FORGING REFUGE BETWEEN SHATTER ZONES:

THE TOCOBAGA MAROONS OF THE WACISSA

by

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(Under the Direction of James F. Brooks)

ABSTRACT

During the early sixteenth century, South Florida's populations were positioned between the tragedy Bartolomé de Las Casas called "la destrucción de los Indios" and the Mississippian shatter zone. The Calusas' unmatched control over goods, bodies, and knowledge in South Florida gave them advantages over the Spanish and Tocobaga of Tampa Bay, for whom records are sparse. After a failed mission attempt in the 1560s, the Spanish largely abandoned the region, and its peoples appear only sporadically in subsequent records. One hundred years later, pockets of Tocobaga diaspora appeared north across Apalachee, deploying information networks to leverage kinship, knowledge, and economic value for safety. This paper shows that the Tocobaga caciques led their communities to settle along the Wacissa River, making decisions in the context of a world suffused with knowledge, and seeking to protect smaller, clan affiliated family groupings by leveraging old kinship ties across Indigenous Florida.

INDEX WORDS: Florida, Tocobaga, Apalachee, Calusa, Indigenous History, Kinship, Spanish Missions

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Tocobaga
Indians
Destroyed
1709

Mapmaker William Hammerton placed these words at the banks of a Rio St. Pedro on a 1721 "Map of the southeastern part of North America." Key details elude us, but Bahia del Espiritu Santo – Tampa Bay's Spanish name for the ancestral homeland of the Tocobaga – lies well to the south. What brought these Tocobagas to this place of sorrow in 1709? Why did they choose Apalachee? This is a story of Tocobaga maroons who used kinship ties and community knowledge to forge refuge among the Apalachee in a world between shatter zones – both Mississippian and Caribbean.[1]

While their "destruction" at Rio San Pedro – whatever that means – foreshadows a tragic conclusion, to survive to 1709 in the land of Apalachee was in and of itself remarkable. Between the 1650s and 1705, Florida's northern polities were decimated by the region-wide concussions of Indian slavery. The Apalachee and Timucua, both under Franciscan missionization by this time, began communicating reports of other Indigenous groups trading with the English in Virginia in the late 1650s.[2] . Their concern was especially related to the trade in guns, which the Spanish only rarely

[1] See Robbie Ethridge, *From Chicaza to Chickasaw: The European Invasion and the Transformation of the Mississippian World, 1540-1715* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2010); Erin Woodruff Stone, *Captives of Conquest: Slavery in the Early Modern Spanish Caribbean* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2021). Ethridge formulated the shatter zone framework from her study of the Mississippian Chicaza (precursors to historic Chickasaw). I have placed it in conversation with Stone's contention for a similar shatter zone in the Early Modern Caribbean.

[2] Bonnie McEwan, "The Apalachee Indians of Northwest Florida" In *Indians of the Greater Southeast: Historical Archaeology and Ethnohistory*, edited by Bonnie G. McEwan (Gainesville,FL: University of Florida Press, 2001), 65. The Timucua had been subject to missionization efforts since at least 1595, whereas it was not until 1633 that the first friars arrived at Apalachee; John H. Haan, "Translation of Governor e Rebolledo's 1657 Visitation of Three Florida Provinces and Related Documents," *Florida Archaeology*, no. 2 (Tallahassee, FL: Florida Bureau of Archaeological Research, 1986), 93-94.

offered their Indian partners. A few years later, specific reference to slave-raiders came when English-armed Westos targeted San Agustín. For decades, bands of Westos, Chiscos, Chichimecos, Yamasees, and other English-allied Indigenous raiding parties penetrated Florida's lands, using the bounded advantages of Native knowledge and firearms to invade missionized Guale, Timucua, and Apalachee. Already weakened in some places by over a century's cycles of disease, hard labor, and rebellion, north Florida's people became increasingly vulnerable as their region became increasingly porous.

In 1704, Carolina slave-raiders departed from the 1690s trading post at today's Ocmulgee Mounds National Monument (some fifty white colonists and more than a thousand Yamasees and other Indians) to devastate the lands and peoples of Apalachee.[3] Creek raiders returned the next year and, between the two series of attacks, twenty-nine missions – almost all of the chain - were destroyed or abandoned.[4] When combined, the raids between 1704 and 1706 enslaved between two thousand and four thousand Indians living at Apalachee, as well as an untold number of Timucua.[5] While the Apalachee begged the Spanish for firearms they never received, raiders penetrated further south. Governor Francisco de Córcoles y Martínez wrote in 1708 that he believed those taken "must number more than ten or twelve thousand persons."[6] Hundreds of these Apalachee and others were forced into resettlement camps along the Savannah River and throughout the Lowcountry. But the Tocobaga community on the Wacissa persisted in place for another year after the time of Governor Córcoles' letter. While it is possible that many joined refugees seeking the protection of San Agustín, it appears that

[3] Deborah Andrews and Peter Collings "Ethnographic Overview and Assessment of Ocmulgee National Monument for the National Park Service," University of Florida, September 2014, Task Agreement No. P11AT51123, 62.

[4] Gallay, *The Indian Slave Trade*, 147; John Haan, *Apalachee: The Land Between the Rivers* (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 1988), 264.

[5] Gallay, *The Indian Slave Trade,* 148. Gallay believes the higher number is more likely.

[6] Mark F. Boyd, Hale G. Smith, and John W Griffen, trans. and eds., *Here They Once Stood: The Tragic End of the Apalachee Missions* (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 1951), 90.

the Wacissa community fell victim to Carolina raiders, "destroyed" as reported by Hammerton's map. A Santalena Indian named Jack complained in a 1712 petition from the Commissioners of Indian Trade in South Carolina that a colonist stole from him "two shee Tuckabugga Slaves."[7] By 1712, Tocobagas were the enslaved property of Indians living in the Carolina colony.

While such was the case by the eighteenth century, the transformation of the American southeast was neither uniform, nor unilateral. In Early Modern Florida, knowledge was power, and both Indigenous and Spanish peoples sought to navigate rapidly changing waters.[8] Always undersupplied and outmanned, the Spanish supplemented their struggling garrison by reordering the Native world around them through the recruitment of Native knowledge and labor, most profoundly reconfiguring Native trails and pathways into the Camino Real. As the development of the colonial road progressed across the peninsula, it scarred the landscape just as it transformed its peoples. Archaeological investigations of Anhaica – San Luis de Talimali – point to the significance of the Camino Real's transformative nature following Apalachee's conversion. During the mission period, "other than the chief's house and council house, all of the native dwellings were replaced with those of Spaniards… aligned parallel or perpendicular to the church and *camino.*"[9] The Spanish by necessity adapted to their needs with regulation by laws, systematization and the like, often emplacing them atop functioning Indigenous systems. But much like the marine-based cultures whom it

[7] *Journals of the Commissioners of the Indian Trade, 20 September 1710-29 August 1718*, ed. William L. McDowell, Jr. (Colombia, SC: South Carolina Department of Archives and History), 38. I would suggest that "Santalena" is a reference simply to an Indian living at Santa Elena – near present day Saint Helena Island – or less likely a Santee.

[8] See especially Alejandra Dubcovsky, *Informed Power: Communication in the Early American South* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016).

[9] Bonnie G. McEwan, "Colonialism on the Spanish Florida Frontier: Mission San Luis, 1656-1704" *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 92, No. 3, (Winter 2014): 622. McEwan's emphasis.

would also profoundly effect, the project of dispossession was marked by terrestrial bias.[10]

In attempting to push their colonial aspirations further, Europeans pressed ideas that non-agricultural societies were inferior, that "the seas of the world are… voids between the real places, which are landed and national."[11] This bias provoked (and continues to provoke) a sometimes unconscious rejection of marine-based lifestyles, with deadly consequences in the colonial case. Reliant upon aquaculture practices which often provided great surpluses but did not conform to European ideals, Indigenous people like the Calusa, the group most associated with the Tocobaga, often crafted the lengthiest and staunchest autonomy. As the brief alliance with the Spanish deteriorated, the Calusa simply abandoned their capital; unable to provide for themselves, the Europeans were forced to accede to Calusa autonomy.[12] But it was not only colonizers who have sought to fit Indigenous peoples into boxes where they do not belong. Through time, professional and amateur historians alike have consumed "Native places and bodies [to] recast Indigenous time and place to fit Western conceptions of history and space."[13] While few resisted like the Calusa, the persistence of maritime lifeways was built upon more than subsistence and offered one manner of enduring autonomy.

Calusa resistance was bolstered by displaced Caribbean Indians, who settled within South Florida as a semi-autonomous maroon community. From these maroons

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[10] For historians on the concept of terrestrial bias, see Marcus Rediker, *Outlaws of the Atlantic: Sailors, Pirates, and Motley Crews in the Age of Sail* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2014); Julius S. Scott, *The Common Wind: Afro-American Currents in the Age of the Haitian Revolution* (New York: Verso, 2018).

[11] Rediker, *Outlaws of the Atlantic*, 3.

[12] See Victor D. Thompson, Amanda D. Roberts Thompson and John E. Worth "Political Ecology and the Event: Calusa Social Action in Early Colonial Entanglements," *Archeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association*, Vol. 29, ed. John K. Milhauser, Christopher T. Morehart, and Santiago Juarez, *Uneven Terrain: Archaeologies of Political Ecology* (American Anthropological Association: 2018); and John Worth, "The Social Geography of South Florida during the Spanish Colonial Era," *71st Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology* (San Juan, Puerto Rico, April 30, 2006).

[13] Tsim D. Schneider, *The Archaeology of Refuge and Recourse: Coast Miwok Resilience and Indigenous Hinterlands in Colonial California* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 2021), 27.

and other shipwrecked castaways, the Calusa received valuable knowledge of the circumstances in the Antilles which informed their subsequent actions.[14] But the century and a half of Calusa resistance consequently encouraged further pockets of maroon communities to crop up across the Florida peninsula, displaced in part by growing conflicts over the control over information and the bodies who controlled it. Much as Caribbean maroons provided the Calusas with invaluable information regarding the demographic and social shattering in the Caribbean, other settlements like the Tocobaga community along the Wacissa reflect similar relationships taking form across the broader American South. Maroons like those along the Wacissa sought the protection of a larger Indigenous polity in a rapidly changing world, bridging communities along fictive and real kin ties which long predated colonial interactions. They further leveraged knowledge which that larger community did not possess – here, marine skills - which produced economic advantages for both groups and bolstered community autonomy, a leverage which allowed the Tocobagas to maintain much of their ancestral identities.

On Terminology

The alliance between Amerindians and enslaved Africans and their descendants has deep roots, forming the basis for maroons as "self-emancipators from enslavement who formed independent communities."[15] The first allied Black and Indian uprising in the Caribbean took place in Espanola in 1519.[16] Later, in 1526, the enslaved Africans on the expedition of Lucas Vásquez de Ayllón revolted in alliance with the local Indians,

[14] Thompson et. al."Political Ecology and the Event," 73. Thompson et al. suggest that either as a result of prior slaving expeditions or through the arrival of Caribbean Indians fleeing the shatter zone, there were Spanish-speaking Indians among the Clausa prior to the arrival of Ponce de León which explains the hostility with which he was met.

[15] J. Brent Morris, *Dismal Freedom: A History of the Maroons of the Great Dismal Swamp* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2022), 5.

[16] William D. Phillips, Jr. "Slavery in the Atlantic Islands and the Early Modern Spanish Atlantic World," in *The Cambridge World History of Slavery, Volume 3: AD 1420-AD 1804*, ed. David Eltis (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 345.

dispersing into as-of-yet uncolonized parts of southeastern North America.[17] Referred in Spanish America as cimarrones (run aways) after 1540, to depict the wild state to which they returned after their self-emancipation, marronage co-existed alongside slavery in the Western hemisphere.[18] And yet while this relationship is acknowledged and accepted, the term maroon has not to my knowledge been applied to American Indigenous communities who sought to escape enslavement in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Much debate has been made differentiating between petit and grand marronage, as well as the place of maroons within or outside political or social structures.[19] Sylviane Diouf's evaluation of maroon landscapes, however, invites us to think about the ways in which marronage created a "space of movement, independence, and reinvention where new types of lives were created and evolved."[20] The formation of the Tocobaga community at Wacissa was instigated by the shattering of polities around them, as Indian slavery decimated the Caribbean and Mississippian worlds and South Florida's Indigenous polities leveraged their own control over Spanish and other Indian bodies. But while many have described them as refugees, the concept of maronnage reinvests the community with agency – from their decision to diverge from Tampa Bay to their survival among the Apalachee.

Records from Southwest Florida during the sixteenth century, particularly from Tampa Bay, are sparse and frustrating; in all of the discussion of the Tocobaga in the visit in 1566, the Spanish never note the cacique's name. I have chosen to use cacique to

[17] Guy Cameron and Stephen Vermette, 294 "The Role of Extreme Cold in the Failure of the San Miguel De Gualdape Colony," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 96, no. 3 (2012): 291-307, 294, http://www.jstor.org/stable/23622193. Archaeologists have yet to locate the site of the San Miguel de Gualdape colony, but North America's first rebellion of enslaved Africans.

[18] The word cimarrones originally referred to escaped livestock but came to apply to maroons by the mid-1500s in the Spanish Caribbean.

[19] See Richard Price, *Maroon Societies: Rebel Slave Communities in the Americas* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996) and Neil Roberts, *Freedom as Marronage* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2015).

[20] Sylviane A. Diouf*, Slavery's Exiles: The Story of the American Maroons* (New York: New York University Press, 2014), 11.

refer to the head chief but will sometimes refer to similar headmen among the Apalachee as holata, a term mostly identified with the Timucua, but used by the paramount chiefs of Apalachee themselves.[21] I have elected not to italicize Indigenous or Spanish terms, unless, in doing so I am adding emphasis. It is my hope that these choices strike a balance between clarity and sensitivity.

[21] "Apalachee and Timucua Chiefs' Letters to the King in their own Languages, 1688," Translation by John H. Haan, 2000, P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History.

CHAPTER 2

Safety Harbor Culture Groups and the Calusa

Figure 1: Major Historic Indigenous Polities of Florida and Associated Territorial Reach

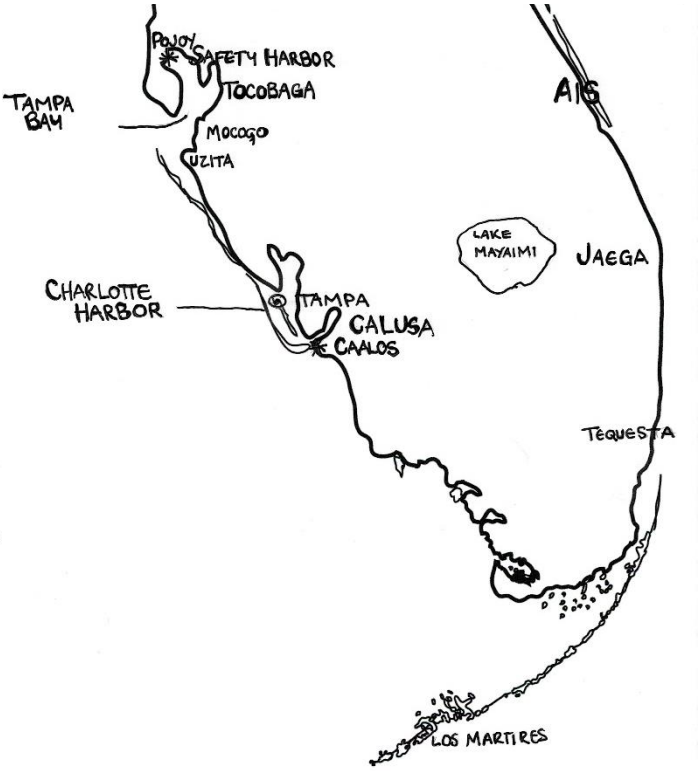


Figure 2: South Florida Polities and Principal Places

The community who made that Wacissa settlement their homes once lived along the shores of Tampa Bay. Identified as one of four descendant groups of the Safety Harbor cultures, the Tocobaga built their lives around the bounty of a coast molded by centuries of climatic events, a history which shares much in common with the Calusa. Especially between 500AD-850AD, societies by the sea adjusted to dramatic sea level regressions and cooler climates, which reduced available resources and "fostered a higher level of coordination and technological innovation."[22] At the same time, South

[22] William H. Marquardt, "Tracking the Calusa: A Retrospective," *Southeastern Archaeology,* 33, no. 1 (Summer 2014), 11. Victor D. Thompson, William H. Marquardt, Karen J. Walker, Amanda D. Roberts Thompson, Lee A. Newsom, "Collective Action, State Building, and the Rise of the Calusa, Southwest Florida, USA," *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology*, Vol. 51 (2018), 39. During the global

Florida's population shifted from small, single-family residences to multi-family, long house style accommodations to account for changes in labor needs. This style was in place at the time Europeans arrived. Trade networks, enmeshed with rivers and marine engineering projects, connected these collectively organized communities to the rest of the peninsula and to the larger Mississippian world. Marine prestige goods, especially lightening whelk and pearls, were prized across the Southeast, and their movement, along with that of food, peoples, and information, traversed networks of water, often molded by canals and river-dredging projects to facilitate transportation.[23] Prestige goods from the Mid-south and Midwest have been excavated at Brown's Complex Mound 2 at Pineland, indicating an exchange pattern which stretched deep into the Florida peninsula. Pineland itself, along with Mound Key – Tampa and Caalus respectively to the Calusa – should both be considered "an engineering achievement rivaling any in aboriginal North America."[24] These polities created these impressive worlds without the cultivation of maize agriculture.

While terrestrial biases have led many to relegate "fishing and shellfishing activities to the lowest forms of human subsistence," marine-based foodways were more than capable of sustaining substantial populations, if not creating surpluses.[25] As denser, permanent settlement increased along Tampa Bay and Charlotte Harbor, the comparative evidence of declines in health – noted among the Mississippian

climactic event known as the Vandal Minimum, sea levels fell, causing communities which relied upon the abundance of estuaries to adapt.

[23] Jeffrey M. Mitchem, "Safety Harbor: Mississippian Influence in the Circum-Tampa Bay Region," in *Late Prehistoric Florida: Archaeology at the Edge of the Mississippian World* eds Keith Ashley and Nancy Marie White (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2012), 184; William H. Marquardt and Karen J. Walker, "Southwest Florida during the Mississippi Period," in *Late Prehistoric Florida: Archaeology at the Edge of the Mississippian World* eds Keith Ashley and Nancy Marie White (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2012), 51.

[24] William H. Marquardt and Karen J. Walker, "Southwest Florida during the Mississippi Period," 51.

[25] Karen J. Walker, "The Material Culture of Precolumbian Fishing: Artifacts and Fish Remains from Coastal Southwest Florida" *Southeastern Archaeology* 19, No. 1, (Summer 2000):42.

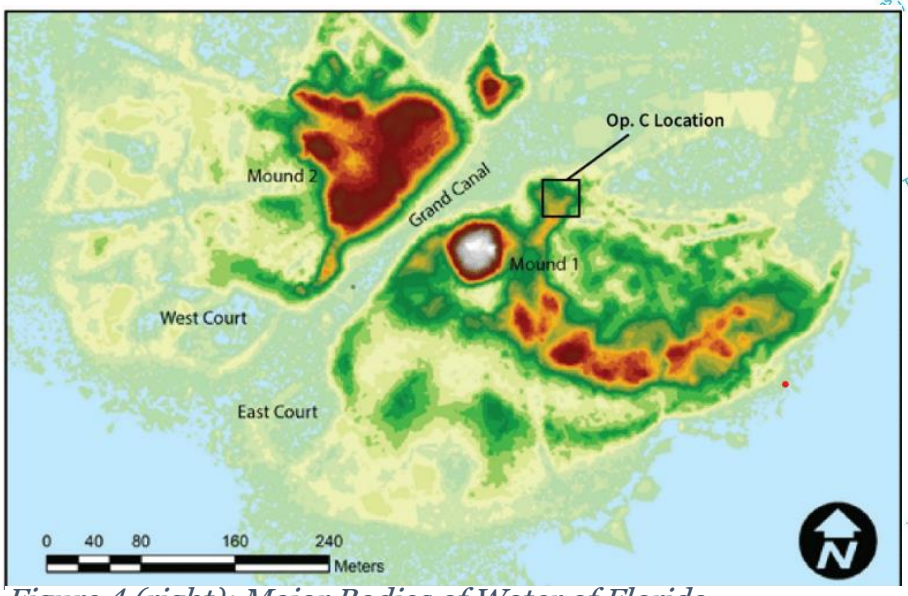
populations – did not appear for the mostly marine based foragers of the Gulf coast.[26] In the three centuries before Europeans laid eyes upon Florida's Gulf coast, the region's Indigenous population leveraged a period of climactic and sea-level stability into flourishing exchange networks, expanding communities, and reduced violence between peoples of different coastal populations.[27] As the fifteenth century came to a close, these networks of exchange brought the Calusa the first news of what Bartolomé de las Casas would later call the "destrucción de los Indios".

[26] Dale Hutchinson, *Bioarchaeology of the Florida Gulf Coast*, 5. For discussion of the importance of foodways, see Tanya M. Peres, "Foodways Archaeology: A Decade of Research from the Southeastern United States," *Journal of Archaeological Research*, Vol. 25, No. 4 (December 2017).

[27] William H. Marquardt and Karen J. Walker, "Southwest Florida during the Mississippi Period" in *Late Prehistoric Florida: Archaeology at the Edge of the Mississippian World,* edited by Keith Ashley and Nancy Marie White (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2012), 51. Marquardt and Walker posit that especially during the period from 1200AD-1500AD, "people of southwest Florida may have experienced the most stable and salubrious climatic and sea-level conditions of the preceding 2,000 years."; Dale L. Hutchinson*, Bioarchaeology of the Florida Gulf Coast: Adaptation, Conflict, and Change* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2020), 151. Calculating the frequency of cases of postcranial trauma from Palmer, Manasota Key, Gauthier, and Fort Center sites, Hutchinson reveals that trauma frequency was much higher prior to 800AD and likely declined following the Vandal Minimum(500AD-850AD) adaptations.

CHAPTER 3

Shatter Zones



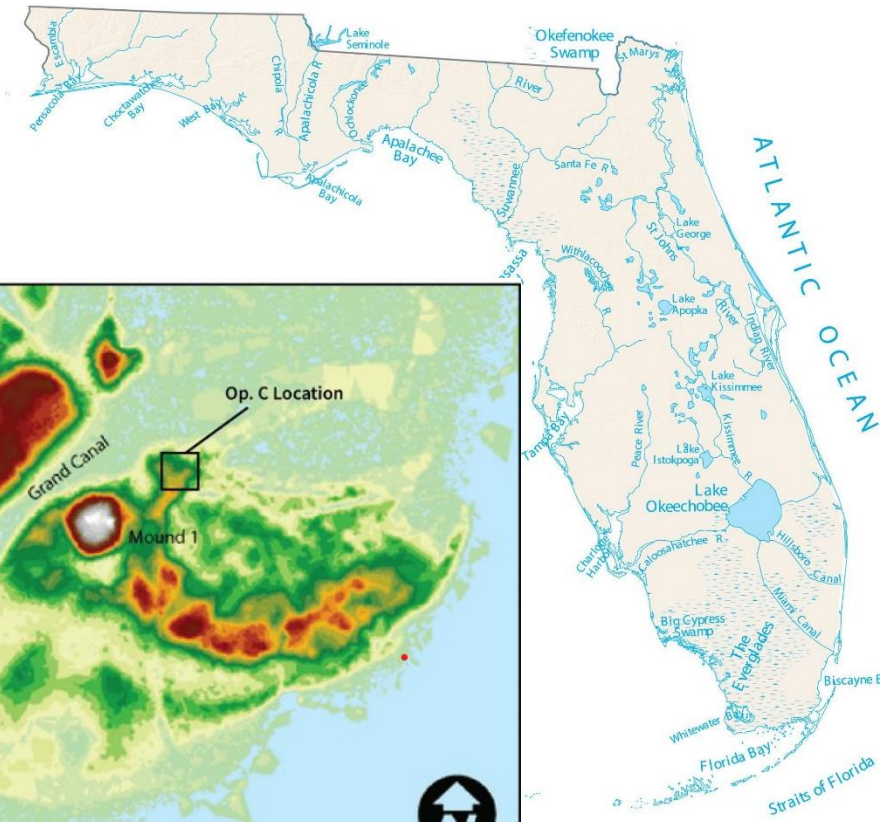


Figure 4 (right): Major Bodies of Water of Florida

Figure 3 (left): Imaging of the Calusa Capital at Caalus (Mound Key) and associated fish capture and canal systems. From Thompson et. al., "Ancient Engineering of Fish Capture and Storage."

At the end of the fifteenth century, the social world of the Caribbean began to shatter. As Erin Woodruff Stone has outlined, the effects of Indian slavery were profoundly shaping the early modern Indigenous world. Stone builds upon other scholarship on Indian slavery to discuss how Europeans – particularly the Spanish – expanded the system's Amerindian roots into organized and legalized European

processes especially predicated upon the medieval justification of "just war."[28] Extending the work of Robbie Ethridge and others, Stone applies the shatter zone framework to the Caribbean, positing that a similar instability - linked by trade, disease, warfare, and slavery - bound the Indigenous world.[29] Ethridge's framework intended to explain the fracturing and restructuring of societies in the Native South. Preexisting instability created by the regular rise and fall of polities was dynamic; when one polity collapsed, one or more rose to fill the vacuum, in some circumstances creating new, adjoined chiefdoms. But the European interference, especially in the Indian slave trade, dismantled that functionality. Slaving raids not only brought terror and dislocation, but "spread germs and caused deaths; deceased slaves needed to be replaced, and thus their deaths spurred additional raids."[30]

Before, both Taínos and their Arawak and Carib neighbors – much like their Mississippian counterparts -- primarily related the exchange of slaves to "reciprocal fictive kinship relationships between caciques" which could bestow status and cement power.[31] Amerindian and Caribbean populations prized these kinship bonds and clan status, which offered the protection and stability of established communities, as well as their resources. The Spanish undermined these processes, forcing caciques not only to abandon their ancestral homes and sacred landscapes where they "derived their spiritual and political authority," but face a new reality in which Europeans controlled thousands of enslaved foreigners.[32] It is through the binding of social relations and

[28] There were three primary justifications authorized by the Spanish Crown as exceptions to the 1500 prohibition to slavery; the 1503 exception for "cannibals," the 1504 "just war" provision, and the 1506 exception for rescate, or ransomed Indians bought from other Indians.

[29] See Ethridge *From Chicaza to Chickasaw;* Stone, *Captives of Conquest*, 6-7.

[30] Andrés Reséndes, *The Other Slavery: The Uncovered Story of Indian Enslavement in America* (New York: First Mariner Books, 2017), 6.

[31] Stone, *Captives of Conquest*, 15. For discussion on the characteristics of pre-contact Mississippian slavery, see Christina Snyder, *Slavery in Indian Country: The Changing Face of Captivity in Early America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012).

[32] Stone, *Captives of Conquest*, 17.

sacred space (especially at Caalus) that influenced the creation of powerful Calusa lineages.[33] Spanish conquest of the Americas and the Indigenous slave trade were inextricably linked, and through it the colonized Caribbean world was molded alongside increasing reliance on African slavery and its resultant cross-cultural exchanges.[34] Stone traces this interconnected world into which Europeans arrived, a world connected by marriage and trade through the "highway of the Caribbean."

However, in the wake of this shattering, Stone highlights the persistence of these kinship ties even as the region became progressively more unstable. As Spanish slave-raiding parties penetrated Guadeloupe in 1515, seventy percent of the 1,200 slaves they captured were Taínos from Puerto Rico, who had fled to adjacent islands seeking an expected shelter.[35] Some of these Taíno refugees ended up in Florida, and communities of displaced Caribbean Indians were established at Calusa sometime in the first years of the sixteenth century.[36] As Alejandra Dubcovsky argues, this flow of people created a network of "informed power" which few used to their advantage more adroitly than the Calusa.[37] Through their physical movement and circulation of goods and knowledge, as well as their ability to adapt to and utilize this information, Indigenous people influenced the dynamics of power in the Early Modern Caribbean and Southeastern American worlds. Especially in frontier and borderland spaces where political, economic, and cultural matrices were often overlapping and obscured, they were vital to establishing relationships of knowledge and power. It is from these Indigenous people that the Calusa decided to reject any of the early organized Spanish efforts to land in Charlotte Harbor at either Calusa capitol (Caalus or Tampa). They were informed of

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[33] Thompson et al., "Collective Action, State Building, and the Rise of the Calusa", 38.

[34] Stone, *Captives of Conquest*, 131.

[35] Stone, *Captives of Conquest*, 39.

[36] John Worth, "The Social Geography of South Florida during the Spanish Colonial Era," *71st Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology*, (San Juan, Puerto Rico, April 30, 2006), 2.

[37] See Alejandra Dubcovsky, *Informed Power: Communication in the Early American South* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016).

what has transpired in the Antilles by refugee populations washing ashore on their land, settled among them as maroon communities. This buffering of *community* knowledge with *outside* knowledge was not unique to the Calusa but it in fact suffused the Caribbean Basin and crossed ethnic and racial boundaries.

CHAPTER 4

Southwest Florida, 1566-1568

In 1566, the Calusa head chief Caalus petitioned Adelantado Pedro Menéndez de Áviles to join him in war against the Tocobaga.[38] At the time, however, the Spanish were interested in the conversion of Tampa Bay's Indians, declining to ally with Caalus in their destruction. When the group arrived at Tocobaga, it was not Caalus who found himself unwelcome, but the Christians. Despite telling the Tocobagas "that they should have no fear, that all the people on the ships that were there were true Christians, their friends," the villagers fled. The Tocobaga cacique alone remained with a few men and a wife, declaring that he would die before leaving his community's sacred space unprotected.[39] It would take four days of negotiations to convince the Tocobagas that these Christians would not behave as others had, murdering and pillaging. The cacique told Menéndez that they feared Spanish allegiance would foremost lie with the Calusa, "because he wished to make peace with the true Christians, and not the false ones."[40] The cacique reportedly requested thirty Christian soldiers to remain at Tampa Bay in 1566 to instruct the Tocobaga in God's law. But two years later, Pedro Menéndez Márquez stated that the Spanish garrison was abandoned. The only traces – two dead Christians on the beach, shot through with arrows.[41]

Like the Calusa, Tampa Bay's Indians were well-informed of the violence inflicted by those earlier Christians who had "sent word to tell the chiefs, their friends, that they

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[38] John Worth, *Discovering Florida: First-Contact Narratives from Spanish Expeditions along the Lower Gulf Coast* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2014), Gonzalo Solís de Merás, 1566-1569, Chapter XXV, 260.

[39] Worth, *Discovering Florida*, Solís de Merás, 261.

[40] Worth, *First Contact Narratives,* Solís de Merás C. XXV, 264.

[41] Worth, *First Contact Narratives,* Pedro Menéndez Márquez, March 28, 1568, p. 270.

should give them corn, and that if they did not, they would kill them."[42] Hammering Menéndez on the violences inflicted by other Spaniards, the cacique explained that the deaths of many of these headmen caused his community much grief and left within this place a lasting memory. Tampa Bay suffered both the Narváez and De Soto parties in the intervening years but Tocobagas' cacique appeared to maintain considerable power, mustering substantial community representation at his command - between twenty-nine chiefs and over one-hundred nobles. Hoping to find new terms especially as they would relate to his counterpart at Calusa, Tocobagas' cacique wished to make the Adelantado aware that his dealings with Europeans to this point had not suited his community.

The Tocobagas' relationship with the region's most dominant power, the Calusa, also provides insight into their, as well as their neighbors', ability to withstand the brunt of colonization's impacts.[43] In the years before and surrounding Menéndez' arrival in Florida, the Calusa harnessed control not only over the resources of Spanish shipwrecks, remaking and distributing Spanish gold and silver, but also over captives. Remarkably, at the time of Menéndez' arrival, Caalus (or Carlos by the Spanish) exercised the authority to execute political enemies within his domain as well as those outside his kingdom. They turned the Spaniards themselves into "almost a commodity… a new resource the Calusa exploited for political gain."[44] To foster common ground, these groups relied upon the human exchange which both Caalus and the Tocobaga cacique used to their advantage at the bargaining table. Serving as translator for the Calusa

[42] Worth, *First Contact Narratives*, Solís de Merás C. XXV, 262. Tampa Bay was visited both by the Pánfilo de Narváez and Hernando de Soto expedions, both of which seem to have given weight to the Tocobaga chiefs' impressions of Spanish as prone to thievery and murder.

[43] When Europeans arrived, it is commonly accepted that there were four principal residents of Tampa Bay: the Tocobaga, the Pojoy, the Uzita, and the Mocoço. All are considered descendants of the Safety Harbor Cultures, though more research is needed in this area.

[44] Victor D. Thompson, Amanda D. Roberts Thompson and John E Worth, "Political Ecology and the Event: Calusa Social Action in Early Colonial Entanglements," *Archeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association*, Vol. 29, 74. The Calusa king leveraged his control over a highly organized and mobile military, whose members benefitted from exemptions from labor requirements. Caalus reportedly sent a fleet of 300 canoes to Mocoço (Tocobaga's neighbor) in 1568.

contingent was a Christian prisoner of Caalus, who spoke the Tocobaga language, while the Tocobaga retained a Christian captive as translator as well.[45] But after four days of negotiations, the Tocobagas told Pedro Menéndez that they feared, above all else, the continued treachery of the Spanish, a newcomer to an old feud. They complicated the geopolitics of the Tocobaga-Calusa conflict, as the Tocobaga cacique pointed out that he doubted Menéndez' loyalty to them in the end. While up to this point, both Tocobaga and Calusa appeared capable of harnessing the human leverage necessary to navigate the introduction of more Spaniards into the region, this juncture seemed different.

The Jesuits, whom Menéndez had specifically selected for this effort to reduce Florida, were left at Calusa and Tequesta. Father Rogel, who by this time oversaw Florida's missions, lamented that he intended many times to go to Tocobaga, "whose cacique showed, perhaps, more propensity for conversion than Caalus."[46] Between 1566 and 1568, Caalus attempted to murder all of the Spanish at the capital, only for the Spanish to see through his own assassination. While Jesuit chronicler Félix Zubillaga proposes that it was impossible to know whether Tocobagas were sincere in their desire to convert, he also speculated that all of the cacique's capitulations to Christianity were an act of military subterfuge. Zubillaga detailed that the reputation of the Spaniards after the expeditions of Narváez and De Soto - "bastante desfavorable" - was well known throughout the region and that the Tocobaga cacique wished to make equal his forces to that of Caalus. The Tocobaga cacique and headmen, he posits, were looking for a way to take from Caalus some Spanish military support.[47] However, Zubillaga misses that in suggesting that thirty *soldiers* remain at Tocobaga, their cacique continued to commodify the Spanish alongside his Calusa counterpart, within an existing Indigenous conflict. What remains uncertain is why, in the two intervening years between visits

[45] Worth, *First Contact Narratives*, Solís de Merás C. XXV, 261.

[46] Félix Zubillaga, *La Florida: la misión jesuítica (1566-1572) y la colonización española* (Rome: Bibliotheca Instituti Historici S. I., 1941), 283. After Father Martinez was killed at Jacora, leadership fell to Father Rogel.

[47] Félix Zubillaga, *La Florida: la misión jesuítica*, 290.

from authorities, they met a grisly fate. Insight into this conflict also shines light into why, in subsequent years, some Tocobagas may have chosen to leave Tampa Bay.

It is uncertain what happened between the agreement to leave soldiers at Tocobaga and the discovery of their deaths in 1568. But there are other, similar events upon which we might reconstruct a history. The decision to absorb thirty Spanish soldiers into the Tocobaga community, a decision based in the geopolitics of a changing world, perhaps backfired on the cacique, leading to a fragmentation of his peoples and the death of the soldiers themselves. In seeking to understand this decisive period in Tocobaga history, we might look north to the example of Joara, where Spanish impropriety led to a rapidly deteriorating alliance in the mountains.

In December of the same year Adelantado Menéndez visited Tampa Bay, Juan Pardo set out from La Florida's capital at Santa Elena. His force of 125 men followed the Wateree and Catawba Rivers until they reached Joara, a large native town on the eastern fringes of the Appalachians, where they established friendly relations with Joara Mico, the leader of Joara, who held sway over several other towns nearby. There, Pardo built Fort San Juan and garrisoned it with thirty men, intent on expanding La Florida's imperial reach into America's northern interior, claiming land and souls while building an improbably long Camino Real from Santa Elena's deep-water port to Zacatecas's bountiful, but distant silver mines.[48] Less than two years later, the relationship with Joara's people soured. Several factors could have been to blame, but Robin Beck and others have detailed two which stand out: "the soldiers demand for food and their impropriety with Indian women."[49]

[48] See Paul E. Hoffman, *A New Andalucía and a Way to the Orient: The American Southeast During the Sixteenth Century* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1990); Charles M. Hudson, *The Juan Pardo Expeditions: Explorations of the Carolinas and Tennessee, 1566-1568*. (Washington D.C. Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990).

[49] Robin A. Beck, Gayle J. Fritz, Heather A. Lapham, David G. Moore, and Christopher B. Rodning. "The Politics of Provisioning: Food and Gender at Fort San Juan de Joara, 1566–1568." *American Antiquity* 81, no. 1 (2016), 7.

Using a combined analysis of gender, labor, and food and foodways, archaeologists studying the Berry Site (31BK22) have documented the breakdown in the Indigenous-Spanish relationship between 1566-1568 through the material remains of a Spanish compound (Cuenca) and Fort San Juan de Joara.[50] Beck et al. were interested in the ways the Berry Site might relate to Kathleen Deagan's "St. Augustine pattern," a theory in which relationships between Indigenous (and later African) women and European men created new patterns of mestizaje around the domestic realm. In the private, domestic sphere, Indian women exercised considerable control, whereas in those spaces that were public, Spanish men left behind more visible material signs of dominance.[51] At Joara, however, it was revealed that the St. Augustine pattern fits only in limited fashion. Archaeological evidence indeed reveals that within the compound, Native women almost certainly prepared for the Spanish men the plant food dishes they consumed, but Native men controlled a significant portion of the Spanish diet at Joara as well.

These archaeologists identified two significant components to the site, the first characterized by cooperative relations, especially visible through "the blending of distinct native and European carpentry and construction practices."[52] Additionally, in the early phase, Joaran hunters brought whole deer carcasses and substantial portions of bear to their Spanish counterparts at a ratio of 1:1. But during the second phase, they brought them butchered carcasses, and reduced the ratio of deer to bear, a prized game meat, from 1:1 to 9:1. Beck et al. suggest that on both sides, the men were isolating from each other as the relationship soured.[53] Additionally, by butchering the meat elsewhere,

[50] Fieldwork at the Berry Site has extended over 17 seasons: 1986, 1996-1997, 2001-2014. They concentrated on a .3-ha area on the northernmost margin of the site associated with the five burned structures. Fort San Juan is about 25m south of this compound.

[51] Kathleen A. Deagan, "Mestizaje in Colonial St. Augustine," *Ethnohistory* Vol. 20, No. 1 (Winter, 1973), 63.

[52] Beck et. al., "Politics of Provisioning," 10.

[53] Beck et. al., "Politics of Provisioning," 21.

the Joarans took away access to other products of the carcass, including skins and hides. Jaime Martínez, a Spanish soldier, and Teresa Martín, a Native woman, testified later that the backsliding in relations could be attributed to soldiers' demands for food and misbehavior towards Joaran women. Against the commands of Juan Pardo, who forbade relations with Native women, Martín testified that they waited "three or four moons" after Pardo left before "committing improprieties with Indian women, angering their men."[54] In June 1568, three months after Pedro Menéndez Márquez discovered three dead bodies on the beaches of Tocobaga, Joara Mico and his allies rose up and destroyed all of Juan Pardo's six interior forts, killing about 130 soldiers. Just as the Spanish would never missionize the Tocobaga, they would never reach the Northern frontiers again.

In attempting to understand what happened in those two years before Márquez returned to Tampa Bay, the example of Joara and Fort San Juan is illustrative. The Tocobaga cacique invited thirty Spanish soldiers into his community in an attempt either to bolster his military forces or weaken those of his primary opponent by harnessing a contingent of European fighters for his own. His community, unlike that of Caalus, had been subjected to two separate and brutal interactions with European colonizers. While difficult to say exactly what impact the Narváez and De Soto entradas had on the Tocobagas either demographically or mentally, in addition to the insight from Menéndez' meeting with the cacique, Tampa Bay's Indians did alter their burial patterns. Throughout South Florida, bodies were cleaned of their flesh for burial, a process that could be accomplished in as few as four days or several years. Historians have found similar processes across Florida of cleaning the bones of the dead, sometimes for years, before a secondary burial. Pánfilo de Narváez' men came upon what Scott Cave interprets as, "an act of eloquent improvisation" during which, "the

[54] Beck et. al., "Politics of Provisioning," 8; Charles Hudson, *The Juan Pardo Expeditions: Explorations of the Carolinas and Tennessee, 1566-1568 (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1990), 176.*

Tocobaga applied their rituals to the Spanish corpses that washed ashore, interring them above ground in the crates they had arrived with."[55]

But Tatham Mound, a burial site most likely affiliated with the Tocobaga at the time Europeans arrived in the region, contradicts this history of ritual cleaning. Burial mounds and their practices represent a significant place in South Florida Indian life, where communities gathered to receive the wisdom of their ancestors. Any variation of these sacred practices would represent a dramatic change perhaps both apparent to archaeologists and useful in the search for catastrophic epidemic.[56] At Tatham Mound we can see indications of dramatic alterations: of the 339 total interpreted internments, 94 are *primary* burials pertaining to the colonial period. These burials represent a serious divergence from ritual mortuary behavior, possibly representing a large-scale death event which forced those living at Tampa Bay to change their burial procedures. However, Hutchinson and Mitchem's evaluations for the mound site at Weeki Wachee provide an interesting contrast, as 84 individuals were interred mostly as secondary burials. They also note that only a few European artifacts were recovered, spread across the assemblage. Only 50 km northeast of Tatham Mound, the sites illustrate the varied effects of colonization, "not only between different aboriginal groups, but even between settlements within a single polity."[57] As the Tocobaga cacique incorporated Spanish soldiers into his community, he risked introducing diseases as well as the corresponding discord. As Adelantado Menéndez noted, the thirty Spaniards were charged to Garciá

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[55] Scott Cave, "Madalena: The Entangled History of one Indigenous Floridian Woman in the Atlantic World" *The Americas*, 74 (2): 171-200, 182.

[56] John H. Hann with introduction by William H. Marquardt, *Missions to the Calusa* (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 1991), 238. The first mission to the Calusa was attempted by the Jesuit Juan Rogel. In June of 1567, Rogel wrote of the Calusa that they believe themselves to have three souls – one's pupil, one's shadow, and one's reflection – and that, "when a man dies, they say that two of the souls leave the body and that the third one, which is the pupil of the eye, remains in the body always. And thus they go to the burial place (*enteramiento*) to speak with the deceased ones and to ask their advice about the things they have to do as if they were alive."; Dale L. Hutchinson and Jeffrey M. Mitchem "Correlates of Contact: Epidemic Disease in Archaeological Context" *Historical Archaeology*, 2001, Vol. 35, No. 2 (2001), 62.

[57] Dale L. Hutchinson and Jeffrey M. Mitchem, "The Weeki Wachee Mound: An Early Contact" Southeastern Archaeology, Vol. 15 (Summer 1996), 61.

Martínez de Cos, who, while seen as a Christian of good judgement, "remained completely against his will" because of a "certain disobedience."[58]

By the Vandal Minimum climatic event (500AD-850 AD), Calusa and Tocobaga communities began restructuring into larger household units. Built upon the "lattice-work" of collective action required over the centuries, dominant lineages rose whose power was tied to particular places at Tampa Bay or at Caalus.[59] Just as was the case across Mississippian society more broadly, in Southwest Florida, the authority of these paramount chiefs came from their connection to the spirit world. Much as Christina Snyder links the "three-tiered cosmos" within which only a legitimate Mississippian chief could keep in order, the Calusa paramount chief was reported to control Earth's bounty.[60] Bounding the control of goods from Calusa and abroad to the holy places like mounds at Caalus, these paramount chiefs became divinely powerful figures, exercising authority over the living and the dead. The introduction of catastrophe and failure of such powerful individuals in the political sphere could shake the foundations of their traditional role as godly characters. In the nineteenth century, the Cherokee laid blame for the fall of Mississippian elites upon the Aní-Kutánî. Their power, gained from an audience with the Master of Breath, led them to become decadent tyrants, indulging in their own passions without regard for the rights of nonelite Cherokees, who eventually rose up and killed them.[61]

While there is no evidence that the Tocobagas killed their cacique, his decision to incorporate thirty Spanish warriors into his community could have resulted in similar complaints seen at Joara. García Martínez de Cos, already remaining in Tocobaga unwillingly, perhaps exercised insufficient control over soldiers with an already poor

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[58] Worth, *First-Contact Narratives*, Solís de Meras Ch. XXV, 264.

[59] Thompson et al., "Collective action, state building, and the rise of the Calusa," 40.

[60] Christina Snyder, *Slavery in Indian Country: The Changing Face of Captivity in Early America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012), 16; Rene de Laudonnière, *Three Voyages*, (1564), translated by Charles E. Bennett (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1975), 110.

[61] Snyder, *Slavery in Indian Country,* 42.

reputation. The Spanish, and Europeans more broadly, misconstrued the role of Indigenous women. With the exception of the Calusa, most Florida societies were matrilineal, and while marine-based cultures may have had different roles for women in agriculture, Southern Indians esteemed all women for their role in life-giving and establishing ruling lineages.[62] The rape of a Native woman under the protection of kinship or clan membership was a grievous offense, one that could disrupt lineages based upon women. The Tocobaga had four decades of knowledge of the Spanish, all of it bad, and yet their cacique chose to bring these men into his community, exposing his people to the dangers of armed and disease-bearing Europeans who had shown little regard for their welfare in the past. Led by Joara Mico, the Joarans banded together to burn Juan Pardo's forts, excising the Spanish from their interior aspirations. But as the Cherokees rose against the Aní-Kutánî, the removal of their elites caused a domino effect, as their community fell back to the protection of smaller, kinship groups.[63] In increasingly uncertain circumstances, the Tocobaga perhaps similarly fell back upon large, kinship based communities for protection, fragmenting upon a failure of the authority of their cacique.

[62] Snyder, *Slavery in Indian Country,* 37.

[63] Snyder, *Slavery in Indian Country,* 42.

CHAPTER 5

Among the Apalachee, ? – 1709

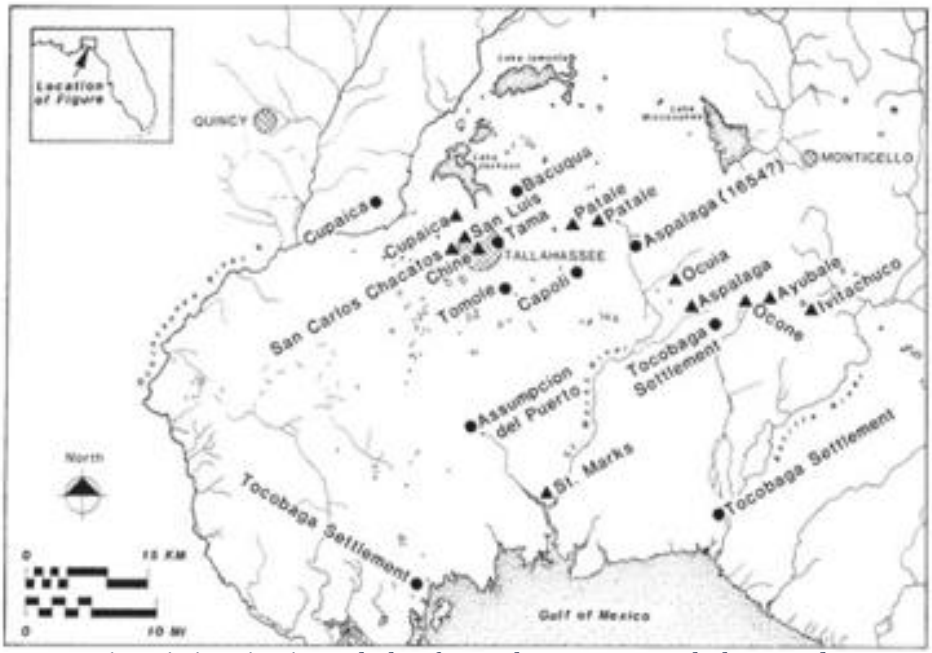

Figure 5: Major Mission Sites in Apalachee from John H. Haan, Apalachee: Land Between the Rivers

Cápitan Géneral Domingo de Leturiondo visited the village of "infidel Tocopaca [sic]," on the 9th of January 1678."[64] Part of Governor Pablo de Hita y Sálazar's ordered visitations of Timucua and Apalachee, they were meant to deliver orders from the Spanish Crown called autos. Leturiondo reported that to be successful, the Spanish should seek out the bujios, "where it is their custom to hold councils and audiences. There, the caciques and their heirs are joined by other leaders and caciques."[65] Through Crown translators, Leturiondo believed that during these juntas, the autos could be read and explained to real sources of authority, preventing past failures in transmitting Crown and cannon law. Implicitly, the Spanish recognized that their ability to intercede

[64] Escribanía de Cámara, 154A, "Residencia del Gobernador Pablo de Hita y Salazar," AGI, P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History, Microfilm, folio 561.

[65] EC, 154A, folio 537.

in Indian lands depended upon Indian leaders, but the Spanish were fixated upon reordering Native life which included transforming the physical world around them. For over one hundred years, the Franciscans and other Spanish officials attempted to realign the trails of the Apalachee and Timucua into the Camino Real, intended to connect La Florida to Nueva España. Indigenous pathways, both by land and by water, were physical manifestations of "political, economic, cultural, and often spiritual linkages."[66] Knowledge and understanding of the rights to these pathways and how they bound the greater Southeast was key to exchange networks and safe conduct. Where not outright rejected, as in Tocobaga and Calusa, the Spanish were forced to make adaptations to Native lifeways. Archaeological evidence reveals the persistence of pre-European Apalachee settlement arrangements at the outset of missionization; major settlements continued to develop along matrilineal inheritance and matrilocal residence. Friars remained situated with and dependent upon local chiefs.[67]

Apalachee had two capital towns at the time: Anhaica (San Luis de Talimali) to the west and Ivitachuco in the east. There is some suggestion that the two holatas, perhaps brothers of the same ruling lineage, may have represented peace and war respectively (much like the White and Red towns among the Muskogee), with the cacique of each town believed to have been endowed with corresponding leadership powers when Apalachee was in need.[68] Franciscan friar Martín Prieto accompanied Timucua chiefs to Ivitachuco in 1608, who sought peace with Apalachee. When Timucua rebelled, Governor Rebolledo held the subsequent trials of the Timucuan leaders at Ivitachuco in 1656. The Spanish simultaneously recognized their alliance with Apalachee in wartime, as well as the role of the Ivitachuco cacique as broker of peace.

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[66] Dubcovsky, *Informed Power*, 21.

[67] Rochelle A. Marrinan, "The Lives of Friars in Apalachee Province," in *Unearthing the Missions of Spanish Florida*, ed. Tanya M. Peres and Rochelle A. Marrinan (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 2021), 269.

[68] Bonnie G. McEwan, "Colonialism on the Spanish Florida Frontier: Mission San Luis, 1656-1704," *The Florida Historical Quarterly,* Vol. 92, No. 3 (Winter 2014), 594.

But much of the cooperation with Apalachee leaders was predicated on their devout dedication to Christianity.

The vast majority of Tocobagas never converted to Christianity. Leturiondo, pressing the members of the junta about their faith, was told that they had not refused to be Christians. Rather, "there had never been a cleric nor secular sent to teach them God's law," and Leturiondo proposed that someone should be sought for their communities' Christian education.[69] It is clear that Leturiondo believed that the Tocobagas represented potential – whether good or bad he may not yet have decided. Much of his motivation in visiting the Tocobagas was buried in apprehension that they could not be trusted. Fearing they might act as spies, the Crown sought to close the channel of the Bay of Apalachee where the Tocobagas, "stir unrest with other nations" including the English.[70] The Tocobagas' livelihood depended on the Wacissa River, a riverine environment similar to their ancestral homelands along Tampa Bay. Leturiondo's January visit revealed that they provided canoe transport for products arriving at Apalachee at the port. The Tocobagas told him there was no need to close the mouth of the Wacissa for fear of the English or other enemies, because that entrance was already blocked by trees and "they would have to tear away those that are there each time they leave by that passage."[71] The Tocobagas pass "through a branch in the channel that they had hidden for them to leave and enter."[72] The Captain General clearly recognized that the Tocobaga, heathen or not, possessed important skill and knowledge.

On January 16, Leturiondo passed through the village of San Pedro de Potohiriba. During the gathered junta, the Crown sought a "casiquillo" to settle families in a place called Ivitanayo, east from their village in Yustaga on the Camino Real. But

[69] EC, 154A, folio 562.

[70] EC, 154A, folio 562.

[71] EC, 154A, folio 562.

[72] EC, 154A, folio 562.

the caciques complained that it was "too far to carry their goods and families." [73] Part of this attempt to reorder Native lifeways along the royal road included the use of Tocobaga allies. Leturiondo sent messengers to the un-missionized settlement along the Waccissa, asking that "they prepare some of the canoes of the Tocopacas so that they could conduct maize and other goods from the mouth of the Rio San Marcos to Pulivica."[74]

But the Tocobaga never would be a missionized community, begging the question why the Crown might seek their aid. Their historically contentious relationship with the Spanish included the bloody encounters at contact and during the governorship of Menéndez, which included the murder of the thirty soldiers on the beaches of Tampa Bay. But Leturiondo remained hopeful in his recording of the notes of Wacissa visitation. The junta revealed to Leturiondo that years ago, between eighteen and twenty within the community had died, and "having sought baptism at the hour of their deaths were interred in the church at Ivitachuco."[75] The captain general perhaps based his hopes here. Days later, when he returned to Ivitachuco again, he dictated to holata Don Patricio Hinachuba that they "should not be cast out from where they were nor bothered… [because] it is hoped that they become Christians as some of them did at their deaths."[76] While Leturiondo demanded the holata respect the Tocobagas' sovereignty, he failed to recognize that the presence of the maroon community within Apalachee likely represented existing ties between the two. They would not only have fled the progressively more hostile environment in South Florida, a place where Indian and Spanish bodies were increasingly commodified, but perhaps chosen to situate within the dominion of Ivitachuco's powerful holata.

[73] EC, 154A, folio 596. Haan, *Apalachee*, 153.

[74] EC, 154A, folio 598-599.

[75] EC, 154A folio 562.

[76] EC, 154A, folio 565.

Archaeological excavations have not been undertaken at Ivitachuco's church, but the report to Leturiondo states clearly that the Tocobaga dead were buried *within* the church at Ivitachuco. During the mission period, burial below the floor of a doctrina (where a mass was held each day) was prized by the mission Indians for converted Indian dead, though the particulars of the burial ceremony are not elaborated in the archival sources.[77] While we cannot be sure without further archaeological research, the eighteen to twenty dead Tocobagas were buried within the doctrina of Ivitachuco, possibly even in the privileged position beneath the church's floor. In achieving a site of such prestige for his community's dead, perhaps the Tocobaga cacique drew on one of the preeminent characteristics of the Mississippian world in seeking a respectful afterlife for the dead among them – kinship. In combination with the economic value the Tocobaga maroons added to Apalachee and the Spanish Crown allies, it appears that their community drew on fictive or real kin ties which formed the basis for all social relations in the Mississippian world, interwoven throughout communities of the Southeast.[78] While we can only speculate what relationship he shared with one of Apalachee's two most powerful holatas, more than economics would have been necessary to gain such a revered placement for the dead of an unconverted community. The site at the Wacissa River was chosen for a place of settlement in order to add a prominent and valuable ally in a volatile and dynamic world.

And while this connection is speculative, it is also bolstered by another piece of evidence. When Colonel Moore and the Yamasee raided Apalachee 1704, Ivitachuco

[77] Christopher M. Stojanowski, *Mission Cemeteries, Mission Peoples: Historical and Evolutionary Dimensions of Intracemetery Bioarcaheology in Spanish Florida* (Gainesville, FL University Press of Florida, 2013), 35.

[78] See Christina Snyder, *Slavery in Indian Country: The Changing Face of Captivity in Early America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012), 55. "Clan affiliation was the most salient component of identity, dictating relative status and providing a framework for all social relations. Foreigners could be adopted into clans… Allies were fictive kin, transformed through ceremony from strangers to friends. Allied groups joined together as partners in trade and war. Forging fictive kin ties with multiple groups enabled Southern Indians to create vast networks across the region and beyond, but these alliances required maintenance, including gift exchange and ceremonial renewal, in order to remain strong."

paid a ransom to avoid their village's destruction.[79] After the initial attack on Ayubale just to their west, the holata called his people into the mission center at Ivitachuco and rode out to meet Moore alone on horseback. Encouraging peace by reminding the former governor of South Carolina that the town was "strong and well-made," Don Patricio bought the safety of his people in exchange for the "church plate and… horses leaden with provisions."[80] But Ivitachuco was not the only village left unharmed; the neighboring Tocobagas were also spared. While the Apalachee Indians of Ivitachuco eventually fled, moving outside of San Agustín in 1706, the Tocobagas resisted the English and their Indian allies for another three years along the Wacissa.

[79] John Haan, *Apalachee: The Land Between the Rivers* (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 1988), 61.

[80] See Dubcovsky, *Informed Power*, 123; Mark F. Boyd, Hale G. Smith, and John W. Griffin, *Here They Once Stood: the Tragic End of the Apalachee Missions* (Gainesville, FL University of Florida Press, 1951), 92.

CHAPTER 6

Conclusion

When James Moore sought funding for his second campaign to sabotage Florida, South Carolina's colonial government refused. Moore, the "talented, forceful, and headstrong arch-foe to the proprietors… let no one stand between himself and profits from the Indian trade."[81] Moore and his allies would be satisfied with the alternative arrangement the Lords Proprietors provided; the plunder was theirs. For decades, Englishmen like Moore had followed Native guides on the route "to go a-Slave Catching."[82] During this time, the English relied primarily upon Yamasees to guide their violent forays into Florida, and not by accident. The Yamasee knew the land and peoples well, acting at least for a time as a powerful ally and buffer between geopolitical warzones.[83] Defined by "mobility rather than stability," Yamasees had once settled within Spanish jurisdiction, only to quickly recognize that "for all their welcome of native refugees escaping English slaving raids, Florida officials offered very little physical protection."[84] Disinterested in Christianity and attracted to the autonomy and

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[81] Gallay, *The Indian Slave Trade*, 93.

[82] Herman Moll *A new map of the north parts of America claimed by France under ye names of Louisiana, Mississipi i.e. Mississippi, Canada, and New France with ye adjoining territories of England and Spain: to Thomas Bromsall, esq., this map of Louisiana, Mississipi i.e. Mississippi & c. is most humbly dedicated, H. Moll, geographer*. (London: Sold by H. Moll, 1720), Map, https://www.loc.gov/item/2001624907/. The key to this map includes details provided by Thomas Nairne, an Indian Agent for Carolina who composed the *Journalls to the Chicasaws and Talapoosies*. Thomas Nairne, *Nairne's Muskhogean Journals: the 1708 Expedition to the Mississippi River*, ed. Alexander Moore (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 1988). Nairne outlined a strategy by which the colony would use trade in pelts and enslaved Indians to gain power. He participated in at least one raid into Florida, going as far as the everglades to take 35 slaves, whom he sold at a Charleston market in 1705.

[83] Gallay, *The Indian Slave Trade*, 133. In the last decades of the seventeenth century, Spain, England, and France envisioned competition for the Southeast becoming a political battle between colonial empires, with Indigenous Americans at the center, either in (often abusive) trading relationships, or in Spain's expanding mission system.

[84] Alejandra Dubcovsky, *Informed Power: Communication in the Early American South* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016), 110. Time and time again, the Spanish refuse to arm their native allies.

firearms proffered by a potential trading relationship with Stuart's Town, many Yamasee followed cacique Altamaha back to Carolina.

However, some Yamasee remained in Florida or retained kinship ties with other Indians in the area. A 1680 list records "twenty-two heathen Yamasee" living at the fresh-water Timucua province of San Antonio de Nacape, very near to the place where Thomas Nairne's Yamasee guides took their 35 captives in 1705.[85] More than recognizing the persistence of relationships between the Spanish and Indigenous Floridians among whom they had resided, the Yamasee possessed a network of knowledge from which the English sought to profit, deeply embroiled in the Indian slave trade after 1670. Along the Wacissa River just west, Tocobaga maroons leveraged kinship and knowledge to forge community safety, part of a wider pattern across the region where Indian maroons forged powerful sources of knowledge. In the first century of colonial interaction, converging shatter zones reorganized the world of the former rivals of the Calusa, South Florida's preeminent Indian kingdom. Their survival among the land of the Apalachee represents a microcosm from which to reframe our understanding of the changing world of early modern Florida – a world where Indigenous people made and remade their own worlds.

In highlighting the maroons of the Wacissa, this project has developed only a fractional lens into the life of Indigenous Florida and the circum-Caribbean. These investigations developed in part because of the frustrating lack of sources for research into the Tocobaga, which I addressed by seeking them in the relatively archival and archaeologically resource-rich region of Apalachee. But the Tocobagas were not alone in this pattern of settlement across La Florida, and so far, I have identified at least three communities with similar histories across the peninsula. I expect that more time in the archives will reveal more maroons, even though their identity in many ways is defined by their obscurity. In the early seventeenth century, several unidentified, and un-

[85] Santo Domingo, 226 "Letter to the Queen," 8 March 1680, AGI.

missionized groups lived within Apalachee, as well as the "heathen" Yamasees who lived at Freshwater Timucua. It is also possible that the tradition of "boat people" traversing the Caribbean has deep, Indigenous roots. Over 150 years before the major evacuation of Florida's Indians to Cuba in the early 1700s, a pueblo de indios was established at Guanabacoa on the southeastern side of Havana harbor.[86] It is in this town, today studied for its African diaspora and historical Santería, where John Worth and others tracked the Calusa exodus that I posit an Indigenous Floridian connection much earlier.[87] Well before the devastation of 1700s slave-raiding, historical and archaeological records of this pueblo de indios in Guanabacoa indicates a reciprocal trade with Florida in cassava and the transplantation of Floridian medicine and people.[88]

The prehistoric and protohistoric collections from sites along Tampa Bay are predominantly housed in the Florida Museum in Gainesville, along with many corresponding collections from Apalachee. Ongoing ceramics research is revealing connections between the two, especially the Aucilla River sites and Tatham Mound collections. Current studies indicate local sourcing and production which was then transferred to other communities throughout the Mississippian period.[89] Further investigations might reveal the character of those interactions. What were the social

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[86] See Lisette Roura Álvarez y Odlanyer Hernández de Lara, "Indios naturales y floridanos en Guanabacoa, La Habana, Cuba," *Ciencia y Sociedad,* vol. 44(4) https://doi.org/10.22206/cys.2019.v44i4. and D. Félix Vidal y Cirera, *Historia de La Villa de Guanabacoa: Desde la Colonización de Cuba por los Españoles hasta Nuestros Días* (Habana: La Universal, 1887); John Worth, "The Social Geography of South Florida during the Spanish Colonial Era," *71st Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology*, (San Juan, Puerto Rico, April 30, 2006), 9. John Worth suggests that as the Western Florida mission chain collapsed between 1704-1706, Creek raiders began penetrating further South along the Peninsula. Safe havens were established at St. Augustine and the Florida Keys and evacuations carried significant populations to Cuba, but within the next 50 years Worth tracks less than 100 Calusa survivors to Key West, victims of the final raid on 17 May 1760.

[87] John Worth, "A History of Southeastern Indians in Cuba; 1513-1823" (Southeastern Archaeological Conference, 2004), 5.

[88] Roura Álvarez, L. and Hernández de Lara, O. "Indios naturales y floridanos en Guanabacoa", 2019, La Habana, Cuba. Ciencia y Sociedad, 44(4), 35-50. https://doi.org/10.22206/cys.2019.v44i4.pp35-50.

[89] Dr. Neill Wallis, email to author, March 9, 2022. Dr. Wallis, the Assistant Curator at the Florida Museum will be presenting the findings of this research at the 87th Annual Society for American Archaeology Conference.

circumstances under which Indigenous Floridians from different polities gathered and exchanged goods, and what patterns might they reveal? Older, precontact connections would strengthen the argument that these Tocobagas settled in Apalachee because of longstanding relationships, which would have included ties of kinship. In this, then, the story of the maroons of the Wacissa only scratches the surface of what might be learned.

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