On February 17, they traveled five leagues further and, being tired, stopped that night again in the open. Then on February 18, they reached Ahoya, which was said to have been seven leagues from Santa Elena. On February 19 they departed from Ahoya and carried their corn one league to where they loaded it in canoes. They traveled on 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 Esperança*" 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 Guioamæ were to build four canoes which were to be reserved for use by the Spanish, and that the people of Ylasi were also to build three canoes for their use.<sup>113</sup> Finally, he sent some soldiers to Guando to procure corn to be brought back to Orista by the Guando Indians.<sup>114</sup>

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.<sup>115</sup> 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

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113. Vandera 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. Vandera II, 70.

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 Esperança*). 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.