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## Conquistadors at Saltville in 1567? A Review of the Archeological and Documentary Evidence\*

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### Preamble

The town of Saltville and the chemical plant that began operating there in 1895 occupy an important place in the history of the United States chemical industry<sup>2</sup> and especially in the history of the electrochemical industry.<sup>3</sup> The closure of the plant in 1970, after 75 years of operation, came in the wake of the United States' first Earth Day celebration<sup>4</sup> and occurred in the spotlight of national attention when Saltville became inappropriately notorious as the-town-that-ecology-shut-down,<sup>5</sup> with contemporaneous news stories appearing in *Life* magazine,<sup>6</sup> the *Washington Post*,<sup>7</sup> and other national media outlets. The story of the closing of the Saltville plant and the retraining of its former employees was later the subject of a book.<sup>8</sup>

The Saltville Foundation is a nonprofit organization founded in the wake of the collapse of the chemical industry in the town and sponsor of Saltville's Museum of the Middle Appalachians. The Foundation employs the slogan "Through all time ... Saltville, Virginia: The Most Historic Spot in America." To justify this hometown hyperbole, one can cite the indisputable presence of pre-Clovis Americans in town — in the form of fossil evidence of great importance to the story of the peopling of the Americas<sup>9</sup>; the involvement of Saltville residents in writing the Fincastle Resolutions<sup>10</sup>; a preamble, according to some authorities,<sup>11</sup> to the writing of the United States Declaration of Independence<sup>12</sup>; Saltville as the home of Revolutionary War heroes<sup>13</sup>; Saltville as an important Civil War site — "The Salt Capital of the Confederacy" — as the sign proclaims on the way into town from Chilhowie, to which topic an entire book has been devoted<sup>14</sup>; the afore-

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mentioned founding of the United States electrochemical industry; as well as, amazingly, the founding of the Chinese chemical industry<sup>15</sup>; and, somewhat anticlimactically, Saltville as the final resting place of the engineer who was “scalded to death by the steam” in the train crash immortalized in the song *The Wreck of the Old '97*, creating what became the first million-copy-selling phonograph record in the history of the United States.<sup>16</sup>

To this remarkable string of events (and our list is not exhaustive), we may add the opinion of local geologist Charles Bartlett: “Saltville can probably claim to be the most fascinating two square miles in Virginia, or possibly the eastern United States, owing to its geology, paleontology, history, and past industrial production.”<sup>17</sup>

The actual resource of Saltville is brine — a solution of salt in water. Boiling brine to drive off its water is a traditional way of making dry salt that has been practiced around the world for thousands of years. The chief alternative to boiling, particularly in warm, dry climates, is to allow for the brine’s natural evaporation. Of the many descriptions of salt-making by evaporation or boiling, one of particular relevance to the present story describes salt-making in the vicinity of Cape Fear, North Carolina, and incidentally describes the salt-making activities of the state of North Carolina at Saltville during the Civil War.<sup>18</sup> After thirty years of idleness since the chemical plant closing, Saltville has once again started commercial salt production as a side-effect of the use of its brine fields for natural gas storage.<sup>19</sup>

The author, aware of the many aspects of Saltville history described above, was surprised when he found an obscure Google hit that linked Saltville to sixteenth-century Spanish expeditions into the interior southeastern United States.<sup>20</sup> Following up that lead produced a fascinating story and, for him, an entirely new aspect of Saltville’s history: Spanish contact in the mid-sixteenth century, which raises the tantalizing possibility that the history of European development in Virginia begins not in the east of the state, but in the west. That story is told here.

## Introduction

Writing in 1946, the celebrated American anthropologist John R. Swanton said: “... there was a Spanish period in the histories of Florida,<sup>21</sup> Georgia, South Carolina, and even North Carolina, and we

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have to add a Spanish period in the history of Virginia, though it is brief and tragic.”<sup>22</sup> Swanton was referring to the Jesuit mission on the Chesapeake that was wiped out in 1571; but that is only part of the story. It is the purpose of this article to speculate about the first European contact with Native Americans<sup>23</sup> in Virginia, and about the presence of conquistadors at modern-day Saltville<sup>24</sup> in 1567. The author will argue that the first Virginian<sup>25</sup> to whom we can give a name was a Native-American woman from Saltville. Evidence for these speculations and assertions will come from two sources: Spanish archival documents and modern archeology.

Within the past decade, significant advances have been reported both by historians in the Spanish archives and by archeologists in the field. Taken together, those advances strongly imply that the neighborhood of modern-day Saltville was visited by members of the Juan Pardo expedition that traveled through nearby North Carolina in 1567.

This claim is based on a careful and comprehensive reading of the pertinent literature, including at least one English translation of *all* of the primary Spanish documents and relevant professional archeological papers. Thus, whatever the reader may conclude about the merits of the conclusions, this paper brings together for the first time the key references bearing on the question of early Spanish contact in Virginia west of the Blue Ridge.

The town of Saltville has had a long association with Smithfield and with the Patton and Preston families. The very earliest of surveys of land in the Saltville vicinity, in the years 1746 and 1747, are recorded in the name of James Patton.<sup>26</sup> In 1793 the 16-year-old Sarah Buchanan Campbell of present-day Smyth County married Francis Preston of the Smithfield plantation. He then moved to Saltville from Blacksburg and took over the salt-making operations, later renaming them the Preston Salt Works. Members of the Preston family continued to be involved in the operation or ownership of the salt works until 1859.

### **Pre-contact Culture and Salt**

Although the natives of the region occupied by the present-day United States never achieved the glittering, empire status of the Aztecs of Mexico or the Incas of Peru, by the time of the European medieval period they had developed in the vast middle of the country —

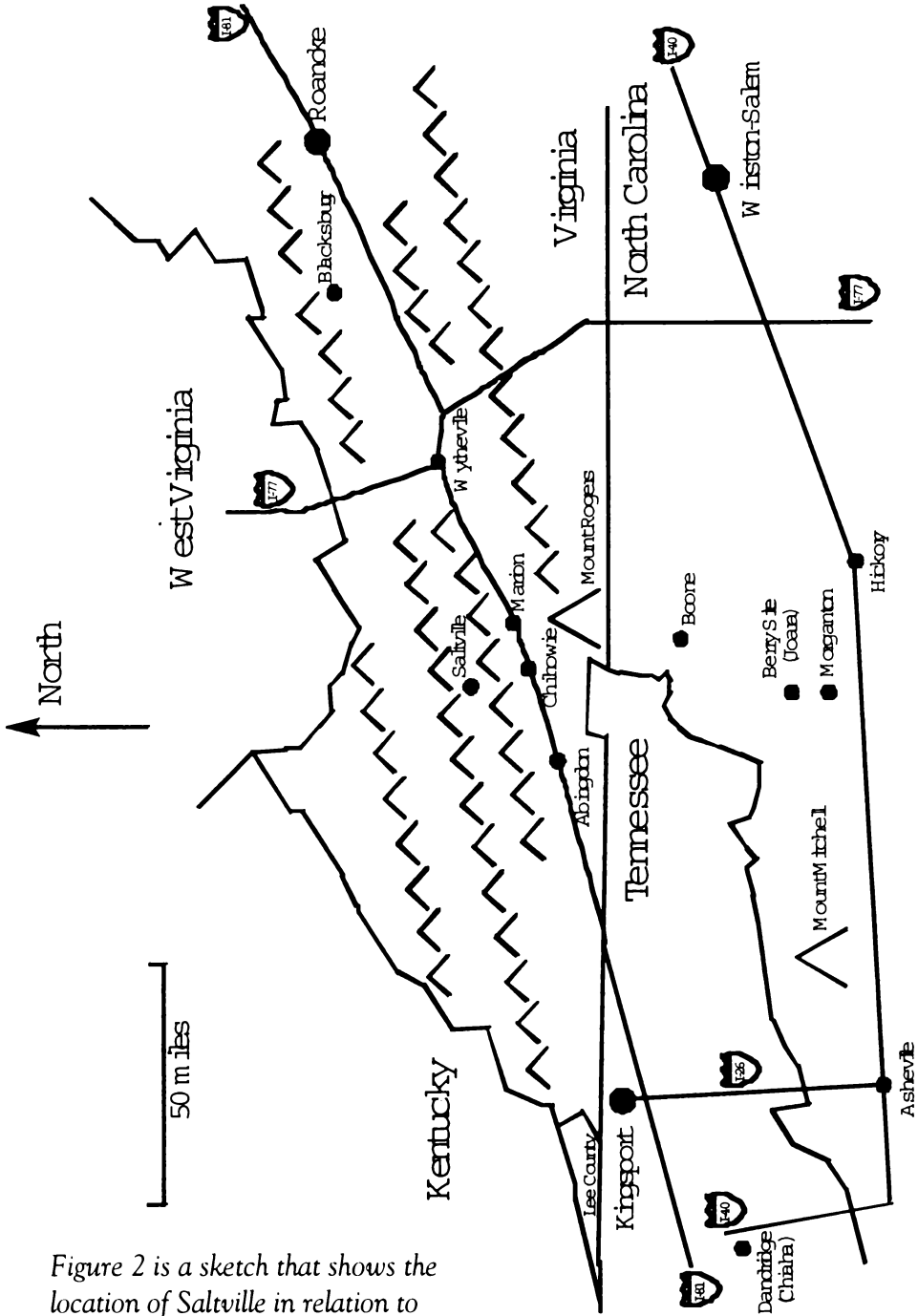


Figure 2 is a sketch that shows the location of Saltville in relation to modern interstate highways. The sketch also shows other nearby locations relevant to our story here.

the Mississippi River drainage region — diverse and flourishing cultures,<sup>27</sup> collectively called Mississippian, with long-range trade networks and impressive population centers focused on large mounds at locations such as Cahokia, Illinois, and Moundville, Alabama.<sup>28</sup> Saltville lies on a fork of the Holston River — in the Mississippi basin, but on the fringe of Mississippian culture. The archeologist Maureen Meyers recently labeled the Saltville region a “Mississippian edge community.”<sup>29</sup>

With southwestern Virginia being under the influence of the relatively advanced (though declining) Mississippian culture at the time we are considering, a curious inversion existed. During the last years before European contact, complex chiefdom-level society was already functioning and thriving in Virginia west of the Blue Ridge,<sup>30</sup> well before the formation of the Powhatan Confederacy in the eastern part of the state. This view differs from the commonly held post-contact view of Virginia’s development, that it began at Jamestown and was followed by an inexorable spread of culture and political influence from east to west.

The manner of salt production, distribution, and trading in the Mississippian economy has been described in detail using the example of a southern Illinois salt center by Muller.<sup>31</sup> Salt resources were prized in the southeastern United States, but they were widespread and available within a few days’ travel from any particular Mississippian community. This situation must have precluded any one salt source from gaining a monopoly. But within a regional sphere, each center did create a trading network, with wealth, as measured by many goods of high status, becoming a characteristic of such centers — and making them archeologically identifiable.

The political and social organization of Native-American societies in the late prehistoric period was based on *chiefdoms*<sup>32</sup> or *polities*.<sup>33</sup> Chiefdoms differ from state-level societies in that they lack centralized bureaucracies, permanent militaries, and codes of law. However, the concept of a chiefdom is flexible and variable in character.<sup>34</sup> Immediately prior to European contact with the interior southeastern United States (the so-called late-prehistoric period), it has been estimated that the population of Virginia was about 50,000.<sup>35</sup> We have extensive knowledge of only one Virginia chiefdom, that of Powhatan, about which substantial records exist from the period of English con-

tact after the settlement of Jamestown in 1607.<sup>36</sup> The native chiefdom or tribe in western Virginia and extending across the present day border into western Tennessee was perhaps the Chisca,<sup>37</sup> also sometimes known as the Yuchi or Euchee. A book about the Native Americans of Tennessee provides a good description of the aboriginal Chisca<sup>38</sup> and tells that a single tribe had many names, often as many names as it had neighbors.

Definitive information about the pre-contact Native Americans of eastern Tennessee and western Virginia is lacking. Soon after European contact these natives relocated hundreds of miles southward from their pre-contact homeland.<sup>39</sup> Chester DePratter identifies the natives of this general region as Chiaha,<sup>40</sup> a group that also moved far to the south in the wake of contact.<sup>41</sup> Ethridge has recently summed up the situation: "...the Chiaha (Chehaw) moved from the Appalachian mountains of western North Carolina and affiliated themselves with the Hitchiti towns, and the Yuchi, probably also migrating from the Appalachians, eventually joined the Ocmulgee River settlements."<sup>42</sup>

Perhaps the best way for a modern reader to gain some sense of the life of a pre-contact Native American from southwestern Virginia is through a recently published work of fiction.<sup>43</sup> It was written by a lifelong student of the anthropology of the Native Americans of the southeast, with respect for the known facts, to fill by imagination and analogy the wide gap between the archeological<sup>44</sup> and historical records.<sup>45</sup> The reasons for the gap are well known: The Native Americans themselves left no written records, and the early Spanish expeditions that passed through the southeastern United States were engaged in a search for gold, empire, and a route to the Spanish dominions in Mexico. The chroniclers of these expeditions only incidentally recorded information about native life and customs. Modern archeology reveals something of the material culture of the late prehistoric Native-American societies but allows only broad inferences to be drawn about their political and social arrangements.

One reason for our paucity of knowledge about social conditions during the late prehistoric period is that Native-American society changed rapidly after contact with European expeditions and without leaving a historical record.<sup>46</sup> A popular account describes early contacts between Native-American and Spanish cultures in the south-

eastern United States, complete with graphic illustrations<sup>47</sup>; it is not a pretty story and may leave the modern reader feeling uncomfortable. The transit of the large and intrusive 1540 De Soto expedition, whose contact with any one Native-American group was inevitably brief and usually hostile,<sup>48</sup> was followed by a period about which we know little. Following European contact, aboriginal American societies were devastated by disease.<sup>49</sup> These dark ages have been called the “the forgotten centuries” by Hudson and Tesser.<sup>50</sup> Amy Bushnell Turner has written: “The consensus is that Europeans did not trigger the decline of the Mississippian [Native-American] tradition, which had passed its apogee, but that the new diseases that they and their animals introduced probably reduced the aboriginal population [of the southeast in the wake of the De Soto *entrada*<sup>51</sup>] to between a twentieth and a twenty-fifth of its size at contact.”<sup>52</sup> In western Virginia, the changes in Native-American culture were just one small part of the grand, global alterations that flowed from this so-called Columbian exchange.<sup>53</sup>

### The Archeology of Chilhowie-Saltville Region

In general, studies of the archeology of Southwest Virginia have not been highly developed compared either with those of eastern Virginia or of many Mississippian centers. The most extensive survey of the archeology of the region was by Holland.<sup>54</sup> Modern-day Smyth County and the adjacent Washington County, the location of the Chilhowie-Saltville region, is a concentration center among the twenty counties surveyed, and has been a particularly rich source of Native-American artifacts (see the map on page 2 of Holland’s survey). A 1992 booklet entitled “Archeology in Southwestern Virginia” provides a more popular view of the region’s material culture.<sup>55</sup>

The earliest professional<sup>56</sup> report of archeology at Saltville seems to date from 1940.<sup>57</sup> According to this report, quantities of pottery, stone, bone, horn, and shell artifacts, as well as numerous human skeletons, had been excavated in Saltville by nonprofessionals. Local informants recounted that several hundred Native-American graves had been opened before 1940 but that their sites had been largely covered over by modern dwellings. A follow-up reconnaissance in 1974 depressingly concluded that further excavations at Saltville to advance

Native-American studies would not be worthwhile because of the improbability of finding a site undisturbed by either industrial activity or the efforts of local collectors.<sup>58</sup> Despite these disturbances, Saltville material is sufficiently important that a particular category of shell gorgets with distinctly stylistic engraved decorations (known from private collections) has come to be called the “Saltville style.”<sup>59</sup> Gorgets in the Native-American context are disc-shaped ornaments hung on the chest from a cord around the wearer’s neck. The author has been told that the collection of Native-American shell necklaces now housed in the Museum of the Middle Appalachians may be the best such collection anywhere.<sup>60</sup> Unfortunately, these artifacts were bequeathed by a private collector who hired diggers to procure them — so their scientific documentation is poor or nonexistent.

About a decade ago, Virginia archeologists Barfield and Barber<sup>61</sup> speculated that the production of salt at Saltville created a trading center at nearby Chilhowie and that the Chilhowie-Saltville area of modern-day Smyth County constituted a “a salt powered chiefdom.” Two of the several archeological points of evidence they cited for such a chiefdom were the defensive nature of the settlement patterns of the Late Woodland sites around Saltville and the clustering of conch shell gorgets in the region. The presence of the gorgets suggests regional wealth and trade. Sarvis,<sup>62</sup> writing in *The Smithfield Review*, described the Saltville Valley as an important Native-American hunting ground and added further weight to the idea that it was a place where salt was manufactured for trade. Profits from this salt trade gave Saltville natives wealth and regional influence.

Stimulated by historians using Spanish archival evidence who were plotting *entrada* routes on the map of North Carolina, archeologists around 1990 began to look for evidence of a sixteenth-century Spanish presence in Burke County. When evidence was found, proof of the presence of Spaniards, in turn, stimulated further interest in the Spanish archives. Thus, recent years have seen a highly productive interplay between the exploitation of archival and archeological evidence. Robin Beck<sup>63</sup> was the first to publicly link the physical evidence from the Berry site (where he had been excavating) to the Spanish records.<sup>64</sup> Beck’s synthesis was developed under the “unflagging guidance” of Charles Hudson, a distinguished, longtime ethnohistorical specialist in the routes of Spanish *entradas* through the southeast.<sup>65</sup>



One consequence of the interplay of evidentiary sources was to direct attention northward to Saltville because of its role in salt trading and as the possible target of a Spanish attack described in the archival documents.

Recent follow-ups to Beck's synthesis collectively make the case for salt trading from a chiefdom center in the Chilhowie-Saltville region in several compass directions and across a wide geographic area. Sites at which gorgets have been found have been cataloged, and travel ways into and within the region have been studied to shed insight on the salt trade<sup>66</sup>; the relationship between Saltville the production center and Chilhowie the distribution center and their positions in relation to known mounds and chiefdom administrative centers has been analyzed<sup>67</sup>; and the connection between the salt trade and the copper trade has been examined.<sup>68</sup>

Thus, our knowledge of the archeological context of Saltville has advanced rapidly in recent years. But can we know more? It seems highly unlikely that direct archeological evidence of a Spanish presence in Saltville will ever be found. Together, the impaired nature of the Saltville environs, and what would have been very brief sixteenth-century encounters between Spaniards and Native Americans, weigh heavily against detecting a Spanish presence — but anything is possible; and those of us who live west of the Blue Ridge can hope. But although there is no trace of evidence for historic Spanish contact in Southwest Virginia, there is unimpeachable evidence just 70 miles to the south at the Berry site. It is to the evidence from Berry that we now turn.

### **The Archeological Evidence for the Spanish at the Berry Site**

The Berry site is located in Burke County about eight miles north of modern-day Morganton, North Carolina. It is a large (nearly 12-acre) Mississippian site that dates to what is called the Burke phase (fifteenth and sixteenth centuries AD). Archeological investigations began at the Berry site in 1986 and continue to the present. Much of the site is well preserved, despite more than a hundred years of plowing. At present, it is the only site in the interior Southeast where it is

possible to study directly the interaction between sixteenth-century natives and the soldiers of the invading Spanish armies.

The most detailed report of the archeology of Burke County in general is found in Robin Beck's thesis,<sup>69</sup> and the most detailed report of the Berry site in particular is found in David Moore's thesis.<sup>70</sup> Their updated results are given in a recent joint paper.<sup>71</sup> They have now identified a population center in the upper Catawba Valley region. This center, which lies due south of Saltville, undoubtedly traded for salt with Native Americans from the Saltville vicinity along a well documented, historic Native-American mountain trail running past the Mount Rogers area into the upper Catawba Valley.<sup>72</sup> (On Figure 2 the trail connects from Saltville to Chilhowie, south through the easternmost edge of Tennessee, and on to the population center at Berry.)

The evidence for a sixteenth-century Spanish presence at Berry is impressive. Spanish items found during archeological investigations include sherds from the rim of a small drug jar, regarded as the most diagnostic Spanish artifact recovered from the site; sherds associated with glazed olive jars, strongly associated with Spanish ware; and a wrought-iron nail with a characteristic sixteenth-century Spanish form. These artifacts and others at the site form a domestic-use assemblage (not merely a collection of items accumulated via trading) that clearly identifies a lengthy Spanish presence at the site. The assemblage is fully consistent with the small garrison left by Juan Pardo at Joara, called Fort San Juan in the archival evidence, and is so interpreted by the excavators.<sup>73</sup> Juan Pardo's expedition will be described in the following section.

### **Accounts of Spanish *Entradas* into *La Florida***

The purpose of this section is to describe briefly the history of *La Florida* and the Spanish colonial period of history in order to provide a context for the documentary evidence that follows. Then to summarize the documents themselves.

*La Florida* encompasses the entire southeastern United States, including the modern state of Florida and all the country south and east of a giant arc sweeping from Philadelphia through Dayton, Ohio, and into the Gulf of Mexico west of the Mississippi River near Lake Charles, Louisiana. An eminently readable popular account of early

Spanish contacts with *La Florida*, complete with imaginative, but fictitious, color illustrations, has been provided by Judge.<sup>74</sup> His account, which we can now update, derives from many of the same documents to which we will refer and serves as a useful, readily accessible introduction to early Spanish contacts with Virginia. Judge's account is noteworthy in that he gives more-or-less equal time to events both in eastern and western Virginia.

The earliest of all European contacts with Virginia must surely have occurred along its eastern coastal margin. If the author may be permitted to pass over such navigators as John Cabot, Americus Vespucci, Giovanni da Verrazano, Pedro de Quejo, and their ilk (who may or may not have coasted near Virginia), the first satisfactorily recorded contact with natives of the Chesapeake Bay region seems to have been around 1560.<sup>75</sup>

Within forty years of the discovery of the New World, the Spanish had found and conquered two rich and mighty inland empires: Mexico in 1519–1521 and Peru in 1531–1535. The present territory of the United States remained unexplored, and it beckoned as the possible location of yet another rich inland empire. Thus it was that in 1539 a large expedition army landed in the southeastern United States. The expedition's commander was Hernando de Soto, an experienced conquistador, who as a former leader in the conquest of Peru had become an extremely rich man and lived like a grandee after he returned to Spain in 1536.<sup>76</sup> But De Soto must have yearned for personal empire. So he petitioned the king and received a royal license for *La Florida*. His expedition was mounted from Spain, staged at Cuba, and landed on American soil near modern-day Tampa. The expedition lasted from 1539 to 1543, covered twice as much distance as Lewis and Clark, and was not completed by De Soto himself because he died — on the banks of the Mississippi — in May 1542. Its route is sketched in Figure 3.

The actual evidence for the Spanish *entradas* and the question of Spanish contact with Saltville is found in handwritten documents in the Spanish colonial archives. With regard to the question of contact at Saltville, this body of evidence is minuscule and well-defined. In comparison to the archeological situation, where far too few experts are available to pursue the enormous amount of potential evidence, the situation with the archival evidence is reversed.<sup>77</sup>

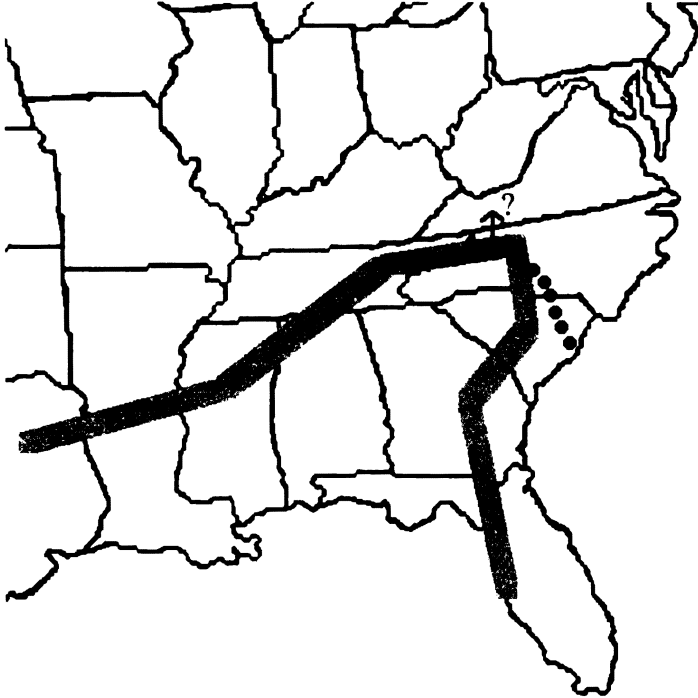


Figure 3. Approximate routes of the De Soto (gray line) and the Pardo (dotted line) entradas.

Reading and translating the spidery penmanship of archival documents is the academic specialization called Colonial Spanish Paleography. A detailed description of this arcane endeavor lies beyond our scope here, but the interested reader will find a fascinating account of it in an article by John Worth.<sup>78</sup> Worth has also created an interesting web page, containing a “primer” on the subject that shows an example of a Spanish colonial manuscript.<sup>79</sup> Even when a scholarly transcription exists in which the handwritten Spanish has been transformed to typescript, the job of translation remains difficult.<sup>80</sup>

Our knowledge of the De Soto *entrada* comes from four primary documents (Table 1), which, along with much collateral information, are described, translated, and annotated in the collective work of modern scholarship called the *De Soto Chronicles*.<sup>81</sup>

Because of the historical importance of the De Soto expedition, it has generated an enormous secondary literature. The official report on the expedition was authored for the United States government by John R. Swanton in 1939 following an official commission of inquiry

instituted by President Roosevelt. Swanton's report was published as a House of Representatives document. Reissued in 1985 with an updated introduction by Jeffrey P. Brain, the report summarizes much of the scholarly work on the De Soto saga.<sup>82</sup> Subsequently, Charles Hudson published a detailed study and map of his long-term effort to reconstruct De Soto's route.<sup>83</sup> Hudson's work on De Soto<sup>84</sup> and his similar efforts to reconstruct the later *entrada* of Juan Pardo<sup>85</sup> bear directly on the question of Spanish contact with Saltville. Useful ac-

**Table 1. Translated Primary Documents in the *De Soto Chronicles*.\***

Author/Description/(Published)	†	Translator	Volume/Length
<i>Account of the Gentleman of Elvas</i> Written in Portuguese by an anonymous individual who accompanied De Soto. (1557)	ELV	Translated and edited by James A. Robertson (1933)	Volume 1 205 pages
<i>Account of Rodrigo Rangel.</i> Written as a contemporaneous diary by the private secretary who accompanied De Soto. (1851)	ROD	Translated and edited by John E. Worth (1993)	Volume 1 56 pages
<i>Relation of the Island of Florida...1539.</i> Written by Luys Hernández de Biedma, who accompanied the De Soto expedition as a factor of the crown. (1544)	—	Translated and edited by John E. Worth (1993)	Volume 1 27 pages
<i>History of La Florida.</i> Written by the Inca, Garcilaso de la Vega, who was the son of a Peruvian conquistador and an Incan princess. He grew up in Cuzco, Peru, and moved to Spain aged 20, never to return. His primary source was Gonzalo Silvestre who journeyed with De Soto. (1605)	INC	Translated by Charmion Shelby (1935)	Volume 2 509 pages

\*Lawrence A. Clayton, Vernon James Knight, Jr., and Edward Moore, *The De Soto Chronicles: the Expedition of Hernando de Soto to North America in 1539-1543*. 2 vols. (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1993).

† Abbreviation used elsewhere here for reference.

counts of the De Soto expedition can also be found online, for example at a Florida history site.<sup>86</sup> Hudson's afterword in *Knights of Spain, Warriors of the Sun: Hernando De Soto and the South's Ancient Chiefdoms* is a recommended starting point for anyone interested in learning more about the De Soto "industry."

A quarter century after De Soto, in the years 1566–1568, the Spanish explorer Juan Pardo led two expeditions into the high country of western North Carolina from his base at Santa Elena (modern Parris Island) on the South Carolina coast.<sup>87</sup> The Pardo route is sketched in Figure 3. The expectation of a short route west was one motivation for the Pardo expedition. In modern terms it would be rather like expecting Mexico City to be in the vicinity of Knoxville, as shown in Figure 4. Another motivation for the Pardo expeditions was the continuing Spanish belief in a legendary inland kingdom of great wealth — the so-called land of Chicora.<sup>88</sup>

Two books describe the Pardo expeditions: the earlier one a creditable amateur effort (Hunneycutt and Blalock)<sup>90</sup> that includes translations of three archival documents first translated by Ketcham<sup>91</sup> and a later full professional treatment (Hudson)<sup>92</sup> that incorporates transcriptions and translations of the same three documents and four additional ones. The Domingo de Leon document recently discovered by John Worth in the General Archives of the Indies (AGI) in Seville completes the list of pre-1600 primary documents.<sup>93</sup> These sources are summarized in Table 2.

Another important group of documents relating to the Pardo expeditions dates from the year 1600 and takes the form of testimonies about the interior southeast. These documents are collectively titled *Enquiry made officially before Méndez de Canço, Governor of the Province of Florida, upon the situation of La Tama and its riches, and the English Settlement*. Governor De Canço was responding to an inquiry from the Spanish king regarding the state of the interior and the possible encroachment on Spanish territory by English from the north.<sup>94</sup> These documents are available in Spanish transcriptions by Serrano y Sanz<sup>95</sup> and as Spanish transcriptions and English translations from the Mary Letitia Ross archive.<sup>96</sup> The Mary Ross translations provided the background information for a paper describing the Pardo expedition that she wrote a couple of years later.<sup>97</sup> The conclusions and transmittal letter of the Canço inquiry, as well as some of the testimonies,

Table 2. Translated Primary Documents Relating to the Pardo Expeditions<sup>89</sup>

Author/Description/(Published)	†	Translator(s) (date)	Approximate length
<i>The Pardo Relation</i> . Report of two trips into the interior by Pardo. By Captain Juan Pardo, "written by himself." (1568?)	PAR	Ketcham (1954), Huneycutt (1983), Hoffman (1990)	Six pages
<i>The Martinez Relation</i> . "The story of the voyage and reconnaissance into the interior of Florida in 1566 by captain Juan Pardo." (11 July 1567)	MAR	Ketcham (1954), Huneycutt (1983), Hoffman (1990)	Two pages
<i>The 'Short' Bandera Relation</i> . An account of the land and villages through which Juan Pardo passed. (23 January 1569)	BRS	Ketcham (1954), Huneycutt (1983), Hoffman (1990)	Four pages
<i>The 'Long' Bandera Relation</i> . Notary Bandera accompanied Pardo on his second trip. (31 March 1569)	BRL	Hoffman (1990)	Forty-one pages
<i>List of persons receiving shoes</i> . Notarized document by Juan Pardo. (21 April 1568)	SHU	Hoffman (1990)	Three pages
<i>First list of munitions and supplies</i> . Notarized document by Juan Pardo. (12 June 1568)	—	Hoffman (1990)	Three pages
<i>Second list of munitions and supplies</i> . Notarized document by Juan Pardo. (13 June 1568)	—	Hoffman (1990)	Three pages
Letter of Domingo González de León to the King. (13 October 1584)	DDL	Worth (1994)	Six pages

Robert B. Ketcham, "Three Sixteenth Century Spanish Chronicles Relating to Georgia," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly*, 38 (1954) pp. 66-82.

C. D. Huneycutt and Roy Blalock, Jr., *The Pardo Expeditions 1566-1567*. (New London, N.C.: Gold Star Press, 1983).

Charles M. Hudson, *The Juan Pardo Expeditions: Exploration of the Carolinas and Tennessee, 1566-1568*. Documents transcribed, translated, and annotated by Paul E. Hoffman. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990).

John E. Worth, "The 1584 Domingo de Leon Account. Recollections of the Juan Pardo Expeditions" (manuscript on file, Fernbank Museum of Natural History, Atlanta, 1994).

† Abbreviation used elsewhere here for reference.

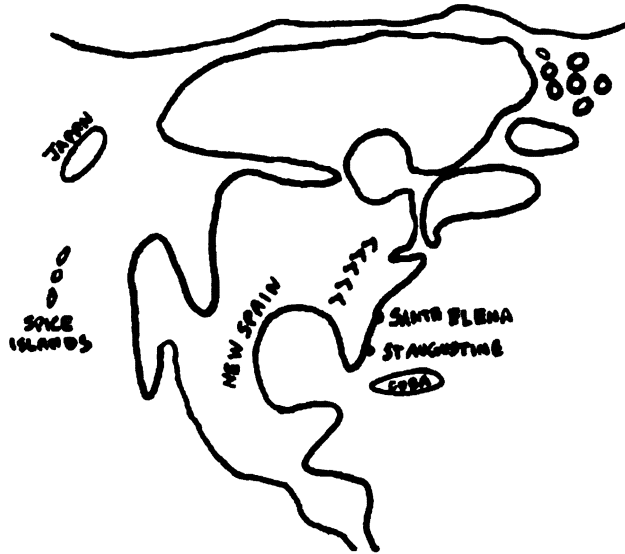


Figure 4. Pardo's expeditions from Santa Elena in 1566 and 1567 were predicated in part on a foreshortened concept of North American geography that put New Spain (Mexico) in the vicinity of modern-day Knoxville, Tennessee (after Lewis and Loomie).

were translated by Katherine Reding.<sup>98</sup> Table 3 is a summary of the primary documents related to the Canço inquiry.

## The Evidence of the Documents and Some Preliminary Conclusions

We come now to the evidence of the documents. We will mainly rely on the primary documents themselves but will also consider the previous conclusions of archeologists and ethnohistorians. We will use a few selected quotations to make our points here, but a broad reading of the documents (which space does not allow) provides a more secure platform. However, we will reproduce alternative translations of some points by different translators, because so doing gives the non-specialist an opportunity to better judge them. We begin with the evidence from the De Soto expedition.

Only about eight of the 797 pages of translations in the De Soto chronicles impinge on Saltville and those only marginally. De Soto



rested at Chiaha (Figure 2) for most of the month of June, 1540. For that time frame we have the following:

A cacique for a province called Acoste came there [Chiaha] to visit with the governor [De Soto].... He [the cacique] said that there was a province to the north called Chisca, and that there was a foundry for copper and other metal of that color ... However, the land was thinly populated as far

**Table 3. Translated Primary Documents Relating to the Canço Inquiry**

Author/Description/(Published)	†	Translator(s) (date)	Approximate length
<i>Excerpt of a letter from King Philip to the Governor of Florida.</i> The letter that instigated this inquiry. (1598)	KTC	Reding (1924) Ross (circa 1928)	One page
<i>The Letter of Gonzalo Mendez de Canzo to Philip II.</i> The conclusions and transmittal letter of this inquiry. (1600)	CTK	Reding (1924)	Seven pages
<i>Testimony of the soldier Gaspar de Salas.</i> (1600)	GDS	Reding (1924) Ross (circa 1928)	Four pages
<i>Testimony of the soldier Juan de Ribas.</i> (1600)	JDR	Ross (circa 1928) Diaz (2003)	Four pages
<i>Testimony of the Indian woman Theresa Martin.</i> (1600)	THM	Ross (circa 1928)	Three pages
<i>Testimony of Alferes Francisco Fernandez de Ecija.</i> (1600)	—	Ross (circa 1928)	Three pages
<i>Testimony of the Irish soldier David Glavin.</i> <sup>99</sup> (1600)	—	Ross (circa 1928)	Three pages
<i>Testimony of the Indian woman Luisa Menendez.</i> (1600)	LUM	Ross (circa 1928) Diaz (2003)	Two pages

Katherine Reding, "The Letter of Gonzalo Mendez de Canzo to Philip II," *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, VIII (1924) 215-28.

Mary L. Ross, *Enquiry made officially before Méndez de Canço, Governor of the Province of Florida, upon the situation of La Tama and its riches, and the English Settlement* (Atlanta: Georgia Department of Archives and History, Mary Letitia Ross Papers, folder 44, item 16. Undated, circa 1928).

† Abbreviation used elsewhere here for reference.

as that region and they said that there were mountain ridges which the horses could not cross. ... He [De Soto] sent two Christians from Chiaha with Indians who knew the land of Chisca and its language, in order that they might examine it, [when they returned] [t]hose from Chisca said that the Indians had taken them through a land ... where they saw nothing that might be of use. [ELV pp. 89-91]

From there at Coste [Chiaha], the Governor sent two soldiers north to see the province of Chisca, which was rumored to have great wealth, and they brought good news. [ROD pp. 284-285]

In Ychiaha [De Soto was told] ... that thirty leagues away there were mines of the yellow metal that he was seeking. ... [t]wo Spaniards offered to go [there] with the Indians. One was named Juan de Villalobos, a native of Sevilla, and the other was Francisco de Silvera, a native of Galicia. ... [s]pending ten days on their journey ... [t]hey said that the mines were of fine brass ... [and they were sure] that gold and silver mines would be found. ... The Indians ... had received them very affectionately and joyfully ... and that every night after [the Indians] had feasted them they sent two handsome young women to entertain and sleep with them that night; but that they did not dare touch them.... [INC pp. 317-320]

From this passage we conclude that in 1540 two Spaniards traveled roughly 70 miles<sup>100</sup> north from Chiaha. That trip very probably took them into modern-day Lee County in the farthest western corner of Virginia (it is about 30 miles from Dandridge north to the Virginia border, which border extends 20 miles west of the longitude of Dandridge). But they surely did not reach Saltville, which is about 140 miles to the northeast. When they reached Virginia they were almost certainly the first Europeans to set foot on her soil.

The Pardo documents provide two lines of evidence for a Spanish colonial Saltville connection: 1) the excursion of Alferes Moyano and 2) the history of Luisa Menendez. Pardo's first expedition ended prematurely when he was called back to Santa Elena on the coast because of a threat that developed when a party of Frenchman approached. On being recalled, Pardo left Alferes Moyano and a group of soldiers at Fort San Juan (Joara), delegating to Moyano the author-

ity to undertake independent operations. Here, first, are the quotations that describe the journey made by Moyano:

... a cacique of the mountains sent a threat to the sergeant saying that he would come and eat them and a dog that the sergeant had. In light of this he decided that it would be better to go seek them than that they should come to seek him. Thus leaving the fort of San Juan with twenty soldiers he journeyed four days over the mountains and one morning arrived at the enemies. He found them so well fortified that it was admirable because they were enclosed by a very high wooden wall with a small door with traverses. [MAR Hoffman, p. 320]

...a mountain chief sent threats to the Sergeant, saying he was going to come and eat a dog of the Sergeant's. In view of this, the latter decided it would be better to proceed against them rather than wait. Therefore leaving the fort of St. John [Joara] with twenty soldiers, he journeyed four days by mountain trails and one morning reached the enemy and found them so well fortified that he was astonished, for they were surrounded by a very high wooden wall with a small door and its traverses. [MAR Ketcham, p. 75]

... sent a chief of the mountains to threaten the Sergeant, saying that he was coming and eat them all and too a dog which the Sergeant had; and he saw this, accordingly it was better for him to find them than they come to find him; and so, leaving the fort of San Juan with 20 soldiers, he traveled four days through the mountains and arriving one morning at the enemies, and found them so fortified, that he admired it, for they were encircled by a wall of wood very high and with a little door with its [sic] traverses; [MAR Huneycutt pp. 95-97]

Next are the quotations that tell of Moyano's report of his attack:

[Thirty days after Pardo returned to Saint Elena, or April 1567, Moyano sent him a letter telling that] ... he [Moyano] had had a war with a cacique who is named Chisca, who is the enemy of the Spaniards. They [The Spaniards] had killed more than 1,000 [of his] Indians and burned 50 huts. This had been done with 15 soldiers of whom no more than

two were wounded and [these were] not serious wounds.  
[MAR Hoffman, p. 320]

[Thirty days after Pardo returned to Saint Elena, or April 1567, Moyano sent him a letter telling of] ... warlike operations with a chief named Chisca, who is the enemy of the Spanish. They had killed more than a thousand Indians, and burned fifty huts, and he had done this with fifteen soldiers, and that there were only two of them wounded, and that not seriously. [MAR Ketcham, p. 75]

[Thirty days after Pardo returned to Saint Elena, or April 1567, Moyano sent him a letter telling that] ... he [Moyano] had a war with a chief named Chisca, being enemy of the Spanish, and that they had killed more than a thousand indians, and burned 50 huts, and that he had done it with 15 soldiers, and that they came out only two hurt, and they were not hurt seriously [MAR Huneycutt p. 95]

Finally, comes the later report of Moyano's attack by one of the soldier's who participated in it:

I served in the company of Captain Juan Pardo, in the entrances of the interior ... [T]hey [Native Americans] find the gold in a river next to some towns that Moyano, the sergeant of Juan Pardo, destroyed, which are called Maniatique and Guapere, and from these two towns there are Indian women in the fort of St. Augustine, now Christians married with Spaniards, who relate that there is gold in the river in great pieces, and in many forms — long, extended [*tiendos*] and squared, and from some little pieces they make *chagualas* [gold pendants] [DDL]

From these reports we conclude that Moyano attacked two towns 60-70 miles north or northwest of Fort San Juan (Joara). Beck (1997) identifies Manaytique as Saltville and considers that "... only the upper Nolichucky and Watagua Rivers seem plausible locations for Guapere." Beck (in his 2002 paper) draws a sketch with an ellipse around the Saltville-Chilhowie region labeled with the notation "Saltville (Chisca)." However, one distinguished Virginia archeologist recently and confidently asserted that no tribal assignment is yet possible for the entire drainage basin of the Holston, Clinch, and Powell

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Rivers.<sup>101</sup> Amateur historian Bob Jones, who has hiked over the terrain in question, writes<sup>102</sup>:

... [I]f you turn north on the North Toe you arrive in short order across Cranberry Gap and down the Elk River to the Watauga River. This major tributary of the Upper Holston was the location for one of the earliest settlements of the Pioneers, and the site of signing many of the Cherokee Treaties. Sycamore Shoals, at Elizabethton, TN, is only 50 miles from Berry. From there it's only 10 more miles to the South Holston, and a total of 90 from Berry to the Powell River at Copper Ridge, TN. Both the South Holston and Powell River are places with Mississippian sites and even sixteenth century Spanish trade items. That sounds like the Chiscas to me! I think that was the route that Moyano took on his foray into the land of the Chiscas, and this [proposed route] makes ... [the Berry site fit the evidence] ... as Fort San Juan.

The evidence conflicts. So how do we pull it all together? Suppose Moyano with his soldiers, and presumably Native-American allies, went north up the trail passing near Grandfather Mountain, into Virginia and attacked Saltville, or perhaps more likely Chilhowie (the trading center rather than the production center) — that would be Maniatique — at about the right distance. We know from the primary documents that Moyano was an aggressive seeker of gold and diamonds, and he surely was disappointed after this attack — Saltville, though prosperous, was not *El Dorado*. The documents record that sources of gold had long been rumored to be in the land of the Chiscas, so in search of that place and its riches, Moyano turned his party to the southwest; attacked Guapere somewhere near Elizabethton, Tennessee; and then returned to Fort San Juan, perhaps even with a detour to Chiaha. There would have been no shortage of time: 30 days minus the time needed for Moyano's letter to get back to Santa Elena would have been sufficient for such a tri-state perambulation, with the Beck route outward and the Jones route homeward. Charles Hudson thinks that even if Moyano did not attack Saltville itself, he "did attack salt traders out of Saltville."<sup>103</sup>

Finally, we consider the case of the Native-American woman Luisa Menendez (or Luysa Melendez; each spelling is used once in

the Serrano y Sanz transcription). Her own testimony from the 1600 De Canço hearings says she was

... an Indian woman from the interior country, a native of a town called Manaytique, where Alferez Moyano entered. ... [T]he Indians [at her home] have cups of gold, and that this gold they bring from some mountains called Chisca. ... She also said that there are three or four springs of salt water from which the Indians make salt, and that thus water rises and falls, and that in all that country there is no more salt water. [LUM Ross]

... [a] natural Indian from the inner land, from a town named Manaytique, where Alferez Moyano entered. ... gold exists over by the Indians and that they bring this gold from mountains they call Chisca. ... water comes from three of four salt bodies of water from which the Indians make salt, and it grows and dwindles and even if in all the land there are no more bodies of salt water. [LUM Diaz]

Luisa Menendez's account is reinforced by the testimony of Theresa Martin, another Native-American woman who married a Spaniard, given at the same hearings:

In her [Theresa Martin's] country she saw the natives of it and their related tribes entertain him [Juan Pardo] with esteem, and his men as well, ... she said that three or four days' journey from her town there are some Indians who live in a mountain range called Chisca, where they find gold. These Indians wear clothing, and are very white, red, and blue-eyed, like Flemish people, for their hair is like a bit of gold. ... [A]t the foot of a mountain range near her town four or five salt water springs issue. From the water put out by them the Indians, by means of a certain method with fire which they know, produce salt in great abundance. [THM Ross.]

by the testimony of Luisa Menendez's own husband, Juan de Ribas,

Among other persons sent by the governor with Captain Juan Pardo to remain with some chiefs for the purpose of learning the languages was this declarant, ... [who] went all the way up the river with Juan Pardo ... This declarant also remained to learn the language, and went three or four days journeys further on, arriving at the place where the

governor of Hispaniola, Soto, died. ... According to what he saw of the fertility of the land and the abundance of food that it has of all sorts ... he is of the opinion that if account had been given to his Majesty he [the King] could not have failed to cause it [the interior land] to be settled and conquered. ... This and much more could be said by his wife, who is a native of that country and was brought from there when she was a girl by Captain Juan Pardo. Teresa Martyn is also a native Indian woman of that country, and his aforesaid wife was the chieftainess of the land called Guanaytique. [JDR Ross]

... [W]ith others sent by the same General to go with Juan Pardo so that they could stay with some of the Indian chiefs and learn the languages. ... And this witness also stayed to learn the language and passed three or four days journey and reached the location of where the General of the Spanish Island, Soto, died. ... [A]nd from what he saw, the fertility of the land and the abundance of food of all sorts ... it seems if her Majesty had noticed, they would not be able to leave without settling it ... his wife could tell you this and much more, she is a natural Indian from that land and who was brought by the Captain John Pardo when she was young. Same as Teresa Martin, who also is natural from that land, and the aforementioned wife was originally from that land they call Guanaytique. [JDR Diaz]

and by the summary statement in the transmittal letter from De Canço to the King.

Likewise in said testimony there are declarations of certain persons long resident in these provinces who have made excursions inland in the company of Captain John Pardo and Ensign Moyano, with whom there came two native Indian girls from the farthest point inland to which the Captain and Ensign arrived. One of these girls is married to John de Ribas, a soldier of this garrison ... [missing] witnesses, and the other Teresa Martin, widow of another soldier of S ... [CTK Reding]

Again the evidence has some conflicts, but the case is convincing that Luisa Menendez is a woman from Saltville, brought from there when she was a girl. (Theresa Martin's testimony is compelling when

she speaks of Luisa Menendez coming from a place where salt was made by certain methods using fire.) We can guess that Luisa Menendez was 10-15 years old when she left in 1600; either way, she was 33 years older when she gave her testimony. It is speculation, but perhaps she was taken down to Joara by an uncle on a salt-trading trip and chose to remain with the Spanish; accounts in the documents say that native women sometimes voluntarily associated themselves with the Spanish.

Moyano and his party of thirty Spaniards (PAR Hoffman, 315) were on their own from March 1567 until Pardo's second expedition caught up with him at Chiaha in October 1567 (BRL, page 268). Theresa Martin (who lived three or four days journey from Luisa Menendez's home) could have come from Joara itself or, less probably, from the Elizabethton area. In any case, there were no fewer than six men named Martin out of the fifty who eventually received shoes at Chiaha (SHU), so the odds are high that two or three of these Martins were with Moyano at Fort San Juan, at or near Theresa Martin's home for seven months in the summer of 1567, making a liaison or marriage dating from that summer plausible.

### The Melungeon Connection

Many readers of *The Smithfield Review* will be aware that people who identify themselves as Melungeons are closely associated with Wise County in Southwest Virginia.<sup>104</sup> What is probably the most widely read and influential book<sup>105</sup> about Melungeons, written by a Wise native, describes them as "people of apparent Mediterranean descent who may have settled the Appalachian wilderness as early as 1567." The year 1567 obviously refers to the Pardo expeditions, and Mediterranean refers to Spain, or more generally to the Iberian peninsula, because Melungeons frequently discuss a Portuguese ancestry. Some Melungeon writers have gone so far as to claim Portuguese antecedents for Juan Pardo or even that he was actually Portuguese and not Spanish.<sup>106</sup>

A recurring theme of these writers is that the Melungeons are descended from remnant populations of Iberians — groups of soldiers who entered the region with the Pardo expeditions and were left behind when the expeditions withdrew. A book by Eloy Gallegos entitled *The Melungeons: The Pioneers of the Interior Southeastern United*

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*States, 1526-1997*<sup>107</sup> covers much of the same literature described in this article and has on its cover a conjectural picture of Spanish soldiers looking down on Chiaha from a ridge above. Gallegos also gives a lengthy description of the Berry site — which he has visited.

But there are sharp differences of view about Melungeon origins. The Melungeon writer Pat Spurlock Elder says that the best evidence suggests that the Melungeons were originally Colonial Virginia Indians,<sup>108</sup> and Virginia DeMarce has strongly criticized the original Melungeon origin arguments of Kennedy on genealogical grounds.<sup>109</sup> Perhaps the most balanced assessment so far of the situation comes from John Shelton Reed.<sup>110</sup> Disappointingly, conclusive mitochondrial DNA evidence, which it was once hoped would resolve the question of Melungeon origins, has proved elusive.<sup>111</sup>

Although it remains distinct from the mainstream of academic inquiry — and is hard to evaluate — the Melungeon connection adds an interesting sidebar to our story.

### **Paquiquineo aka Don Luis de Velasco: “The First Virginian”**

We have now seen that Spanish colonial contacts with the natives of western Virginia date well before 1607, the year of the settlement of Jamestown. There were also Spanish colonial contacts in eastern Virginia before 1607, and it is to those we now turn. This part of our narrative tells the dramatic story of a Native American who leaves his home, sails forth on a Spanish vessel, spends ten years in the company of Spaniards, at length returns a translator and guide with a small party of Jesuits who seek to establish a mission in his homeland, turns against them, and has them all killed. That, in brief, is the story of the “The First Virginian,” a term invented by the Virginia satirist James Branch Cabell who claimed that conventional Virginia history depends on illusion and myth.<sup>112</sup>

The traveler’s Native-American name was Paquiquineo. Information about him comes from two books by Paul Hoffman — a scholar who reads the archives himself. Hoffman’s older book is a study of Spanish efforts to find a route through the United States to the orient<sup>113</sup>; his newer book relates the history of the expansion of *La Florida*.<sup>114</sup> Footnotes in both books indicate a heavy reliance on primary documents in the General Archives of the Indies (AGI).

In June 1561, a storm drove the supply ship *Santa Catalina* carrying Antonio Velázquez (the factor of the Florida expeditions underway at that time) far to the north. The vessel fetched up either in or near the Chesapeake Bay, in the land of Ajacan, which may have been on the Chesapeake Bay or on the North Carolina coastal plain south of Virginia. From wherever the landing was, two friendly Native Americans, one a principal person (Paquiquineo) and the other his servant, decided to embark with the *Santa Catalina*, reaching Portugal in August. Velázquez took Paquiquineo to Madrid, where they arrived in October 1561 and remained until February 1562. During this stay, there is some indication that Paquiquineo met the Spanish King. Paquiquineo and his servant returned across the Atlantic later that year and arrived in Mexico in August 1562, where they joined a group of Dominicans. At some point Paquiquineo and his servant converted to Christianity and his name was changed to Don Luís de Velasco, apparently in honor of the then Viceroy of Mexico. Plans were soon hatched to send Don Luis back to his homeland as a member of a missionary party, but these plans were excruciatingly slow in coming to fruition. In the meantime Don Luis spent time at San Mateo on the Florida coast and traveled for a second time to Europe. Finally, in 1570 he accompanied the Jesuits to the Chesapeake Bay to build a mission.

The classic account of Don Luis and the martyrdom of the Jesuits was published under the auspices of the Virginia Historical Society in 1953 and written by two brothers of the Jesuit order: Fathers Lewis and Loomie.<sup>115</sup> About half of their book's 300-odd pages are devoted to Spanish transcriptions and translations, many coming from more-or-less contemporary Jesuit sources, so the book is solidly grounded in the historical record. The basic facts of the Don Luis story have remained unchallenged since its publication.<sup>116</sup> The mission was founded late in 1570 on the south bank of the York River, not far from the site of Williamsburg. Food was scarce through the winter, and there is some indication that Don Luis incurred disapproval for taking more than one wife. Probably the mission was undertaken at the wrong time and under the wrong leadership,<sup>117</sup> and one author has suggested that Don Luis was a "convenient scapegoat" rather than an archetypal "treacherous Indian."<sup>118</sup> Whatever the exact circumstances, in February of 1571 the eight priests and catechists were

murdered, with only a young lad being spared. All subsequent accounts of the killings come from the teenage survivor.

The story of the murdered Jesuits has still not concluded. In 2002, the Diocese of Richmond opened the cause for the canonization of those murdered as the Spanish Jesuit Martyrs of Virginia.<sup>119</sup> Surprisingly, there has been speculation that a band of Chisca from western Virginia journeyed to the Chesapeake in the winter of 1570-71 and might have been involved in the destruction of the mission and the killings.<sup>120</sup>

The subsequent fate of Don Luis remains elusive. Historian Carl Bridenbaugh in an essay about Opechancanough, the Native-American leader and nemesis for three decades of the English at Jamestown, speculates that Opechancanough may be the same person as Don Luis,<sup>121</sup> and Jerald Milanich has theorized that Don Luis/Opechancanough is Pocahontas' grandfather.<sup>122</sup> But other historians firmly disagree and reject such speculations more-or-less out of hand.<sup>123</sup>

So, having made this recounting of Spanish colonial contacts in eastern Virginia, we are ready to come to our final conclusions.

### Final Conclusions

1. The first Europeans to set foot on Virginia soil did it in 1540, in Lee County in the farthest western part of the state. There is a high level of confidence that both the place and the date are correct. Furthermore, there's an equally high level of confidence that we know their names: Juan de Villalobos and Francisco de Silvera. Factors weighing against this conclusion are the slight chance that the gentlemen in question failed to enter Virginia and the remote chance that some unrecorded landfall was made in the east of Virginia prior to 1540.
2. There is a significantly better-than-even chance that Spaniards were in the Chilohowie-Saltville region in 1567. The chance that they were actually in present-day Saltville is less than for the region; for being at Saltville itself, the author estimates a fifty-fifty chance.
3. Because it is the only location in far southwest Virginia with a known salt deposit, modern-day Saltville is the only precise geographic location in the region that can be unambiguously

- associated with the Spanish archival evidence.
4. With high confidence we conclude that the Native-American name of Saltville was Maniatique. If Maniatique was not Saltville it was probably Chilhowie.
  5. The Native-American woman named Luisa Menendez who married a Spanish soldier and moved from the interior to the coast, where she spent her adult life, came from Saltville.
  6. Either Luisa Menendez or Paquiquineo aka Don Luis de Velasco was the first person born within modern Virginia whose name we know. Which of the two depends on their exact birth dates and each one's chance of being Virginia-born. Paquiquineo was probably born a few years earlier than Luisa Menendez, but the case for his being Virginia-born (as opposed to North Carolina-born) is weaker than hers. There is an excellent chance that one or other of them is the first historically identifiable Virginian, with slightly better odds favoring the candidate from Saltville.

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suggested several promising lines of inquiry. Charles Bartlett kindly provided a preprint of his forthcoming article and provided personal insights about Saltville archeology. Michael Diaz provided excellent, fresh translations of two documents. At Newman Library Dave Beagle gave helpful, professional advice. Thanks to Robert Kelly, Janet Bland, Harry Kriz, and the staff of the Interlibrary Loan Office who provided quick and responsive service. Finally, special thanks are due to several anonymous reviewers who have aided the author in substantially strengthening this article and improving its logic. All the mistakes, infelicities, and embarrassments that remain are the sole responsibility of the author.

## Endnotes

1. Formerly Professor of Chemistry at Virginia Western Community College, Vice-President of Research and Development at Roanoke-based Wen-Don Corporation, and Director of General Chemistry at Virginia Tech for 15 years. Now formally retired and writing a book about Saltville. A chemist by profession, and a resident of Southwest Virginia for more than 35 years, he has long been interested in the history of Saltville. See Jim Glanville, "Did Olin Tell Whole Story?" *Roanoke Times*, Wednesday 29 July 1970, p. 6; and Jim Glanville and Eric Rau, "Soda Ash Manufacture — An Example of What?" *Journal of Chemical Education*, 50 (1973): 64-5.
2. Williams Haynes, *American Chemical Industry*, 6 vols. (New York: D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., 1954); see chapter 17, volume 1, "Alkalies Introduce Electrochemicals," pages 269-84. The chemical plant built at Saltville in 1893–1895 was the third (some say second) such plant erected in the United States and the first built in the South.
3. Electrochemistry is the science of chemical reactions produced by electrical energy (electrolysis) and electricity produced by chemical energy (as for example in ordinary batteries). The introduction of electrolysis as a commercial production method to make chlorine gas and sodium hydroxide (lye) from brine was a huge technical advance and forms the basis of a large industry that continues to the present day. In the Americas, commercial electrolysis by the mercury amalgam process was pioneered at Saltville but shifted to Niagara in 1897 because of the cheap, abundant electricity available from the Falls.
4. Jack Lewis, "The Spirit of the First Earth Day," *EPA Journal*, January/February issue 1990. Available on line at: [www.epa.gov/history/topics/earthday/01.ht](http://www.epa.gov/history/topics/earthday/01.ht)
5. Robert C. Whisonant, "Mineral Fights — Civil War Battles for Southwestern Virginia's Lead and Salt," *The Smithfield Review* II (1998): 77-90.
6. Jack Newcombe, "The End of a Company Town. Because of tough new pollution laws, the people of Saltville, Va. will lose their plant — and their jobs," *Life Magazine*, March 26, 1971.
7. Carl Bernstein, "Saltville Tastes the Bitterness of Unemployment," *Washington Post*, November 4, 1971, p. F1.

8. Martha A. Turnage, *Company Town Shutdown* (Annapolis: Berwick Publishing, 1994).
9. David J. Meltzer, "Peopling of America," *Developments in Quaternary Science* 1 (2003): 539-63. For most of the twentieth century, the dominant paradigm in studies of the peopling of North America was that its original human culture engulfed the Americas about 11,000 years ago. This so-called Clovis hypothesis was named after the people first identified from their projectile points at Clovis, New Mexico. Since the late 1990s this hypothesis has broken down in the face of more and more human sites dating from before the Clovis period. Saltville is one of several important sites to provide evidence to undermine the hypothesis. As is well-known, Saltville is also the preeminent site for remains of late glacial period boreal megafauna (large extinct woodland mammals); see Kit E. Wesler "Model and Sequence in the Maryland Archaic" in *Structure and Process in Southeastern Archaeology*, ed. Roy S. Dickens, Jr., and H. Trawick Ward. (Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1985), p. 215; and Clayton E. Ray, Byron N. Cooper, and William S. Benninghof, "Fossil Mammals in a Late Pleistocene Deposit at Saltville, Virginia," *Journal of Paleontology* 41(1967): 608-22. See also online at [www.saltvilleva.com](http://www.saltvilleva.com)
10. Patricia Givens Johnson, *William Preston and the Allegheny Patriots* (Blacksburg, Virginia: Walpa Publishing, 1976). See Chapter XII, pages 157-77, which describe events surrounding the writing of the Fincastle Resolutions.
11. Robert C. Whisonant, "Geology and the Civil War in Southwestern Virginia: The Wythe County Lead Mines," *Virginia Minerals* 42 (1996): 13-19.
12. The American Society of Mechanical Engineers, dedication of the Jackson Ferry Shot Tower in Wythe County, Virginia, as a National Historic Mechanical Engineering Landmark, states "the Fincastle Resolutions of 1775 ... preceded and may have contributed to the [United States] Declaration of Independence." See [www.asme.org/history/brochures/H063.pdf](http://www.asme.org/history/brochures/H063.pdf)
13. Mason G. Robertson and June N. Stubbs, "The Strange Campbell/Shelby Controversy and the Role of John Broady at the Battle of Kings Mountain," *The Smithfield Review* VII (2003): 27-47.
14. Ella Lonn, *Salt as a Factor in the Confederacy* (New York: W. Neale, 1933).
15. Robert Burns MacMullin, *Odyssey of a Chemical Engineer* (Smithtown, N.Y.: Exposition Press, 1983), especially pp. 204-5, "The Chinese Connection."
16. [www.blueridgeinstitute.org/ballads/old97.htm](http://www.blueridgeinstitute.org/ballads/old97.htm)
17. Charles S. Bartlett, "Development History and Subsidence Resulting from Salt Extraction at Saltville, Virginia," in *Evaporite karst, engineering/environmental problems in the United States*, ed. K. S. Johnson, and J. T. Neal. Oklahoma Geological Survey Circular 109. Preprint of a paper scheduled for publication in summer 2004.
18. Isabel M. Williams and Leora H. McEachern, *Salt, That Necessary Article* (Wilmington, N.C.: Louis T. Moore Memorial Fund, 1973).
19. Over the years, industrial activity created brine-filled (salt water-filled) caverns under the Saltville Valley (the brine fields). The caverns formed during the salt removal method that involved pumping river water into underground salt formations and pumping brine out. Now, a natural gas company (NUI Virginia

- Gas) is starting to use the caverns as a place to store their gas. To make room for their gas, NUI pumps out the brine, evaporates it, and sells the salt into agricultural markets in Virginia, Georgia, Tennessee, and the Carolinas. See Brad Swanson, *Saltville Gas Storage Facility* (NUI Virginia Gas: Saltville, 2002).
20. [www.worldsedge.net/desoto/BECK\\_FROM%20JOARA%20TO%20CHIAHA.ht](http://www.worldsedge.net/desoto/BECK_FROM%20JOARA%20TO%20CHIAHA.ht)
  21. With a brief British interruption 1763–1783, modern-day Florida was under Spanish dominion from 1565–1821, when it was finally ceded to the young United States. After several decades of abortive attempts, Spain made the first permanent European settlement in the United States at St. Augustine, Florida, in 1565, 42 years before Jamestown. It is surprising to discover that possible contact with Saltville comes just a year or two later.
  22. John R. Swanton, *The Indians of the Southeastern United States* (Washington D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1946), p. 70.
  23. It is difficult to speak of Virginia's aboriginal inhabitants without risking political incorrectness. The terms "natives," "Native Americans," "Indians," "paleoindians," "natural Indians," "first Virginians," and similar appellations, are all open to objections. Their use here is not intended to give offense to any individual or group. The author will use the term "Native Americans." Other variants are, of course, retained in such places as direct quotations and the titles of cited works.
  24. When the author speaks of "Saltville," he means, of course, at the geographic location now marked by the modern-day town of Saltville.
  25. Jean Carl Harrington, *Glassmaking at Jamestown: America's First Industry* (Richmond, Virginia: Dietz Press, 1953). In this work Harrington states in his very first paragraph: "The manufacture of glass ... can justly lay claim to being America's first industry." However, he attaches an asterisk to the statement and in a footnote rather coyly explains that although glass was actually first made in Mexico in 1535 he really means the United States when he says "America." We'll follow his precedent here. When we say "Virginia," we mean that which is presently governed from Richmond. Florida or *La Florida*, on the other hand, means the entire Southeast United States, including Virginia.
  26. Wilson Goodrich, *Smyth County History and Traditions* (Bowie, Maryland: Heritage Books, 1998, originally published in 1932), pp. 2-4.
  27. Stephen Williams, *Fantastic Archeology: The Wild Side of North American Prehistory* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991). Though it's a little disconcerting to find it in a book with this title, the essay on pages 304-345 titled "Epilogue: North American Archeology — The Real Fantasy" is an excellent survey of pre-contact culture and artifacts, and lays out forthrightly the archeologist's difficulties in recreating living culture from lifeless objects. The book was written by a Peabody Professor and Museum Curator at Harvard.
  28. George E. and Gene S. Stuart, *Discovering Man's Past in the Americas* (Washington, D.C.: National Geographic Society, 1973), pp. 133-56.
  29. Maureen S. Meyers, "'To Barter For and Purchase the Salt and the Gold': Exchange Networks between Coosa and Mississippian Edge Communities," paper presented at the Southeastern Archaeological Conference, November 15, 2003, Charlotte, North Carolina, hereafter cited as *To Barter For*.

30. Consider the curious case of the recent book, *Before and After Jamestown: Virginia's Powhatans and Their Predecessors* by Helen C. Rountree and E. Randolph Turner, III (Gainesville: The University of Florida Press, 2002), published as part of the series *Native Peoples, Cultures, and Places of the Southeastern United States*, edited by Jerald T. Milanich, hereafter cited as *Before and After Jamestown*. The majority of the pictures of pre-contact Native-American artifacts in this work show items from western Virginia, including two items from the Trigg site in Radford, one from the Richlands Hospital site, one from the Shannon site in Blacksburg, and several from otherwise unidentified "sites in western Virginia." In the preface, the authors dryly remark that they chose to use illustrations from western Virginia because artifacts from that region are better preserved than those in the acidic soils of the coastal plain. We might posit a different explanation for the better quality of the artifacts: higher development in the west!
31. Jon Muller, *Mississippian Political Economy* (New York: Plenum Publishing Company, 1997). See especially chapters 6 and 7 and the discussion of Great Salt Spring on pp. 308–32. An on-line article of limited scope about the Great Salt Spring by the same author is available at his website: [www.siu.edu/~anthro/muller/Salt/salt.html](http://www.siu.edu/~anthro/muller/Salt/salt.html)
32. Ralph J. Widmer, "The Structure of Southern Chiefdoms," in *The Forgotten Centuries: Indians and Europeans in the American South, 1521-1704*, ed. Charles Hudson and Carmen Chaves Tesser (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994), pp. 125-55.
33. Chiefdoms are one type of polity. See, for example, Maureen S. Meyers, "The Mississippian Frontier in Southwestern Virginia," *Southeastern Archaeology* 21(2) (2002): 178-91.
34. David G. Moore, *Late Prehistoric and Early Historic Period Aboriginal Settlement in the Catawba Valley, North Carolina* (doctoral thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1999, hereafter cited as Thesis).
35. E. Randolph Turner, III, "Paleoindian Settlement Patterns and Population Distribution in Virginia," in *Paleoindian Research in Virginia: A Synthesis*, ed. J. Mark Wittkofski and Theodore R. Reinhart (Richmond: Archeological Society of Virginia Special Publication No. 19, second edition, 1994).
36. Helen C. Rountree and E. Randolph Turner, III. "On the Fringe of the Southeast: The Powhatan Paramount Chiefdom in Virginia," in *The Forgotten Centuries: Indians and Europeans in the American South, 1521-1704*, ed. Charles Hudson and Carmen Chaves Tesser (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994), pp. 355-72.
37. John R. Swanton, *The Indians of the Southeastern United States* (Washington D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1946), pp. 212-15.
38. Thomas M. N. Lewis and Madeline Kneberg, *Tribes that Slumber: Indians of the Tennessee Region* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1958). This charming little book, with many excellent illustrations, shows nicely just how archeologists go about recreating societies from an examination of the remains they leave behind.



39. Gregory Waselkov, "Seventeenth Century Trade in the Colonial Southeast," *Southeastern Archaeology* 8(2) (1989), pp. pages 117-33. See also "Who Were the Mysterious Yuchi of Tennessee and the Southeast?" at [www.yuchi.org](http://www.yuchi.org)
40. Chester B. DePratter, *Late Prehistoric and Early Historic Chiefdoms in the Southeastern United States* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1991), p. 9.
41. Marvin T. Smith, "Aboriginal Movements in the Postcontact Southeast" in *The Transformation of the Southeastern Indians 1540-1760*, ed. Robbie Ethridge and Charles Hudson (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2002), pp. 3-20.
42. Robbie Ethridge, *Creek Country: The Creek Indians and Their World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), p. 28.
43. Charles M. Hudson, *Conversations with the High Priest of Coosa* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003).
44. Should the spelling be archeological or archaeological? The author has adopted the former except in direct quotes and the titles of journals who choose the latter.
45. Hudson explains in detail his plan and method for *Conversations with the High Priest of Coosa* in the essay that serves as the book's introduction. It is available on line at [http://uncpress.unc.edu/chapters/hudson\\_conversations.html](http://uncpress.unc.edu/chapters/hudson_conversations.html)
46. Marvin T. Smith, "Aboriginal Depopulation in the Postcontact Southeast," in *The Forgotten Centuries: Indians and Europeans in the American South, 1521-1704*, ed. Charles Hudson and Carmen Chaves Tesser (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994), pp. 257-75.
47. Stephen G. Hyslop and John Newton, *The American Indians: The European Challenge* (Alexandria, Virginia: Time-Life Books, 1992).
48. William C. Sturtevant, "Spanish-Indian Relations in Southeastern North America," *Ethnohistory* 9 (1962), 41-94.
49. James W. Loewen, *Lies My Teacher Told Me* (New York: Touchstone Books, 1995). See especially chapter 3, "Red Eyes," pages 98-136. The trope of the chapter title refers to viewing history through the eyes of the "red," as opposed to the "white," observer.
50. Charles Hudson and Carmen Chaves Tesser. "Introduction," in *The Forgotten Centuries: Indians and Europeans in the American South, 1521-1704*, ed. Charles Hudson and Carmen Chaves Tesser (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994), pp. 1-14.
51. *Entrada* literally means entry, beginning, or assault. Applied to the Spanish in the early Americas it refers to the first expedition into a region.
52. Amy Turner Bushnell, "The First Southerners: Indians of the Early South," in *A Companion to the American South*, ed. John B. Boles (Oxford, England: Blackwell Publishers, 2002).
53. Alfred W. Crosby, Jr., *The Columbian Exchange, Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1972).
54. C. G. Holland, *An Archeological Survey of Southwest Virginia: Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology Number 12*. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1970). Smyth County sites are described on pp. 33-40 and Washington County sites on pp. 41-44.

55. The Archeological Society of Virginia, Roanoke Chapter, *The Archeology of Southwest Virginia* (Roanoke, Virginia: 1992). A booklet.
56. On November 7, 1782, Arthur Campbell of Saltville wrote to Thomas Jefferson saying "Sir: Permit me to present to you a large jaw tooth of an unknown mammal lately found at the Salina in Washington County." It was one of the extinct-species fossils for which Saltville is famous. This letter is probably the first archeological account of any kind from Saltville.
57. Waldo Wedel, "Archeological Reconnaissance near Saltville, Virginia, in 1940," *Archeological Society of Virginia's Quarterly Bulletin* 45(3) (1990): 114-22.
58. Michael G. Michlovic, "The Early Prehistoric Archeological Resources of Saltville, Smyth Co., Virginia," *Quarterly Bulletin, Archeological Society of Virginia* 31(2) (1975): 101-10.
59. Jon Muller, "The Southern Cult," in *The Southeastern Ceremonial Complex: Artifacts and Analysis: The Cottonlandia Conference*. ed. P. Galloway (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989). See also Jeffrey Brain and Philip Phillips, *Shell Gorgets: Styles of the Late Prehistoric and Protohistoric Southeast* (Cambridge, Mass.: Peabody Museum Press, 1996). Online at [www.mississippian-artifacts.com/html/shellorn.html](http://www.mississippian-artifacts.com/html/shellorn.html) is an essay about shell gorgets that includes many pictures.
60. Charles Bartlett, personal communication.
61. Eugene B. Barfield, "Short Prehistory and History of the Saltville Valley, Virginia: A Chronological Nightmare," *Archeological Society of Virginia's Quarterly Bulletin* 48(1) (1993) pp. 30-36; Michael B. Barber, "Saltville and Environs: The Woodland Period," in *Upland Archeology in the East: Symposium Number Five*, ed. Eugene B. Barfield and Michael B. Barber (Richmond, Va.: Archeological Society of Virginia, 1996), pp. 39-50. "Salt powered chiefdom" is on page 45. E. Randolph Turner, III, was the first person to suggest the existence of chiefdoms in southwest Virginia in "The Archeological Identification of Chiefdom Societies in Southwestern Virginia," presented at the 1983 Upland Archeology in the East Symposium.
62. Will Sarvis, "Prehistoric Southwest Virginia: Aboriginal Occupation, Land Use, and Environmental Worldview," *The Smithfield Review* IV (2000): 125-151.
63. Robin A. Beck Jr., "From Joara to Chiaha: Spanish Exploration of the Appalachian Summit Area, 1540-1568," *Southeastern Archaeology* 16(2) (1997): 162-69.
64. It was finding a copy of Robin Beck's article at Bob Jones' World's Edge website ([www.worldsedge.net](http://www.worldsedge.net)) with a Google search that opened up the entire field of possible Spanish colonial contact with Saltville for this author; hereafter cited as Bob Jones' website.
65. Charles Hudson is the author, co-author, or editor of more than half-a-dozen books and dozens of articles about the history of Spaniards in *La Florida*.
66. Michael B. Barber and Eugene B. Barfield, "The Late Woodland Period in the Environs of Saltville: A Case for Petty Chiefdom Development," *Journal of Middle Atlantic Archaeology* 16 (2000): 117-32.
67. Maureen S. Meyers, "The Mississippian Frontier in Southwestern Virginia." *Southeastern Archaeology*, 21(2) (2002): 178-191.

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68. Maureen S. Meyers, *To Barter For*. See also Sharon I. Goad, "Copper and the Southeastern Indians," *Early Georgia*, 4 (1976): 49-67.
69. Robin A. Beck, Jr., *The Burke Phase: Late Prehistoric Settlements in the Upper Catawba River Valley, North Carolina* (Master's thesis, Department of Anthropology, The University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa, 1997).
70. David G. Moore, Thesis. See also [www.warren-wilson.edu/~arch/Berrysite.htm](http://www.warren-wilson.edu/~arch/Berrysite.htm)
71. Robin A. Beck, Jr., and David G. Moore, "The Burke Phase: A Mississippian Frontier in the North Carolina Foothills," *Southern Archaeology* 21(2) (2002): 192-205.
72. Helen C. Rountree, "The Powhatans and Other Woodland Indians as Travelers" in *Powhatan Foreign Relations, 1500-1722*, ed. Helen C. Rountree (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1993), pp 21-52. The map of major Native American trails is Figure 1.3 on page 34.
73. John J. Mintz, and Thomas Beaman, Jr., "Invaded or Traded? Olive Jars and Oil Jars from Brunswick Town," *North Carolina Archaeology* 46(1997): 35-50.
74. Joseph Judge, "Exploring Our Forgotten Century," *National Geographic Magazine* 173 (3) (1988): 331-63.
75. Louis Dow Scisco, "Discovery of the Chesapeake, 1525-1573," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 40 (1945): 275-86.
76. David Ewing Duncan, *Hernando De Soto: A Savage Quest in the Americas* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1996). In the introduction to this biography Ewing capsulizes De Soto as a spectacularly wealthy, major conqueror of Central America and Peru "who rolled his dice ... in *La Florida* and came up empty."
77. Speaking about old written or printed records, Helen C. Rountree once remarked that "...there have been some wonderful catfights among scholars over how to interpret certain passages." (*Before and After Jamestown*, p. 4).
78. John E. Worth, "Digging for Documents: Clues to the First Georgians in Spanish Archives," *Fernbank Quarterly* 22(3-4) (1997): 20-26.
79. John E. Worth, "A Primer on Colonial Spanish Paleography," <http://members.aol.com/jeworth/gbopaleo.htm>
80. The present author has a photocopy of just one Spanish manuscript (which he finds pleasurable to own — but impossible to read), the 1584 Domingo de Leon Document, a photocopy of which was generously provided by the Florida librarian James Cusick. It confirms that John Worth's description of much of Spanish paleography as "a handful of spaghetti flung against a page" is not far off the mark. Years ago the author remembers hearing that an automatic Russian-to-English translation program once converted "out of sight and out of mind" to "invisible and insane." Now that many years have passed, and (presumably much improved) automatic Spanish-to-English translations facilities are readily accessible through the internet, the author began experimenting with his own translations. He was quickly dissuaded from this venture when the Florida town of "Cape Coral" hilariously became "castrate the chorale."
81. Lawrence A. Clayton, Vernon James Knight, Jr., and Edward Moore, *The De Soto Chronicles: the Expedition of Hernando De Soto to North America in 1539-1543*, 2 vols. (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1993). These two volumes contain all known records of the Expedition of Hernando De Soto and
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- his Army through North America circa 1540. Extensive records were kept by three officers of that expedition; all are translated therein, along with all communications between that Army, De Soto, and the King of Spain known to exist in 1993. Other eyewitness accounts are also presented, as is the later history written by the Inca Garcilosa de la Vega.
82. John R. Swanton, with an introduction by Jeffrey P. Brain and foreword by William C. Sturtevant, *Final report of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1985).
  83. Charles Hudson, "The Hernando De Soto Expedition," in *The Forgotten Centuries: Indians and Europeans in the American South, 1521-1704*, ed. Charles Hudson and Carmen Chaves Tesser (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994), pp. 74-103.
  84. Charles Hudson's book-length treatment of the De Soto expedition is *Knights of Spain, Warriors of the Sun: Hernando De Soto and the South's Ancient Chiefdoms* (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1997). Hudson's wife has published an interesting travelogue of retracing the route in modern times: Joyce Rockwood Hudson, *Looking for De Soto: A Search Through the South for the Spaniard's Trail* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1993).
  85. Charles Hudson, *The Juan Pardo Expeditions: Exploration of the Carolinas and Tennessee, 1566-1568*, with documents relating to the Pardo expeditions transcribed, translated, and annotated by Paul E. Hoffman (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990), hereafter cited as *Exploration of the Carolinas*.
  86. [www.floridahistory.com](http://www.floridahistory.com)
  87. Chester B. DePratter and Marvin T. Smith, "Sixteenth Century Indian Trade in the Southeastern United States: Evidence from the Juan Pardo Expeditions (1566-1568)," in *Spanish Colonial Frontier Research*, ed. Henry F. Dobyns, (Albuquerque: Center for Anthropological Studies, 1980), pp. 67-77.
  88. Jerald T. Milanich, *Laboring in the Fields of the Lord: Spanish Missions and Southeast Indians* (Smithsonian Institution Press: Washington, 1999), hereafter cited as *Laboring in the Fields*. On page 74 Milanich states "I believe that De Soto was leading his army in search of the legendary land of Chicora, thought to be somewhere in the interior of the Carolinas." The Chicora legend endured into Pardo's time and beyond.
  89. Modern readers will find frequent inconsistencies of spelling in dealing with Spanish colonial history. Thus, in Table 2, Bandera may elsewhere be Vandera. Similarly, Moyano is sometimes Boyano, etc.
  90. C. D. Huneycutt and Roy Blalock, Jr., *The Pardo Expeditions 1566-1567* (New London, N.C.: Gold Star Press, 1983).
  91. Robert B. Ketcham, "Three Sixteenth-Century Spanish Chronicles Relating to Georgia," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 38 (1954): 66-82. Ketcham was the first translator of the three documents found in the Huneycutt book. The translations appear to be independent.
  92. Charles M. Hudson, *Exploration of the Carolinas*.
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93. John E. Worth, "Recollections of the Juan Pardo Expeditions: The 1584 Domingo de Leon Account" (manuscript on file, Fernbank Museum of Natural History, Atlanta, 1994). Personal communication. The manuscript itself is: *Domingo, González de León. Letter to His Royal Catholic Majesty the King of Spain, October 13, 1584 (Madrid)*. Archivo General de Indias, Santo Domingo 231, folios 316-8. Photocopy of the Spanish manuscript in the author's private file.
94. John Tate Lanning, *The Spanish Missions of Georgia*, illustrated by Willis Physioc (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1935). See especially chapter 4, "Canzo and Tama: Georgia and Florida in the Crucible," pp. 111-35.
95. Manuel Serrano y Sanz, ed. *Documentos históricos de la Florida y la Luisiana, siglos XVI al XVIII* (Madrid: V. Suárez, 1912) pp. 135-64.
96. Mary L. Ross, "Enquiry made officially before Méndez de Canço, Governor of the Province of Florida, upon the situation of La Tama and its riches, and the English Settlement," Mary Letitia Ross Papers, folder 44 item 16 (Atlanta: Georgia Department of Archives and History, undated, circa 1928).
97. Mary L. Ross, "With Pardo and Boyano on the Fringes of Georgia Land," *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, 14 (1930): 267-85.
98. Katherine Reding, "Letter of Gonzalo Mendez de Canzo to Philip II," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* VIII (1924): 215-28.
99. This David Glavin does not figure in our story here, but with the name of Darby Glande he is a prominent player in the story of the Lost Colony. See Lee Miller, *Roanoke: Solving the Mystery of the Lost Colony* (New York: Arcade Publishing, 2001), pp. 67-69. Miller reckons that Glavin/Glande acted as a tipster to warn the Spanish of the English intrusion into *La Florida*, but it is a convoluted story.
100. Bob Jones' website has an excellent analysis of mileage per day figures for Spaniards traveling in the region in which we are interested.
101. Howard A. MacCord, Sr. "How Crowded Was Virginia in A. D. 1607?" *Quarterly Bulletin of the Archeological Society of Virginia* 56(2) (2001): 51-59.
102. [www.worldsedge.net/desoto/Locating%20Xualla.htm](http://www.worldsedge.net/desoto/Locating%20Xualla.htm)
103. Telephone conversation with the present author, 9th December 2003.
104. The National Melungeon Registry, The Wise County Historical Society, P. O. Box 368, Wise, VA 24293.
105. N. Brent Kennedy with Robyn Vaughan Kennedy, *The Melungeons: the resurrection of a proud people, an untold story of ethnic cleansing in America*, 2nd, revised and corrected ed. (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1997).
106. Manuel Mira, *The Forgotten Portuguese* (Franklin, N.C.: Portuguese-American Historical Research Foundation, 1998).
107. Eloy J. Gallegos, *The Melungeons: The Pioneers of the Interior Southeastern United States, 1526-1997* (Knoxville: Villagra Press, 1997).
108. Pat Spurlock Elder, *The Melungeons: Examining An Appalachian Legend* (Blountville, Tenn.: Continuity Press, 1999), pp. 295-304.
109. Virginia Easley DeMarce, "Review Essay: The Melungeons," *National Genealogy Society Quarterly* 84 (2) (1996): 134-49.
110. John Shelton Reed, "Mixing in the Mountains," *Southern Cultures*, 3 (1997): 25-36.

111. Kathleen McGowan, "Where Do We Come From? The Melungeons, who count Elvis Presley and Abraham Lincoln among their kin, turn to DNA genealogy to resolve a long-standing identity crisis." *Discover* 24(5) (2003): 58-63.
112. James Branch Cabell, *Let Me Lie: Being in the Main an Ethnological Account of the Commonwealth of Virginia and the Making of Its History* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Company, 1947). See especially Part One, pp. 24-42, "The First Virginian." This sly account of the story of Don Luis makes humorous reading. In 1942 Cabell published a novel in which he took the known facts of Don Luis' life as the starting point for a work of fiction with the title *The First Gentleman of America*. Cabell appended to this novel a genuine, five-page, bibliography. He told in 1947 that none of his literary critics actually believed Don Luis to be a real historical character, and that his (Cabell's) bibliography was praised as a "fair sample of [Cabell's] ingenuity in inventing historians." In Part Two of *Let Me Lie*, pp. 44-76, Cabell makes up a dialog between himself and a fictitious Florida historian, Dr. Alonzo Juan Hernandez. Cabell recounts that Jamestown, where our nation began, is said by Virginians to be the first "permanent" English settlement in America. To this, Hernandez responds by saying that Jamestown is a mere mob of monuments and memorial tablets that for many decades has not been inhabited except by mosquitos and a caretaker.
113. Paul E. Hoffman, *A New Andalusia and a Way to the Orient: The American Southeast During the Sixteenth Century* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990).
114. Paul E. Hoffman, *Florida's Frontiers* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002).
115. Clifford Merle Lewis, S. J., and Albert J. Loomie, S. J., *The Spanish Jesuit Mission in Virginia 1570-1572* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953).
116. Jerald T. Milanich, *Laboring in the Fields*, pp. 97-99.
117. Frank Marotti, Jr., "Juan Baptista de Segura and the Failure of the Florida Jesuit Mission, 1566-1572," *The Florida Quarterly* LXIII (3) (1985): 267-79.
118. Charlotte M. Gradie, "Spanish Jesuits in Virginia: the Mission that Failed," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 96 (1988), 131-56.
119. Matthew M. Anger, "Spanish Martyrs for Virginia," *Seattle Catholic*, August 30, 2003. Online at [www.seattlecatholic.com/article\\_20030830.htm](http://www.seattlecatholic.com/article_20030830.htm)
120. William B. Hill, *The Indians of Axacan and the Spanish Martyrs: The Beginnings of Virginia, 1570* (Clarksville, Virginia: Prestwoud House, 1970).
121. Carl Bridenbaugh, *Early Americans* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981). See the essay "Opechancanough: A Native American Patriot," pp. 5-49 with notes on pp. 239-47.
122. Jerald T. Milanich, *Laboring in the Fields*, pp. 98-99.
123. Helen C. Rountree and E. Randolph Turner, III. *Before and after Jamestown*, pp. 51-52.