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ST. AUGUSTINE'S FALLOUT FROM THE YAMASEE WAR

by JOHN H. HANN

BETWEEN 1702 and 1705, Englishmen from South Carolina and their Indian allies destroyed all the surviving missions in Spanish Florida from Apalachee to Amelia Island. A remnant Guale population drawn from at least fifteen settlements of coastal Georgia had taken refuge in the 1680s at three mission sites on Amelia Island.¹ In 1702, James Moore, governor at Charles Town, captured and burned St. Augustine. Only the town's castillo and the refugees it housed survived Moore's assault. Renewed English and Indian attacks against the inland missions in 1704 and 1705 brought new waves of native refugees to St. Augustine. The greatest influx, however, began in 1715 in the wake of the general uprising among the native inhabitants of South Carolina known as the Yamasee War. Paradoxically, many who came in flight from the failed rebellion had played prominent roles in the destruction of the Florida missions. The influx led to a significant reorganization and the expansion of the native settlements that had appeared in the period 1704-1711 to accommodate refugees from the destroyed missions.

The so-called Yamasee War involved far more than natives of that one nation. As Verner W. Crane noted, the war constituted "a far-reaching revolt against the Carolinian trading régime, involving the Creek, the Choctaw, and to a less extent the Cherokee, as well as the tribes of the Piedmont and of the Savannah River and Port Royal districts." Among those Indians involved from the Savannah River district were Apalachicola and

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1. John H. Hann, "Summary Guide to Spanish Florida Missions and *Visitas* with Churches in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *The Americas* 46 (April 1990), passim; John H. Hann "Twilight of the Mocamo and Guale Aborigines as Portrayed in the 1695 Spanish Visitation," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 66 (July 1987), 4-5, 12.

Apalachee. Although the Yamasee played a leading role in the uprising, Crane believed the Creek were the probable authors of the conspiracy, sharing with the Yamasee "and with other interior tribes a greater resentment of the tyrannies of the Charles Town traders." Concerning the consequences of this revolt, Crane concluded that "in its results, leading as it did to the awakening of the English colonial authorities to the danger of French encirclement, to a constitutional revolution in South Carolina, to far-reaching migrations of the southern tribes, and to a reorientation of wilderness diplomacy in the South which altered seriously the prospects of English, French, and Spanish rivalry, it takes rank with the more famous Indian conspiracies of colonial times."²

A prime source for the revolt's impact on St. Augustine and the native settlements girdling it is a detailed census of those native settlements.³ It was taken in April 1717 by the captain of armored cavalry, Joseph Primo de Rivera, who visited each of the ten settlements to meet the people who had assembled in the principal council houses.

Rivera listed the villages by name, specifying the language of the principal component of each, and the identity of inhabitants belonging to other linguistic groups that had joined the settlement. He named each head chief, indicated the number of the chiefs leading men, and the number of ordinary Indians residing in the village. Rivera also recorded whether the leaders and general population were heathen or Christian, whether the chief ruled de jure or de facto, and how many Indians were vassals of the ruling chief. He stated how many Indians owed allegiance to other chiefs living in the village, and how many, among those who had joined a particular village, lacked a chief. Rivera's tally was broken down into categories of men, women, and children. Children were listed by sex. Rivera noted how many men were fit to be warriors. Those recently converted to Christianity were also specifically listed.

2. Verner W. Crane, *The Southern Frontier 1670-1732*, paperback ed. (Ann Arbor, 1956), 162.

3. It is found in Juan de Ayala y Escobar to king, April 18, 1717, Archivo General de Indias (hereafter AGI), Santo Domingo (hereafter SD) 843, Stetson Collection (hereafter SC), P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville.

In a covering letter for the census, the governor noted that the listings included "the number of heathen and Christian Indians of all the villages established in due form after I took possession." The governor's statement suggests that, in addition to authorizing or assigning settlement sites for the Yamasee War refugees, he had carried out a general reorganization of the pre-existing settlements inhabited by survivors from the missions destroyed in 1702, 1704, and 1705 who had sought refuge near St. Augustine.⁴

A 1711 census listed seven settlements: San Luis de Talimali, alias Abosayan; Santo Tomás de Santa Fé, alias Esperansa; Salamototo; San Juan del Puerto; Santa Caterina de Guale; Tolomato; and Nombre de Dios. The 401 inhabitants were described as living in camps (rancherías) located within "a pistol shot" of the principal military post.⁵ It suggests impermanence; there was always the constant threat of attack by Indians allied with the English, such as the Yamasee and Creek who had destroyed the earlier missions.

The Yamasee War removed that threat for a brief time. The Yamasee, one of the major predator peoples responsible for the constant harassment of "Spanish" Indians, now sought refuge from English vengeance among their former prey. Substantial elements among the various bodies that comprised the Creek, the other major predator, briefly moved toward a policy of neutrality and accommodation with the Spaniards, spearheaded by Lower Creek elements and a few Apalachee who urged Creek alignment with the Spaniards.⁶ That turnabout permitted a momentary relaxation of the siege mentality that had held the settlements of 1711 to a narrow perimeter under the protection of the guns and forces at St. Augustine. With abatement of the threat, Governor Juan de Ayala y Escobar seems to have launched a general resettlement of the most, if not all, of the Indians of earlier settlements at the same time that the newcomers were being assigned village sites. The Rivera census and later documents indicate that some of the 1717 settlements were

4. Ibid.

5. Francisco de Córcoles y Martínez to king, April 9, 1711, AGI, SD 843, SC.

6. Crane, *Southern Frontier*, 254-55; John H. Hann, *Apalachee: the Land between the Rivers* (Gainesville, 1988), 312-14. Those Lower Creek elements were largely Hitchiti speakers, living along the lower to middle Chattahoochee.

located three to five or more leagues from St. Augustine. Two of the ten settlements listed in 1717 had a Spanish garrison and fort to assist native warriors. The settlements' locations were doubtless chosen to suit Spanish interests as well as those of the natives.⁷ The disappearance or change of name of four of the 1711 settlements is also indicative of such reorganization and relocation.

Those whose names disappeared or were changed were San Luis de Talimali, Santo Tomás de Santa Fé, San Juan del Puerto, and Salapototo. In 1717 surviving Salamototo lived as "attached" inhabitants in San Buena Bentura de Palica and Nombre de Dios.⁸ The predominant Mocama inhabitants of San Buena Bentura in 1717 were probably among the residents of 1711's San Juan del Puerto. In 1688 and 1695, Mocama from an earlier San Buena Ventura de Guadalquini, living three leagues north of St. Augustine, were ordered to move to San Juan del Puerto for reasons of security.⁹ But no definite link can be established between 1711's San Juan del Puerto and any of the three Timucua-speaking settlements of the 1717 census. The same must be said of Santo Tomás de Santa Fé. A 1728 listing of the settlements, however, mentioned a village that might be heir to San Juan. "The village of Timuqua had its seat after the invasion in an area that is called los Varaderos (the shipyards), twelve leagues distant from the Presidio.¹⁰ And, a short while ago it moved and, fearful of the enemy, passed over to six leagues distant. It had very few Indians because, in being

7. Ayala y Escobar to king, April 18, 1717; Fray Joseph de Bullones to king, October 5, 1728, AGI, SD 843 and 865, SC.

8. In 1567, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés designated Palica as a site for a block-house thirteen miles south of St. Augustine on an island near the Matanzas River. Early in the seventeenth century, Palica was a mission village thirteen miles from St. Augustine and five plus from Capuaca. See Bartolomé Barrientes, *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, Founder of Florida*, trans. by Anthony Kerrigan (Gainesville, 1965), 134-35; Fray Pedro de Bermejo to Fray Blas de Montes, September 14, 1602 (extract), AGI, SD 235, Woodbury Lowery Collection (hereafter WLC), reel 2 of the Robert M. Strozier Library copy, Florida State University; Woodbury Lowery, *The Spanish Settlements within the Present Limits of the United States, 1562-1574* (New York and London, 1911), 289-90.

9. Juan de Pueyo, general visitation of the provinces of Guale and Mocama made by the Captain Don Juan de Pueyo, 1695, AGI, Escribanía de Cámara (hereafter EC), leg. 157A, SC, fol. 134.

10. San Juan del Puerto was thirty-one and one-half miles from St. Augustine.

loyal to the Spaniards, they died in defense of them, and thus came to remain with no more than fifteen men, eight women, and some children. From there they made another withdrawal, approaching to about a cannon's shot of the Presidio, camping in a place called Abosaya, and, after having suffered a plague, no one was left except for a cacique and two Indians."¹¹

San Luis de Talimali of 1711 undoubtedly became Our Lady of the Rosary of Jabosaya in 1717. The chief in 1717 was identified on the listing of the village inhabitants in 1711 as "Viunac Pedro, the old chief."¹²

The following is a list of the ten native settlements of 1717 with a summary of the census data provided by Primo de Rivera. Total number of natives for the ten villages was 946.

1. Santa Catharina de Guale (Ibaja language).¹³ Fray Domingo Gaina. Don Alonso de la Cruz, principal chief, and eight leading men; thirty-four Christian warriors and six attached heathen ones; forty Christian women and six attached heathen ones; six heathen children (five boys, one girl); twenty-four Christian children (thirteen boys, eleven girls); total, 125 persons.

2. San Buena Bentura de Palica (Timucua language, Mocama nation). Fray Martín de Molina. Juan Ximénez, cacique governor,¹⁴ and two leading men; doña Merenciana Martínez, principal chieftainness; fifty-one warriors (twenty-three Christian Mocama, nine Christian Salamototo, nineteen heathen Chachise), Salamototo and Chachise attached; forty-four women (twenty-six Mocama, four Salamototo, fourteen Chachise); twenty-two Mocama doctrina children (eleven boys, eleven girls); one attached heathen Yamasee child; two attached Christian Salamototo girls; eight attached heathen Chachise children (five boys, three girls); total, 132 persons.

3. Our Lady of Candelaria de la Tamaja (Yamasee language and nation). Fray Marcos de Ita Salazar, and fort with a garrison. Don Antonio de Ayala, principal cacique, and eight leading

11. Bullones to king, October 5, 1728.

12. Hann, *Apalachee*, 368.

13. Ibaja and Iguaja are native names the Spanish used to designate the Guale.

14. The title, governor, was given commonly to natives serving as cacique de facto when a cacique or mico de jure was incapable of fulfilling his duties, although there are instances also when a cacique de jure received the title. See Hann, "Twilight of the Mocamo and Guale Aborigines," 16-17.

men (five Christian, three heathen); ten Christian warriors and ten heathen men; twenty-five women (sixteen heathen, nine Christian); eighteen boys (fifteen heathen, three Christian); eighteen girls (thirteen heathen, five Christian); Cacique Tospe (Yamasee language), attached to Candelaria; twenty-three warriors (one new Christian, twenty-two heathen); twenty-three heathen women; fourteen heathen children (seven boys, seven girls); Cacique Alonso Ocute, cacique of Ocute, Christian (Yamasee language), attached to Candelaria; eight men, his vassals (seven heathen, one Christian); three heathen children (two boys, one girl); total, 163 persons.

4. San Joseph de Jororo (Maiaca language), no friar. Cacique don Juan Romo (Christian) and four leading men (Christian); eleven warriors (nine heathen, two Christian); thirteen women (ten heathen, three Christian); four children (two boys, two girls, one of them Christian); total, thirty-three persons.

5. Our Lady of Sorrows (Timucua language), all Christians. Fray Joseph de Ita Salazar. Don Juan de Arucatessa, cacique governor, and five leading men; twenty warriors (two of them attached Apalachee), vassals of this chief; twenty-three Christian women; twenty-five doctrina children (eleven boys, twelve girls); total, seventy-four persons.

6. Pocosapa (Yamasee language), heathen, no friar, but a fort and garrison. Cacique Langne Cap qui (rendered also as Langne Chap), a heathen; seven leading men (five heathen, two Christian); thirty-four heathen warriors and eleven Christian warriors, attached Apalachee and Timucua who are under obedience to this cacique; thirty-one heathen women and ten Christian women, the latter Yamasee and Apalachee; thirteen boys (twelve heathen, one new Christian); nineteen girls (fourteen heathen, five new Christians); attached Casapuya (Casapuya language), heathen; cacique (heathen) unnamed; fourteen warriors and one old man; fourteen Casapuya women (heathen); sixteen Casapuya children (seven boys, nine girls); total, 173 persons.

7. Our Lady of the Rosary of Jabosaya (Apalachee language and nation). Fray Phelipe Maldonado. Don Pedro Osunaca, principal cacique, and one leading man; eleven men (ten of them warriors and one old man); twelve Christian women; seven doctrina children (three boys, four girls); two attached heathen women of the Chasta tongue and nation; total, thirty-four persons.

8. Pocatolaca (Yamasee nation and tongue), no friar. Don Francisco Ya (or La) Quisca and six leading men (two of them Christian); thirty-five men, vassals (two of them old, four of them Christians), of the Oapa nation; thirty-one women (six of them new Christians); twenty-five children (twelve boys, thirteen girls, all heathen); total, ninety-eight persons.

9. Tolomato (Ibaja tongue and nation), Christians. Fray Pedro de Don Francisco Martín, principal cacique, and three leading men; fourteen men (twelve strong and two old); twenty-one women; twenty-five doctrina children (sixteen boys, nine girls); total, sixty-four persons.

10. Nombre de Dios (Timucua language), Christians. No friar mentioned. Don Juan Alonso, cacique governor, and two leading men; twelve strong men (three of them attached Apalachee); sixteen women (four of them attached from Salamototo), Timucua language; nineteen doctrina children (ten boys, nine girls); total, fifty persons.

This 1717 census provides a valuable data base for comparisons with data from listings from 1723, 1726, 1728, 1734, 1738, 1739, and 1759. Demographic and settlement pattern changes that occurred between 1717 and 1759 as a result of epidemics, renewed hostilities by natives allied with the English, new waves of immigration, and emigration by a few of the natives may be ascertained.

Rivera's observations on the linguistic and tribal affiliation of the various peoples are of particular value. His discrimination in this area inspires confidence in his judgments. For example, in describing Palica's people as belonging to the Timucua tongue and Mocama nation, he attested to recognized cultural differences that separated the Mocama from other Timucua speakers.¹⁵ Rivera's categorization of the Salamototo as Timucua speakers who belonged to the Salamototo nation suggests that similar cultural differences distinguished the Salamototo from other Timucua speakers. The Rollestown Site on the St. Johns River, believed by archaeologists to have been the site of the Salamototo mission of San Diego of the last quarter of the seven-

15. Kathleen Deagan, "Cultures in Transition: Fusion and Assimilation among the Eastern Timucua," in Jerald Milanich and Samuel Proctor, eds., *Tacachale: Essays on the Indians of Florida and Southeastern Georgia during the Historic Period* (Gainesville, 1978), 92-93.

teenth century, contains Georgia-type ceramics similar to those of the Mocama and, in an earlier stratum, ceramics and features identified with the Saturiwa. Although the Georgia-type ceramics have led some archaeologists to suggest that Salamototo "was a mission for relocated Guale Indians," historical sources, in addition to the 1717 census, identify the Salamototo as Timucua speakers.¹⁶

In view of their apparent Georgia origin, conceivably these Salamototo are descendants of people spoken of in 1646 as "attached to the spot called the Laguna de Oconi" whom the then governor ordered moved to San Diego de Laca on the St. Johns. As the Laguna de Oconi was located somewhere in Georgia, such an identification of the Salamototo's origin could account for the ceramics that led archaeologists to label Salamototo as probably a mission for relocated Guale.¹⁷ That Georgia origin could be reason as well for their being paired in 1717 with fellow Georgians, the Mocama. Rivera's identification of inhabitants of two other places simply as Timucua speakers, without noting the nation or dialect to which they belonged, probably indicates that they were Utina, the people to whom Spaniards initially applied the name Timucua more or less exclusively.¹⁸

Of lesser known people, Rivera notes that the Jororo spoke Maiaca and that the Casapuya spoke Casapuya. If John R. Swanton's speculation that these Casapuya may have been Cusabo is valid, Rivera's testimony undercuts those who identify the Cusabo with the Guale.¹⁹ Rivera identified the Guale as Ibaja speakers. His identification of the Yamasee as Yamasee speakers

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16. *Ibid.*, 106; Domingo de Leturiondo, inspection of the provinces of Apalachee and Timucua, 1677-1678, AGI, EC, leg. 156B, SC, fol. 612-13; David Hurst Thomas, *The Archaeology of Mission Santa Catalina de Guale: I. Search and Discovery. Vol. 63: part 2, Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* (New York, 1987), 88.
 17. Benito Ruiz de Salazar Vallecilla to Alonso de Areúelles, January 27, 1646, AGI, SD 23, SC. Governor Vallecilla did not identify the people at the Laguna de Oconi specifically as Timucua speakers. He alluded to them as "subject Indians of the settlements of the province of Timucua and other regions" (yndios sujittibos de los pueblos de la provincia de tiucua y ottras parttes). As Milanich has noted, little is known about the Timucua-speaking Oconi (see Milanich and Proctor, *Tacachale*, 60).
 18. The Yustaga is included under this usage of Timucua as the Utina and Yustaga seem to have been closely related.
 19. John R. Swanton, *The Indians of the Southeastern United States* (Washington, DC, 1946), 129.

indicates that Yamasee differed sufficiently from Ibaja for the two languages to be considered distinct, despite statements that Guale could be understood for a long distance inland from their coastal habitat. But that does not rule out Yamasee and Guale being related closely enough to be mutually intelligible.

One of the most significant of Rivera's linguistic identifications involves Alonso Ocute, cacique of Ocute, living with his people as a subchief at the mission settlement of Candelaria de la Tamaja. The main component of the settlement under principal cacique don Antonio de Ayala was identified as "of the Yamasee language and nation." The choice of the mission name, Candelaria, suggests that some of the inhabitants came from the Tama mission of that name in Apalachee prior to 1704. The pairing of Ocute and Tamaja in one settlement in 1717 suggests that the inhabitants may have been descendants of the Ocute and Tamaja of Hernando de Soto's era who were neighbors in the upper Oconee River Valley. In a recent study of de Soto's route through Georgia, Ocute was identified with the Shoulderbone Site and Altamaha with the Shinholser Site.²⁰

Rivera's identification of the Ocute as Yamasee speakers resolves a puzzle created by the dichotomy Swanton established between de Soto's Ocute and Altamaha. The de Soto chroniclers' assertion that Altamaha then was subject to Ocute would seem to suggest that the two people were closely related linguistically in the absence of evidence to the contrary. Yet Swanton identified the Altamaha as Yamasee speakers and the Ocute as Hitchiti speakers, revealing his own puzzlement over this conclusion in his statement that the Altamaha or Tama "were in some measure subordinate to the Hitchiti."²¹ J. Mark Williams, who has been working with the problem of the Hitchiti-Yamasee distinction posited by Swanton, has provided a solution. He maintains that the Yamasee's language was Hitchiti.²² Swanton himself fell only a little short of saying that in 1922 in speaking

20. Charles Hudson, Marvin T. Smith, and Chester B. DePratter, "The Hernando de Soto Expedition: from Apalachee to Chiaha," *Southeastern Archaeology* 3 (Summer 1984) 70.

21. Swanton, *Indians of the Southeastern United States*, 208.

22. J. Mark Williams to author, March 31, 1989. Williams, who is preparing a paper on that topic, is an archaeologist associated with the University of Georgia and director of the Lamar Institute. He has worked extensively on Oconee Valley sites.

of a nineteenth-century fusion of a Yamasee remnant "with the Mikasuki, whose language is supposed to have been nearest to their own."²³ The Mikasuki speak Hitchiti. Identification of the Tama as Hitchiti speakers explains Spaniards' use of their interpreter for Apalachee during the 1677 visitation of Apalachee's Tama mission as the Apalachee language was related closely to Hitchiti.²⁴

Rivera's census identified several tribes by names that are more difficult to match with known tribes. Among those were forty-one Chachise, described as "attached" to Mocaman San Buena Bentura, and two heathen women of the Chasta tongue and nation "attached" to the Apalachee mission of Our Lady of the Rosary. Four men living at Yamasee Pocotalaca (undoubtedly Pocotaligo of English sources) were described as Christians of the Oapa (?) nation and vassals of Pocotalaca's chief rather than as "attached." That no reference was made to the Oapa's language could be interpreted as meaning that they spoke Yamasee, as did the rest of Pocotalaca's inhabitants, most of whom were heathen rather than Christian. But Oapa, conceivably, is a variant of Yoa or meant to be Yapa because the "O" was open at the top and not very legible. The Oapa's Christianity points toward their being Yoa as there was an early visita named Yoa on the Georgia coast, and Yoa are known to have merged with the Yamasee.²⁵ Swanton identified Yoa as one of five Upper Yamasee towns of which Pocotalaca was the head.²⁶ Chapman J. Milling, identifying the Yoa as a Guale tribe, noted that the Yoa joined the Yamasee in 1703 in the wake of Governor Moore's attack on St. Augustine and that "it is evident that there were a few Yoa living among them previously. . . . Official mention of the general Yoa immigration is found in the House Journal for February 18, 1703."²⁷ There is no information as to the origin of the Chasta who do not appear on any of the subsequent lists. Identity of the Chachise is also not known. They similarly do not appear on subsequent lists from the 1720s and 1730s. In the

23. John Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors* (Washington, DC, 1922), 107.

24. Leturiondo, inspection . . . 1677-1678, fol. 544.

25. Hann, "Translation of the Ecija Voyages of 1605 and 1609 and the González Derrotero of 1609," *Florida Archaeology* 2 (1986), 46.

26. Swanton, *Indians of the Southeastern United States*, 209.

27. Chapman J. Milling, *Red Carolinians* (Chapel Hill, 1940), 104, 111.

form Chaschis the name reappears only in a 1759 census of Tolomato. Bernardo Lachicha, owner of house number six on that census list, was identified as of the Chaschis nation; his wife was an Ibaja.²⁸

The Mocama of Palica present a special problem as the name Mocama does not reoccur on subsequent lists. Both on the 1723 and 1726 listing, San Buena Bentura's inhabitants were identified as Chilique, or its variant Chiluca. In 1726 Nombre de Dios's inhabitants were also identified as belonging to the Chiluca nation. Noting Buena Bentura's inhabitants in 1726 as seventy old Christians seems to indicate that the Chilique were the Mocama of Palica of 1717. Fifty-five of Nombre de Dios's sixty-two inhabitants in 1726 were also identified as old Christians.²⁹ But in a 1738 report on the native settlements, Fray Joseph de Hita, stationed at San Juan del Puerto de Palica, characterized himself as atequi or interpreter for the Timucuan and Chilique languages.³⁰ There are other complications. In 1680 Florida Governor Pablo de Hita Salazar reported an attack on San Buenaventura de Guadalquini and Santa Catalina by enemy Chichumeco (Westo), Uchize, and Chilique.³¹ If the Chilique of 1680 also were Mocama, it would mean that the Chilique were attacking their own tribesmen in the 1680 assault on Guadalquini. The 1677-1678 visitation record reveals that Mocama constituted the mission population at San Buenaventura de Guadalquini in that era.³²

In 1922 Swanton identified the Chilique as Cherokee, but in 1946 he identified the Chiluca of the settlement of San Buena Bentura listed in 1726 as probably Mocama based on the Mocama's earlier association with the name Buena Bentura and

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28. Census of the village of Our Lady of Guadalupe de Tolomato of the Indians of the jurisdiction of this presidio of St. Augustine of Florida for this year of one thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine, made by me, Fr. Augustin Truxillo, religious of the order of Our Seraphic Father St. Francis, on the third (?) of February of the said year, AGI, SD 2604.
 29. Antonio de Benavides to the king, March 8, 1723, AGI, SD 865, SC; record of his visitation of the native settlements, December 1, 1726, AGI, SD 866.
 30. Manuel Montiano to king, June 4, 1738, AGI, SD 865, SC. The governor's letter contains the various friars' reports on the settlements in which they served.
 31. Manuel Serrano y Sanz, *Documentos históricos de la Florida y la Luisiana, siglos XVI al XVIII* (Madrid, 1912), 216-17.
 32. Antonio de Argüelles, record of the visitation of the province of Guale and Mocama, 1677-1678, AGI, EC, leg. 156B, SC, fol. 528.

on the description of the 1726 Chiluca as old Christians.³³ Although Chilucque resembles Chalaque, which is believed to be the Spaniards' name for the Cherokee in the de Soto chronicles, identification of the Chilucque of 1680 as Cherokee is not without problems. Henry Woodward's 1674 description of the Cherokee as inveterate enemies of the Westo-Chichumeco seems to rule out such an identification even for the Chilucque of 1680, although it is possible that some faction among the Cherokee might have been willing to submerge that hostility in order to join in an attack on "Spanish" Indians.³⁴ Governor Hita Salazar made a distinction between the Chilucque-Uchize component of the attacking forces and the Chichumecos, noting that usually "the Chilucques and Uchizes were sociable (comunícables), dealing and trading with these provinces [of Spanish Florida] in fine friendship, only the Chichumecos were always enemies."³⁵ Crane identified the 1680 governor's Chilucque as Cherokee without giving a reason for that identification.³⁶ In his broad-brush approach, Herbert E. Bolton did not mention the attack on Guadalquini, and he described the attackers of Santa Catarina generically as "three hundred Indians headed by Englishmen."³⁷ It seems that there is no satisfactory explanation of the identity of either of these groups of Chilucque or any explanation of why Spaniards after 1723 seemingly always referred to Mocama as Chilucque.

The Salamototo living at Palica and Nombre de Dios were not mentioned in any later list. Presumably they were exterminated in one of the subsequent epidemics or English-inspired attacks or were subsumed with the Mocama under the name Chilucque. By 1728 Palica's 1717 population of 132 people had been reduced to five men, five women, and three or four children living in a camp "at the distance of a rifle-shot (distante un tiro de escopeta)³⁸ from the presidio. Their tribal affiliation was

33. Swanton, *Early History*, 90; Swanton, *Indians of the Southeastern United States*, 119.

34. Milling, *Red Carolinians*, 267.

35. Serrano y Sanz, *Documentos históricos*, 216.

36. Crane, *Southern Frontier*, 17.

37. Herbert E. Bolton, ed., *Arredondo's Historical Proof of Spain's Title to Georgia* (Berkeley, 1925), 36-37.

38. Albert Manucy, in *The Houses of St. Augustine* (St. Augustine, 1962), 23, identified the distance of a musket-shot as 750 feet. He noted that "During the 1702 siege the Spanish destroyed all their own houses within musket

not noted at that time.³⁹ But Palica received reinforcements from some quarter. In 1734 it had eighteen males aged eleven and above and an unspecified number of women and children.⁴⁰ In 1738 San Juan del Puerto de Palica, headed by Cacique Lorenzo of the Chilique nation, had eighteen men, twenty-one women, ten boys, and four girls.⁴¹ In 1759 Palica still had twenty-nine people, and there were a few Chilique residing at Tolomato and Nombre de Dios.⁴²

Not all the settlements of 1717 proved as durable as Palica. Although Santa Catharina de Guale still had 104 people, identified as Iguaja in 1726, it was not mentioned in 1728 or subsequently.⁴³ In Candelaria, twenty-three children and eighty-two adults were baptized between August 1718 and early 1723, but Candelaria does not appear on any subsequent list.⁴⁴ Many of its inhabitants were killed or carried off during an Uchise raid on November 1, 1725, All Saints Day. When the survivors moved close to St. Augustine, the governor gave them land at Old Tolomato eight miles away (the Wrights Landing Site), but after a few months the Indians joined the Apalachee at Moze.⁴⁵ At San Joseph de Jororo, four children and twenty-six adults had been baptized by 1723.⁴⁶ The Jororo settlement was not mentioned in 1726. By then the Jororo were living with Pojoy and Amacapira apparently about twenty-four miles from St. Augustine. They continued to live as hunter-gatherers. After most of the Jororo died in a 1727 epidemic, the survivors returned to their traditional homes south of Mayaca territory on the Upper St. Johns River.⁴⁷ A few Jororo reappeared in the early

shot of the fort." For that reason, probably all the post-1702 settlements were required to be at least a musket-shot's distance from the castillo as English snipers in 1702 had been able to use Spanish structures closer than that to kill soldiers in the fort.

39. Bullones to king, October 5, 1728.

40. Swanton, *Early History*, 105.

41. Montiano to king, June 4, 1738.

42. Census . . . of Tolomato (1759); Indians who reside in the village of Palica, 1759, AGI, SD 2604.

43. Benavides, record of his visitation . . . 1726.

44. Benavides to king, March 8, 1723.

45. Bullones to king, October 5, 1728. This distance estimate is an approximation; Spaniards gave the distance as three leagues. All subsequent distances given in miles are conversions from leagues at the rate of 2.63 miles per league.

46. Benavides to king, March 8, 1723.

47. Bullones to king, October 5, 1728.

1730s living initially in a camp described as "a rifle-shot's distance" (un tiro de fusil) from a village of Pojoy, Alafayes, and Amacapira. At the insistence of a new governor who assumed office in 1734, the Jororo were united with the Casapulos in the mission of Purísima Concepción de Casapulos, but they soon fled southward again.⁴⁸ Our Lady of Sorrows was never mentioned again by that name. It is possibly the "Village of Timuqua" mentioned in 1723 where twenty-eight children and 134 Alafaes adults were baptized between 1718 and 1723.⁴⁹ Our Lady of Sorrow's cacique governor, don Juan de Arucatesa, reappeared in 1734 as chief of a "village of Timucua."⁵⁰ Pocosapa does not appear after 1717 under that name but is doubtless one of three Yamasee settlements mentioned in 1726, two named San Antonio and one, San Diego. But their respective populations of forty-nine, fifty-three, and sixty-five are far below that of Pocosapa's 172.⁵¹ Much of that decline probably resulted from the special effort the English and their native allies made to exterminate the Yamasee. Recording the fate of the Yamasee at Tamaja, Fray Bullones noted that they were "hated by the rest of the nations. And they made war on them so much that they were being exterminated little by little."⁵² The move of Tamaja's survivors to Moze may have doomed the Apalachee to a similar fate. The Apalachee village of Our Lady of the Rosary of Jabosaya appeared as Moze in 1723, with six children baptized between 1718 and 1723, and as San Luis in 1726. In that year, it had thirty-six men, twenty-seven women, and twenty-four children; seventy-eight were old Christians, and nine were recent converts.⁵³ The latter presumably were Yamasee from Tamaja. In 1728, when it was alluded to again as Moze, there were only six people who survived the 1727 plague: three men and three women. But even prior to the plague, the 1726 population of eighty-seven had been re-

48. Montiano to king, June 4, 1738.

49. Benavides to king, March 8, 1723.

50. Swanton, *Early History*, 105. His name was rendered as "El Cacique Alucatesa" in 1734.

51. Benavides, record of his visitation . . . 1726.

52. Bullones to king, October 5, 1728.

53. Benavides to king, March 8, 1723; Benavides, record of his visitation . . . 1726.

duced to forty-two: twenty men, fifteen women, and seven children.⁵⁴ There is no further mention of an Apalachee village.

The remaining three villages of the 1717 list—Pocotalaca, Tolomato, and Nombre de Dios—along with the Casapuya attached to Pocosapa, were more fortunate. By 1723 the Casipuya were living in a separate “Village of Casipuias” in which seven children and eight adults had been baptized between 1718 and 1723.⁵⁵ The 1726 census lists a San Antonio inhabited by Casapuya and “other nations.” Forty-three were recent converts, and twelve were heathen. Casipuyas was described in 1728 as “a newly assembled village located on the Channel of San Julian two and one-half leagues from St. Augustine.” It contained about fifteen men, fifteen women, and five children, most of whom were heathens.⁵⁶ As the 1739 list has a San Nicolás de Casapulos, the “Village of San Nicolás” of the 1734 census probably was Casapuya. The 1734 village contained ten men, two of whom were chiefs.⁵⁷ In 1738 the village name was given as Purísima Concepción de Casapulos.⁵⁸ In 1759 several individuals bore the name Casapua.⁵⁹ By 1723 four of Pocotalaca’s children and thirteen of its adults had been baptized.⁶⁰ The name Pocotalaca did not appear on the 1726 census, but it doubtless was represented by one of the three Yamasee villages mentioned in the census. Pocotalaca was described in 1728 as having been located earlier in an area called Las Rosas about sixteen miles from St. Augustine. In 1728 it was “a rifle-shot distant from the castillo” and included fourteen men, fourteen women, and five or six children. So insecure did they feel that at night they moved into the town.⁶¹ In 1734 Pocotalaca had twenty-three men aged twelve and above.⁶² In 1738 the settlement bore the name Imaculada Concepción de Pocotalaca and comprised four-

54. Bullones to king, October 5, 1728.

55. Benavides to king, March 8, 1723.

56. Benavides, record of his visitation . . . 1726; Bullones to king, October 5, 1728.

57. Montiano, report of the number of missionaries that there are in this province of Santa Elena . . . , June 23, 1739, AGI, SD 851, SC.

58. Montiano to king, June 4, 1738.

59. Yamasee Indians who live in the village of Pocotalaca, 1759, AGI, SD 2604.

60. Benavides to king, March 8, 1723.

61. Benavides, record of his visitation . . . 1726; Bullones to king, October 5, 1728.

62. Swanton, *Early History*, 105.

teen men, fourteen women, and five or six children— six boys and seven girls. Antonio Tospa, identified as Yamasee, was its chief.⁶³ In 1759 the settlement contained eight men, thirteen women, and twelve children, the latter divided evenly by sex.⁶⁴ By 1723 Gualean Tolomato had baptized twenty-six children and thirteen adults. The latter figure may indicate that some of its inhabitants were not Ibaja, as does the 1726 census which listed six of the fifty-one inhabitants as recent converts.⁶⁵ In 1728 the settlement was referred to as New Tolomato, the old village at the Wrights Landing Site having been abandoned because of fear of Uchise raids. Initially the inhabitants had moved to Ayachin, one and three-tenths miles from St. Augustine, but an enemy assault in which many of the Indians were killed forced the survivors to set up a camp about 750 feet from the city. In 1728 New Tolomato had only eight men and eight women.⁶⁶ The 1734 census listed nine men, including the chief, in Tolomato proper, and three more under another cacique. The latter were designated as being “further within the place.”⁶⁷ Tolomato was mentioned in 1738, 1739, and 1759. On the latter two listings the settlement was given its full name of Our Lady of Guadalupe de Tolomato which it bore when it moved to the Wrights Landing Site from Georgia in the 1620s.⁶⁸ In 1759 Tolomato contained eight houses and thirty-two people: fifteen were Chiluque, thirteen Ibaja, two Yamasee, one Chaschis, and one Uchise.⁶⁹

By 1723 two villages bore the name Nombre de Dios: the old Timucua settlement being known as Nombre de Dios Amacarisa and a new Yamasee settlement as Nombre de Dios Chiquito. Between 1718 and 1723 the Timucua settlement baptized eighteen children and four adults. Twenty-one children and twenty-six adults were baptized in the Yamasee village.⁷⁰ On the 1726

63. Montiano to king, June 4, 1738.

64. Yamasee Indians . . . Pocolalaca, 1759.

65. Benavides to king, March 8, 1723; Benavides, record of his visitation . . . 1726.

66. Bullones to king, October 5, 1728.

67. Swanton, *Early History*, 105.

68. Hann, “Summary Guide”; Montiano to king, June 4, 1738; Montiano, report of the number of missionaries . . . , June 23, 1739; Census . . . of Tolomato, 1759.

69. Census . . . of Tolomato, 1759.

70. Benavides to king, March 8, 1723.

list, only one settlement bore the name Nombre de Dios. Its Chiluca inhabitants and stone church and convent identify it as Nombre de Dios Amacarisa. Its population included fifty-five old Christians and seven recent converts, having increased by twelve since 1717. The total of sixty-two comprised nineteen men, twenty-three women, and twenty children. Nombre de Dios Chiquito was doubtlessly represented by one of the Yamasee villages mentioned under other names in 1726, as Nombre de Dios Chiquito reappeared on the 1728 report. It then contained thirty men, nineteen women, and some children. It belied its name of Chiquito, which means "small," for it was described as having been the biggest of all the native settlements initially "because of having two villages united in it, with the two caciques ruling," but with only one friar. At that time it was located about four miles from St. Augustine, but by 1728, harassment by the Chickasaw and other tribes had driven Nombre de Dios Chiquito's inhabitants to a site "close to the city, a rifle-shot away."⁷¹ By 1734 the "Village of Chiquito" contained only fifteen men above the age of twelve.⁷² In 1738 Nombre de Dios Chiquito had a total of forty inhabitants.⁷³ The following year it was referred to as Santo Domingo Chiquito.⁷⁴ In 1728 Fray Bullones, in contradiction to the 1717 and 1726 censuses, claimed that Nombre de Dios in Macariz had never had more than ten men and ten women. His misstatement was probably a ploy in his argument against the bishop's proposal to convert Florida's doctrinas into regular parishes whose beneficed pastors would be appointed by the bishop rather than by the Franciscan provincial. With its stone church and proximity to St. Augustine, Nombre de Dios in particular might have been considered ready for such a change. Bullones noted that its church "was always the best one because the statue of Our Lady de la Leche was placed in it and drew alms from the devout." The money collected permitted the church and its friary to be built of lime and stone. But both structures were roofed with palm fronds. In

71. Benavides, record of his visitation . . . 1725; Bullones to king, October 5, 1728.

72. Swanton, *Early History*, 105.

73. Montiano to king, June 4, 1738.

74. Montiano, report of the number of missionaries . . . June 23, 1739.

March 1728 a force of 200 Englishmen and 200 natives captured Nombre de Dios, burning the village, killing or capturing many of its inhabitants, and robbing the church. After the enemy force had withdrawn, the governor ordered the church and friary blown up.⁷⁵ Nombre de Dios recovered, however, and in 1738 it held sixteen men, sixteen women, and thirteen children. Twelve of the men and seven of the women were Timucua, two of the men, Apalachee, and two were Yamasee. Eight of the women were Yamasee, and one was Uchise.⁷⁶ It is possible that Nombre de Dios Chiquito had been joined to old Nombre de Dios by 1759 as its twenty-three Yamasee were the largest tribal contingent. Only six Timucua remained, but five of the children were half-Timucua and half-Yamasee. There were nine individuals in the one Costa household. The settlement also contained ten Ibaja, two Chickasaw, one Casipuya, and one Chilique.⁷⁷

The Costa were the most permanent of several groups who moved into the area after 1717. They appeared first on the 1723 list as the "Village of the Costa nation Guasacara" in which fifteen children and thirty-nine adults had been baptized since 1718.⁷⁸ In 1726 the Cota village of San Antonio contained eighty-eight people: fifty-five men, thirteen women, and twenty children. The imbalance between men and women suggests that the Costa had been attacked by slave-raiders at some time as women and children were the raiders' prime target. Thirty-eight of the Costa were recent converts, and fifty were heathen.⁷⁹ By 1728 the imbalance had been somewhat rectified by the disappearance of many of the men as there were then twenty men, eighteen women, and approximately fourteen children.⁸⁰ In 1734 the Costa village contained only ten men above the age of fourteen.⁸¹ San Antonio de la Costa appeared for the last time on the 1738 and 1739 lists. It had nineteen inhabitants in 1738,

75. Bullones to king, October 5, 1728.

76. Montiano to king, June 4, 1738.

77. Census of the Indian village of Nra. Señora de la Leche of the jurisdiction of this Presidio of St. Augustine of Florida for this year of one thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine, made by me, Fray Alonso Ruiz, religious of the order of our Seraphic Father, St. Francis, doctrinero of the said village, on the fourth of February of (illegible word) year, AGI, SD 2604.

78. Benavides to king, March 8, 1723.

79. Benavides, record of his visitation . . . 1726.

80. Bullones to king, October 5, 1728.

81. Swanton, *Early History*, 105.

only two of whom were Christian. Its friar noted that the majority of the Costa had died at the hands of their enemies.⁸²

There is diversity of opinion as to the identity of the Costa. Juan José Elijo de la Puente identified the Costa in the 1760s as “Indians of the Keys.”⁸³ The name Costa was attached to the Alafaes on one occasion. Swanton maintained that it is probable that these Costa living near St. Augustine were drawn from the Ais “and the other tribes formerly living near them.”⁸⁴ It seems certain that the Costa were from the southern part of Florida because they remained hunter-gatherers like other Indians from that region. Bullones noted that when the Costa “feel like it, they leave their camp and go off to eat palm fruit (ubas de palma) and alligators.” He expressed his disdain for this people, whom he characterized as “vile by nature,” remarking that the friar who served them “experienced great hardships because of the uselessness of the nation.”⁸⁵

In addition to the Costa, post-1717 listings mention still other peoples. A group known as Alafaes (rendered also as Alafayes, Elafayes, and Alafaia) were living in the “Village of Timuqua” in 1723. Presumably all 134 adults baptized there between 1718 and 1723 were Alafaes or their close relatives the Pojoy.⁸⁶ In 1734 Alafaes were living in another village near St. Augustine in association with Pojoy and Amacapira about 750 feet distant from a Jororo settlement.⁸⁷ The Pojoy are known to have come from the Tampa Bay area. In 1680 Elafay was just below Pojoy on the path to Calusa. A close relation between the Pojoy and Alafaes is suggested by the name of a 1734 chief, don Antonio Pojoi, who identified himself as chief of the Alafaia Costas nation.⁸⁸ The name of the Alafia River is probably a relict of their presence there. In 1612 natives of the Bay of Pojoy told

82. Montiano to king, June 4, 1738; report of the number of missionaries . . . June 23, 1739.

83. Juan José Elijo de la Puente to governor, September 12, 1764, AGI, SD 2595.

84. Swanton, *Indians of the Southeastern United States*, 85.

85. Bullones to king, October 5, 1728.

86. Benavides to king, March 8, 1723. In 1680, Elafay had only 40 people, while nearby Pojoy had 300 (see Pablo de Hita Salazar to king, February 20, 1680, AGI, SD 226, WLC, reel 4).

87. Montiano to king, June 4, 1738.

88. Thomas de Aguilar et alia to king, March 15, 1735, AGI, SD 844, JTCC, reel 5; Hita Salazar to king, February 20, 1680.

Spaniards that their bay was where Hernando de Soto landed. At the start of the seventeenth century, the Pojoy had been allied with the Tocobaga, traditional enemies of the Calusa. By 1680 the Pojoy and Alafaes seem to have become tributary to the Calusa, and Spaniards made no mention of Tocobaga in the Tampa Bay region.⁸⁹ The Macapira were identified in 1726 as "from the rinconada," a vague term used to designate the territory of Jororo and beyond down to Calusa. In 1726 the Macapira hamlet was attached to the Chilunque settlement of San Buena Bentura. The Macapira then comprised eighteen recent converts and six heathen.⁹⁰ Bullones was as disenchanted with the Pojoy, Macapira, and Jororo as he was with the Costa. Of those three groups he remarked: "They were all idolaters and heathens except two or three. For a short time these situated themselves about nine leagues (twenty-three plus miles) from the Presidio toward the south. They maintained themselves with their Minister, although with great difficulty, because neither did they have a secure territory, nor did they sow, nor did they work. And they wander about all year, women as well as men, searching for the marine life with which they sustain themselves, killing alligators and other unclean animals, which is delectable sustenance to them." Bullones went on to note that most among the three groups died in the 1727 epidemic and that "the few who remained withdrew to their former lands and to their idolatries."⁹¹

An additional 1726 settlement was inhabited by Indians of the Piaja nation from the rinconada de Carlos, located in Jororo territory.⁹² Piaja is probably a variant of Aypaja, identified as one of the places of the province of Mayaca-Jororo. During the 1696-1697 revolt there, a young cacique native to Aypaja was killed by the rebels at Atoyquime along with Fray Luis Sánchez and his sacristan.⁹³

Possibly as many as nineteen tribes were represented in the native settlements around St. Augustine in the years following

89. Juan Fernández de Olivera to king, October 13, 1612, AGI, SD 844, JTCC, reel 3; Hita Salazar to king, February 20, 1680.

90. Benavides, record of his visitation . . . 1726.

91. Bullones to king, October 5, 1728.

92. Benavides, record of his visitation . . . 1726.

93. Laureano de Torres y Ayala king, February 3, 1697, AGI, SD 228, JTCC, reel 3.

the Yamasee War, not including the odd Chickasaw and Uchise and the tribal subdivisions within the Timucua. Fray Bullones aptly characterized this babel. "There was so great a variety of tongues that it has not been possible up to the present to calculate what the correct number of them is, for one encounters new languages every day so that it is physically and morally impossible to understand them."⁹⁴

The respite from attack provided by the Yamasee War was very short-lived. Uchise, Chickasaw, Talapoosa, and others replaced the Yamasee as prime scourgers of the "Spanish Indians." The English, of course, continued their attacks, as Thomas Nairne phrased it in 1708, "so that in some few years thay'le reduce these Barbarians to a farr less number."⁹⁵ Epidemics added to the death toll, and the forcing of the natives to huddle under the guns of St. Augustine completed their demoralization. Most of the natives became addicted to alcohol, a development friars blamed on the settlements' proximity to St. Augustine.⁹⁶ The compulsion to drink was heightened no doubt by the wretched conditions under which they were forced to live in their rancherias, not knowing when they would lose either their lives or their freedom in one of the incessant attacks mounted or inspired by the English.

94. Bullones to king, October 5, 1728.

95. Thomas Nairne to an unidentified lord, July 10, 1708, in Alexander S. Salley, ed., *Records in the British Public Records Office Relating to South Carolina*, 5 vols. (Columbia, 1928-1947), V, 196-97.

96. Montiano to king, June 4, 1738.