

DRAFT

ROUTE OF THE HERNANDO DE SOTO EXPEDITION, 1539-1543

**Preliminary Draft Report
Prepared by the National Park Service
as required by the
De Soto National Trail Study Act of 1987**

**National Park Service
Southeast Regional Office
December 1988**



United States Department of the Interior

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NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
SOUTHEAST REGIONAL OFFICE

75 Spring Street, S.W.

Atlanta, Georgia 30303

IN REPLY REFER TO:

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Memorandum

To: Attached List of Reviewers

From: Chief, Planning and Federal Programs Division,
Southeast Region

Subject: Review of De Soto National Trail Study Preliminary
Draft Report

The De Soto National Trail Study Act requires the completion of a study with recommendations as to the trail's suitability for designation as a National Historic Trail by December 1988. In order to comply with this compressed timeframe, we have prepared a preliminary draft report (enclosure) which provides a summary of activities and special interests involving the De Soto expedition, a discussion of the extensive efforts to reconstruct the actual route location, a determination regarding the De Soto expedition's relationship to the three historic trails criteria, and an analysis of alternatives to historic trail designation. Although it is recognized that additional sections will be necessary in the final report, the preliminary report has been prepared to document the Service's recommendation regarding eligibility for historic trail designation and to explore possible alternatives.

We would like to prepare a final version of the preliminary report by late January 1989 in anticipation of congressional inquiries. In order to meet this schedule, **we request your comments by January 13, 1989.** In the event you have questions or require additional information, please contact Wink Hastings at FTS 242-5838.

Sincerely,

Sharon C. Keene
Chief, Planning and Federal
Programs Division
Southeast Region

Enclosure

SAME IDENTICAL MEMO SENT TO:

Washington Office

Jerry L. Rogers - 400
James W. Stewart - 763
Edward G. Chidlaw - 763
Bennie C. Keel - 430
Edwin C. Bearrs - 415

Southwest Regional Office

David Gaines
Joseph P. Sanchez (Spanish Colonial Research Center)

Midwest Regional Office

Tom Gilbert

Southeast Regional Office

John Ehrenhard
Cecil McKithan
William O'Neal
Tom Brown

De Soto National Memorial

Richard Hite

Ocmulgee National Monument

Mark Corey

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The De Soto National Trail Study Act of 1987 (Public Law 100-187) directed the National Park Service to conduct a feasibility study of the approximate route traveled by Spanish explorer Hernando de Sot and provide recommendations to Congress as to its suitability for designation as a national historic trail. This preliminary report prepared by the Southeast Regional Office of the national Park Service, assisted by the Southwest Regional Office, describes the study and provides an analysis of alternatives for trail commemoration.

Hernando de Soto and 600 men landed on the west coast of Florida in May 1539. They explored the southeastern United States--Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Texas, and Louisiana--for more than 4 years, searching for gold and silver, and fighting repeated battles with native Indians. More than 300 soldiers, including De Soto himself, died during the expedition. Although the expedition was judged to be a failure because it discovered no new wealth, it was the first group of Europeans to explore southeastern United States.

During this century, a number of attempts have been made to delineate the actual route of the De Soto expedition. The first significant reconstruction was that of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission whose findings were completed in 1939. A substantial advance in archeologic data subsequent to the Commission's findings has resulted in several more recent reconstructions. The most widely accepted of these reconstructions--that of Dr. Charles Hudson, University of Georgia--is based on the expedition chronicles (as were the Commission's findings), the reconstruction of related expeditions and substantial data from a number of archeologic investigations. Even though a number of investigators are actively working on route reconstructions, the only location to which De Soto can be linked with any degree of certainty is the Tallahassee, Florida, site of the expedition's first winter encampment.

As a result of the De Soto Trail Study, the National Park Service had determined that the route of the expedition fails to meet all three criteria for national historic trail designation. Although the expedition is of national significance and had potential for historic interpretation, the route is lacking in the area of integrity and historic use. In view of these findings, several alternatives to national historic trail designation have been analyzed including completion of the highway marking effort initiated in 1985 by the state of Florida and the enactment of special Federal legislation to formally commemorate the expedition.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Purpose of the Study

In December 1987, Congress enacted the De Soto National Trail Study Act (refer to Appendix A) directing the National Park Service (NPS) to conduct a feasibility study of the "...De Soto Trail, the approximate route taken by the Spanish explorer Hernando de Soto in 1539, extending through portions of the States of Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi to the area of Little Rock, Arkansas, on to Texas and Louisiana, and any other States which may have been crossed by the expedition." Although other Europeans had already explored the fringes of southeastern United States, the De Soto expedition was the first to penetrate and explore vast interior areas of the continent including the lower Mississippi River.

The National Trails System Act

Recognizing the growing need for increased outdoor recreation opportunities, and preservation of historic resources, Congress passed Public Law 90-543, the National Trails System Act in 1968. The purpose of the Act and subsequent amendments is to (1) institute a national trail system consisting of scenic, recreation, historic and side or connecting trail components to maximize recreational opportunities and preserve scenic, natural, cultural and historic areas; (2) designate the Appalachian Trail and the Pacific Crest Trail as the initial components of the System, and (3) provide guidelines by which additional trails could be added to the System.

National historic trails are nationally significant historic routes of travel which follow as closely as possible the original route. Although the designation of such routes is continuous, the actual established or developed trail need not be. They may be managed by Federal, State or local governments, or private organization either individually or through a cooperative arrangement.

National scenic and historic trails can only be designated by Congress. The Secretary of the Interior or the Secretary of Agriculture, as applicable, may establish and designate national recreation trails with the consent of the Federal agency, State, or political subdivision having jurisdiction over the lands involved, upon finding that such trails meet the established criteria.

Currently the eight national historic trails within the System are Lewis and Clark Trail, Oregon Trail, Mormon Trail, Iditarod Trail, Overmountain Victory Trail, Trail of Tears, Nez Perce Trail and the Santa Fe Trail.

The Hernando de Soto Expedition

Spanish explorer, Hernando de Soto and 600 men landed on the west coast of Florida on May 30, 1539. They explored the southeastern United States for more than 4 years, searching for gold and silver and fighting repeated battles with native Americans. More than 300 soldiers, including De Soto himself, died during the expedition.

After marching through Florida, De Soto's group traveled northeast through Georgia and into South Carolina and North Carolina before turning west and southwest into parts of Tennessee, Alabama and Mississippi. On May 8, 1541, the expedition sighted the Mississippi River, then headed into Arkansas. They then returned to the Mississippi River where De Soto died on May 21, 1542. Following an attempt to reach Mexico overland by way of Arkansas and Texas, the remaining members of the expedition sailed down the Mississippi River and along the Gulf Coast. A detailed description of the expedition's journey is contained in Appendix B.

As a result of not locating new sources of gold and silver for the Spanish crown, the expedition was judged to be a failure. By many accounts, however, the expedition was quite successful. It was the De Soto expedition that first succeeded in penetrating and exploring the interior of the southeastern United States. As the first Europeans to see the interior areas of the continent, the De Soto expedition is comparable in significance to the Coronado Expedition (1540-42) which explored the western United States. Written accounts of the journey contain the only descriptions of the people who inhabited the region prior to European contact. Further, expedition reports about the land helped stimulate colonization.

Conduct of the Study

The Southeast Regional Office of the National Park Service conducted the De Soto Historic Trail Study with the assistance of the Southwest Regional Office. Staff members of both offices served on the study group and provided planning coordination with States in their respective Regions. This group was responsible for determining the feasibility and desirability of national historic trail designation; identifying trail issues; developing management options and alternative plans; and assuring for appropriate public involvement. This study report was prepared by staff of the Southeast Regional Office.

Prior to Congressional authorization for a De Soto National Trail Study, each State (except Georgia) along the route approved a resolution creating the De Soto National Trail Commission and appointed one or more representatives to serve on the Commission. Following study authorization and at the request of the National Park Service, a De Soto Trail Advisory Committee was organized and included representatives from each of the ten involved States (except Georgia). Both the Commission and Advisory Committee supported activities of the study group by providing relevant information, reviewing draft materials and assisting with public involvement.

For additional information regarding the Commission and Advisory Committee, refer to Part II, Consultation and coordination.

Through a Cooperative Agreement between the NPS and the University of Georgia, Dr. Charles Hudson prepared a detailed description of the De Soto expedition route based on research he has been involved with during the past 10 years. Dr. Hudson also mapped the reconstructed De Soto route on a series of U.S. Geological Survey maps (scale of 1:500,000) including the tentative location of numerous traditional Indian villages and mound centers.

In September and October 1988, approximately 330 people attended public meetings held at 15 locations throughout the 10-State De Soto National Trail Study area. In addition to comments of meeting attendees, the National Park Service received written statements or requests for information from 60 people. All comments, both written and oral, supported designation of the De Soto expedition route either as a national historic trail or other formal recognition. Although there was agreement regarding the national significance of the expedition, lively discussions occurred at numerous meetings with respect to the identification of De Soto's actual route. The discussions focused on two theorized routes; the route recommended by the U.S. De Soto Expedition Commission (1939), and the recent route reconstructed by Dr. Charles Hudson and several colleagues. Materials provided to the public during the study process are contained in Appendix C.

In conjunction with the October 1988 annual Southeastern Archeological Conference, the National Park Service sponsored a symposium (refer to Appendix D) to discuss the De Soto National Trail Study. The key subject of the symposium was a discussion of the reconstructed expedition route by Dr. Charles Hudson. During this discussion, Dr. Hudson delineated the expedition route and the bases for his reconstruction. Several archeologists attending the symposium provided Dr. Hudson with additional or supporting information, but none in attendance indicated disagreement with the reconstruction. Closing remarks were provided by Dr. Douglas Jones (Chairman, The De Soto Trail Commission) indicating that the Commission would continue its efforts to mark the trail; that it was not possible at this time to arrive at a scholarly consensus regarding the actual route; the De Soto route should be marked and described for public benefit; and that it was important for the public to be aware of the Spanish heritage and early native cultures.

During the most recent meeting (October 1988) of the National Park System Advisory Board, the National Park Service presented its preliminary recommendations with respect to national historic trail designation. The Service recommended that it not be designated because the expedition route failed two of the three criteria specified by the National Trails System Act. A detailed discussion of this recommendation is provided in Chapter 4, Analysis of Alternatives. Review of the recommendation has been deferred to the

Advisory Board's Sub-committee for Historic Trails and a formal position on the matter will be approved at the next Board meeting in April 1989.

CHAPTER 2

SIGNIFICANT CHARACTERISTICS

Eligibility for Designation as a National Historic Trail

The National Trails System Act requires that an historic trail meet specific criteria in order to qualify for designation as a national historic trail. Specifically, Section 5(b)(11) of the Act reads as follows:

(11) To qualify for designation as a national historic trail, trail must meet all three of the following criteria:

(A) It must be a trail or route established by historic use and must be historically significant as a result of that use. The route need not currently exist as a discernible trail to qualify, but its location must be sufficiently known to permit evaluation of public recreation and historical interest potential. A designated trail should generally accurately follow the historic route, but may deviate somewhat on occasion of necessity to avoid difficult routing through subsequent development, or to provide some route variation offering a more pleasurable recreational experience. Such deviations shall be so noted onsite. Trail segments no longer possible to travel by trail due to subsequent development as motorized transportation routes may be designated and marked onsite as segments which link to the historic trail.

(B) It must be of national significance with respect to any of several broad facets of American history, such as trade and commerce, migration and settlement, or military campaigns. To qualify as nationally significant, historic use of the trail must have had a far-reaching effect on broad patterns of American culture. Trails significant in the history of native Americans may be included.

(C) It must have significant potential for public recreational use or historical interest based on historic interpretation and appreciation. The potential for such use is generally greater along roadless segments developed as historic trails and at historic sites associated with the trail. The presence of recreation potential not related to historic appreciation is not sufficient justification for designation under this category.

Statement of Historical Significance

The expedition of Hernando de Soto is of national significance. Reasons for which the expedition is significant include the fact that it was the first major European exploration of interior southeastern United States; future Spanish expeditions were planned,

in large part, on knowledge acquired during the expedition; the absence of State-level societies and material wealth significantly altered Spanish imperial ambitions; expedition chronicles reveal a rare description of southeastern Indian societies including mound-building chiefdoms in a full state of indigenous development; it was the occasion of the first Christian rites performed in the region; and future archeological investigations are likely to yield additional significant information about early Spanish exploration and native American cultures.

The expedition led by Hernando de Soto succeeded in exploring, for the first time, the interior of the southeastern United States. As a consequence of the De Soto expedition, substantial knowledge of the region was gained. Subsequent Spanish expeditions into the southeastern interior during the latter half of the 16th century--Tristan de Lune y Arellano (1559-61) and Juan Pardo (1566-68)--were planned, in part on the basis of knowledge derived from the De Soto expedition. Other Europeans had already explored the fringes of the southeast. Such explorers included Juan Ponce de Leon, 1513; Alonso Alvarez de Pineda, 1519; Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon, 1526; and Panfilo de Navarez, 1528. But it was De Soto and his comrades who first saw the interior.

The De Soto expedition is historically significant in that it altered Spain's imperial ambitions in eastern North America. De Soto and his comrades wished to discover another State-level society with stores of precious metals and gems like those possessed by the Incas. But to his ruin, he discovered that precious items to southeastern Indians consisted of freshwater pearls, seashells, pieces of copper, and slabs of mica. Moreover, he discovered no society whose ranks included a peasantry accustomed to strenuous labor. With the knowledge that precious substances could not simply be taken from the Indians, and that there was no peasantry to be used for mining or agriculture, Spanish interest in the region waned. Interest in the region did not truly revive until the end of the 17th century, when France and England began to pursue imperial designs.

The De Soto expedition is historically significant because the participants observed and interacted with a large number of native societies while they were still intact. The most important of these societies were chiefdoms; a type of society which was intermediate in complexity between egalitarian hunter-gatherers and State-level societies. These chiefdoms had relatively large populations dominated by a reigning elite. These societies built large mound centers, such as those at Etowah, Ocumtgee, Parkin, and Belcher. In addition, these societies developed modes of cultivating corn, beans, and squash in quantities sufficient to sustain sizeable populations. They were dynamic societies with internal instability and external competition. From the De Soto chronicles, in several instances warring chiefdoms were separated by vast wilderness areas, which formed buffer zones between cultural groups (polities).

In the later 17th century, when Europeans again began exploring the southeastern interior, they found that the social texture of native

societies had changed dramatically. A majority of the large chiefdoms had fallen apart and the survivors had begun coalescing and reorganizing themselves into the historic Indian tribes including the Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Cherokees, and Catawbas. Thus, the route of the De Soto expedition is a historical thread connecting archeological sites which are the remains of a native social order that had essentially vanished by the beginning of the 18th century. Recent attention to the De Soto expedition has stimulated archeological research that is shedding new light on this little-known period.

The De Soto expedition was the occasion of the first collision between Europeans and Indians in what would be a protracted struggle for supremacy in the southeastern United States. It was the first time the Indians could measure themselves against a people who had come from outside their known world. It was the beginning of a struggle that would last for three centuries at which time the Indians would finally relinquish their rights to land they had occupied for over 10,000 years.

During the course of the De Soto expedition, fundamental lessons were learned by the Indians. The Indians learned of the Superiority of European weapons, and had their first experience with European military organization. The greatest military encounter of the expedition was the battle of Mabila on October 18, 1540. In this battle, De Soto lost 22 men and as many as 150 were wounded, while Indian casualties were estimated at 2500 to 3000. The Indians must have realized that they could not defeat the Europeans in head-on military encounters. Certainly this was the case with the Chickasaws, who in the winter of 1540-41, fought the Spaniards most effectively using guerilla tactics; wisely avoiding direct military confrontation.

The expedition had a devastating effect on the Indian cultures of the southeast. By the beginning of the 18th century, the Indian population of the region was dramatically reduced. Many researchers believe it likely that the expedition was responsible for this depopulation due to the size and duration of the "entrada" and the extent of the area explored. Not only had populations dramatically declined by the early 1700's, but the moundbuilding cultures had totally vanished, to be replaced by historic tribes. Although these new tribes farmed, hunted and fished as had their ancestors, their society was more loosely organized and governed by tribal consensus. Further, they did not exhibit the complex political and religious characteristics observed by De Soto.

Neither De Soto nor his expedition have received the historical recognition they deserve. De Soto is given a lesser place in southern history than Coronado is given in western history. The De Soto expedition, however, was larger than the Coronado expedition; it lasted longer; and it explored a more extensive territory. This difference in historical recognition may be due in

part to the fact that the route has been so difficult to reconstruct. Further, with the exception of Florida, there is far less awareness of Spanish heritage in the south than in the west. It is no wonder that the 16th century has been called America's forgotten century. De Soto and his comrades were more like medieval knights than the European soldiers and explorers of the 17th and 18th centuries. They wore body armor and fought with lances, halberds, crossbows, and matchlock guns. They saw the Indians as infidels, whose cultures and societies were not worthy of attention. They saw the hand of God in incidents and occurrences where modern men would not. Even though De Soto and his men are our historical forebears, many of their actions are intelligible only through special explanation.

Similarly, the Indians of the 16th century were vastly different from the "Five Civilized Tribes" who survived into the 18th and 19th centuries. further, because the southeastern Indians had no method of writing, they retained next to nothing of their history of De Soto or their own chiefdom ancestors. The trader Thomas Nairne, for example, reported in 1708 that the chickasaws were the only southeastern Indians he had met who had any memory of the De Soto expedition and, from all appearances, their memory of it was slight. By the end of the 18th century, many southeastern Indians had little or no memory of the chiefdoms to which their ancestors belonged.

The De Soto expedition was the historical context in which these two cultures met. It was the historical moment in which forgotten European forebears came into conflict with the likewise forgotten native lords of the southeast. It was the first occasion in which Christian rites were performed in the territory. It was one of the great episodes in the age of European exploration.

Findings and Conclusions

Following an analysis of relevant information with respect to eligibility for national historic trail designation, the National Park Service determined that the route of the De Soto expedition was of national significance (criterion (B)) and that there is potential for historical interpretation (Criterion (C)), but that historic use has not occurred along the route (criterion (A)). A summary of this determination is contained in Chapter 4, Analysis of Alternatives. As a result of this determination, the National Park Service provided the National Park System Advisory Board with a recommendation that the De Soto expedition route did not qualify as a national historic trail. The Board is currently reviewing the recommendation and will make a final determination at its April 1989 meeting.

CHAPTER 3

SPECIAL PLANNING CONSIDERATIONS

Background and Description of the De Soto Expedition, 1539-1543

The discovery of the New World by Columbus in 1492 was a significant factor influencing Spanish exploration and colonization during the early years of the Age of Discovery. A substantial amount of energy and attention was diverted toward the New World resulting from news of Columbus' journey. One of the marvels of this period is the rapidity with which Spaniards explored and colonized the New World. The conquest or settlement of numerous areas followed discovery of the New World and immediately preceded De Soto's expedition: Santo Domingo in 1498; Cuba and Panama in 1519; Ecuador in 1533; Columbia, 1537; and Chile in 1540. This rapid advance of Spanish power was due, in large part, to the discovery of wealthy civilizations such as Mexico and Peru.

Although a few attempts to colonize the southeastern region of North America had been made by Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon, Panfilo de Navarez and others, De Soto was the first to succeed in penetrating into its interior. No one knew what mysteries and wealth were contained in such a vast unexplored area. A combination of an undiscovered region and great wealth previously amassed during the conquest of Mexico and Peru provided the power and motivation for the De Soto expedition. Further, the expedition was launched during the golden age of Spanish power. It was under such circumstances that in 1537 King Carlos I granted De Soto an "asiento" to conquer and settle La Florida.

As De Soto had already experienced a brilliant career, he was the logical recipient of such an "asiento." Born in Jeerez de los Caballeros in Extremadura, Spain, Hernando Mendez de Soto was the second son of wealthy parents. As was the custom of the day, Hernando's older brother would inherit the family estate. Thus, Hernando was encouraged to establish his own career. At the age of 14, Hernando went to Central America as a page for Pedrarias Davila. In later expeditions, De Soto participated in the exploration of Panama and Nicaragua and with Francisco Pizarro the conquest of the Incas in Peru. By the time he was commissioned to lead the expedition to Florida, De Soto was widely recognized for his wealth, courage and important family ties.

On April 7, 1538, De Soto and approximately 650 people set sail from Seville, Spain, to Cuba for completion of final plans and preparations. In May 1539, the expedition which included knights, foot soldiers, artisans, priests, boatrights, and scribes, as well as a large herd of pigs, departed from Havana. By May 30, 1539, the ships had been unloaded on the west coast of Florida at the Indian town of Ocita, probably in the Tampa Bay

area. The landing is believed to have been in the vicinity of the Panfilo de Narvaez (1525) campsite.

During the first year on the Continent, the expedition explored the area around the landing site, then traveled north and northwest to Anhayco, the principal town of Apalachee. De Soto and his men spent the winter of 1539-1540 in Anhayco and several nearby settlements. The encampment, located in what is now present-day Tallahassee, was occupied from October 1539 to March 1540.

After leaving Apalachee, the expedition traveled north into Georgia passing through Indian settlements such as Ichisi (probably location of the Lamar culture) and Ocute. Subsequent travels took De Soto and the expedition into South Carolina, North Carolina and Tennessee, then heading southwest through a corner of Georgia and into Alabama. Principal settlements visited by the expedition included Cofitachequi, Chiaha, Coste, Coosa (center of a large chiefdom), Talisi and Mabila. Upon entering the heavily palisaded town of Mabila, the expedition was attacked by warriors and allies of Chief Tascaluza of the mound center Athahachi. A fierce battle raged for the entire day. The battle took a toll on both sides and the expedition remained in Mabila for about a month to recover from their wounds. During this time, De Soto learned of ships awaiting the expedition at Achuse on the Gulf coast. De Soto, however, was able to convince the expedition to continue. They traveled on to Chickasaw, location of the 1540-41 winter encampment.

The expedition had encountered several chiefdoms during this portion (1540) of the journey including Ichisi, Ocute, Cofitachequi, Coosa and Tascaluza. These people--ancestors of historic southeastern Indian tribes (Creek, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Cherokees)--were primarily farmers raising corn on fertile river bottomlands. These Indian civilizations were characterized by the construction of earth mounds used for ceremonial activities. The cultures were socially stratified (ranked societies) and organized into chiefdoms. Such chiefdoms were generally quite productive with centers established for economic, social and religious activities. Although these cultures may have been past their peak at the time of the De Soto expedition, they were still flourishing with active moundbuilding, high status families and strong authoritarian chiefs.

In early March 1541, the expedition was attacked by Chickasaws as it was preparing to leave winter encampment. The attack killed 12 Spaniards and wounded many more. A large number of horses and pigs were also lost. After recovering from this battle, the expedition set out in a northwesterly direction through the Chiefdoms of Alibamu and Quizquiz. Shortly after entering the latter chiefdom, the expedition encountered the Mississippi. After crossing the river, De Soto and the expedition traveled through several regions of Arkansas (including the Chiefdoms of Aquizo, Pachaha, Quiguate, Coligua, Cayas, and Tula), arriving at

Autiamque in early November. Here the expedition spent their third winter (1541-42. By this time the expedition had encountered Indians who hunted buffalo, thus, reaching the fringe of the Plains Indian.

The expedition set out from Autiamque in early March 1542 in search of the Chiefdom of Anilco. The principal town of Anilco had a large supply of corn and was the most densely populated chiefdom encountered by De Soto at that time. The expedition then traveled to Guachayo in the vicinity of the Mississippi River. From this location, a small group of expedition members traveled south in search of either civilizations or trails but found neither. This news must have been very disturbing to De Soto, for he knew of no State-level society east of the Mississippi River. Further, Indians had informed him that the area north and west of the river was a wilderness and his own men saw no signs of habitation to the south. Shortly afterward, De Soto was stricken with a fever and died on May 21, 1542.

De Soto was succeeded by Luis Moscoso de Alvarado. Under this command, the expedition survivors debated whether to escape to New Spain (Mexico) via the Mississippi River or an overland route. It was decided to attempt an overland route and in early June the expedition traveled in a northwesterly, then southwesterly direction through Arkansas and into southeastern Texas. By fall, the expedition encountered a group of people who subsisted solely by hunting and gathering. If they continued west, the expedition would not find adequate supplies of corn. In addition, the people they encountered spoke a language which was not understood by Moscoso or the Indians traveling with the expedition. At this point, they decided to return to the Mississippi River and travel via boat to the Gulf.

In December, the expedition arrived at Aminoyo where they occupied a large palisaded town. During the winter and spring they built several boats and on July 2, 1543, embarked on their journey down the Mississippi River. As they traveled downstream, the expedition was continually attacked by various groups of Indians in canoes. By late July or early August, the expedition arrived at the mouth of the river and by mid-September, they reached the vicinity of present-day Veracruz, Mexico.

In the 4 years and 4 months since the expedition sailed from Havana, they had walked or ridden approximately 3,700 miles. One half of the expedition (311 people) survived the ordeal. Some of the survivors remained in Mexico; some went to Peru; while still others returned to Spain.

At the time, the De Soto expedition was considered to be a failure. The expedition's leader and over half of its members had died either from battle wounds or disease and, of greater significance, they discovered no gold or State-level societies. The expedition failed because its purposes were not clearly defined; the wealth and societies it sought did not exist; and

because previous tactics used by its leaders--kidnapping and extortion--did not work well on the Indian cultures of the New World. The expedition encountered loosely organized tribes and chiefdoms who spread the word of Spanish brutality. The Indians' resistance to the Spaniards built until the Battle of Mabila. Subsequently, the expedition was continuously embroiled in open warfare with the Indians.

Reconstructing the Route of the De Soto Expedition

Even though the expedition traveled thousands of miles and was on the continent for more than 4 years, the Apalachee site (Tallahassee, Florida) is the only location which confirms the presence of De Soto in North America. The actual route of the expedition has eluded scholars and the public for centuries. In large part, this is due to the widely varying quality of chronicles which provide a contemporary account of the expedition. In addition, the expedition journeyed through unexplored and uncharted areas using only crude instruments for observation. Further, the principal object of the expedition was the search for gold and other riches, not the exploration of North America. Finally, with the exception of a few locations such as winter encampments, the expedition did not remain at a single location long enough to discard substantial amounts of materials to permit discovery by modern-day archeological investigations.

There are four chronicles which provide an account of the expedition--three are first-hand accounts written by expedition members while a fourth is an account based on the testimony of several participants. The chronicles consist of the work prepared by "the Gentleman of Elvas" published in 1591; Garcilaso de la Vega, the second-hand account published in 1591; Luys Hernando de Biedma published in 1841; and Rodrigo Ranjel (De Soto's private secretary during the expedition) published in 1851. The account by Elvas was compiled relatively soon after the expedition and appears to be uninfluenced by other accounts. The volume compiled by Garcilaso is the longest of the chronicles, but is heavily romanticized and of doubtful accuracy. The Biedma account appears to have been an "official" report of the expedition prepared after the expedition, but is very brief. The chronicle by Ranjel is a brief diary written during the expedition; the surviving portions provide an account from the landing in Florida to the winter encampment of 1541. In addition to the four chronicles, an early map referred to as the "De Soto Map" locates a number of Indian villages and documentation of other expeditions in Southeast United States. (Panfilo de Navaez, Tristan de Luna and Juan Pardo) described areas visited by De Soto.

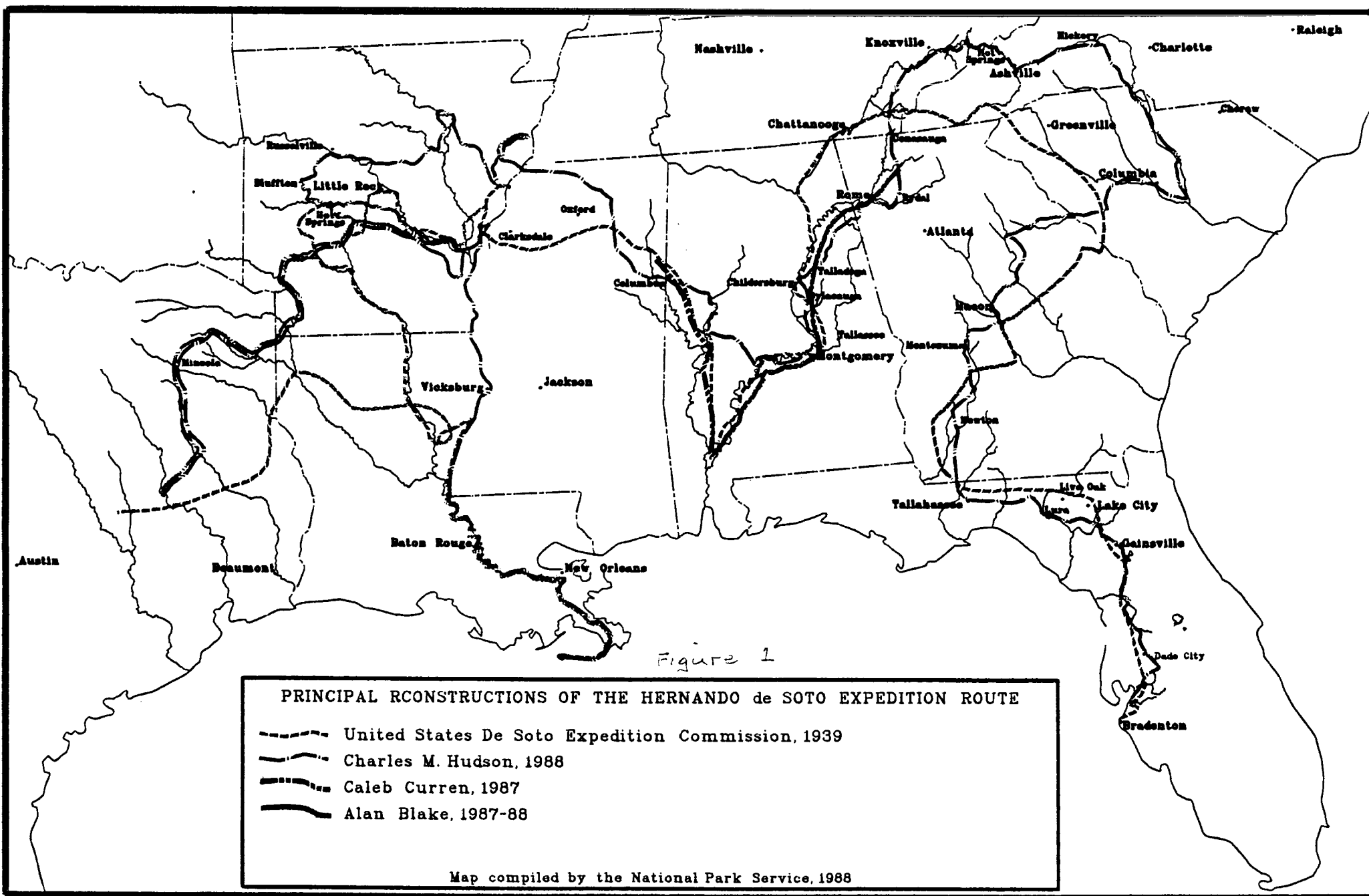
Although much remains unknown, information regarding the location of Indian cultures during the time of the De Soto expedition has also assisted in the reconstruction of the route. In some cases, cultures encountered by the expedition were in the same

locations when visited by English and French explorers and traders in the late 17th and early 18th centuries. This is particularly so with the Indian cultures of Florida. There is, however, much to be learned about the dramatic cultural changes which occurred during the early historic period.

The recent accumulation of archeological data has provided a key to route reconstruction through the location of 16th century Spanish and Indian materials, the accurate dating of materials associated with the expedition and through the identification of those areas devoid of inhabitants at the time of the expedition. As data becomes available, specific points along the route can be fixed with varying degree of certainty. To date, the Apalachee site in Tallahassee, Florida (winter encampment site of 1539-40), is the only location confirmed to have been occupied by the expedition. Additional archeological investigations in Florida, northern Georgia and eastern Tennessee have revealed sites likely to have been associated with the expedition. Ongoing and future investigations will provide further information for the location points along the route. Most recently, the University of Alabama has initiated an inventory of Late Mississippian period sites (locations of Indian occupation during the 16th century) and those sites yielding probable 16th century European artifacts. Such information will enable (1) correlation between towns mentioned in the chronicles and archeological sites, (2) mapping of polity boundaries, and (3) the identification of those unoccupied territories referred to by the chronicles.

Over the years, a number of attempts have been made to reconstruct the route of the De Soto expedition. (Figure 1 illustrates principal route reconstructions.) Although Spanish maps as early as 1544 attempted to locate the route, the first careful reconstruction was by French cartographer Guilanne de L'Isle to that of Lewis (1900-1907). The location of the route according to each reconstruction varied widely. The earliest reconstructions were based only on the chronicles of Elvas and Garcilaso, because the remaining two had not been published. Somewhat later, the Biedma chronicle was made available, but it was not until 1900 that all four chronicles were used in reconstructions. This is particularly significant in view of the fact that the Ranjel chronicle (the most recent chronicle available) is generally considered to be the most accurate account.

In 1936, the United States De Soto Expedition Commission was established to complete "...a thorough study of the subject of De Soto's expedition." The Commission, under the leadership of Dr. John R. Swanton of the Smithsonian Institution, published its findings in 1939. The Commission report reviewed the various routes proposed by earlier scholars and, based on its own criteria, established a recommended route. The criteria used by the Commission consisted of a detailed analysis of the chronicles, the "De Soto Map," and the Luna and Pardo documents; topographic features; location of Indian tribes and towns; and



the time necessary for an army the size of the De Soto expedition to travel from one location to another. Although few of the Commission's recommendations ever materialized, a few markers were erected by local historical groups in various States. The Commission's report also indicated that "[T]here is much valuable work...to be done...as the nascent State archeological surveys expand and begin to reconstruct the aboriginal history of the Southeast." The report, intended to advance a hypothesis for further testing, has generally been accepted by the public as fact. One of its major shortcomings was the lack of archeological data available at the time of the report.

Following the Commission's final report, understanding of the De Soto route gradually advanced due to extensive archeological research. As a result of recent research, the locations of a number of sites--Tali, Coosa and Mabila, to name a few--identified by the Commission have proven to be incorrect. Archeological sites, primarily in Florida, east Tennessee, and north Georgia, have been linked with some degree of scientific certainty to the expedition. Such sites include Ocita, Apalachee and Ochete in Florida; Cofitachequi and Coosa in Georgia; Chiaha and Coste in Tennessee; and Casqui in Mississippi. In addition, areas thought to have been inhabited by Indians during the time of the expedition and hence logical areas through which De Soto would have traveled, have recently been shown to have been uninhabited at the time of the expedition. Finally, the De Soto Expedition Commission assumed that Indian villages remained in a single location over time, while more recent research indicates that some towns have moved hundreds of miles between the 16th and 18th centuries. The Indian town of Coosa, key in the Commission's route, was one of these towns.

A number of route reconstructions have been advanced recently by various scholars. The majority of these reconstructions address portions of the route while that of Charles Hudson and Associates addresses the entire route. Most notable of these include Warren H. Wilkinson and Rolfe F. Schell, the Florida landing site; Richard Melvin, Apalachee to Chiaha; Alan Blake, Tampa Bay to the Mississippi River; and Caleb Curren, Alabama portion. Because each of these hypotheses addresses a portion of the route, the reconstructions lack consistency--for instance, the location of a given town must be consistent with that which proceeds as well as follows. For example, the location of a route crossing the Mississippi River must be consistent from one riverbank to the other.

The only reconstruction subsequent to the De Soto Expedition Commission which addresses the route in its entirety is that of Charles Hudson, Marvin T. Smith and Chester B. De Pratter. (Figure 2 illustrates the Hudson, et al. route reconstruction.) It also appears to be the most thoroughly researched, logically constructed, and most widely accepted reconstruction. The Hudson reconstruction is based on (1) the De Soto chronicles, (2) use of modern and historic maps, and (3) use of supporting evidence.

The supporting evidence consists of the documentary record of expeditions which visited the same Indian towns and polities encountered by De Soto (Tristan de Luna, Alabama and Georgia; Rene Laudoniere, Florida; and Juan Pardo, South Carolina, North Carolina and Tennessee); archeological record of late prehistoric sites in the southeast (Table 1 provides a summary listing of sites potentially associated with the expedition); discovery of 16th century European artifacts; and the occurrence of culturally similar sites in definable geographic areas. The Hudson reconstruction relies primarily on the chronicles in the same order of reliability as the De Soto Expedition Commission--Ranjel (most reliable; Elvas, Biedma and Garcilaso (least reliable). The principal advances of the Hudson reconstruction over that the Commission's route include (1) reconstruction of other 16th century Spanish expeditions to assist location of Indian towns and polities and determination of accurate travel distances, (2) correlation of towns with known archeological sites, and (3) a knowledge of towns located by the Commission route which have since been refuted due to archeological research. Thus, the Hudson reconstruction builds on the knowledge as well as the flaws of the Commission's route and considers an array of new data. If the Commission's report had a fatal flaw, it was its authoritative and comprehensive tone causing the public to accept its hypotheses as fact. In view of this, it is important to recognize the Hudson reconstruction for what it is--a well-researched, scholarly hypothesis subject to refinements and modifications as new data becomes available.

Several recent initiatives are anticipated to result in the acquisition of additional data to identify specific locations visited by the expedition. Ongoing archeological research at the Apalachee site by the State of Florida will continue to provide more data regarding 16th century Spanish materials and a description of the culture. Artifacts removed from the site will be extremely valuable for comparative purposes. Similarly, the University of Alabama has recently completed a series of maps depicting the distribution of Late Mississippian cultural sites including polity centers and those localities yielding 16th century European artifacts in Alabama (Figure 3). As a result of National Park Service funding, the University will be completing similar maps for the remaining States traversed by the expedition. Such data will permit correlation of Indian towns and polities identified in the chronicles with archeological sites and phase distributions. In particular, the delineation of polity boundaries and their centers will substantially aid reconstruction of the route.

Recent reconstructions have also been used by various researchers to select key locations for archeological investigations. Sites such as Ocale, Ochute, Coosa, Mabila, Chickasaw, Autiamque and Amingya are most likely to yield significant quantities of 16th century European materials, thus, confirming key points along the route. Several archeological investigations have been initiated on this basis including an excavation by the University of

TABLE 1

ARCHEOLOGIC SITE ASSOCIATIONS WITH THE DE SOTO EXPEDITION

Florida

Positive Sites	Apalachee (Governor Martin)
Probable Sites	Ocita (Thomas Shell Mound/Parish Mound) and Aute (St. Marks Wildlife Refuge Cemetery)
Possible Sites	Ocale (Marion Oaks - Rute Smith Mound), Acuera, Potano (Belk/Huff Mound), Utlinamocharra (Alachua tradition/Moon Lake Cluster), "Malapaz" (Alachua tradition, Cholutaha (Santa Fe Mission), "River of Discords," Aguacaleyquen (Fig Springs), Uzachile (San Pedro/San Pablo de Potohirriba), Agile (Mission of San Miguel de Asile), Ivitachuco (Mission of San Soenzo de Ivitachuco) and Calahuchi (Mission of San Pedro de Patale)
Problematic Sites	Guazoco, Luco, Vicela (Weeki Watchee), Tocaste (Du Val Island), Itarraholuta, Uriutina (Indian Pond), "Village of Many Waters," and Napituca

GEORGIA

Probable Sites	Altamaha (Shinholzer Mound), Cofitachequi (Mulberry or McDowell), Coosa (Little Egypt), and Itaba (Etowah)
Possible Sites	Toa (Redneck Hunting Club), small village of Ichisi (Coward's Landing), main town of Ichisi (Lamar Mound), main town of Ochute (Shoulderbone Mound), Ulibahali (Coosa Country Club), village of September 2, 1540 (Johnstone Farm), and Piachi (King)
Problematic Sites	Main town of Capachequi (Magnolia Plantation), Ichisi Village, Talimachusy

SOUTH CAROLINA

Probable Sites	Cofitachequi (Mulberry or McDowell)
Problematic Sites	Hymahi (Near) and Ilapi (Mound)

NORTH CAROLINA

Possible Sites Xuala (McDowell)

Problematic Sites "Chalaque" (Catawba or Hardin), Giaquili and Canasogo

TENNESSEE

Probable Sites Chiaha (Dallas) and Coste (Bussell Island)

Problematic Sites Tali (Henry) and Tasqui (Davis)

ALABAMA

Possible Sites Tuasi (Terrapin Creek), New Village (Hudson Branch), Talisi, Casiste (Collins Farm, Hightower or Sylacuga Waterworks), Athahachi (Charlotte Thompson), Uxapita, Mabilia (Old Cahawba), Talicpacana (White Mount), Moculixa, Zabusta (Moundville), first village after Zabusta (Wiggins), second village after Zabusta and Apafalaya (Snow's Bend)

Problematic Sites Caxa, Humati, Uxapita and Piachi

MISSISSIPPI

Possible Sites First town of Quizquiz (Irby), second town of Quizquiz (Lake Comorant, and third town of Quizquiz (Norfolk)

Problematic Sites Chickasaw (Lyon's Bluff), Chakuchiuma, and Alibamu

ARKANSAS

Probable Sites Casqui (Parkin), Tanico

Possible Sites Aquixo, Pacaha (Bradley), Quiquate, Coliqua (Magness), Calpista, Tula (Alkman Mound), Quitamaya (Hughes), Autiamque (Hardin), Anilco (Menard), Guachoya, Catalte, Chaguata, Aguacay (Stokes Mound), Amaye, and Naguatex.

Problematic Sites Palisema, Quixila, Tutilcoya, village on Arkansas River, Ayays, Tutelpinco, Aguacay, Pato, and Aminoya

TEXAS

Problematic Sites

Nissahone, Lacane, Nondacao, Aays,
Soacatino (Frankston), Guasco,
Naquiscosa (Angeline), River of Daycao

The terms "positive," "probable," "possible," and "problematic," provide a measure of confidence (from highest level to lowest) that the historical record and archeological knowledge identify aboriginal towns and villages and other landmarks visited by the De Soto expedition.

NOTE: A more detailed description of the archeological sites is contained in Appendix ____.

Alabama of the Hightower site thought to be in the vicinity of Talisi.

Regional, State, and Local Activities

The De Soto Expedition Commission was established to study the expedition and to provide a report to Congress with recommendations for a celebration of its 400th anniversary. Subsequent to publication of the Commission's final report, controversy regarding the De Soto route subsided for a number of years. Gradually, however, advanced archeological procedures resulted in new data disproving many hypotheses contained in the Commission's final report. These archeological advances as well as the approaching 450th anniversary of the expedition and the Columbus quincentennial have renewed interest in the De Soto route.

In 1987, the formation of a 10-State commission was initiated to promote research related to De Soto and establish a De Soto Trail. By 1988, the De Soto Trail Commission had been formally established by resolution of those States along the expedition route. To date, all States except Georgia have approved the resolution and appointed one or more members to serve on the Commission. The organization has been very active in promoting archeological research and conducting related activities throughout the southeast. The Commission at its October 1988 meeting passed a resolution acknowledging the ongoing National Park Service trail study and promoting designation of the expedition route as a national historic trail (refer to Part II, Consultation and Coordination). In addition, the Commission is in the process of identifying a De Soto Highway route which is anticipated to be formally approved in early 1989.

In the early 1980's, the State of Florida assembled a committee to establish a highway route of the De Soto expedition. A consensus was reached regarding the majority of the route's location and, in 1986, roadside markers and interpretive exhibits were completed (Table 2). Subsequently, the route's most controversial area--the expedition landing site--has been resolved and the remaining portion of the route is currently being marked. An interpretive exhibit describing the expedition's landing has recently been erected at the De Soto National Monument in Bradenton, Florida (Table 3). The Florida portion of the expedition route follows the reconstruction of Dr. Hudson. Due to considerable controversy regarding the landing site, an interpretive display will be placed in the Charlotte Harbor area indicating that some researchers believe De Soto landed in that area. The State is prepared to modify the routing as new data warrants.

In addition to the highway marking effort, the State of Florida has recently purchased the Apalachee site, location of De Soto's 1539-40 winter encampment in Tallahassee (Table 3). Initial excavations at the site produced a large assemblage of Indian and

TABLE 2

SUMMARY OF STATE-INITIATED DE SOTO HIGHWAY ROUTE DESIGNATIONS

STATE	INITIATION/ ADMINISTRATION	STATUS	FACILITIES	ROUTE DESCRIPTION
Alabama	Alabama De Soto Commission/ Alabama Highway Department	Approved for construction; completion tentatively scheduled for summer 1989.	Highway route markers at 10- mile intervals; kiosk exhibits; signs at welcome centers; information brochures.	U.S. 278, GA/AL border- Piedmont; S.H. 21, Piedmont-Winterboro; S.H. 76, Winterboro- Childersburg; U.S. 231, Childersburg-Montgomery; U.S. 80, Montgomery- Uniontown; S.H. 61, Uniontown-Greensboro; S.H. 69, Greensboro-Tuscaloosa; U.S. 82, Tuscaloosa-AL/MS border.
Florida	Florida Division of Recreation and Parks	Inverness-GA/FL border completed; Inverness- Bradenton under construction (to be completed in January 1989)	Highway route markers at 5- mile intervals; kiosk exhibits; landing site exhibit at De Soto National Memorial; information brochures	S.H. 64, De Soto National Memorial-Bradenton; U.S. 301, Bradenton-Bushnell; U.S. 48, Bushnell-Floral City, U.S. 41, Floral City-Williston; S.H. 121, Williston-Gainesville; U.S. 441, Gainesville-Lake City; U.S. 90, Lake City- Tallahassee-Ga/FL border.

NOTES: The remaining States involved in the route are currently in the process of identifying a recommended highway route in each respective State for approval by the De Soto Trail Commission in February 1989.

Route identification in Alabama and Florida is based in principle on the reconstruction of the expedition route by Dr. Charles Hudson, et al.

TABLE 3

DEVELOPED ARCHEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SITES ASSOCIATED WITH THE DE SOTO EXPEDITION

SITE NAME	LOCATION	ADMINISTERING AGENCY	ASSOCIATION WITH DE SOTO EXPEDITION	FACILITIES
De Soto National Memorial	Bradenton, FL	National Park Service	Commemorates the May 1539 landing of the De Soto expedition.	Interpretive displays and brochures describing Hernando de Soto, the expedition and 16th century Indian cultures.
De Soto-Apalachee Archaeological and Historic Site	Tallahassee, FL	Florida Division of Historical Resources	Site of the 1539-40 winter encampment of the expedition.	Ongoing archeological investigation including analysis of artifacts and delineation of site boundaries; tentative plans to establish a State park with interpretive museum at Martin House.
Ocmulgee National Monument	Macon, GA	National Park Service	Mound center of the Mississippian people referred to as the Lamar culture who were visited by the De Soto expedition in 1540.	Interpretive displays, information material and preserved earthworks of the region's pre-historic and historic cultures.

Etowah Mounds State Historic Site	Cartersville, GA	Georgia Department of Natural Resources	Probable location of Itaba, a native Indian town within the province of Coosa; a chiefdom encountered by De Soto in 1540.	Interpretive displays and Spanish and Indian artifacts; information regarding the De Soto expedition; preserved earthworks.
Mound State Monument	Moundville, AL	The University of Alabama Museum of Natural History	Possible location of Zabusta, principal town within the Apafalaya chiefdom; a traditional Indian town encountered by the expedition	Interpretive displays and reconstructions, museum and information regarding native cultures; archeological research facility.
Parkin State Park (proposed)	Parkin, AR	Arkansas State Parks	Probable location of Casqui, an Indian village visited by the expedition in 1541.	Ongoing archeological investigation including analysis of Spanish and Indian materials; tentative plans to establish a State park with interpretive facilities.
Arkansas Post National Memorial	Gillett, AR	National Park Service	Location of Quapaw Indians encountered by the expedition.	Interpretive displays and information materials describing 16th century Indian culture.

Spanish materials which are currently under analysis. Additional reconnaissance-level surveys will be conducted to delineate site boundaries and guide future excavations. The State is tentatively planning to establish an interpretive museum at the site.

In 1985, the Alabama De Soto Commission was established to direct research efforts related to "...early Spanish exploration and colonization of Alabama, designate portions of existing highways as the De Soto Trail, and plan a commemoration of De Soto's travels through Alabama." The Alabama State Museum of Natural History, the Alabama Historical Commission, and the Alabama Department of Archives and History provide support and technical staff to the State Commission.

In June 1988, the Alabama De Soto Commission announced the selection of a route to be designated as the "Highway Route of De Soto Trail." The designation of a route was based on a detailed analysis of three proponent routes (Alan Blake, Caleb Curran, and Charles Hudson) and correlation with the recently completed archeologic site mapping project by the University of Alabama. The route selected by the State Commission follows the hypothesis of Dr. Hudson, et al. The Commission proposes to erect roadside trail markers and interpretive kiosks along the route, establish exhibits at State visitor welcome centers, and distribute information brochures. All facilities are scheduled for completion by the summer of 1989 (Table 2).

The Mississippi State legislature has recently created a State De Soto Commission and prospective appointees are presently under review. As one of its functions, the Commission will identify the route of the De Soto expedition through the State. Using remote sensing data, the Mississippi Department of Archives and History is currently identifying sites with a high potential for containing De Soto related materials. Sites identified will be excavated in the future.

An Ad Hoc De Soto Committee has been formed in North Carolina and State approval is anticipated in the near future. Two small De Soto related archeological investigations were recently conducted in the Catawba River area. The South Carolina Division of Parks, Recreation and Tourism approved a resolution supporting the concept of trail marking. Archeological investigations at the Mulberry site, probable site of Cofitachequi, have not, as yet, uncovered any Spanish materials.

The State of Arkansas has recently approved purchase of the Parkin site, probable location of Casqui (Table 3). In addition, the State plans to establish a commemorative highway route of the De Soto expedition. The State of Louisiana plans to conduct archeological investigations at high priority sites identified by the De Soto Expedition Commission. In Tennessee, the majority of interest has been focused in the Chattanooga area. Extensive archeological investigations have been conducted in the area

where the routes of the De Soto Expedition Commission and Hudson, et al., intersect. To date, these investigations have not revealed any Spanish materials. Neither the State of Georgia nor Texas are actively pursuing formal commissions nor are they conducting any State-sponsored investigations.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS OF ALTERNATIVES

The De Soto expedition was a very significant event in the early history of the southeastern United States and formal recognition of the expedition would result in a number of benefits related to public interest and education. Such recognition would increase public awareness of the region's Spanish heritage, provide information regarding 16th century Indian cultures, encourage and direct future archeological research, and provide additional data regarding specific location of the expedition route.

There is a question as to whether or not the route of the expedition should be identified at a time when the majority of the route is unknown. Raised at several public meetings, there is a concern that public acceptance of a route as precise and factual would impede future testing and modification resulting from archeological investigations. Such a concern is not unfounded. Even though the final report of the De Soto Expedition Commission clearly indicated that it had not located the exact route of the expedition, the public has tended to accept the route as fact. In addition, many people contend that the formal commemoration of the expedition and description of early Indian cultures should be the principal goal, not the exact location of the expedition route.

It is significant to note that, although there is wide disagreement as to the location of specific points along the route, most scholars do agree that the actual location of the entire route will never be known. The majority of scholars also agree that the approximate route should be identified to promote public awareness, identify locales for further archeological investigation, and to acquire additional data from which to develop interpretive models of 16th century Indian cultures. Future trail marking should clearly indicate the tentative nature of the route location; the fact that routing changes will occur in the future guided by the discovery of new data, and that scholars disagree with the route location in many areas. This has been effectively accomplished by the State of Florida and a similar approach is presently planned for the Alabama portion of the route.

Designation as a National Historic Trail

As a result of a preliminary analysis, it has been determined that the route of the De Soto expedition does not meet criteria for designation as a national historic trail under the National Trails System Act. Of the three criteria--trail integrity, national significance, and potential for public use--the De Soto expedition meets only that criteria regarding national significance.

The route does not meet the criterion regarding trail integrity (Section 5(b) (11) (A)). Specifically, the De Soto expedition traversed routes which consisted of existing Indian paths, waterways, game trails, and traces pioneered by the Spanish. These routes gained little in value or utility because of such use. Considering the lack of data and scholarly consensus to support a precise route, or even a corridor for the majority of the expedition's journey, the National Trails System does not appear to be the best or only tool to commemorate the event. While the route is said to be fairly well pinpointed to a corridor in several States, the rest of the routing is currently subject to much debate.

The expedition route meets the national significance criterion (Section 5(b) (11) (B)). The De Soto expedition is of national historical significance because the expedition was the first major European exploration of interior southeastern United States; future Spanish expeditions were planned, in large part, on knowledge acquired through the De Soto expedition; the absence of State-level societies and material wealth significantly altered Spanish imperial ambitions for the region; expedition chronicles provide a description of the southeastern Indian societies including moundbuilding chiefdoms in a full state of indigenous development; it was the occasion of the first Christian rites performed in the region; and future archeological investigations in search of key expedition sites are likely to yield additional significant information about early European explorers and Indian cultures.

The route of the De Soto expedition meets the criterion regarding potential for public use based on historic interpretation (Section 5(b) (11) (B)). The expedition was a significant event in the early history of the southeastern United States and it provides one of the few descriptions of early historic Indian cultures. Based on such historic significance and in view of the high level of public interest, there is significant potential for historic interpretation. The State of Florida has marked a highway route of the expedition and constructed several roadside interpretive exhibits which provide information about the expedition and the various Indian cultures encountered by De Soto as well as the Apalachee site discovered in Tallahassee. This effort has generated substantial public interest and increased public awareness in the region's Spanish heritage. The State of Alabama is currently in the process of establishing a highway route with roadside markers and interpretive exhibits which is anticipated to increase public interest and awareness. Wherever interpretive information has been made available, public interest in the De Soto expedition has increased substantially.

Alternatives to Historic Trail Designation

There are alternatives to historic trail designation which could achieve some or all of the benefits previously identified. Such alternatives include trail marking by State initiative, designation as a heritage corridor and special legislation.

The route of the De Soto expedition could be designated and marked by individual States with overall coordination provided through an organization such as the De Soto Trail Commission. Trail marking and interpretive facilities similar to those of Florida could be completed in the remaining States traversed by the expedition. Such an effort would be left to the initiative of individual States. Consistency of trail signs, interpretive facilities and public information materials would be voluntary. Interstate guidance, direction and consistency could be provided by the De Soto Trail Commission if properly reorganized to perform such a function. In the event the Commission were not reorganized, there would be a lack of consistency and unified theme between States potential for route incongruities, and a lack of public information materials addressing the entire route. Further, there would be no Federal presence to provide overall guidance and direction for the establishment and management of the trail.

Although actual legislation has varied with respect to specific language, establishment of a "heritage corridor" could provide a degree of Federal presence and oversight. A heritage corridor or trail is a means of linking disjunct areas through the development of a unifying theme and overall management plan. Such an entity provides an identity and national recognition without the need for Federal ownership. Areas recently established include the Potomac Heritage Corridor, America's Industrial Heritage, the Masau Trail and the Coastal Heritage trail. There are, however, disadvantages to such a designation. Several areas recently established have no historic basis and were created to link sites together under a single theme. Further, designation as a heritage trail would add to the growing number of such areas for which there is no criterion for their establishment nor comprehensive guidance.

Special legislation could be used to establish a "Highway Route of the Hernando de Soto Expedition." Under such legislation, a Federal/State advisory group could be created to administer the route and manage an archeological research institute. A Federal presence, vis-a-vis the NPS, could be provided through technical assistance to prepare an administrative plan, identify an appropriate highway route, establish interpretive facilities at key locations along the route, and prepare public information materials. This would require an active Federal role during the initial project phase and minimal continuous involvement through participation on an advisory board. In addition, such an option could allow for the establishment of a formal research component

to promote future archeological investigations necessary for locating key sites and increasing the knowledge of 16th century Indian cultures.

PART II
SUPPLEMENTAL INFORMATION

CONSULTATION AND COORDINATION

A number of individuals and groups have been contacted during the De Soto Trail Study. Such contacts have resulted from a series of public meetings held throughout the study area, attendance at several De Soto Trail Commission meetings, coordination with members of the De Soto Advisory Committee and contacts with State and local agencies and special interest groups. In addition, National Park Service representatives participated in a symposium regarding the De Soto Trail Study held in conjunction with the Southeast Archaeological Conference (Appendix C). Further, the findings and recommendations of the Service with respect to the trail study were presented to the National Park System Advisory Board at its October 1988 meeting.

De Soto Advisory Committee

At the request of the National Park Service, the Governor of each State traversed by the route (except Georgia) identified a representative(s) to coordinate with the Service during the course of the study. The following are the State representatives comprising the Advisory Committee.

ALABAMA

M. N. "Corky" Pugh
Assistant Commissioner
Alabama Department of Conservation
and Natural Resources

Douglas Jones
Director, State Museum of
Natural History
University of Alabama

V. James Knight
Assistant Professor of Anthropology
University of Alabama

ARKANSAS

Bryan Kellar
Arkansas State Parks

Dan F. Morse
Arkansas Archeological
Survey
Arkansas State University

FLORIDA

Ney C. Landrum
Director, Division of Recreation
and Parks

LOUISIANA

Kass Byrd
Director, Louisiana Division
of Archaeology

Richard Weinstein
Archaeologist
Coastal Environment, Inc.

MISSISSIPPI

Elbert R. Hilliard
Director, Mississippi Department
of Archives and History

Patricia Galloway
Mississippi Department of
Archives and History

NORTH CAROLINA

David Spain
Regional Manager
North Carolina Department of
Natural Resources and
Community Development

SOUTH CAROLINA

Chester DePratter
South Carolina Institute of
Archaeology and Anthropology

John Rogers
Curator, South Carolina
Division of State Parks

TENNESSEE

Nick Fielder
State Archaeologist
Tennessee Department
of Conservation

Elbert T. Gill
Commissioner
Tennessee Department
of Conservation

TEXAS

T. R. Fehrenbach
Texas Historical Commission

Dr. Brian Babin

De Soto Trail Commission

Independent of the De Soto Trail Study, the De Soto Trail Commission was formed by State resolution. The Commission was organized to establish a De Soto Trail prior to the 450th anniversary of the expedition and to promote research of the life, times, and exploits of Hernando de Soto. The Commission is comprised of representatives for each State traversed by the expedition except Georgia which has not approved the resolution. Following is a list of State representatives which comprise the De Soto Trail Commission.

ALABAMA

M. N. "Corky" Pugh
Assistant Commissioner
Alabama Department of Conservation
and Natural Resources

Douglas Jones
Director, State Museum
of Natural History
University of Alabama

V. James Knight
Assistant Professor of Anthropology
University of Alabama

ARKANSAS

Bryan Kellar
Arkansas State Parks

Dan F. Morse
Arkansas Archeological
Survey
Arkansas State University

FLORIDA

Ney C. Landrum
Director, Division of Recreation
and Parks

Michael Gannon
Director, Institute for
Early Contact Period
Studies
University of Florida

LOUISIANA

Kass Byrd
Director, Louisiana Division
of Archaeology

Richard Weinstein
Archaeologist
Coastal Environment, Inc.

MISSISSIPPI

Elbert R. Hilliard
Director, Mississippi Department
of Archives and History

Patricia Galloway
Mississippi Department
of Archives and History

NORTH CAROLINA

David Spain
Regional Manager
North Carolina Department
of Natural Resources
and Community Development

Barbara McRae
Assistant to the Manager
of Corporate
Communications
Nantahala Power and Light

SOUTH CAROLINA

Chester DePratter
South Carolina Institute
of Archaeology and Anthropology

John Rogers
Curator, South Carolina
Division of State Parks

TENNESSEE

Nick Fielder
State Archaeologist
Tennessee Department
of Conservation

Elbert T. Gill
Commissioner
Tennessee Department
of Conservation

TEXAS

T. R. Fehrenbach
Texas Historical Commission

The following is a resolution regarding the De Soto National Trail Study which was approved by the Commission at its October 1988 meeting.

**RESOLUTION
OF
THE DE SOTO TRAIL COMMISSION**

WHEREAS, the De Soto Trail Commission was established by and is serving at the pleasure of the Governors of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Texas; and

WHEREAS, the Commission was established to foster and promote scholarly research into the life, times and exploits of Hernando de Soto, and to seek a consensus on those factual matters necessary for the planning and implementation of the De Soto Trail; and

WHEREAS, the Commission was established to promote and sponsor programs, events and activities related to and supportive of the De Soto Trail; and

WHEREAS, the Commission was established to cooperate with and assist the U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service in studying, planning and implementing a De Soto National Historic Trail.

NOW, THEREFORE, the De Soto Trail Commission does hereby agree as follows:

1. The expedition of Hernando de Soto was a significant milestone in the European exploration of the southeastern United States.
2. The De Soto Expedition is of national significance and the route of that expedition worthy of designation as a National Historic Trail.

3. National Historic Trail designation of the De Soto Expedition route will substantially increase public awareness of and interest in the early European exploration of southeastern United States.
4. Designation of the De Soto Expedition route will encourage and focus further research and field investigations; ultimately increasing knowledge of this little known period in our history.



Douglas E. Jones, Chairman

De Soto Trail Commission

10-19-88

Date

Congressional Representatives

Several Federal and State congressional representatives expressed interest in the De Soto Trail Study through attendance at public meetings, submission of formal statements or written inquiries. The following is a listing of those congressional representatives:

Alabama

Ann Bedsole, State Senate

Arkansas

Clarence Bell, State Senate

Florida

Bob Graham, U.S. Senate

Charles E. Bennett, U.S. House of Representatives

Andy Ireland, U.S. House of Representatives

Mississippi

Trent Lott, U.S. House of Representatives

George E. Guerieri, State Senate

Delma Furniss, State House of Representatives

The following statements, submitted by Congressmen Bennett and Ireland, were read at the Tallahassee and Bradenton, Florida (respectively), public meetings conducted by representatives of the National Park Service.

**Statement by Representative Charles E. Bennett
before Public Meeting on De Soto National Trail Study
September 13, 1988
Tallahassee, Florida**

I want to thank the National Park Service for promptly holding hearings on the De Soto National Trail Study.

Although many people associate the discovery of the Mississippi River with Hernando de Soto, not much more is popularly known about the trek of this bold explorer and conquistador. Floridians are familiar with his name because it was in our State that the De Soto expedition began. In fact, the State of Florida has taken a keen interest in tracing De Soto's path and has successfully marked and researched three-fourths of the trail within the State. Other States crossed by the De Soto expedition are either in the process of marking or have completed the marking of the trail.

Last year Senator Bob Graham and I introduced legislation in the Senate and House, respectively, to authorize the study and identification of De Soto's trail. The legislation's purpose was to identify the remainder of the trail for its future designation as a historic trail in time for its 450th anniversary celebration in 1989. The Senate and House passed the legislation by unanimous consent, and it was enacted. It is now Public Law 100-187.

In the early 1530's, De Soto gained fame in the conquest of the Incas of Peru. He is acknowledged as being the first European to have entered Cuzco, the Inca capital. After returning to Spain with many riches, he married a woman of notable prominence but soon grew tired of the civilized life of the times. Spain then appointed him as royal deputy for the Floridas, for the purpose of conquering and settling a portion of the area.

In late May 1539, De Soto came ashore on Florida's west coast and began his historic expedition throughout the southeastern United States. His 3-year trek marked the Europeans first extended contact with the Native Americans of the Southeast. De Soto and his men spent several months in what is today Florida and then moved on. Although the exact route is unclear, the party traveled northward through Georgia, the Carolinas, and Tennessee. From there, it is believed De Soto traveled through Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Louisiana, and Texas. He died on May 21, 1542, and was buried in the Mississippi River.

Although Spain had promised De Soto titles, lands, and a portion of the colony's profits, the terms of the contract were never realized. When all was said and done, the only wealth that resulted was that of knowledge. From written records and archeologic finds, we are able to learn much about an aboriginal civilization that predated European occupation in the New World.

De Soto's route is a spectacular historical trek that merits inclusion in the National Trails System as a historic trail. Just since Senator Graham and I introduced the bill, there has already been an advancement of historical and archeological interest and achievements. For example, a substantial archeologic project now underway in Tallahassee has recovered many artifacts from De Soto's lengthy stay there. Designating a De Soto National Historic Trail would also serve to help make the American people more aware of their nation's history from a period that predates both Plymouth Rock and Jamestown.

I again thank the National Park Service for holding this hearing, and trust that the Service will conduct the trail study in its usual professional and detailed manner. I have great confidence in the National Park Service, which recently passed its 72nd anniversary and is the leading park administration in the world. I look forward to being kept abreast of the progress on this and deeply appreciate Senator Graham's allowing me to be involved in this piece of important historical preservation legislation. He was the real leader on this legislation, having asked me to sponsor it in the House. His leadership is to be commended.

**Statement by Honorable Andy Ireland
U.S. House of Representatives
before Public Meeting on De Soto National Trail Study
September 14, 1988
Bradenton, Florida**

As Bradenton's Representative in Congress, I'd like to welcome the National Park Service to our area for this public hearing on the De Soto Trail Study.

It is significant that today's hearing is being held in Manatee County, as we have long considered our areas to be the historic spot where Hernando de Soto first stepped foot on American soil. We commemorate that event every year with a countywide observance of Hernando de Soto Day, which includes a reenactment of De Soto's landing on our shores. In January of this year, the South Florida Museum hosted a highly successful conference on the artifacts of the Hernando de Soto expedition. That conference, which brought together historians and archeologists from around the South, demonstrated our area's intense interest and pride in Hernando de Soto's place in our history.

The story of De Soto and his expedition through the South is the story of Florida's gateway role in the exploration of the New World. De Soto, like Ponce de Leon and Panfile de Narvaez, found his way into America through Florida and added greatly to our state's colorful history. By bringing the De Soto Trail under the protection and management of the appropriate Federal agency, future generations will be able to understand an important part of their history and can enjoy our beautiful area in an unspoiled state.

We Floridians are proud of our state's historical diversity and public recreation opportunities, both of which are important components of a historic trail designation. That pride was evident last year when all of Florida's 19 Representatives and both U.S. Senators joined in sponsoring the De Soto National Trail Study Act of 1987. That legislation has made possible this opportunity to bring Florida's history alive for today's Floridians and for the millions of visitors who travel through our state each year.

Today's hearing should provide ample evidence that the De Soto Trail would be a distinguished addition to the National Trails System. I hope we can see the completion of this process in time for the 450th anniversary of De Soto's landing in May of next year.

Best wishes for an interesting and productive session.

Private Organizations and Special Interest Groups

Numerous organizations expressed interest in the study either through attendance at a public meeting or submission of written comments. The following is a list of such organizations and groups:

Alabama

Bridgeport Area Historic Association
Alabama De Soto Commission
Isabel Comer Museum and Arts Center
East Alabama Archaeological Society
Childersburg Heritage Committee
Alabama Archaeological Council
Alabama-Tombigbee Regional Commission

Arkansas

Arkansas Archaeology Society
Parkin Chamber of Commerce
White County Historical Society

Florida

Hernando de Soto Historical Society
The Trust for Public Land
Historic Tallahassee Preservation Board
Manatee Historical Society

Georgia

Swamp of Toa, Inc.
The Greater Macon Chamber of Commerce
Society of Georgia Archaeology
Andersonville Trail Association
LAMAR Institute
Heritage Holidays
Greater Rome Visitor and Convention Bureau
Rome Chamber of Commerce

Mississippi

Coahoma County Chamber of Commerce and Industrial Foundation
Monroe County Historical Association
Park Along the River, Inc.
Monroe County Historical Society, Inc.
Tallahatchie Arts Council
Historic De Soto Foundation
Columbus Convention and Visitor Bureau
De Soto Economic Council
Mississippi Archaeology Association

North Carolina

Schiele Museum of Natural History and Planetarium, Inc.
Cherokee County Historical Museum
Cherokee County Chamber of Commerce
Look Up Gaston Foundation
North Carolina De Soto Trail Committee
North Carolina Trails Association
Gaston County Historical Society
Gaston County Historic Properties Commission

Tennessee

Chattanooga Convention and Visitors Bureau

REPORT PREPARATION

National Park Service staff Wallace C. Brittain, Wink Hastings, and Sharon C. Keene (Southeast Regional Office) assisted by David Gaines and Doug McChristian (Southwest Regional Office), and Joseph P. Sanchez (Spanish Colonial Research Center) conducted the public meetings and/or participated in the report preparation. Richard Hite, Superintendent, De Soto National Memorial, participated at numerous study related meetings and provided valuable assistance during preparation of the report. Bennie C. Keel, National Park Service Archeologist, provided technical guidance and reviewed numerous documents during the study process. Edwin C. Bearss, National Park Service Chief Historian, reviewed several documents and formulated the study findings and recommendations submitted to the National Park System Advisory Board.

Charles Hudson, Department of Anthropology, University of Georgia, through a Cooperative Agreement with the National Park Service, prepared the statement of national significance (Chapter 2) and "A Synopsis of the Hernando de Soto Expedition, 1539-1543" (Appendix B).

Deborah Copeland, Marilyn Herrin, and Vera Middleton provided secretarial assistance for numerous documents including the study report. Carpenter-Dunlap Associates, Inc., of Atlanta, Georgia, prepared all maps included in the study report as well as presentation maps used at several meetings.

APPENDIX A

PUBLIC LAW 100-187

THE DE SOTO NATIONAL TRAIL STUDY ACT

Public Law 100-187
100th Congress

An Act

To amend the National Trails System Act to provide for a study of the De Soto Trail,
and for other purposes.

Dec. 11, 1987

[S. 1297]

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the
United States of America in Congress assembled,*

De Soto National
Trail Study Act
of 1987.
16 USC 1241
note.

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "De Soto National Trail Study Act of 1987".

SEC. 2. FINDINGS.

The Congress finds that—

(1) Hernando de Soto landed in the vicinity of Tampa Bay on May 30, 1539;

(2) de Soto then led his expedition of approximately 600 through the States of Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, and Arkansas;

(3) de Soto died on the banks of the Mississippi River in 1542;

(4) the survivors of de Soto's expedition went on to Texas, then back through Arkansas, and into Louisiana in search of a route to Mexico;

(5) the de Soto expedition represented the first large group of Europeans to explore so deeply into the Southeastern region;

(6) archeologists have recently uncovered, in Tallahassee, Florida, what may have been de Soto's first winter camp;

(7) the State of Florida has completed identification and marking of close to three-fourths of de Soto's trail in that State; and

(8) several other States are in the process of identifying and marking de Soto's trail within their borders.

SEC. 3. DESIGNATION OF TRAIL.

Section 5(c) of the National Trails System Act (82 Stat. 919; 16 U.S.C. 1244(c)) is amended by adding the following new paragraph at the end thereof:

"(31) De Soto Trail, the approximate route taken by the expedition of the Spanish explorer Hernando de Soto in 1539, extending through portions of the States of Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, to the area of Little Rock, Arkansas, on to Texas and Louisiana, and any other States which may have been crossed

Southeastern
States.

by the expedition. The study under this paragraph shall be prepared in accordance with subsection (b) of this section, except that it shall be completed and submitted to the Congress with recommendations as to the trail's suitability for designation not later than one calendar year after the date of enactment of this paragraph."

Approved December 11, 1987.

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY—S. 1297:

HOUSE REPORTS: No. 100-462 (Comm. on Interior and Insular Affairs).
SENATE REPORTS: No. 100-177 (Comm. on Energy and Natural Resources).
CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Vol. 133 (1987):
Oct. 1, considered and passed Senate.
Dec. 1, considered and passed House.



APPENDIX B

**A SYNOPSIS OF THE HERNANDO DE SOTO EXPEDITION,
1539-1543**

by

CHARLES HUDSON, UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA

(This material was prepared under Cooperative Agreement CA 5000-4-8005, Sub-agreement 21, between the National Park Service and the University of Georgia.)

A Synopsis of the Hernando de Soto Expedition, 1539-1543

Charles Hudson

Prefatory Note

What follows is a synopsis of a new reconstruction of the route of the Hernando de Soto expedition of 1539-43. It is a summary of the principal findings of a research project conducted over the past eight years. The strategy of this project has been to reconstruct a narrative account from the documents of the De Soto expedition and related documents of the Tristan de Luna (1559-1561) and Juan Pardo (1566-1568) expeditions, and to fit this narrative account to a map of the Southeast. The claim of those who have done this research is that their reconstruction is more consistent than any other reconstruction with respect to: (1) the activities of the expedition on a day-to-day basis, (2) geographical features, and (3) the occurrence and nonoccurrence of protohistoric archaeological sites.

Appendix A contains a listing of the principal geographical features mentioned in the De Soto narratives as well as identifications of archaeological sites along the route of the expedition. Each of these is associated with a level of confidence (positive, probable, possible, problematic) as laid down in specific National Park Service criteria. It should be understood that the reconstruction in the following text sets forth the probable route of the De Soto expedition, whereas Appendix A lists geographical features and archaeological sites on a case-by-case basis. Hence, the language of the text may seem at variance with Appendix A, i.e. many more "probables" in the text than in Appendix A. Finally, it should be understood that the levels of confidence associated with the sites in Appendix A represent the current state of knowledge, and that they can be changed at any time as new archaeological information becomes accessible or available.

The general approach and the methods used in this research have been set forth elsewhere.¹ Some results of this research project are now in print.² Other results are in press.³ And reports on still other aspects of this project are in varying stages of completion.⁴ Copies of selected manuscripts "in press" can be obtained from the Southeast Regional Office of the National Park Service on a first come-first serve basis.

Hernando de Soto was born in 1500 in the town of Jerez de los Caballeros, in the Kingdom of Extremadura, a part of Spain that produced more than its share of the Spaniards who explored and conquered the New World.⁵ At the age of fourteen he went to Central America as a page for Pedrarias Davila, who was as autocratic and cruel a master and teacher as De Soto could have had. By the age of seventeen De Soto was accomplished in the weaponry of the day, and he was an expert horseman.⁶ He participated in the exploration and plundering of Panama and Nicaragua. With Francisco Pizarro, he was one of the leading participants in the conquest of the Incas in 1531-1535. As often happened, after they conquered the Incas, the Spaniards began fighting among themselves, and De Soto decided to take his leave from Peru.⁷

Returning to Spain in 1536, he was a wealthy man, a multi-millionaire by modern standards. He married Isabel de Bobadilla, the third daughter of Pedrarias Davila. But a life of ease was not for De Soto. He wanted to command his share of the new World. He first asked for territory in what is now Ecuador and Columbia, but he was unsuccessful. On April 20, 1537, King Carlos I granted De Soto an asiento to conquer and settle La Florida--North America. He was appointed Governor and Captain-General of La Florida and also Governor of Cuba. Under the terms of the asiento, De Soto had four years in which to conquer the Indians of La Florida and to select for his domain two hundred leagues of coast. Once the conquest and pacification was complete, the King would bestow twelve square leagues of land to De Soto.⁸ Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca, one of the few survivors of the Panfilo de Narvaez expedition of 1528, returned to Spain shortly after De Soto received his asiento from the King. Narvaez had landed at Tampa Bay before continuing north to the chiefdom of Apalachee, where his expedition foundered and then failed. Members of the expedition built crude boats and tried to sail to New Spain (Mexico), but they were not seaworthy. Some sank and others were cast upon the Texas coast. Only Cabeza de Vaca and three others survived many years of captivity among the Indians of the Texas coast before they succeeded in walking to Mexico.

More by his reticence than by what he said, Cabeza de Vaca heightened the expectation in Spain that a new golden land existed in La Florida, waiting to be conquered and exploited. Several high-born Spaniards were caught up in the enthusiasm and joined the expedition. De Soto signed on about 650 people, about half of whom were from Extremadura. many occupational specialties were represented: e.g., sawyer, boatwright, farrier, blacksmith, shoe-maker, cooper, tailor, carpenter. There were at least two women and at least three blacks. His fleet departed from Seville on Sunday, April 7, 1538.⁹ Their first destination was Cuba, where final plans and preparations for the expedition would be made.

Even before he landed in Cuba, De Soto must already have possessed considerable knowledge of the western coast of the Florida peninsula.¹⁰ Alonso de Chaves' Espejo de Navigantes, a guide for navigators, was compiled no later than 1527. It shows two harbors on the western coast: the Bahia de Juan Ponce to the south (i.e., Charlotte Harbor) and the Bahia Honda to the north (i.e., Tampa Bay). De Soto must also have had benefit of at least some of the knowledge and experience of Cabeza de Vaca. In addition, while in Cuba making preparations for his expedition, De Soto sent Juan de Anasco in command of fifty men north in a caravel and two pinnaces to explore the harbor where they would make their landing. When he returned to Cuba, Anasco brought four Indians, captured on the coast, who were to serve as guides and interpreters.

De Soto departed from Havana on Sunday, May 18, 1539 with a fleet of five large ships, two caravels, and two pinnaces. They sighted their landfall seven days later, on Sunday, May 25, casting anchor some five leagues south of Tampa Bay. After some initial difficulty in locating the entrance to the bay, the fleet began cautiously sailing inside, with a pinnace piloting each of the large ships. By May 28, all of the ships were safely inside the bay. At first opportunity, some of the men went ashore in boats to take on fresh water and forage for the horses. On May 30 they unloaded the horses and most of the men at Piney Point, thereby lightening the ships. They then proceeded farther inside the bay until they came near the mouth of the Little Manatee River.¹¹

De Soto had for his landing place the Indian town of Ocita, on the northern side of the mouth of the Little Manatee River. Using boats, sailors ferried food, clothing, and equipment to the landing site. They also unloaded a herd of pigs which were to be driven along and used as food. The infantry and cavalry who had been put shore at Piney Point traveled by land to the mouth of the Little Manatee River. The entire army reached the camp at the landing place by June 2. De Soto and his soldiers used some of the houses they found at Ocita for residences, they stored food and supplies in others, and still others were torn down and the materials were used in the construction of other shelters for the men.

On one of their early forays from Ocita to explore the country and to search for Indians, they encountered a Spaniard, Juan Ortiz, who had been associated with the Narvaez expedition. He had fallen into the hands of Indians and had been held captive for about ten years. Ortiz provided De Soto with intelligence about the lay of the land around Tampa Bay, and even more importantly he served as translator from the Indian language he spoke into Spanish. Ortiz spoke only one language among the large number of languages which they encountered. As they traveled into the interior and encountered other languages, Ortiz depended upon bilingual Indians to translate into the Indian language he spoke, and then he completed the last link in the chain of translation into Spanish. At times there were several links in this chain of translation.

To the Spaniards, the land near Tampa Bay seemed barren, and they immediately began to make preparations to move elsewhere. On June 20, De Soto ordered Baltasar de Gallegos to lead a party of infantry and cavalry east and then northeast to the "province" of Urriparacoxi. Gallegos would seem to have only reached the fringes of the territory of Urriparacoxi, which appears to have been in the area east of the upper Withlacoochee River. Gallegos did encounter some people who were subject to Urriparacoxi, and from them he learned of the existence of a wealthy chiefdom, Ocale, which lay to the north of the point he had reached.

When De Soto was informed of what Gallegos had learned, he ordered 40 cavalry and 60 infantry to remain at the camp at Ocita. They were to guard supplies as well as the two caravels and two pinnaces. The five large ships had returned to Cuba after everything had been unloaded. On July 15 De Soto and a large contingent of his army set out to rendezvous with Gallegos. As they traveled eastward, they crossed the Alafia River by building a bridge across it. They traveled past several lakes, until on July 18 they came to a stretch of land between the headwaters of the Hillsborough River and the Withlacoochee River where they could find no drinking water. Under a very hot sun, they became so dehydrated one of the men died and others suffered greatly. On July 20 they rendezvoused with Gallegos in the vicinity of present Lacoochee.

De Soto traveled northward, passing by the towns of Vicela and Tocaste. On July 26 the Spaniards came to the river of Ocale---the Withlacoochee. They crossed this river by stretching a rope from side to side at a place where they could wade. Even so, the current was swift, and one of the horses was swept away and drowned. They reached the province of Ocale, but they found less food than they expected.

After exploring the surrounding country, including the "province" of Acuera, De Soto again began traveling northward toward the chiefdom of Apalachee, which the Indians in and around Ocale had described as being very large, populous, and abounding in corn. De Soto took 50 cavalry and 100 infantry, leaving the remainder behind at Ocale under the command of Luis de Moscoso. De Soto and his men passed through the towns of Itarraholata, Potano, Utinamocharra, and a place they named Malapaz (i.e., "Bad Peace"). This last town was somewhere in the vicinity of present Alachua.

On August 15 they came to the town of Cholupaha, which lay on the south side of the Santa Fe River. Here they heard that Apalachee was surrounded by water on all sides, and that this was the reason why the Narvaez expedition had failed. With this news, some of the Spaniards wanted to return to Tampa Bay, and a quarrel broke out. In reference to this, they named the Santa Fe River las Discordias--the River of Discords.

They built a bridge across the Santa Fe and crossed to the other side, and the next day they arrived at Aguacaleyquen, said to be a moderately large town. From here De Soto sent word southward to Ocale for Moscoso to lead the remainder of the army forward. Moscoso and his men arrived at Aguacaleyquen some time before September 9.

The entire army departed from Aguacaleyquen on September 9, coming immediately to a stream which they crossed by building a bridge out of pine logs. Evidently this was a small stream. They traveled to Uriutina and the "Village of Many Waters," so called because there were so many bodies of standing water in the area. On September 15 they reached Napituca, in the vicinity of present Live Oak. Here they fought a battle against a great many Indians who attempted a surprise attack. As the battle proceeded, the Spaniards got the upper hand, and the Indians fled into the water of two small ponds, probably lime sinks, in which they swam out and treaded water to escape the weapons of the Spaniards.

On September 23 they marched from Napituca to the "River of the Deer", i.e. the Suwannee. They built a bridge across this river which was three large pine trees in length and four in breadth. Crossing the river, they continued on, passing through several towns of the province of Uzachile. They encountered an uninhabited wilderness before coming to Agile, the first town that was subject to Apalachee. Agile was probably located on or near the Aucilla River.

This river, with a swamp on either side, was known as the River of Ivitachuco, named after the town of Ivitachuco, located just west of the river. They built a bridge and crossed to the other side, where they were assaulted by the Indians of Apalachee. This was De Soto's first experience with the chiefdom which had successfully resisted Narvaez. From the refuge of the many swamps in their land, the people of Apalachee waged guerilla warfare against De Soto and his men so long as they were in Apalachee territory.

De Soto and his men came to the towns of Ivitachuco and Calahuchi, and then on October 6 they arrived at Anhayca, the principal town of Apalachee. In this and several nearby settlements De Soto and his men spent the winter of 1539-40. It is now known with virtual certainty that the central towns of Apalachee were located within the city limits of present Tallahassee.¹²

After establishing his camp, De Soto also sent out parties of men to explore the country to the north. These parties may have gone as far as present Decatur, Grady, or Thomas County, Georgia, or even farther. And he sent Juan de Anasco with a party of men to explore south to the Gulf Coast, where they found the remains of the camp where the survivors of the Narvaez expedition built crude boats in which they attempted to sail to Mexico. Then De Soto sent Anasco with a small contingent of cavalry back to Tampa Bay to order the men there to rejoin the others at Apalachee. After Anasco carried this news to Tampa Bay, the men stationed there burned their camp and under the command of Pedro Calderon began the long march northward. Anasco sailed in one of the ships, leading the others northward to Apalachee Bay, presumably to the place where the Narvaez expedition had built their boats. Anasco and the others who went by boat arrived at Apalachee on December 28, and Calderon arrived with the cavalry and infantry a few days later.

As soon as the ships arrived, De Soto commanded Francisco Maldonado to take a party of men in the two pinnaces to explore the Gulf Coast. For the next two months, Maldonado coasted along the shore, entering into all the rivers, creeks, and inlets until he discovered a good port. They called this Port Achuse (also Ochuse), and it was very probably Pensacola Bay.¹³ Its location was given as 60 leagues from Apalachee Bay. Maldonado also captured an Indian chief from this town whom he took to Apalachee when he returned.

Having completed the reconnaissance, on February 26 De Soto sent Maldonado in the pinnaces to Havana with orders to meet him at Achuse in the coming summer. If De Soto happened not to meet him there, he was to return to the same place the following summer, and he would surely meet him there at that time. De Soto may also have told Maldonado that if he should have no word from De Soto in six months, he should try to make contact by sailing along the coast from Achuse to the mouth of the Mississippi River. When De Soto departed from Apalachee, he forced the chief of Achuse to go with him. Presumably, this man was to serve as a guide and interpreter when and if De Soto traveled to Pensacola Bay.

Throughout the winter of 1539-40, the warriors of Apalachee kept up constant guerilla attacks against De Soto's army.¹⁴ De Soto succeeded in capturing several Indians, and it was his practice to interrogate captives about the locations and characteristics of other societies in the vicinity. It so happened that the Spaniards captured two boys of sixteen or seventeen years of age who had been traveling about with Indian traders. They claimed to possess detailed knowledge of trails in the interior. One of these, who was named Perico or Pedro, was from "Yupaha", a province to the east. Perico said that this province was governed by a woman to whom her subjects paid tribute, including quantities of gold and other precious substances. Perico appears to have possessed considerable powers of persuasion, and De Soto determined to go in search of "Yupaha," whose actual name was found to be "Cofitachequi." Later, to their distress, they were to discover that Perico's knowledge was neither as comprehensive nor as reliable as they wished it to be.

When they departed from Apalachee on March 3, the Spaniards carried enough food to see them across sixty leagues of wilderness. That is, while crossing the Coastal Plain, they did not expect to find adequate stores of food. By the end of the first day of travel they had come to the river Guacuca, the

Ochlockonee, which they forded easily. But the next river they came to, the River of Capachequi (the Flint), was deep, wide, and swift. An advance party may have reached this river on March 5, but the entire expedition reached it on March 6 or 7. They cut down trees and sawed boards and built a flat boat, which they pulled back and forth across the river by means of a chain. It took them until March 10 to ferry the entire army to the other side.¹⁵

The next day they came to a village of the chiefdom of Capachequi somewhere east of Chickasawhatchee or Kiokee Creek. It was already dark before they reached the main town of Capachequi, possibly located at a mound site (9Dul) on Magnolia Plantation. This chiefdom had its territory in the Chickasawhatchee Swamp. When the Spaniards reached the principal town, they found that the people had all fled and taken refuge in nearby swamps, in a manner reminiscent of the people of Apalachee. The Spaniards did find supplies of food in Capachequi, and this discovery is presumably the reason why they went to the trouble of crossing the Flint River twice, when they could have proceeded north without crossing the Flint at all.

After resting, they departed from Capachequi on March 17, and the following day they came to the River of Toa, again the Flint River. They traveled up the western side of the Flint until, on March 21, they came to a place where they determined that they would cross back to the eastern side. Here, a few miles north of present Montezuma, Georgia, after several unsuccessful tries, they built a bridge out of pine poles spanning the Flint River. On March 22 all had crossed to the eastern side of the river, and they camped, probably near the bridge. Early the next morning they arrived at a village of Toa.¹⁶

At midnight on the day they reached Toa, De Soto commanded a contingent of about forty cavalry to travel eastward. In a remarkable maneuver, they departed in the dead of night and traveled for eighteen hours, covering twelve leagues, more than twice the distance of an ordinary day's travel. At the end of their travel, they came to the Ocmulgee River, somewhere in the vicinity of old Buzzard's Roost (present Westlake). The next day, on March 25, they came to a village of the chiefdom of Ichisi, situated on an "island" in the Ocmulgee River.

They then traveled up the western side of the river, passing through additional villages of Ichisi. They stopped at one of these villages and rested for three days, no doubt waiting for the rest of the expedition to catch up with them. They resumed travel on March 29, rested on March 30, and on March 31 they were ferried to the eastern side of the Ocmulgee River in dugout canoes paddled by people of Ichisi. They arrived at the main town of Ichisi (probably the Lamar Mound site) on this same day.

They departed from Ichisi on April 2, traveling eastward. On April 3 they came to a considerable stream--the Oconee River. Shortly afterward, perhaps the next day, they were ferried across the river in dugout canoes provided by the people of the chiefdom of Altamaha. Some, and perhaps all of the members of the expedition traveled to the main town of Altamaha, probably located at the Shinholzer mound site, located about twelve miles southeast of present Milledgeville. The people of Altamaha paid tribute to Ocute, who was a paramount chief. De Soto sent word that the chief of Ocute should come and meet with him. It became clear that the paramount chiefdom of Ocute was

engaged in a conflict of long duration with Cofitachequi, the chiefdom which was their destination.

They departed from Altamaha on April 8, and the following day they arrived at the principal town of Ocute. The principal town would seem to have been located at the Shoulderbone mound site, northwest of present Sparta, Georgia, but preliminary archaeological evidence suggests that this site had a relatively small population at the time of the De Soto expedition. Further research may indicate that the center of the paramount chiefdom was elsewhere, but for now the Shoulderbone site is the best prospect.

De Soto remained in the main town of Ocute for only two days. On March 12 they departed from this town and traveled to Cofaqui, which was probably at the Dyar site, just west of present Greensboro, Georgia. They departed from Cofaqui on or about April 13, after having spent about a month there. While they were there, it became clear that Perico knew less about trails in the interior than he had claimed. He told De Soto that from where they were located it was only four days to Cofitachequi, but the Indians of Ocute denied that this was true, saying that a wilderness lay between them and the people of Cofitachequi, and that if the Spaniards went in that direction they would die from lack of food.

De Soto was not deterred. At the end of the first day of travel, April 13, they camped just beyond present Union point, Georgia; on April 14 they camped in the vicinity of present Washington; on April 15 they camped southwest of present Lincolnton; and on April 16 they camped on the lower course of the Little River. On April 17 they came to a very large river, the Savannah, at a place which in the nineteenth century was called Pace's Ferry. They describe the river as being divided into two branches, which in fact were two channels on either side of two large islands. There were flat stones in the water where the ford was located, but the water was deep, coming up to the stirrups and saddlebags of the horses. The footsoldiers made a line of forty men tied together, and in this way all reached the other side. The current was so swift that several of the pigs were swept away and were lost.

The Indians of Ocute had been correct. In these five days of travel the Spaniards had encountered no people, and therefore they had not been able to obtain fresh supplies of food. Now desperate, they began traveling more rapidly than was their custom. After crossing the river on April 17, they camped near present Edgefield, South Carolina; on April 18 they camped in the vicinity of present Saluda; and on April 19 they came to another very large river--the Saluda--which they crossed, at a ford at Pope's Islands just above the mouth of the Little Saluda River or else just below the mouth of the Little Saluda. On April 20 they camped by a small stream, probably Camping Creek or Bear Creek. On April 21 they came to another very large river, divided into two streams. They had come to the Broad River, which they forded with difficulty. They either forded the Broad River where there was an island, or else they forded the river near its junction with the Saluda River.

Here, a few miles northwest of present Columbia, their situation was desperate. They found a few hunters' or fishermen's huts, but no permanent settlements were to be seen. De Soto sent out scouts in several directions to look for Indians. In desperation they killed and butchered some of their precious pigs. Finally, on April 25, Juan de Anasco came back reporting a

town --Hymahi or Aymay--to the southeast. The expedition then went to this town which was located near the junction of the Congaree and Wateree Rivers.¹⁷

They departed from Hymani on April 30, heading north. They arrived at May 1 at a point on the Wateree River opposite a town of Cofitachequi. The ceremonial center of Cofitachequi--Talomeco--was probably located at the Mulberry or McDowell site, near the mouth of Pine Tree Creek.

They discovered that a disease had struck Cofitachequi two years earlier, and perhaps because of this, food was in short supply. De Soto split his forces, sending a large detachment under the command of Baltasar de Gallegos northward to "Ilapi", a secondary center. This appears to have been the same town as the Ylasi of the Pardo expedition, which was located in the vicinity of present Cheraw, South Carolina.¹⁸

De Soto and the detachment under his command remained in Cofitachequi for a relatively short period of time. They departed on May 13, heading north up the Wateree River. The detachment under Gallegos departed at about the same time from Ylasi, following after De Soto. On May 18 the De Soto detachment reached Guaquilí on the upper Catawba River. Three days later they arrived at Xuala, in the vicinity of present Marion, North Carolina, and the Gallegos detachment arrived soon afterwards.

The entire army departed from Xuala on May 25 and climbed over a high range of mountains, probably going through Swannanoa Gap. The next day they waded in an upper tributary of the French Broad River. They appear to have understood at this point that the waters of the French Broad eventually flowed into the Mississippi River. They then proceeded to follow a trail which lay along the banks of the river, and on May 29 they came to Guasili, near the mouth of Ivy Creek, a few miles from present Marshall, North Carolina. On June 1 they passed near Conasoga, in the vicinity of present Hot Springs, North Carolina. On June 3 they crossed over to follow the lower course of the Pigeon River for a distance. On June 4 they came to a pine woods near the French Broad River where they were visited by Indians of Chiaha. The next day they reached Chiaha, located on Zimmerman's Island in the French Broad River near present Dandridge, Tennessee. The horses were tired, and the members of the expedition were exhausted after having crossed the mountains. They rested at Chiaha for more than three weeks.

While in Chiaha, De Soto sent two men to the north to investigate the Chiscas, a people who were said to deal in copper, or a softer metal of that color.¹⁹ The Chiscas probably lived on the upper Nolichucky River and vicinity.

Presumably having made plans to later rendezvous with these two men, De Soto and his army departed from Chiaha before they returned from the Chiscas. On June 28 De Soto and his army departed from Chiaha, traveling down the north side of the French Broad River to about present Boyd's Creek, where they forded the river and camped for the night. On June 29 they bivoucked in the vicinity of present Shooks; on June 30 they bivoucked in the vicinity of present Mentor; on July 1 they bivoucked near present Unitia; and on July 2 they arrived at Coste, located on Bussell Island in the mouth of the Little Tennessee River.

The Spaniards remained at Coste for six days. While they were there the two men who had gone to the Chiscas, as well as several who were ill and had been left behind at Chiaha, came down the river in dugout canoes and rejoined the others.

On July 9 all of them departed from Coste and followed a trail along the Tennessee River to a place opposite from the Indian town of Tali. This town was probably located near present Loudon. They departed from the vicinity of Tali on July 11, perhaps reaching the vicinity of present Sweetwater, where they bivoucked. On July 12 they crossed a stream, probably Oostanaula Creek, and bivoucked in the vicinity of present Athens. On July 13 they crossed another stream, probably Chestuee Creek, bivoucking in the vicinity of Old Fort or Conasauga, Tennessee.

They continued traveling on July 15, passing through a small village, and camping in the vicinity of present Eton. On July 16 they passed through several more villages and came to the central town of the paramount chiefdom of Coosa. It was located in the intermontane valley of the Coosawattee River, just east of present Carters, Georgia. The location of this town, both with respect to other towns and to geographical features, is consistent with accounts written by members of a detachment from the Tristan de Luna colony who were sent to this place in 1560.²⁰ The power of the paramount chief of Coosa extended to the northeast to Chiaha, and slightly beyond, and to the southwest to Talisi, a town they were to visit after departing from Coosa.²¹ The expedition remained in Coosa for just over a month. They departed on August 20, taking the chief of Coosa hostage, as well as some of his relatives and retainers. They also enslaved some of the people of Coosa to serve as laborers and as burden-bearers. At the end of the first day of travel they reached Talimachusy, a large abandoned village, in the vicinity of present Pine Log. On August 21 they traveled through heavy rain, reaching at the end of the day Itaba, which was probably located at the Etowah site. Because the Etowah River was swollen with rain, they had to remain at this place for six days until the water subsided enough for them to cross the river.

On August 30 they forded the river, traveled for a distance, and camped in an oak woods. The next day, August 31, they reached the town of Ulibahali at present Rome. After spending a day at Ulibahali, on September 2 they traveled down the Coosa River to a town where they spent the night. The next day they traveled to a second town, Piachi, further down the river.²²

After remaining in Piachi for a day, they departed, and at the end of the day on September 5, they bivoucked in the vicinity of Tecumseh, Alabama. On September 6 they reached the town of Tuasi, probably located on Nance's Creek, perhaps at its junction with Terrapin Creek. They remained at Tuasi for six days, departing on September 13 and bivoucking at the end of the day near present Jacksonville, Alabama. On September 14 they camped at an abandoned town whose palisade was still standing. This was probably in the vicinity of present Talladega.

On September 16 they came to a new village situated near a stream, probably on upper Tallaseehatchee Creek.²³ They rested at this village for one day, and the next day they traveled to the main town of Talisi, situated near a large river, the Coosa. The main town of Talisi was in the vicinity of present Childersburg.

On October 5 they departed from Talisi and began traveling down the eastern bank of the Coosa River. At the end of the first day of travel they came to the town of Casiste in the vicinity of present Sylacauga. On October 6 they came to Caxa, perhaps on Hatchet Creek. Caxa was located on the boundary between Talisi and Tascaluza, the next chiefdom they would encounter. On October 7 they bivoucked near the river, with the town of Humati on the opposite side, possibly near the mouth of Shoal Creek. On October 8 they came to Uxapita, probably in the vicinity of present Wetumpka. On October 9, presumably after having forded or having been ferried across the Tallapoosa River, they camped a league or so from a town of Tascaluza.

On October 9 they entered the town of Athahachi, a mound center, where they encountered chief Tascaluza. This town was the same as the Atache of the Luna expedition, which was said to be located near the head of navigation of the Alabama River.²⁴ This places it somewhere in the vicinity of present Montgomery. De Soto demanded women and slaves from chief Tascaluza, who promised De Soto all that he desired if he would go with him to Mabila, one of his tributary towns.

On October 12 they departed from Athahachi, traveling south of the Alabama River and camping at the end of the day in the vicinity of present St. Clair. On October 13 they reached the town of Piachi (the second town with this name), which was high above the cliff-lined (and rocky) gorge of a river (un pueblo alto, sobre un barranco de un rio, enriscado). Piachi was somewhere in the vicinity of Durant Bend.²⁵ De Soto demanded canoes from the people of Piachi, but they claimed to have none. De Soto and his men had to spend two days building rafts on which to cross to the north side of the Alabama River. Clearly, the people of Piachi were attempting to slow down the progress of the expedition.

The Spaniards completed their crossing of the river on October 16 and bivoucked in a woods on the other side. On October 17 they reached a palisaded village to the west or southwest of present Selma. They spent the night in this village, and rising early the next day, they set out for Mabila. De Soto and an advance party reached the town early in the morning of October 18. The remainder of the army lagged behind looting Indian houses which were scattered about over the countryside.

Mabila was a small, heavily palisaded town, situated on a small plain. When De Soto and a few of his soldiers impetuously entered the town, they were struck in a surprise attack by thousands of the warriors and allies of chief Tascaluza. The battle raged for the entire day. During the course of the battle, the Spaniards lost 22 men, with 148 wounded, and they had 7 horses killed and 29 wounded. The number of Indian dead was estimated at 2500 to 3000.

The site of Mabila has not been definitely located. all that can be said at present is that it was in the vicinity of the lower Cahaba River, and perhaps it was at the Old Cahawba site (1Ds32), on the western side of the mouth of the Cahaba River.²⁶

De Soto remained at Mabila for about a month, while his men recovered from their wounds. Presumably from the Indians at Mabila, De Soto learned that ships were waiting for him at Achuse--Pensacola Bay. He attempted to keep

this information from his men, because he knew that they were weary and discouraged, and that his expedition could disintegrate. He released the chief of Achuse, who had been traveling with the expedition, and this man presumably returned home. The Spaniards knew that Achuse lay forty leagues to the south, a reasonably accurate estimate of the actual distance.²⁷

On November 14 De Soto roused his army, and they departed from Mabila heading north. They only possessed a two-day supply of corn, so they probably traveled rapidly, following a trail which lay on or near present Highway 14, skirting the edge of the Fall Line Hills. For three cold, rainy days they traveled through a wilderness before arriving, on November 17, at a very fine river, the Black Warrior. They came to the river somewhere east of present Eutaw.

On November 18 they continued their march, crossing several swamps and bad places. They crossed Big Brush Creek and Fivemile Creek before arriving at the town of Talicpacana, probably at the White mound and village site (1Ha7/8). This is the southernmost minor ceremonial center of the Moundville archaeological complex. They remained at this town for several days, sending out parties of cavalry to explore the country. They succeeded in finding several towns to the north. One of these, Moxulica, had been abandoned by its people, who had fled to the opposite side of the river, taking their corn with them and piling it beneath mats on the river's bank.

De Soto apparently moved his army to Moxulica (1Ha107) where he built a flatboat in secrecy. Early on the morning of November 30, the Spaniards hauled the boat to the river on a sled they had built. They launched it into the river, and a contingent of infantry and cavalry boarded the boat. They swiftly crossed the river and routed the Indians on the other side. On December 1, the entire army traveled to Zabusta, probably at the Moundville site, where they all crossed the river in the flatboat and in some dugout canoes they found there. At the end of the day they came to a town (probably 1Tu46/47) where they spent the night. The next day, December 2, they continued to another town, probably the Snow's Bend site (1Tu2/3), and here they encountered chief Apafalaya. The town probably also had this same name, as did the chiefdom at large.

De Soto and his men rested for about a week at Apafalaya. Then, on December 9, they set out in search of the next chiefdom, taking the chief of Apafalaya as their guide and interpreter. On their sixth day of travel, after having crossed a wilderness with several swamps and cold rivers, they reached the River of Chickasaw, the Tombigbee. There were two routes they could have followed. They could have gone north to cross the Sipsey River near present Moores Bridge, then to about present Millport to cross Luxapallila Creek, and thence to the vicinity of present Columbus. Or they could have gone northwest, following a trail that lay on or near the present Gulf, Mobile, and Ohio Railroad, which would have taken them to the Tombigbee River southwest of present Columbus.

When they reached the Tombigbee River, they found it to be flooded and out of its banks. On the opposite side they could see many Indians armed and threatening. Precisely where this encounter occurred is uncertain because site of the central town of Chickasaw has not yet been located. One good possibility is that it was south of Tibbee Creek, where there are a number of

protohistoric mound sites. If future research reveals that Chickasaw was indeed located in this area, then if they took a trail north of Luxapallila Creek the crossing probably occurred west of present Columbus; whereas, if they took a trail south of Luxapallila Creek the crossing was probably a few miles south of Columbus.

The Spaniards built a flatboat in which to cross the Tombigbee, and on December 16 or 17 they all made it across without incident, because the Indians retreated from the other side of the river. When all of the Spaniards had crossed, De Soto set out with a party of cavalry and went to the main town of Chickasaw, arriving there late at night. The Spaniards found that the people had fled from their town.

De Soto and his army spent a difficult winter at Chickasaw. The winter of 1540-41 was very cold. One snowstorm was so severe it reminded them of the winters at Burgos, in northern Spain. Their clothing was in bad repair and in short supply, and they did not have adequate shelter. The Chickasaws kept up a constant military pressure by waging small guerilla actions, with frequent alarms at night. When the Spaniards ran out to fight, the Chickasaws would fade into the darkness. The Chickasaws were astute strategists in depriving the Spaniards of their principal military advantage--the mounted lancers.

Eventually the Spaniards captured a man who was close to the chief of Chickasaw, and in this way De Soto forced the chief to deal with him. For a time, relations between Spaniards and Chickasaws were harmonious. On one occasion, De Soto led a contingent of Spanish soldiers along with a force of Chickasaws to punish the Sacchumas (Chakchiumas), who were tributaries of the Chickasaws, but who were refusing to pay tribute. The Sacchumas appear to have been located south of the Chickasaws, in the area between the Noxubee and Tombigbee Rivers.

In early March, 1541, De Soto began making preparations to depart. He demanded two hundred burden-bearers from the chief of the Chickasaws, but the Chickasaws were openly hostile toward this demand. The expedition was to depart on March 4, but just before dawn of that day several hundred Chickasaws attacked the Spaniards, setting fire to their houses. A strong wind fanned the flames rapidly. The attack killed twelve Spaniards and 59 horses, and many Spaniards were wounded. More than 300 pigs were burned up in their sty.

After the battle the Spaniards moved a league or so away to a small town, Chicacilla. Here they rested and recovered from their wounds, and they built a bellows and retempered their weapons which had been in the fire. They made new lances, saddles, and shields. From information he got from Chickasaw informants, De Soto decided upon the route he would follow next. He knew that he would have to cross an uninhabited area--a wilderness--that would require seven to twelve days of travel. The only food the Spaniards would have on this journey was that which they carried with them.

On April 26 they departed from Chicacilla traveling toward the northwest, where they arrived at a town of Alibamu. The people had fled, and the Spaniards found very little corn. De Soto sent out scouts, and they came back reporting a strong fortification on a savannah near a small stream with very steep banks. This fort was probably situated on Line or Houlka Creek, or on one of their tributaries.

De Soto and his men assaulted this fort at a cost of seven or eight killed and 25 or 26 wounded. They succeeded in killing only a few Indians, and they found that the fort contained nothing of value. Like the Chickasaws, the Alibamus contrived to deprive the Spaniards of the tactical advantage of their mounted lancers.

On April 30 they departed from the Fort of Alibamu, presumably continuing in a generally northwestern direction. Their probable course was through present Houston, Pontotoc, New Albany, and Holly Springs before swinging west through the northern tributaries of Coldwater River.

They reached the first town of the chiefdom of Quizquiz on May 8, taking the people completely by surprise. The people of Quizquiz appear to have had no knowledge that De Soto and his army were moving about in the country. The first village was probably the Irby site (22DS516), the first habitation they would have encountered in coming down from the high ground on which they had been traveling. From here they went to a second town, probably the Lake Cormorant site (22DS501, and from there to a third town, probably the Norfolk site (22DS513).

The day on which they first saw the Mississippi River is not recorded. It could have been as early as May 9 or 10, but certainly it was before May 21, when they moved to a small savannah near the river and began building four large flatboats in which to make a crossing.²⁸ These boats were ready by June 18, and early in the morning of June 19 the first contingent of men and horses reached the other side of the river. The Indians put up no resistance. Within a few hours all members of the expedition had been ferried to the western side of the river.

They found themselves to be in the territory of the Chiefdom of Aquixo, whose towns were located in the vicinity of present Horseshoe Lake in Crittenden County, Arkansas. Both the chiefdoms of Aquixo and Quizquiz were subject to the paramount chief of Pacaha, whose chiefdom was located farther up the Mississippi River. Some Indians of Aquixo evidently told De Soto that he could obtain gold at Pacaha, and De Soto determined that he would go there.

But perhaps because De Soto learned that Pacaha was at war with Casqui, he decided to visit Casqui first, perhaps to see whether he could form an alliance. The Spaniards departed from Aquixo on June 21, but they soon came to a river across which they had to build a bridge. This was probably Fifteenmile Bayou. They spent the entire day of June 22 crossing a very bad swamp. In many places they had to travel in water up to their knees, and even up to their waists. They traveled near present Simsboro, Greasy Corner, and Round Pond. On June 23 they reached the first village of Casqui, located on the levee ridges along the eastern side of the St. Francis River. The next day they reached the main town of Casqui--the Parkin site.²⁹

With a large force of Casqui warriors as allies, they departed from Casqui on June 28, crossing over a footbridge which the people of Casqui had built for them across Gibson Bayou. The next day they reached the main town of Pacaha. It was located quite near the Mississippi River, and it was almost entirely surrounded by a man-made ditch which was connected by water to the Mississippi River.

They remained at Pacaha for about a month. During this time De Soto sent out several expeditions to explore the country. One of these went northwest for eight days, across very swampy terrain, before coming to a small group of Indians whom they believed subsisted solely by hunting and gathering, but who may in fact have been agriculturalists out on a hunt.³⁰ A second expedition apparently went northeast, returning with a quantity of rock salt as well as with some copper. This expedition may have gone as far as the Campbell site in southeastern Missouri.³¹ On June 29 they departed from Pacaha and returned to Casqui. Then they continued southward along the St. Francis River to a place where the people of Casqui ferried them across the river in dugout canoes. Three days later they came to the principal town of the chiefdom of Quiguate.³² This chiefdom consisted of a concentration of towns in present Lee County.

De Soto learned from the chief of Quiguate that the chiefdom of Coligua was situated in some mountains to the northwest. It seemed to De Soto that their chance of finding gold and silver would be improved if they went to these mountains. For the next seven days, they crossed some very bad swamps with an indistinct trail, depending upon an Indian guide who knew the way. For four of these seven days, they marched through water, crossing the swamps which lay along L'Anguille River, Bayou de View, and Cache River. The entire area was devoid of human habitation.

On August 30 they came to the River of Coligua, the White River south of present Newport. On September 1 they came to the main town of the chiefdom of Coligua in the vicinity of present Magness and Batesville.³³ They found a quantity of buffalo skins at this place, but the chronicles do not mention eating buffalo meat nor of actually seeing buffalo on the hoof. But clearly they had come to the fringe of the habitat of the Plains Indians.

After resting at Coligua for a few days they set out on September 6 in a generally southwestwardly direction, in search of large populations. The first night they probably camped on Departee Creek. The next day they began following a trail which lay on or near present highway 67, and at the end of the day they reached Calpista, where they found a salt spring from which good salt could be obtained. This was probably the salt spring southwest of present Worden, where a Confederate salt works would later be located.³⁴ This was the only such salt works to exist in this general vicinity.

On September 8 they arrived at Palisema, where they found only a few scattered houses and very little corn. It was probably located in the vicinity of present Judsonia, on the Little Red River. On September 9 they bivoucked in the vicinity of present Garner. On September 10 they camped at a "water" (un agua), perhaps Cypress Bayou. On September 11 they came to Quixila, perhaps near present Vilonia or Hamlet, where they rested for a day. On September 13 they came to Tutilcoya, probably near present Conway. Here they learned that a large society--Cayas--lay farther up the Arkansas River, which the Spaniards called the River of Cayas.

On September 14 they arrived at a village on the Arkansas River somewhere in the vicinity of Morrilton. On September 15 they bivoucked near a swamp, probably Kuhn Bayou. On September 16 they came to Tanico, a town of Cayas, probably in the vicinity of present Russellville.

They remained at Cayas for about three weeks. It is likely that during this time expeditions went out to explore the country, like the ones sent out from Pacaha. They mention, for example, finding a warm, brackish lake where the Indians extracted salt. Salines do exist in this general area. For example, one existed on the west fork of Point Remove Creek.

They departed from Tanico on October 5. They traveled toward the southwest, up the Petit Jean and Fourche de la Fave Rivers, either going past present Ola or else through a gap in Dutch Creek Mountain south of present Danville. They camped in the open for two nights, until they arrived at the town of Tula on October 7. Tula was located in the vicinity of present Bluffton. A sharp linguistic boundary lay between Cayas (Tanico) and Tula, and probably a sharp cultural boundary as well.

The people of Tula were buffalo hunters. The Spaniards were given a large quantity of buffalo skins as well as buffalo meat to eat. Also, the Spaniards found the warriors of Tula to be formidable opponents because they would stand against cavalry attacks defending themselves with long wooden lances. Through their experience in hunting buffalo, they were not intimidated by horses, as other Indians had been.

After resting in Tula, De Soto and his men departed on October 19. They turned to the southeast, traveling for three days through mountains. They traveled through the vicinity of present Chula, Aly, and Story. For these three days they only encountered a few isolated Indian houses.³⁵

On October 22 they came to the first town of Quipana, which lay near a river at the foot of some steep mountains. Quipana lay in the valley of the upper Ouachita River, and they were surrounded by the Ouachita Mountains.

They headed east, probably following a trail which paralleled the river. They traveled through the vicinity of present Blue Springs or Mountain Valley in Garland County. On October 31 they came to Quitamaya, which was probably in the vicinity of present Benton. Continuing, on November 2, after two days of travel, they arrived at Autiamque, located in a densely populated savannah. Autiamque was probably located near present Redfield. The town was specifically said to have been located on the River of Cayas--the Arkansas River.

The De Soto expedition spent their third winter, that of 1541-42, in Autiamque. Again, the winter was very cold. For an entire month they were snowbound, venturing outside their camp only to gather firewood. Juan Ortiz, their interpreter, died during the winter, and from this point onward they had to rely upon Indians who had learned some Spanish to serve as the last link in the chain of translation.

On March 6 the expedition set out in search of Anilco.²⁹ They spent ten days traveling down the south bank of the Arkansas River, visiting several towns along the way. On about March 16, they came to the town of Ayays, probably in southeastern Jefferson County or northeastern Lincoln County.

They built a flat boat and crossed to the northern bank of the Arkansas River. After three days of travel through swampy country, they came to the town of Tutelpinco, probably in the southeastern corner of present Jefferson

County. Tutelpinco was near Bayou Meto, which they crossed with considerable difficulty.

On March 29 they reached the principal town of Anilco, probably at the Menard site in Arkansas County. Anilco was a rich chiefdom, with many towns and fields nearby. It was the most densely populated chiefdom they had encountered, and except for Coosa and Apalachee, the greatest supplies of corn were found here.

From Anilco, De Soto next traveled to Guachoya, situated on the southern side of the Arkansas River. Guachoya appears to have been located near a no-longer-extant channel connecting Bayou Macon to the Mississippi River. It was a strongly palisaded, compact town. Part of De Soto's army reached Guachoya by dugout canoes, while others crossed the Arkansas River and then marched overland. Guachoya was possibly located east of present McArthur. Guachoya and Anilco were at war with each other, and they spoke different languages.

From Guachoya De Soto sent a small party of cavalry under the command of Juan de Anasco to explore to the south. They returned after eight days, reporting that they had only been able to travel a total of 14 or 15 leagues because of the great bogs which lay along the waterways. They further reported that they discovered no trails and no people. Apparently, they explored the area along the upper Boef River, Crooked Bayou, and Big Bayou.

This news must have been profoundly depressing for De Soto. His expedition had been grievously damaged from the battles at Mabila and at Chickasaw. He knew that no state-level society existed east of the Mississippi River. West of the Mississippi River the Indians had informed him that a wilderness lay to the north and to the west. And now his own men had come to him with the news that the land to the south was swampy, without trails, and without people. Soon after hearing this news, according to the chroniclers, De Soto fell ill with a fever, and he died on May 21, 1542. He was 42 years old.

Luis Moscoso de Alvarado succeeded De Soto as captain-general. He wished to conceal De Soto's death from the Indians. The Spaniards at first buried De Soto near the gate of the palisade encircling Guachoya. But the Indians noticed loose dirt where the grave had been dug. Under cover of darkness, the Spaniards dug up De Soto's body, wrapped it in shawls weighted with sand, loaded it into a canoe, and took it out into the channel of the Mississippi River, where they cast it overboard. When the Indians asked where De Soto had gone, Moscoso told them that he had ascended into the skies.

Under Moscoso's command, the survivors debated about their best avenue of escape to New Spain (Mexico), whether down the river or overland. They decided that they would try to travel overland.³⁶ On June 5 they departed from Guachoya, probably traveling to the northwest on a trail which lay to the north of Bayou Bartholomew. They passed through several towns of Catalte, a possible chiefdom.³⁷ In the vicinity of present Pine Bluff they took a westward turn and for six days they passed through an uninhabited wilderness.

On June 20 they came to the first town of Chaguata, a chiefdom which lay on the Ouachita River between present Malvern and Arkadelphia.³⁸ In the chiefdom of Chaguata they saw a salt lake which was fed by water from nearby

salines, and from this brine the local Indians produced a great quantity of salt.

They remained in Chaguata for at least six days. During this time it is quite possible that some members of the expedition explored in the vicinity of present Hot Springs.³⁹

From Chaguata they traveled west for three days to the chiefdom of Aguacay, reaching it on July 4.⁴⁰ This chiefdom was located along the Little Missouri River and its tributaries.⁴¹ Here the Spaniards observed Indians extracting salt from sand in a vein the color of slate. It reminded them of the way they had seen salt extracted in Cayas.

They wished to continue traveling westward, but the people of Aguacay told them that in order to find large populations of people, they would have to travel southwest and south (sudueste y sud).⁴² Traveling southward, at the end of the first day of travel they reached a small town subject to Aguacay. The next day they camped in a wooded area with scattered trees between two ridges or hills.⁴³ The next day they came to Pato, a small town, perhaps located on the lower Little River.

The next day they came to the first town of the chiefdom of Amaye in the vicinity of present Fulton. They were told that Naguatex lay a day and a half away and that their travel would be through an area that was continuously inhabited. They continued on down the eastern side of the Red River and camped in the area which lay between Amaye and Naguatex. They selected a place in a luxuriant grove beside a brook.⁴⁴ The Indians in this area organized a determined military resistance against the Spaniards. From incidents which occurred, and from information the Spaniards obtained, these Indians appear to have been organized into a paramount chiefdom. Naguatex was paramount chief, and his subject were Amaye and Macanac, the latter being a chiefdom the Spaniards did not visit, but which presumably lay downstream from Naguatex on the Red River.

The central territory of Naguatex lay somewhere between present Fulton, Arkansas and Shreveport, Louisiana, perhaps in the area of the Spirit Lake Complex, where the densest population appears to have occurred.⁴⁵ The Spaniards asked the Indians whether the river (the Red) could be forded, and the Indians told them that it could be forded in certain places at certain seasons. After searching, the Spaniards did find a place where the river could be forded. The Spaniards moved their camp southward to a town of Naguatex, where they learned that the principal town of the Chief of Naguatex was on the western side of the river.

Just as they were about to cross the Red River, it suddenly rose. This astonished the Spaniards, because a month had passed with no rain locally.⁴⁶ Obviously, the river in question was a large one with distant headwaters.

After crossing to the other side, they set out from Naguatex, evidently traveling west. In three days they came to a town of Nissophone. It consisted of only four or five houses, and there was very little corn. Nissophone was probably on Cypress Creek.⁴⁷ The distance between this town and Naguatex implies the existence of an uninhabited area or a buffer zone between the two polities.

From here they went to Lacane, probably further up Cypress Creek. Again the country seemed miserable to the Spaniards. Lacane was possibly located in Upshur County or Camp County. From here they continued on to Nondacao, further still up Cypress Creek, probably located in Titus or Camp County.⁴⁸ In several instances the Indians in this area misled or seemed to mislead the Spaniards. Possibly they did so deliberately, but it is clear that the Spaniards had to go in directions they did not wish to follow.⁴⁹ They had no choice but to go where the corn was, and even then they found precious little of it.

From Nondacao they traveled for five days before arriving at Aays. This province was probably located on the upper Sabine River, perhaps in the vicinity of present Mineola. The Spaniards learned that in certain seasons buffalo could be hunted near this place.

From Aays they traveled to Soacatino in a day. The province of Soacatino was probably located on the upper Neches River, perhaps west of present Tyler.⁵⁰ To the Spaniards it seemed to be poor country, and they found very little corn. From here they went to another province, Guasco, whose towns were farther down the Neches River, perhaps as far as San Pedro Creek. Here they appear to have found somewhat more corn than at Soacatino, Aays, and Nondacao. Also, the Indians of Guasco possessed pieces of turquoise and cotton shawls which they had traded from Indians who came from the west. This implies that Guasco was located on a principal trail to the west.

The Indians in the territory of Soacatino and Guasco hid their corn from the Spaniards. This impeded the Spaniards' rate of travel greatly, because they were constantly having to stop to look for the hidden corn. It is possible, as well, that the Indians of this area stored their corn differently than the Indians the Spaniards had previously encountered.

Evidently the people of Guasco told the Spaniards of the existence of some people who had seen other Spaniards. Accordingly they traveled eastward to Naquiscoca.⁵¹ When the Spaniards asked these people whether they had ever seen any Spaniards, they denied having done so. Then the Spaniards tortured them. Those who were tortured said that farther on, in the territory of Nacacahoz, Spaniards had come there from the west, and they had returned in the direction from which they had come. The Moscoso proceeded for two days to Nacacahoz. They captured some women, one of whom said that she had seen Christians before. But she later said that she had lied, and the Spaniards concluded that all such reports about other Spaniards having been there had been lies, and they returned to Guasco. They found very little corn in Nacacahoz.

It is difficult to know what to make of these Indian reports of having seen other Spaniards. Naquiscoca and Nacacahoz were not so very far from where Cabeza de Vaca and his comrades spent many years on the Texas coast.⁵² But it could also have been an artifact of wishful thinking on the part of the Spaniards, abetted by their extracting information from the Indians through torture.

The people of Guasco told the Spaniards that ten days toward the west there was a River of Daycao, where they sometimes went to kill deer. They said that they had seen people on the other side of this river, but they did

not know who they were. Moscoso and his army loaded up as much corn as they could carry, and they headed south and southwest.⁵³

If Guasco was in the vicinity of San Pedro Creek, they probably followed a trail which lay on or near Highway 21. But it is difficult to know how far westward they traveled in what is now the state of Texas. Elvas says they traveled ten days and arrived at the river of Daycao, where they halted. From here they sent out ten cavalry who crossed the river and searched its banks for people. But Biedma says that they traveled for six days and halted, and from there they sent out cavalry to go as far as they could go in eight or more days to explore the country. Given this travel time, they could have easily reached the Trinity River or the Navasota River, and the detachment of cavalry may even have reached the Brazos River.

The detachment of cavalry happened upon some people living in very small huts. They captured a few of them and took them back to where Moscoso and the others were. These people subsisted solely by hunting and gathering. Beyond the River of Daycao lay the country which Cabeza de Vaca had described, in which the Indians had no settled towns, but wandered about "like Arabs," living on prickly pears, roots, and game. None of the Indians traveling with Moscoso could understand the captives. It would seem that they spoke a language other than Caddoan.

If the Spaniards continued toward the west, they would not be able to find the stores of corn on which they depended. Also, because of the language barrier, they would not be able to obtain intelligence from the Indians. It was already early October, and if they remained for too long where they were, it would begin to rain and snow, and they would not be able to travel. They decided that as quickly as possible they would return to find food.

Their return trip was more difficult than it might have been because they had treated the Indians so harshly their first time through, and they had already plundered most of the food the Indians had stored. The Indians were understandably hostile, and they had taken to hiding what little corn they had remaining. Returning on the same trail by which they had come, the Spaniards arrived at the lower Arkansas River in early December, 1542. They again crossed the river at Ayays and returned to Anilco. but the people of Anilco had been so devastated and terrified by De Soto's brutal actions, they had not planted a crop of corn, and they themselves were reduced to begging the Spaniards for food.

Moscoso would have to take his army elsewhere. The Indians told the Spaniards that corn could be obtained from their enemy, Aminoya, at a distance of two days of travel. When the Spaniards arrived at Aminoya, they found two large palisaded towns on level ground, about a half a league apart. The Spaniards occupied one of these towns, and they tore down the second to obtain building materials with which to build additional houses. Aminoya could have been located anywhere from about present Deerfield to Old Town in Phillips County.

As soon as they were settled in Aminoya, the Spaniards began building seven keeled boats. During the winter Moscoso sent a party of men two days upriver to the chiefdom of Tagoanate. This chiefdom probably lay between the vicinity of Clarksdale, Mississippi and the mouth of the St. Francis River.

They completed building the boats in June 1543. It so happened that when the time came for them to embark, the river rose up to where they had built the boats, so that they did not have to haul them down to the river. The thin planks and short nails they used in building the boats might not have been equal to being moved overland. Because the river was up, the velocity of the current would have been about four miles per hour, and in some places as much as five miles per hour.

On the morning of July 2 they started down the river. In addition to the current, each boat, according to Garcilaso, was propelled by seven pairs of oars, and each had a sail which could be used when the wind was right. On the first day, if they traveled for 12 hours at 4 miles per hour, they would have gone a distance of 48 miles. At the end of the day they passed by the entrance to the stream which ran through the territory of Guachoya. They moored for the night at a place which could not have been far below the mouth of the Arkansas River.

The next day, July 3, they came to Huhasene, a town subject to chief Quigualtam, a powerful chief whose domain lay on the eastern side of the river. They pulled ashore and expropriated a supply of corn from the grainaries in this town. They may have traveled no more than about 15 or 20 miles before coming to this place. This would place Huhasene to the north or to the west of present Winterville, Mississippi.

The next morning, July 4, a fleet of a hundred large war canoes of chief Quigualtam began to attack the Spaniards as they sailed down the river. The warriors in the canoes continued to attack all that day and through the night. The Spaniards fled down the river as fast as they could. This fleet of canoes did not cease its attack until noon, on July 5, when they turned around and began paddling back up the river. On this segment of their journey, assuming that the Spaniards put into the river at, say, 8:00 A.M. on July 4, they traveled continuously for 28 hours. At 4 miles per hour they would have covered 112 miles. Hence, it would seem that the canoes of Quigualtam ceased their attack just above the mouth of the Yazoo River.

But no sooner than this attack ended, the Spaniards evidently entered a stretch of the river under the dominion of another chief whose name is not given. A second fleet of 50 large canoes began to attack. This attack continued for the remainder of that day and throughout the night, as the Spaniards continued underway through the darkness. This fleet ceased its attack at about ten in the morning of the next day, July 6. Presumably this fleet had reached the southern limit of its territory.

In this second segment of their journey, the Spaniards were underway continuously for some 22 hours. If their speed was 4 miles per hour, they would have covered 88 miles, placing them just north of present Natchez, Mississippi. After this, they were not attacked by any more fleets of canoes, implying that there were no more large chiefdoms between the vicinity of Natchez and the mouth of the Mississippi River.

Twelve days later, Moscoso and his men reached the mouth of the Mississippi River. From Natchez to the mouth of the river it is about 280 straight-line miles, and this translates to about 420 to 560 river miles. They could have traveled this shorter distance by averaging 35 miles per day;

the longer of these distances they could have traveled by averaging 47 miles per day. Given their desire to reach the safety of New Spain, it is reasonable to think that the faster of these two rates of travel was within their capability.

On September 10, 1543 the little fleet entered the mouth of the Panuco River in what is now the state of Vera Cruz, Mexico. Four years and four months had passed since they had sailed out of the harbor of Havana. From Tampa Bay to Aminoya, where they spent their last winter, they had walked and ridden approximately 3,700 miles. About half of the army--311 in all--had survived this ordeal. Some of these men remained in Mexico, others went to Peru, and still others returned to Spain. The documents are silent on how many of the Indian slaves survived. But it is known that at least one survived, a woman of Coosa who returned to her homeland in 1559-61, while serving as interpreter for the Tristan de Luna expedition.⁵⁴

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B. Relacam verdadeira dos trabalhos q ho governador do Fernado de Souto y certos fidalgos portugueses passarom no descobrimeto da provincia da Frolida(sic), by an anonymous gentleman of Elvas, published in 1557. The best translation is by James A. Robertson, True Relation of the Hardships Suffered by Governor Fernando de Soto... (Deland, Florida: The Florida State Historical Society, 1932), 2 volumes.

C., Luis Hernandez de Biedma, "Relacion de la Isla de la Florida," in Coleccion de Documentos Ineditos (Madrid, 1865), vol. III, pp. 414-441. This brief account by the factor for the expedition contains the most consistent references to direction of travel, and it contains some information not to be found in the longer accounts by Ranjel and Elvas. A translation by Buckingham Smith is available in Edward Gaylord Bourne (ed), Narratives of the Career of Hernando de Soto (N.Y.: Allerton, 1922), vol. II, pp. 3-40.

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6. Ibid. pp. 45-59.

7. John R. Swanton, Final Report of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission, United States House of Representatives Document No. 71, 76th Congress, 1st session (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1939, pp. 65-74.) This volume was reprinted by the Smithsonian Institution Press in 1985.

8. Ibid, pp. 75-82.

9. All dates are Old Style.

10. The route of De Soto from his landing place to Apalachee is drawn from work in progress: Charles Hudson and Jerald Milanich, Hernando de Soto and the Native Peoples of Florida." Manuscript on file in the Florida State Museum, Gainesville, Florida.

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13. Detailed evidence for locating Achuse at Pensacola Bay is contained in Hudson, Smith, DePratter, and Kelley, "The Tristan de Luna Expedition." Later in the expedition De Soto's men speculated incorrectly that the Alabama River emptied into the Port of Achuse. See: Hudson, et al "The Tristan de Luna Expedition."

14. Unless otherwise noted, the route from Apalachee to Chiaha is drawn from: Charles Hudson, Marvin T. Smith, and Chester B. DePratter, "The Hernando de Soto Expedition: From Apalachee to Chiaha," Southeastern Archaeology 3(1984):65-77.

15. This reconstruction of De Soto's route from the Flint to the Congaree River in South Carolina differs in several details from Hudson et. al. (1984). The improvements are detailed in: Charles Hudson, John Worth, and Chester DePratter, "Refinements in De Soto's Route through Georgia and South Carolina," paper to be presented at the 1989 meeting of the Society for American Archaeology.

16. John Worth, "Mississippian Occupation of the Middle Flint River," M.A. thesis, University of Georgia, 1988. This village was possibly the Redneck Hunting Club site, which Worth located after his thesis was completed.

17. This same town was visited by Juan Pardo in 1566-68. It was called Guíomae or Emae. Chester DePratter, Charles Hudson, and Marvin Smith, "Juan Pardo's Explorations in the Interior Southeast, 1566-1568," The Florida Historical Quarterly 62(1983):125-158.

18. "Ylasi" is the preferred spelling.

19. The route from Chiaha to Mabila is based on: Chester B. DePratter, Charles Hudson, and Marvin Smith, "The Hernando de Soto Expedition: From Chiaha to Mabila," in R. Reid Badger and Lawrence A. Clayton (eds.), Alabama and the Borderlands (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1985), pp. 108-127.

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21. Charles Hudson, Marvin Smith, David Hally, Richard Polhemus, and Chester DePratter, "Coosa: A Chiefdom in the Sixteenth-Century Southeastern United States," American Antiquity 50(1985):723-737.

22. This town was probably located at the King Site.

23. This location differs from the one proposed in DePratter et. al., "Chiaha to Mabila." The chiefdom of Talisi comprised some or all of the Kymulga phase sites in this area.

24. Hudson et. al., "The Tristan de Luna Expedition."

25. The verb enriscar "to find refuge in cliffs" definitely implies the presence of rock. Archaeological research at the Durant Bend site appears to indicate that the site was occupied both too early and too late for it to have been Piachi.

26. Unless otherwise noted, the route from Mabila to the Mississippi River is drawn from: Charles Hudson, Marvin T. Smith, and Chester B. DePratter, "The Hernando de Soto Expedition: From Mabila to the Mississippi River," in David Dye (ed.), Towns and Temples on the Mississippi (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, in press).

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31. Morse and Morse, Central Mississippi Valley, p. 312.

32. Quiguate comprised Kent phase archaeological sites. John H. House, "Kent Phase Investigations in Eastern Arkansas, 1978-1984," Mississippi Archaeology 22(1987):46-60.

33. The Chiefdom of Coligua comprised Greenbrier phase archaeological sites.

34. Scott Akridge, "De Soto's Route in North Central Arkansas," Field Notes: Newsletter of the Arkansas Archaeological Society 211(1986):3-7.

35. This would seem to be the first and only instance in which the Spaniards encountered this settlement pattern, i.e. scattered isolated houses at a considerable distance from a population center.

36. Rodrigo Ranjel's narrative ceases at Autiamque. As a consequence, the chronology of events occurring during the remainder of the expedition is less precise than it would have been had the Ranjel narrative been complete.

37. Calalte comprised Tillar phase sites. Marvin D. Jeter, "The Protohistoric 'Tillar Complex' of Southeast Arkansas," paper presented at the 47th Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, Minneapolis, 1982.

38. Ann M. Early, "Caddoan Settlement Systems in the Ouachita River Basin," in Arkansas Archaeology in Review, edited by Neal L. Trubowitz and Marvin D. Jeter. Arkansas Archaeological Survey, Research Series 15, 1982, pp. 219-223.

39. Hot springs are mentioned in the outline of the uncompleted or missing chapter of Rodrigo Ranjel's narrative. Rodrigo Ranjel, "Narrative," in Narratives of the Career of Hernando de Soto, translated by Buckingham Smith, edited by Gaylord Bourne (N.Y.: Allenton, 1922), Vol. II. p. 150.

40. From this point onward to Guasco, this reconstruction differs from Hudson, "De Soto in Arkansas."

41. The central town of Aguacay was possibly at the Stokes Mound site.

42. Luys Hernandez de Biedma, "Account of the island of Florida," in Narratives of the Career of Hernando de Soto, translated by Buckingham Smith and edited by Edward G. Bourne (N.Y.: Allenton, 1922), p. 36.

43. Gentleman of Elvas, True Relation of the Hardships Suffered by Governor Hernando de Soto, trans. and ed. by James A. Robertson (DeLand, Florida: The Florida State Historical Society, 1933), Vol. II, p. 239.

44. Elvas, True Relation, *ibid.*

45. This paramount chiefdom comprised Belcher phase sites in the densely populated Great Bend area of the Red River. Cf. Frank F. Schambach, "The Archaeological Background," in Contributions to the Archaeology of the Great Bend Region of the Red River Valley, Southwest Arkansas, edited by Frank F. Schambach and Frank Rackerby, Arkansas Archaeological Survey Research Series 22, 1982, pp. 91-92.

46. Elvas, True Relation, pp. 245-246.

47. Nissohone was probably a Titus focus site. Donald G. Wyckoff, The Caddoan Cultural Area: An Archaeological Perspective (N.Y.: Garland, 1974), pp. 174-181.

48. Lacane and Nondacao were both probably at Titus focus sites.

49. Cf. Biedma, "Account," p.36

50. Soacatino was probably at a Frankston focus site. Cf. Wyckoff, Caddoan Cultural Area, pp. 181-185.

51. Naquiscoca and Nacacohoz lay to the east or southeast of San Pedro Creek.

52. Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca, The Narrative of Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca, translated by Fanny Bandelier (Barre, Mass.: The Imprint Society, 1972).

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54. Hudson, "A Spanish-Coosa Alliance."

APPENDIX A: LEVELS OF CONFIDENCE FOR DE SOTO ROUTE LOCATIONS

FLORIDA

1. A village of Ocita (probable). The landing and camp site. Located on the northern side of the lower Little Manatee River. Extensive shell mounds once existed on both sides of the river. There are eight known Safety Harbor sites within about 3 miles of the mouth.

The Thomas Shell mound (8-Hi-1) is perhaps the most promising of these sites. A number of early Spanish artifacts have come from this site, and it is Safety Harbor phase. The Goat Bayou West and Goat Bayou East sites are adjacent to the Thomas site. Unfortunately all of these sites have been mined for shell since about 1900, and they are almost completely obliterated.

About 10-15 miles upriver from the Thomas site, the Parrish Mound sites (8Ma1,2,3) have produced 16th-century European artifacts, including a good De Soto period bead.

2. The River of Mocoso is probably the Alafia River. It was a boundary between the territory of Ocita and the territory of Mocoso. At the Bell Shoals site (8Hi79), a possible crossing place, Safety Harbor materials have been found along with a fragment of olive jar.

3. Guazoco (problematic). Vicinity of present Dade City. This is where De Soto's men first found corn, and in this area the quality of soil improves from that further south. Sites in this area are poorly known.

4. Luca (problematic). Vicinity of present Lacoochee. The site is possibly in the area of numerous small lakes between the upper Withlacoochee River, and the Little Withlacoochee River. There is a destroyed mound (8He14) in this area which produced glass beads, but these have not been seen by archaeologists in recent times.

5. Urriparacoxi (possible). This was a polity at some distance from Luca. It was possibly the cluster of St. Johns phase sites around the vicinity of Lake Apopka and Lake Butler. The Gotha Mound (80OR11,12) was possibly the central town. It has produced a number of early-seeming European artifacts which have not yet been examined by Florida archaeologists.

6. Vicela (problematic). In the vicinity of present Nobleton. There is no known site in this area. To the west there is the Weeki Watchee site (8He12), with a quantity of early 16th-century Spanish materials.

7. Tocaste (problematic). On a large lake. Possibly the Du Val Island site (8Ci17). It is at the south end of Tsala Apopka. A metal axe from this site may be early Spanish.

8. River and swamp of Ocale. The Withlacoochee River. This was a very swampy and difficult crossing. There are two possible crossings. One is the Turner fish Camp Road from Inverness to the Gum Slough area. The other is the Camp Iazard crossing. It is not possible to decide between these two at the present time.

9. Ocale (possible). This polity was east of the Withlacoochee River, probably in southwestern Marion County. The Marion Oaks site, Ruth Smith Mound and the Tatham Mound (8Ci203) probably were all villages of Ocale. The latter two have produced quantities of early 16th-century Spanish materials. The central town of Ocale has not yet been located. There is no phase designation for this area, but Pasco plain ware appears to be the main ceramic marker. Possible locations for the central town of Ocale include the Ross Prairie area (8Mr100,101), and the Drake Ranch area with several large shell middens.

Ocale appears to have dominated the general area of the Cove of the Withlacoochee.

10. From Ocale they sent a raiding party to Acuera (possible) for food. This polity was possibly the cluster of sites around Lake Weir and Lake Griffin.

11. Itarraholata (problematic). Possibly in the vicinity of present Lake Stafford. There are many Alachua tradition sites in northern Marion County. Many small sites.

12. Potano (possible). Possibly on the western side of Lake Orange. There are many Alachua tradition sites in this area. It could be the Belk site (8Mr450 or the Huff Mound (8Mr48). Both are poorly known. Another possibility is (8A100), from which early majolica has been recovered.

13. Utinamocharra (possible). Vicinity of Newnan's Lake. There is a very large series of Alachua tradition sites in present Gainesville. The Moon Lake cluster dates to the late prehistoric - early historic (8A325-337). The mission of San Francisco de Potano was in this area.

14. "Malapaz" (possible). Vicinity of present Alachua. There are many small Alachua tradition sites in this locality. 8A166 is a possibility. Mounds are known to have existed here, but they have been destroyed. Spanish artifacts have been reported, but not seen by archaeologists.

15. Cholupaha (possible). On the south side of the Santa Fe River north or northeast of present Alachua. Possibly at the Santa Fe Mission site. One possible location is the group of sites in the Robinson Sinks area. At least ten sites are here. For example, 8A187, 189, 190. Glass beads are reported from this area, but not seen by archaeologists.

16. "River of Discords". The Santa Fe River. The crossing may have been near present SR 241. They may have crossed when the natural bridge was flooded.

17. Aguacaleyquen (possible). This has been very difficult to locate--the most problematic of the Florida sites. Our best candidate is the Fig Springs site (8Col), on the Ichetucknee River. It is at least 12 acres in size. It includes the site of the San Martin de Ayacuto mission, a very early 16th-century mission.

18. The stream they bridged upon leaving Aguacaleyquen was possibly the Ichetucknee River and Rose Creek. In the past these two were connected,

especially after heavy rain. Today much of the water goes into sinkholes.

After this, there are two possible routes they could have taken to the Suwannee River. Milanich now feels that the southern route may be the more probable of the two.

19a. Uriutina (problematic). Vicinity of present Lake City. The Indian Pond site (8Co229) is a possibility.

19b. "Village of Many Waters" (problematic). In the ponds and prairies west of Lake City. Late sites are known to be present in this area.

19c. Napituca (problematic). Vicinity of present Live Oak. An area of lime sinks. Not well known archaeologically.

20a. Uriutina (problematic). Vicinity of present O'Brien. Not well known archaeologically.

20b. "Village of Many Waters" (problematic). Flood plain of the Suwannee River, some miles east of present Lura. Not well known archaeologically.

20c. Napituca (problematic). Vicinity of present Lura, possibly at 8Su65. There are several small sites in the Baptizing Springs area that should be considered.

21. River of the Deer. The Suwannee River.

22. Uzachile (possible). This polity comprised several villages in eastern Madison County. Possibilities are 8Md20,21. Possibly also the mission site of San Pedro y San Pablo de Potohirriba near Sampala Lake (8Md30). Many possible sites in this general area.

23. Agile (possible). Southwestern corner of Madison Co., probably on or near the Aucilla River. A possibility is the mission of San Miguel de Asile (8Md5). There is a cluster of Indian sites near the mission (8Md6,7,56). All are Fort Walton phase.

24. River and swamp of Ivitachuco. The Aucilla River.

25. Ivitachuco (possible). Possibly at the mission of San Lorenzo de Ivitachuco (8Jel00), near Lake Iamonia.

26. Deep ravine where a battle occurred (if one can trust Garcilaso)--Burnt Mill Creek.

27. Calahuchi (possible). Possibly on the upper St. Marks River. Vicinity of Capitola or Chaires. Possibly at the mission of San Pedro de Patale (8Le152). Many small Fort Walton sites in this area.

28. Apalachee (Iviahica or Anhaica) (positive). The Governor Martin site (8Le853b). We've all heard about this one. Chain mail, fasceted chevron beads, crossbow bolt point, early 16th-century Spanish coins.

29. Aute (Ochete) (probable). The St. Marks Wildlife Refuge Cemetery site (8Wal5). In the 1930's many early Spanish artifacts were found here. Silver disc beads; gold and silver pendants; brass scale weight; Clarksdale bells.

30. "River of Guacuca". The Ochlockonee River. Their place of crossing depends upon whether they departed from Apalachee going west or east of Lake Jackson.

GEORGIA I

1. "River of Capachequi". The Flint, in the vicinity of present Newton.

2. The first village of Capachequi (problematic). This area is poorly known archaeologically. It was possibly 9LE7, immediately north of six or seven low limestone hills.

3. A stream they forded. Kiokee Creek.

4. Main town of Capachequi (problematic). The mound site on Magnolia Plantation (9Dul). No scientific excavation has been done at this site. It is Mississippian.

5. The White Spring. Probably James Pond, near Byne crossroads.

6. River of Toa. Again the Flint, about 8 miles north of present Montezuma.

7. Toa (possible). This has been another problem site. A number of 16th-century (Lockett phase) sites have recently been located north of this point, but most of them are on the western side of the river. The village of Toa visited by De Soto was on the eastern side. Quite recently John Worth has located a likely site--The Redneck Hunting Club site--on the eastern side of the river. It has no site number as yet, but it is Lockett phase, and it appears to be extensive.

8. First town of Ichisi (problematic). On an "island" in the Ocmulgee River. In the vicinity of present Westlake. This area is not well known, but Cowart's phase sites are known to be in the general area.

9. Swamp where Benito Fernandez drowned. Several possibilities. Possibly Thompson Mill Creek.

10. Ichisi village where they rested for three days (problematic). Here they waited for the main body of the expedition to catch up with them. Vicinity of present Bonaire. Poorly known, but Cowart's phase sites are in the area.

11. Creek that rose rapidly on March 29, 1540. Probably Echeconnee Creek.

12. Small village of Ichisi (possible). Where they spent the night of March 29. Possibly the Cowart's Landing Site (9Bil4).

13. Main town of Ichisi (possible). The Lamar Mound site (9B12). Cowart's phase.

14. The River of Altamaha. The Oconee River.

15. Altamaha (probable). The Shinholzer Mound site (9B11).

16. Main town of Ocute (possible). At the Shoulderbone Mounds site (9Hk1). There is some question about whether the 16th-century occupation of this site was sufficiently large for it to have been a center of a chiefdom. It is still the best possibility.

17. Cofaqui (possible). At the Dyar Mound site (9Ge5).

18. Small stream where they camped on April 16, 1540. The lower course of Little River.

19. A very large river divided into two branches, crossed on April 17. The Savannah River at old Pace's Ferry Crossing.

SOUTH CAROLINA

1. Small stream where they spent the night of April 20, 1540. Camping Creek or Bear Creek.

2. Another very large river divided into two streams. They either crossed the Broad River at an island, or else they crossed near the confluence with the Saluda (counting that as the second stream).

3. Hymahi (AKA, Aymay, Guiomae, Emae) (problematic). A site in the forks of the Congaree-Wateree Rivers. Mississippian sites are known to occur in this area, but it is not well known archaeologically. A piece of orange micaceous ware was found nearby at a site (38C157) on the opposite side of the Congaree.

4. Cofitachequi (probable). The Mulberry or McDowell site (38Ke12). This location also fits the documentation of the Pardo expeditions. A Wateree phase component is definitely present. Only a small portion of this huge site has been excavated.

5. Ilapi (probably same as Pardo's Ylasi) (problematic). Vicinity of present Cheraw. It was possibly at a mound site in or near Cheraw (38Ct113). Nothing is known about this mound. It is not definitely Mississippian.

NORTH CAROLINA

1. "Chalague" (problematic). This probably refers to the Catawba sites along the South Fork of the Catawba River. The Hardin site (31GS30) may be one of these.

2. Guaquili (probably the same as Pardo's Guaquiri) (problematic). Vicinity of present Hickory, N.C. Possibly on an upper tributary of the South Fork Catawba River. This area not well surveyed.

3. Xuala (probably the same as Pardo's Joara) (possible). The McDowell site (31MC41). One radiocarbon date indicates an early 16th century occupation.

4. Guasili (problematic). Vicinity of Ivy Creek, N.C. Pisgah sites are present, but they may be somewhat early. The terminal date of the Pisgah phase is unclear. This area not well known archaeologically.

5. Canasoga (problematic). Vicinity of Hot Springs, N.C. No known late prehistoric period occupation. Some Pisgah sites here. Not well known.

TENNESSEE

1. A large stream which ran near the stream (i.e. the French Broad River) they had crossed while in the mountains. The lower Pigeon River.

2. Chiaha (probable). A mound on the upstream end of Zimmerman's Island. It was a Dallas site with a 30-foot mound. It is now under Douglas Lake. Hardly any excavation was done. The general location of the site is confirmed by the Pardo documents.

3. The river they forded. The French Broad near the mouth of Dumpling Creek and the Little Pigeon River.

4. Coste (probable). The Bussell Island site (40LD17). Several blue glass beads; an iron chisel; two iron bracelets.

5. Tali (problematic). Possibly the Henry site, on the opposite side of the river from present Loudon. Most or all of this site is destroyed. Poorly known.

6. Stream forded on July 12. Possibly Oostanaula Creek.

7. Stream forded on July 13. Possibly Chestuee Creek.

8. The large stream they forded on July 14, 1540. The Hiwassee River.

9. Tasqui (problematic). Vicinity of present Old Fort or Canasauga, Tennessee. Possibly at the Davis site (40PK16), on the south side of the Canasauga River. Little is known of this site.

GEORGIA II

1. Several villages on the trail on July 15, 1540 (problematic). These were probably along the Conasauga River. No sites are known to exist here, but this area has not been well surveyed.

2. Coosa (probable). The main town was at the Little Egypt site (9MU102). Seven or eight additional sites occur downstream over about a ten-mile segment of the Coosawattee River. All are Barnett phase. Several have produced sixteenth-century Spanish artifacts, as has the Little Egypt site.

3. Talimachusy (problematic). Possibly at 9BR37, near present Rydal. Little is known of the site.

4. Itaba (probable). At the Etowah site (9BR1). Several early European artifacts have come from this site. Another site, excavated by Hally in the summer of 1988, a few miles down the Etowah River, has produced an iron celt.

5. Ulibahali (possible). Vicinity of present Rome, Georgia. The best possibility is the Coosa Country Club site (9FL161). It is Barnett phase.

6. Village near a river where they spent the night of September 2. Possibly the Johnstone Farm site (9FL49) (possible). Barnett phase. Amateurs have recovered early Spanish material from the site.

7. Piachi (possible). Possibly at the King site (9FL5). Barnett phase. Several 16th century Spanish artifacts, including a sword. A large number of the burials from this site show evidence of wounds inflicted by steel weapons.

ALABAMA

1. Tuasi (possible). Possibly 1CE308 on Terrapin Creek. It is Barnett phase.

2. An abandoned town (possible). Vicinity of present Talledega. Possibly the Rogers CETA site (TA171). Kymulga phase. Roger Nance says it has quite a bit of time depth.

Another possibility for this site is Ogletree Island (TA238). Sixteenth-century Spanish artifacts have come from this site.

3. A new village close to a stream (possible). Possibly the Hudson Branch site (TA213). Kymulga phase.

4. Talisi (possible). On the Coosa River. Possibly 1TA25. Kymulga phase. This site has been completely destroyed.

5. Casiste (possible). A small village near a stream. It is possibly one of the sites near present Sylacauga: Collins Farm (TA 153), Hightower (TA150), or Sylacauga Waterworks (TA 115). The latter two sites have produced significant quantities of sixteenth-century European artifacts.

6. Caxa (problematic). Said to be on a stream and on the border between Talisi and Tascaluza. Possibly on Hatchet Creek. This served as a political boundary as late as the 18th century. No 16th century sites are known on Hatchet Creek, but several towns were on it in the 18th century, proving that it would support horticulture.

From Caxa they could have gone two ways: to the Coosa River or to the Tallapoosa River.

If they went from Caxa to the Coosa:

7a. Humati (problematic). On the Coosa River in the vicinity of present Titus, or on Weoka Creek. Eighteenth-century sites are known to be present on Weoka Creek, but no 16th century sites.

7b. Uxapita (problematic). On the Coosa River in the vicinity of Wetumpka or the confluence of the Coosa-Tallapoosa.

7c. Athahachi (possible). Possibly the Charlotte Thompson site. Early European artifacts have been recovered from this site. The archaeology has been called a "Moundville variant."

If they went from Caxa to the Tallapoosa:

8a. Humati (problematic). Would have been in southern Tallapoosa County, in what is now Martin Lake. No known appropriate site here.

8b. Uxapita (problematic). Was in the vicinity of present Tallassee. Several late sites here.

8c. Athahachi (possible). Would have been on the lower Tallapoosa River. Could have been one of several Shine II phase sites. But this would have made it very difficult for them to have got to the Durant Bend-Selma area in two days.

9. Piachí (problematic). Vicinity of Durant Bend. The Durant Bend site is both too early and too late. Nearby areas are not well surveyed. Ranjel's description of Piachí implies stone cliffs in the vicinity of Piachí.

10. Mabila (possible). Vicinity of the lower Cahaba River. It was possibly located at the Old Cahawba site (1DS32). This is a late Pensacola phase site with a defensive palisade. But Mabila could just have well been at a nearby site as yet undiscovered.

11. The very fine river they came to on November 17, 1540. The Black Warrior.

12. Talicpacana (possible). Possibly at the White Mound site 91HA7/8). A Moundville III occupation is present.

13. Moculixa (possible). Possibly at 1HA107. A Moundville III occupation is present. This site has been destroyed by agriculture and erosion.

14. Zabusta (possible). Possibly at the Moundville site. A very small Moundville III component is present. The expedition did not reside at this site; they merely crossed the river here.

15. First village on the other side of the river (possible). Possibly the Wiggins site (1TU42/43). Moundville III component present.

16. Second village on the other side of the river (possible). Possibly 1TU46/47. Moundville occupation present.

17. Apafalaya (possible). Possibly the Snow's Bend site (1TU2/3). A Moundville III component is present. It has one of the largest mounds in the Black Warrior Valley outside of the Moundville site itself.

MISSISSIPPI

1. The River of Chickasaw. The Tombigbee.
2. Main town of Chickasaw (problematic). The central territory of Chickasaw possibly lay west of present Columbus, including the watersheds of Magowah and Catalpa Creeks. Many Sorrels phase sites exist in this area, but it is not well surveyed. The Lyon's Bluff site (22OK1) is a possibility for the central town, although it could also have been a town of Alibamu.
3. Sacchuma (Chakchiuma) (problematic). This was a chiefdom subject to the chief of Chickasaw. It possibly comprised sites on the Noxubee River as well as the Tombigbee, and perhaps including the Lubbub Creek vicinity sites. The Noxubee is not well surveyed.
4. Alibamu (problematic). This chiefdom, subject to the chief of Chickasaw, possibly lay on the upper tributaries of Tibbee Creek, perhaps especially on the Line Creek and Houlika Creek.
5. First town of Quizquiz (possible). Possibly the Irby site (22DS516). Walls phase.
6. Second town of Quizquiz (possible). Possibly the Lake Cormorant site (22DS501). Walls phase.
7. Third town of Quizquiz (possible). Possibly the Norfolk site (22DS513). Walls phase.

ARKANSAS

1. Aquixo (possible). Vicinity of Horseshoe Lake. Several Belle Meade phase sites exist here.
2. Casqui (probable). Probably at the Parkin site. Parkin phase. A chevron bead has come from this site.
3. Pacaha (possible). Possibly at the Bradley site (3CT7). Nodena phase. This site has a good geographic match to events which occurred during the De Soto expedition. Early European artifacts have come from this site, but none is definitely 16th-century Spanish.
4. Quiguate (possible). This chiefdom probably comprised Kent phase sites. The center was possibly in present Lee County.
5. Coligua (possible). This chiefdom possibly comprised Greenbrier phase sites on the White River. The central town was possibly at the Magness site (3IN8).
6. Calpista (possible). A saline on Mingo Creek southwest of present Worden. This appears to be the only saline in this general area.
7. Palisema (problematic). Possibly on the Little Red River in the vicinity of present Judsonia. Little Red River phase. Sites are small, with pottery similar to the Carden Bottom area.

8. Quixila (problematic). Possibly in the vicinity of present Vilonia or Hamlet.

9. Tutilcoya (problematic). Possibly near present Conway.

10. Village on the Arkansas River (problematic). Possibly in the vicinity of present Morrilton.

11. Tanico (Cayas) (probable). Carden Bottom phase sites in the general vicinity of present Russellville. A Clarksdale bell has come from this area. Carden Bottom phase sites are dispersed, with no outstanding primary center.

12. Tula (possible). Possibly the Aikman Mound (3YE15), near present Bluffton. Not well known archaeologically.

13. Quipana (possible). This polity lay on the upper Ouachita River, northwest of present Hot Springs. The Adair Mound (3GA1) was possibly the central town. The sites are not well known. They are under water now.

14. Quitamaya (possible). Possibly in the vicinity of present Benton. The center was possibly the Hughes site (3SA11). No phase designation available.

15. Autiamque (possible). Possibly at the Hardin site (3JE56), near present Redfield. Quapaw phase.

16. Ayays (problematic). Possibly in southeastern Jefferson County or northwestern Lincoln County.

17. Tutelpinco (problematic). Possibly in southeastern corner of Jefferson County.

18. Anilco (possible). Possibly at the Menard site.

19. Guachoya (possible). In the vicinity of present McArthur. There are three definite Hog Lake phase sites and two possible sites in this area. The central town was possibly 3DE14, with at least 7 mounds, but it is not definitely known to be protohistoric.

20. Catalte (possible). This polity possibly comprised Tillar phase sites. There are 10 definite Tillar phase sites and 27 possible sites. 3DR2 is a large Tillar phase sites, with mounds in rows.

21. Chaguante (possible). This polity was located on the Ouachita River between Malvern and Arkadelphia. A large saline was present here, from which the Indians extracted quantities of salt. The possible center was Saline Bayou, and a promising site is the Bayou Sel site (3CL27). It is late, but there is no phase designation. A dense population occupied this general area in the late prehistoric era. It was probably the most productive saline in Arkansas.

22. Aguacay (possible). A cluster of late Caddo sites in the Little Missouri River. The center was possibly the Stokes Mound site (3PI17), a late site. However, the center of this polity could have been at any of several

other sites on the drainage of the Little Missouri River.

23. Small village subject to Aguacay (problematic). This village was located near a salt seep. The Hickman Salt site (3SV69) is one possibility.

24. Pato (problematic). Possibly on the lower Little River. Several late sites exist here.

25. Amaye (possible). On the Red River. This chiefdom possibly comprised Texarkana phase sites. The settlement pattern here is quite dispersed, with no marked village concentrations.

26. Naguatex (possible). Belcher phase sites. The center of this chiefdom was possibly the Spirit Lake complex.

It is not certain at this point whether the expedition traveled through the northwestern corner of Louisiana.

27. Aminoya (problematic). Where they spent their last winter. Somewhere north of the mouth of the Arkansas River. Perhaps between present Deerfield and Old Town.

TEXAS

From here on everything is "problematic". This confidence level can be raised with better information on late prehistoric phases in northeastern Texas. They probably went from Naguatex to Cypress Creek, but the Sulphur River is also a possibility.

1. Nissohone (problematic). Possibly Titus phase sites on Cypress Creek.
2. Lacane (problematic). Possibly Titus phase sites on Cypress Creek.
3. Nondacao (problematic). Possibly Titus phase sites on Cypress Creek.
4. Aays (problematic). Possibly on the upper Sabine River, vicinity of present Mineola.
5. Soacatino (problematic). Possibly Frankston focus sites on the upper Neches River.
6. Guasco (problematic). Probably Frankston focus sites further down the Neches River. San Pedro Creek is a possible location.
7. Naquiscosa and Nacacahoz (problematic). Located east or southeast of the San Pedro Creek area.
8. The River of Daycao (problematic). The Trinity, the Navasota, or the Brazos.

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APPENDIX C

PUBLIC INFORMATION BROCHURE

and

SUMMARY OF PUBLIC MEETINGS, SEPTEMBER-OCTOBER 1988

APPENDIX D

**DE SOTO NATIONAL HISTORIC TRAIL SYMPOSIUM
SOUTHEAST ARCHAEOLOGIC CONFERENCE**

OCTOBER 1988

APPENDIX D

The following is an outline of a symposium regarding the De Soto Trail held Thursday, October 20, 1988, at the Southeastern Archaeological Conference, New Orleans, Louisiana.

Symposium: The De Soto National Historic Trail: A Multidisciplinary Approach. Bennie C. Keel, National Park Service, Organizer and Chair.

Introduction: The De Soto National Trail. Bennie Keel, National Park Service.

The National Historic Trail Planning Process. Sharon Keene (Wink Hastings substituting for Ms. Keene), National Park Service.

The De Soto Trail Commission. V. James Knight, University of Alabama.

The Significance of the De Soto Expedition. Jerald T. Milanich, Florida Museum of Natural History.

The Route of the De Soto Expedition. Charles Hudson, University of Georgia.

Panel Discussion: Charles Ewen, Florida Department of State; Nick Fielder, Tennessee State Archaeologist; David Hally, University of Georgia; Chester DePratter, University of South Carolina; David Moore, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources; V. James Knight, University of Alabama; Patricia Galloway, Mississippi Department of Archives and History; Dan Morse, Arkansas Archaeological Survey; Kathleen Byrd, Louisiana State Archaeologist; Jim Corbin, Stephen F. Austin College; Jeffrey Brain, Harvard University.

Comments: Audience

Summary: Douglas Jones, University of Alabama