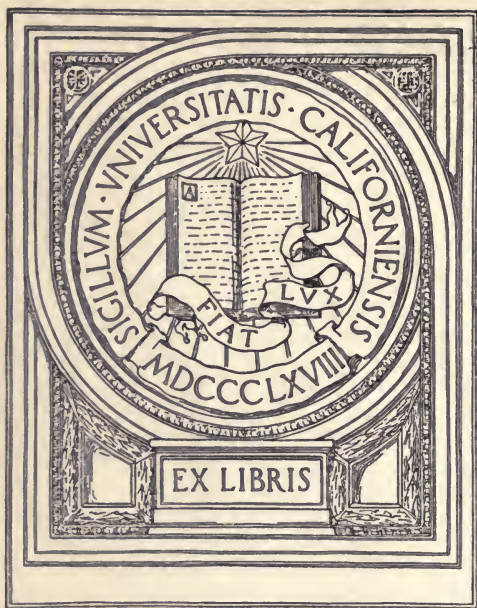


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The De Soto Expedition Through Florida.

by

T. H. Lewis.

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THE DE SOTO EXPEDITION THROUGH FLORIDA.

BY T. H. LEWIS. <sup>heades</sup> 1556-

[PREFATORY NOTE.—There have been three accounts of this expedition published in the English language, and there yet remains, in the original Spanish, another, of which John G. Shea writes:

"Still another account of the expedition is the official report which Rodrigo Ranjel, the secretary of Soto, based upon his diary kept on the march. It was written after reaching Mexico, whence he transmitted it to the Spanish government. It remained unpublished in that part of Oviedo's History which was preserved in manuscript till Amador de los Rios issued his edition of Oviedo in 1851. Oviedo seems to have begun to give the text of Ranjel as he found it; but later in the progress of the story he abridged it greatly, and two chapters at least are missing, which must have given the wanderings of Soto from Autiamque, with his death, and the adventures of the survivors under Moscoso. The original text of Ranjel is not known."]

**T**HE following is an abridged translation, giving the ethnology, topography, and itinerary of the narrative:

Sunday, May 18th, 1539, De Soto and his army left Havana with a fine fleet of nine ships,—five full rigged, two caravels, and two vergantines. On the 25th day of the same month, which was the day of Pasque of the Espiritu Sancto, they came in sight of land on the northern coast of the province of Florida, and the fleet came to anchor, two leagues from land, in four fathoms depth, or less. The governor, with Anasco, and the principal pilot, Alonso Martin, departed in a vergantine in order to find out what land it was; being in doubt as to the location and identity of the port. Not being able to satisfy themselves on the matter, and seeing night was approaching, they desired to return to the ships; but the contrary winds prevented them. They, therefore, anchored close to land, leaped upon it, and discovered signs of many Indians; also a large building and some smaller ones. They afterwards learned that it was Ocita. The port<sup>1</sup> was now examined, and the governor ordered the vergantine and the caravel to lie opposite each other in the channel as signals, so the other ships could pass



between. The latter, which were four or five leagues off, began to set sail, and it was necessary for the governor to show them the way, as the chief pilot was in the vergantine, and because there were many inlets; and yet with all that two ships touched bottom, but as it was sandy they received no damage. The ships entered the port, sounding line in hand, and some touched bottom, and, as it was mud, passed on ahead. Thus they went on for five days without landing, except that some of the force scrambled to land to get water and grass for the horses. But the bays did not cease until the loaded ships arrived at where the town<sup>2</sup> stood, and they anchored four leagues beyond. And it came to pass it was on May 30th that they began to land the horses. The country where they landed is ten leagues to the west of the bay of Johan Ponce, and the cacique or lord of it is called Oçita. Sunday, June 1st, of the same year, the army journeyed inward by land towards the town. Having trouble with the interpreters, the governor went ahead with some cavalry. They went twelve leagues to opposite the town, "having the bay between, in such a way that they could not double it." During the week the ships proceeded to the town, and little by little, were unloaded by means of boats of all the goods and provisions they contained. Tuesday, June 3rd, the governor took possession of the country. The next day he sent Gallegos to look for some people, town, or house in the direction of the setting sun, and on this occasion they met Juan Ortiz. On Friday, June 20th, Gallegos was sent to Orriparagi with 80 cavalry and 100 footmen. And he also sent on the same day Anaasco in the ships' boats by the seacoast, with a number of footmen, to disperse, if necessary, a rumored assembly of Indians, and with whom upon their arrival they had a skirmish on an island.

The army left the town and port of Spiritu Sancto Tuesday, July 15th, 1539, and slept the same day at the river of Mocoço, and built two bridges to cross the river. The next day they came to the Laguna of Conejo, which they called from a rabbit that had started up in the camp and stampeded their horses. After recovering their horses, they reached on the next day the Lake of San Johan, and the next day, under a scorching sun, came to a savanna. On the next day they came to the cabin of Guaçoco, where they got some green corn. The next day, early, they came to Luca, a pretty good town, and here Gallegos' forces came up, and the governor sent a messenger to Urriparacoxi; but no reply came. On Wednesday, July 23rd, the governor and army left, and came to Viçela, and went to sleep beyond. On Wednesday they slept at another pueblo, called Tocaste,<sup>3</sup> which was on an island in a great lake. The same day the governor, with 26 cavalry, went ahead on the road to Ocale, and ordered 30 cavalry to follow, and sent Ranjel back for them. The next day, Friday, the camp was moved on the track of the governor, but word was received to turn back to the camp again. The next day, Saturday, the

governor found the roads broader, and a good lay of the land, and sent word for the army to move up in his rear, and for 30 more cavalry, who were sent under Tovar, as ordered. The governor, with his 26 cavalry, arrived on the day of Sancta Ana (July 26) at the river or marsh of Cale,<sup>4</sup> which was broad and had a swift current, and crossed it with much difficulty. Nuno de Tovar and his 30 cavalry crossed it the following Sunday; the governor and his people having arrived at the first town in the province of Ocale, which was called Uqueten, and they had not arrived in a bad time, because they found an abundance of provisions, and sent some back to those behind at the swamp. The following Tuesday all the rest of the army came up to where the governor was, and they all went to Ocale, a town with a good supply of maize; then for subsistence to Acuera.<sup>5</sup>

On August 11th the governor left Ocale, with 50 cavalry and 100 footmen, to hunt for Apalache, which was said to be very populous. Moscoso remained behind with the rest, to see how the advance force would succeed. They arrived that day at Itaraholata, a good town with plenty of maize. The next day they came to Potano, and the next day, Wednesday, to Utinamo-chara, and then to the town of Mala Paz (ill place), so named by them. The next day they came to a pretty good town,<sup>6</sup> where there were plenty of provisions. Then they came to a river they called Rio de las Discordias (river of the disputes), and the next day made a pine bridge, as many trees grew there, and the day after, Sunday, crossed the river with as much or more trouble than that of Ocale. On the next day, Monday, they arrived at Aguacaleyquen.<sup>7</sup> On August 22nd they met many Indians and a well-provisioned country, so the governor sent word to Moscoso to bring up the army from Ocale; and it arrived on September 4th. On September 9th they left Aguacaleyquen and made a pine bridge with which to cross the river of Aguacaleyquen, and slept at a small town. On the next day, Friday (sic), they came to Uriutina,<sup>8</sup> a large town of cheerful appearance and well provisioned. There was in the center of it a great lodge, in the center of which was a large court. On Friday, September 12th, they arrived at a town which they called Muchas Aguas, because it rained so that they could not stir out on Saturday or Sunday, and were only able to leave the following Monday, the 15th. After leaving Aguacaleyquen a messenger came from Uçachile. They left Muchas Aguas, Monday, the 15th, and came across a bad swamp, and all the roads were very bad; and they slept at Napituca,<sup>9</sup> which was a cheerful town, on a pleasant site, and well provisioned. (Next comes the battle by the savanna and the two lakes.)

Tuesday, September 23rd, they left Napituca, and arrived at the Rio de los Venados (deer river), so called by them. To cross it they made a bridge of three great pines in length, and four in breadth, and crossed on the 25th. The same day they passed two small towns and one very big one called Apalu, and

arrived to sleep at Uçachile. They left there the following Monday, the 29th, and, having passed through a great forest, slept in a pine grove. The next day, Tuesday, September 30th, they came to Agile, subject to Apalache. Wednesday, October 1st, they left there, and came to the swamp or river of Ivitachuco, and made a bridge, and finished crossing over it on the following Friday at noon, and slept at Ivitachuco, which they found on fire. Sunday, October 5th, they came to Calahuchi,<sup>10</sup> and on the next day to Iviahica.<sup>11</sup> It was eight leagues to the place where Narvaez had embarked.<sup>12</sup> The province of Apalache is very fertile and abounds in supplies,—maize, French beans, pumpkins, divers fruits, plenty of deer, a great variety of birds, and near the sea there are plenty of good fish. This is a fine country in spite of its swamps, which, however, are hard because they lie over sand.

The departure from Iviahica, to go to Capachequi, took place Wednesday, March 3rd, 1540, and they camped at the river of Guaçuca,<sup>13</sup> and from thence to the river of Capachequi,<sup>14</sup> which they reached early next Friday. They made a pirogue to cross it, using chains. On Wednesday, March 9th (sic), they had all crossed over, and set out, and slept in a pine grove that night. The next day, Thursday, they reached the first town in the province of Capachequi, which was well supplied with food, and had many groves around it. There was another town beyond it. They struck a bad swamp close to the town, with a strong current, and before reaching it they had to pass through a great stretch of water, the men clinging to the girths and pummels of the saddles; but they could not succeed that day in getting all the force over. On March 17th they left Capachequi, and slept at the Fuente Blanca (white fountain).<sup>15</sup> This is a very handsome spring, and has a very copious flow of good water, with fish in it. The following day they slept at the river of Toa.<sup>16</sup> They twice made a bridge of pines, but the strong current carried them away, and they made another one in a peculiar form which Nuno de Tova advised. It served the purpose well, and the whole camp had crossed over by Monday, and they went and slept in a pine grove, though badly scattered and disorganized. On Tuesday, early, they arrived at Toa, a large town. Wednesday night of the 23rd and 24th the governor left Toa secretly, and travelled all the next day till nighttime, when they reached a bad crossing of deep water; but, notwithstanding it was night, they got safely over, having travelled that day twelve leagues from Toa. Next day, which was Holy Thursday (the 26th) of the supper, in the morning, they reached the territory of Chisi, and crossed the arm<sup>17</sup> of a very broad and great river safely on foot, and quite a part by swimming, and came to a town which was situated on an island of the river, where they found people and got something to eat. They proceeded to other towns and had a bad time crossing a swamp of running water, where one of their men fell off a beam that crossed the current, and was drowned. That day



they arrived at a town when there came leading men, ambassadors from Ichisi. On Monday, March 29th, they left there for Ichisi. It rained so hard, and a little river swelled so much, that, if they had not crossed in a hurry, they would all have been lost. That day they came to a town of a cacique subject to Ichisi, which was a pretty good town and sufficiently provisioned. They rested there Tuesday, and on Wednesday, the last of March, the governor and his army came to the Rio Grande,<sup>18</sup> where they found many canoes, in which they crossed the river, and arrived at the town of the lord that was one-eyed, who supplied their wants. They stayed here Thursday, April 1st, and set up a cross on a hill of the town, and sermonized the natives. On Friday, April 2nd, they left, and slept in a field; and the next day they came to a nice river, where they found deserted cabins, and here messengers arrived from Altamaha, who took them to a town where they found plenty to eat. The next day they crossed the river easily in canoes. The cacique Camumo sent word that he was continually under arms, as it was the frontier of another cacique called Cofitachequi, his enemy, and he could not come without his arms. This Camumo and the others were subjects of a great cacique called Ocute. Then word was sent to Ocute, who came there to see De Soto. The governor placed a cross in Altamaha, and was well received. The next day, Thursday, April 8th, the governor and his army left there, and slept at some huts; and the next day, Friday, they arrived at the town of Ocute, where they set up another cross. Monday, April 11th, they left Ocute, and came to Cofaqui. Here the cacique Tatofa and another leading man came to see them. On Thursday, the 15th, Perico, the guide, went crazy, so Tatofa gave them guides to go to Cofitachequi, through an unpeopled country of nine or ten days' travel. On Friday, the 16th, they slept at a small river road in Cofitachiqui, and the next day they crossed a very great river, which was divided into two arms, but broader than an arquebus shot, had many bad fords, and a very strong current, so that no cavalryman dared to take up a foot soldier behind him. They got over, and slept in the woods beyond it. The next day, Sunday, they again halted in the woods, and the next day, Monday, they travelled without any track, and crossed another very great river, and on Tuesday slept by a rivulet, and on Wednesday they came to another very great river,<sup>19</sup> which was divided into two arms, difficult to enter and worse to get out. They crossed this river with very much trouble, and arrived at some camping places of fishermen or hunters. In perplexity as to their best way now, on Friday, April 23rd, the governor sent out to search for roads or towns in this way: Gallegos was sent along the river in the direction of the northwest; Anasco along the river to the southeast. Each party took with them ten horses and ten days' provisions. On Saturday he sent Lobillo, with four horses, to the north, with rations, also, for ten days. On Sunday, April 25th, Anasco came and said he

had found a town and provisions. Having left written instructions, on Monday, April 26th, they all left for the ford and provisions that Anasco reported he had found. On the same day the governor, with a few cavalry, arrived at the town, which was called Hymahi, and the army stayed two leagues behind; the horses being worn out. On the next day the main body came up. On account of all the good things they found there they called this town Socorro. On the next day Captain Romo came in and brought some natives, but no other news. On the next day, Wednesday, Gallegos came with some more natives. On the next day Lobillo returned with news of roads. On Friday, the last of April, the governor, with some of the best rested horses and the Indian woman guide Gallegos had brought, set out for Coftachequi,<sup>20</sup> and slept near a wide and deep river. He sent Anasco to hunt canoes and interpreters to cross with; and the next day the governor came to the passage opposite the town where the lady caciqua lived, and they crossed over in the canoes. Monday, May 3rd, all the rest of the force came up, and part crossed over that day, and finished the next day,—Tuesday.

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#### NOTES ON THE ITINERARY.

<sup>1</sup> The landing place is generally accepted as being at Tampa Bay, but the depth and numerous inlets as described do not conform thereto. Ponce de Leon Bay is now believed to have been in Monroe county, on the west side of the southern point of Florida, and "ten leagues west" (really north) would make the location among the Thousand Islands. Probably the real location was Charlotte Harbor; they having entered it from the south end of San Carlos Bay. Miakka river (Macaco on the old maps) enters the north-west arm of the harbor, and is probably the river of Mocoço. It will also be noted that twenty or twenty-five leagues of swamps and rivers were traversed before reaching the higher country, which would be in the southern part of Polk county.

<sup>2</sup> There seem to have been two towns on this bay,—one on the point near the sea, and the other some four leagues above, which the Inca calls Hirrihigua. The caciques in this vicinity, and not named in the other narratives, are Neguarete, Capaloey, and Orriygua.

<sup>3</sup> Tocaste was on the island in the marsh at the first crossing of the "great marsh," so graphically described by the Inca.

<sup>4</sup> The river or marsh of Cale is the Inca's second crossing of the great marsh.

<sup>5</sup> Evidently only a minor expedition was sent, as the army remained at Ocale, from which point the governor advanced towards Apalache.

<sup>6</sup> This was Cholupaha, according to the Knight of Elvas.

<sup>7</sup> Caliquen, of the Elvas.

<sup>8</sup> Ochile, according to the Inca.

<sup>9</sup> The Inca states that the battle of Napituca occurred at Vitachuco.

<sup>10</sup> This name is also spelled Calahuci, and is the town of Uzela, of the Elvas; and the modern name may be Chattahooche.

<sup>11</sup> The Creek tradition is that the camp (or town) was at a place known to them as "Spanna Wakka," which was near Ochese, on the Apalachicola river. Their name for De Soto was "Tustanugga Hutke," meaning white warrior.

<sup>12</sup> The bay where Narvaez built his brigantines was known to the Spaniards as Bahia de Caballos, or Horse Bay, from the remains of the horses there slaughtered for food. The modern name on the maps is Bay Ocklockonee. According to Elvas it was eight leagues from Iviahica (or Apalache) to Ochete, the Aute of the Inca.

<sup>13</sup> Probably the Ocklockonee river.

<sup>14</sup> This was probably the Flint river.

<sup>15</sup> Blue Spring, four miles south of Albany, Dougherty county, is the only one in southern Georgia that corresponds to the White Fountain, so far as I can learn.

<sup>16</sup> This may have been the second crossing of the Flint river, for it is a well-known fact that different parts of a river sometimes have different names given them by the Indians.

<sup>17</sup> The Ocmulgee river, the Creek name for which is "Ochisi-hatchi," Biedma says: "Here we found a river that had a course, not southerly, like the rest we had passed, but eastwardly to the sea."

<sup>18</sup> The Rio Grande is probably the Altamaha, or it may have been the Ocmulgee or the Oconee, near the junction of the two streams. The Elvas gives the former name as Altamaca, and Biedma and the Inca as Altapaha. According to the Elvas they went up this river.

<sup>19</sup> Between Altamaha and Tatofa no river was crossed, but after leaving the latter place they crossed three great rivers and stopped on the east bank of the last one. I take the two great rivers to be the Cannouchee and Ogeechee, and the third the Savannah.

<sup>20</sup> Evidently Cofitachequi is located too far up the Savannah river by the commentators, although it could be placed well up, provided the army turned northward after crossing the Altamaha (Rio Grande), and then turned eastward from the Oconee. It is also doubtful on which side of the river the town was on, for, if they crossed at Hymahi (which seems evident from the wording of the narrative), it would have been on the eastern side, otherwise on the western side. The Creek tradition is that the Spaniards did not go east of the Oconee river.

[To be Continued.]

*St. Paul, Minn., September, 1900.*



## CIVILIZATION AND THE ETHICAL STANDARD.

BY CHARLES W. SUPER.

**W**HEN one looks upon the remains of ancient civilization as they lie scattered over the plains of Mesopotamia, or along the Nile, and tries to interpret their meaning, he can scarcely prevent his mind from harboring melancholy reflections. No wonder that Professor Huxley felt constrained to say, "I know no study which is so unutterably saddening as the evolution of humanity, as set forth in the annals of history. Out of the darkness of prehistoric ages man emerges with the marks of his lowly origin upon him. He is a brute, only more intelligent than other brutes; a blind prey to impulses, which so often lead him to destruction; a victim to endless illusions which make his mental existence a terror and a burden and fill his physical life with barren toil and battle. He attains a certain degree of comfort and develops a more or less workable theory of life in such favorable situations as the plains of Mesopotamia, or of Egypt, and then for thousands of years struggles with varying fortunes, attended by infinite wickedness, bloodshed, and misery, to maintain himself at this point against the greed and ambition of his fellow-men."

Mephistophiles in *Faust* is less compassionate, and adopts a more flippant tone, but his verdict is not more favorable:

"Better he might have fared, poor wight,  
Had'st thou not given him a gleam of heavenly light,  
Reason he names it, and doth so  
Use it, than brutes more brutish still to grow.  
With deference to your grace, he seems to me  
Like any long legged grasshopper to be  
Which ever flies, and flying springs,  
And in the grass its ancient ditty sings.  
Would he but always in the grass repose!  
In every heap of dung he thrusts his nose."

In striking contrast to this sentiment are the words of Hamlet: "What a piece of work is man! how noble in reason! how infinite in faculties! in form and moving, how expressive and admirable! in action, how like an angel! in apprehension, how like a god! the beauty of the world! the paragon of animals!"

With all his shortcomings; in spite of his fearful lapses from a standard of virtuous living; notwithstanding his flippant disregard of what is highest and holiest, I can not but hold man as an inherently ethical being. In this he differs from all other creatures. The mere fact of his living in communities does not make him what he is not by nature. Communal life may strengthen his moral qualities; it can not engender them. Of the sub-animals, many exhibit a relatively high degree of intelli-









