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John H. Hann



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## **POLITICAL LEADERSHIP AMONG THE NATIVES OF SPANISH FLORIDA**

by JOHN H. HANN

**W**HEN the first Europeans arrived off Florida's coasts the land was not uninhabited virgin territory but was occupied by many distinct peoples organized into flourishing, complex, chiefdom-level societies of a non-egalitarian nature. Those societies included the Calusa of the Gulf coast from the Charlotte Harbor area southward to the tip of the Florida peninsula; Tocobaga and others who occupied the shores of Tampa Bay and their hinterland; Ais of the Indian River area and its hinterland; various autonomous Timucua-speaking groups of south Georgia and north Florida from the east coast westward to the Aucilla, Withlacoochee, and Oklawaha rivers; Apalachee whose domain extended from the Aucilla to just beyond the Ochlockonee River; Guale of coastal Georgia from the Altamaha River northward; and the Escamacu-Orista and Cayagua along the South Carolina coast from the Savannah River north to the Charleston region.

The center of the Calusa domain was the Caloosahatchee River-Fort Myers area, but the Calusa ruler collected tribute regularly from other chiefdoms as far east as Lake Okeechobee. At one time or another most of the peoples living south of a line drawn from southern Tampa Bay to the vicinity of Cape Canaveral paid tribute to the Calusa ruler or were part of his network of alliances. The Ais head chiefs sway reached south from Cape Canaveral to at least Jupiter Inlet. His network of alliances stretched north almost to Daytona Beach, south at times to Biscayne Bay and the Keys, and some distance inland along the upper St. Johns River south of Lake George. The Tocobaga were based in the northwest Tampa Bay area, but their domain extended inland to the Withlacoochee River. Their network of alliances extended, at times, to Tampa Bay's southern shores.

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John H. Hann is historian and translator, San Luis Archaeological and Historical Site, Tallahassee.

Along the east coast the Timucua-speakers' domain extended from Daytona Beach north to Jekyll Island. The area that they controlled inland from the south Georgia coast is ill-defined, as is its southern limits in the heart of the Florida peninsula.<sup>1</sup> In Hernando de Soto's time some of the Tampa Bay tribes paid tribute to an inland leader who bore the title *paracoxi*, which was used by many Timucua-speaking leaders along the St. Johns River in the 1560s.<sup>2</sup>

Spanish Florida held other less complexly organized groups, some of whom were tributary to leaders such as Calusa's head chief, while others were independent. They included the Keys Indians, Tequesta of the Miami area, Maymi of Lake Okeechobee, Jeaga of the south Indian River coast, Surruque living just north of Cape Canaveral, Chacato of the Marianna region, Pansacola and Chisca of far-west Florida, Apalachicola of the Chattahoochee River, and Tama-Yamasee of the north Georgia hinterland.<sup>3</sup>

Until recently scholars have given little attention to leadership elements among those and other natives of early Florida and changes they underwent from the first contacts of the sixteenth century through the dispersal and virtual destruction of most of the tribal groups in the core area of north Florida and the Georgia coast prior to 1705. A major reason for the omission undoubtedly was lack of readily available information. Addressing a broader theme of "Spanish-Indian Relations in Southeastern North America" a generation and a half ago, William C.

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1. Jonathan Dickinson, *Jonathan Dickinson's Journal or God's Protecting Providence*. ed. Evangeline Walker Andrews and Charles McLean Andrews (Stuart, FL, 1981), 28-32; John H. Hann, *Apalachee: The Land Between the Rivers* (Gainesville, 1988), 2; Jerald T. Milanich and Samuel Proctor, eds., *Tacachale: Essays on the Indians of Florida and Southeastern Georgia during the Historic Period* (Gainesville, 1978), 19, 50, 59-60, 89-90, 120; Irving Rouse, *A Survey of Indian River Archaeology, Florida* (New Haven, 1951; reprint ed., New York, 1981), 34, 36.
  2. Gentleman of Elvas, *True Relation of the Hardships Suffered by Governor Fernando de Soto & Certain Portuguese Gentlemen during the Discovey of the Province of Florida Now Newly Set Forth by a Gentleman of Elvas*, trans. and ed., James Alexander Robinson, 2 vols. (Deland, FL, 1932-1933), II, 46.
  3. John H. Hann, "Florida's Terra Incognita: West Florida's Natives in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century," *Florida Anthropologist* 41 (March 1988), 63-64, 79-80; Arva Moore Parks, *Where the River Found the Bay: Historical Study of the Granada Site, Miami, Florida* (Tallahassee, 1985), 14, 25-26; Rouse, *Survey of Indian River Archaeology*, 36-38.

Sturtevant observed that what he would be able to say was less than what he would have liked to say, in part "because studies of the Spanish period in southeastern North America are too little developed."<sup>4</sup>

During the thirty years since Sturtevant made that comment much progress has been made in broadening the coverage overall, especially for the mission territories concerning which Sturtevant noted there was a striking paucity of material. But in the matter of the natives' political organization, the advance has been meager until recently. Consequently, Charles Hudson found it necessary in his 1976 survey of the southeastern Indians to focus on eighteenth-century groups with whom the English and French had dealings. Of the earlier Spanish period, Hudson observed only that there was evidence "indicating that the power of Southeastern chiefs declined after European colonization. Most of the earliest observers in the Southeast reported that the chiefs had great power. This was said of the people de Soto observed, the French said it of the Natchez, and the Spanish said it of the Calusa. But by the middle of the eighteenth century, no Indian leader possessed such power."<sup>5</sup>

Progress has been much greater since 1976. Hudson himself, in his monograph on the Juan Pardo expeditions and in articles in collaboration with Chester DePratter and Marvin T. Smith, and Smith in his *Archaeology of Aboriginal Cultural Change in the Interior Southeast*, and others have shed much light on the chiefdoms of the interior of the northern Southeast visited by de Soto, Pardo, and Hernando de Morales Moyano and on those chiefdoms' decline in the wake of the explorers' passage. The essays in *Tacachale*, edited by Jerald T. Milanich and Samuel Proctor, have done the same for the mission territory farther south except for Apalachee and the Chacato. Grant D. Jones's "The Ethnohistory of the Guale Coast through 1684" provided a more detailed view of social and political organization for that area, as did David Hurst Thomas. John Hann's volumes on the Apalachee and the Calusa and his translations and articles have done the same for other peoples.

Nevertheless, Spanish sources have more to say on the topic of Native-American political leadership than is available in print

4. William C. Sturtevant, "Spanish-Indian Relations in Southeastern North America," *Ethnohistory* 9 (Winter 1962), 42.

5. Charles Hudson, *The Southeastern Indians* (Knoxville, 1976), 205.

to date. This is true even for aspects of the topic as basic as native leadership nomenclature, the presence or absence of women as chiefs, and succession to chieftainships, to which this article will give some attention. The focus will be on peoples with whom Spaniards maintained a degree of sustained contact between 1565 and 1704: the Timucua-speakers, Guale, Apalachee, Chacato, Tama-Yamasee, and Carolina natives such as the Escamacu. As documents have much to say about the Calusa and other natives of south Florida, despite the brevity of Spanish contacts with them, these shall be included.

Caution is in order, of course, in drawing conclusions from the available evidence as knowledge of native leadership structure and nomenclature is adventitious and comes almost exclusively from Spanish and French sources rather than from the natives themselves. And in a majority of cases, native usage is cloaked by the Spaniards' preference for the Arawak term cacique and its female equivalent cacica, for chieftain and chieftainness, and for the Spanish term mandador (order-giver) for the second-in-command among many of the peoples. By the late seventeenth century even some literate Apalachee principal chiefs were using cacique to identify their position in society when signing their names, leaving us in the dark as to its native equivalent among them.

In Spanish eyes, the Calusa chiefdom appears to have been the most impressive one encountered in Florida proper. This is reflected in the use of the term king to describe the Calusa leader.<sup>6</sup> In contrast to the French of the 1560s and the later English, who referred to native leaders commonly as kings, most Spaniards accorded that title only grudgingly even for the Calusa ruler. Hernando d'Escalante Fontaneda enthused that the Calusan leader Carlos is "the greatest of the kings, with the renown of Montesuma."<sup>7</sup> Such encomia have led some modern authorities to propose that Calusa had passed beyond the chiefdom stage. William H. Marquardt suggested that "it is possible that in the first half of the sixteenth century the Calusa social formation shifted from a chiefdom to what [Christine Ward]

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6. Hernando d'Escalante Fontaneda, *Memoir of D<sup>o</sup> d'Escalante Fontaneda Respecting Florida. Written in Spain, about the Year 1575*, trans. Buckingham Smith, rev. ed. (Miami, 1944), 14; John H. Hann, ed. and trans., *Missions to the Calusa* (Gainesville, 1991), 246-47, 252, 262, 267, 269.

7. Fontaneda, *Memoir*, 68.

Gailey and [Thomas C.] Patterson call a weak tribute-based state.<sup>8</sup> Echoing Fontaneda, Henry F. Dobyns described the Calusa polity more expansively as a “conquest kingdom,” remarking that the Calusa’s tribute-collecting pattern “very much resembled that of the Aztecs and Incas, although Calusa society was smaller in scale.”<sup>9</sup> Although Dobyns’s comparison is probably stretching the point, its basis leaves no doubt as to the impressiveness of the Calusa chiefdom. Also impressive was the staying power of Calusa’s rulers and their polity. They maintained their sway over an extensive territory until the end of the seventeenth century and may even have enlarged their domain beyond what it was in the 1560s when the Spanish and French provided the first significant data about the Calusa’s status as the most important native power in south Florida.<sup>10</sup> The experience of a 1679 Spanish expedition that moved southward toward Calusa along the Gulf coast indicates that Calusa’s suzerainty extended to Pojoy in Tampa Bay, which had been an ally of Calusa’s principal rival, the Tocobaga, early in the century.<sup>11</sup>

Of the Calusa ruler, Fontaneda recorded, “The King is called greatest and chief Lord in our language . . . and that this is Certepe in language of the Indians of Carlos.”<sup>12</sup> A century later other Spaniards attest that the Calusa ruler still held the title of great chief, remarking that this title used by the Spaniards was a transliterated form of the one the Calusa themselves used. The Calusa rulers’ sense of their own importance is suggested by their adoption of the names of the Spanish monarchs Charles and Philip, even though they never became Christians. The Calusa’s second-in-command bore the title great captain. Great chief and great captain usually belonged to the same family, as did the head shaman.<sup>13</sup>

The ruling elite possessed esoteric knowledge and controlled sacra charged with supernatural meaning, which probably were

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8. William H. Marquardt, “Introduction,” in Hann, *Missions to the Calusa*, xvii.
  9. Henry F. Dobyns, *Their Number Become Thinned: Native American Population Dynamics in Eastern North America* (Knoxville, 1983), 131-32.
  10. Hann, *Missions to the Calusa*, 9, 11, 26-29, 31.
  11. *Ibid.*, 9, 2526.
  12. Fontaneda, *Memoir*, 68.
  13. *Ibid.*, 15; Hann, *Missions to the Calusa*, 28, 82-83, 86, 96, 125, 171, 222-23, 227, 266-69, 335-36, 426 n. 26; Gonzalo Solís de Merás, *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, Adelantado Governor and Captain-General of Florida*, trans. Jeannette Thurber Connor (Deland, FL, 1923), 151.

major bulwarks for their political power. In response to a Jesuit's demand that the Calusa ruler abandon his idolatrous practices because he had promised to become a Christian, the ruler argued that he could not do so at once "because it is expedient for him to show to his vassals and to his neighboring kings that he is the legitimate king of this kingdom and because to that end during his childhood they taught and instructed him in all the things that it is expedient for the king to know about the cult and veneration of the idols, if he were suddenly to forsake the idolatry at the beginning of his reign, the aforementioned kings and vassals would say that he was not a legitimate king, as he did not know what kings are obliged to know; that for this reason he had forsaken the cult of the idols and had received the Christian law."<sup>14</sup>

Political bonding through marriage was another buttress to the Calusa ruler's power. Villages that gave their allegiance to him were expected to send one of their leading women to become one of the ruler's wives to cement the allegiance. To some degree the practice included the chiefs heir once he had been so designated and he reached puberty. As with the Incas, the Calusa rulers' practice of sibling marriage was another factor that set them apart from the rest of humanity.<sup>15</sup>

Yet with all these bulwarks, Spanish accounts show that in the 1550s and 1560s the system possessed a potential for instability when a leader's shortcomings or other factors created dissatisfaction with his rule. During that era, two successive rulers faced challenges from their own people before they were deposed and killed by Spaniards. The instability, however, does not seem as great as that suggested by Hudson for the northern centralized Mississippian chiefdoms visited by Juan Pardo, where instability was an everyday fact of life and led to rapid decline and dissolution of the chiefdoms after the first European intrusions. As noted earlier, the Calusa chiefdom manifested remarkable staying power by comparison.<sup>16</sup>

Authorities have suggested differing origins for the complexity of the Calusa's political organization. Marquardt noted that Randolph Widmer believes that it evolved slowly from "ef-

14. Hann, *Missions to the Calusa*, xvi, 247-48.

15. *Ibid.*, 224, 244-45, 268.

16. *Ibid.*, 262, 266, 269; Charles Hudson, *The Juan Pardo Expeditions: Exploration of the Carolinas and Tennessee, 1566-1568* (Washington, 1990), 60.

forts to provide for the subsistence needs of a growing, population," and that about 800 A.D. "this led to the establishment of a centralized political power structure in order to resolve disagreements and to distribute food and other materials effectively," which remained essentially unchanged until Europeans arrived. Marquardt suggests that it may have developed suddenly in the sixteenth century as a response to tendencies toward decentralization of authority stimulated by the availability of European goods to chiefs on the periphery of the Calusa sphere of influence and that this may have "triggered an imposition of new power and tributary relations."<sup>17</sup> Marquardt's theory accounts for the failure of the Pánfilo de Narváez and de Soto chroniclers even to hint at the existence of the Calusa chiefdom not far south of where both Spanish expeditions landed. Tocobaga's emergence as a major power on Tampa Bay may have been similarly late, triggered by developments in Calusa, for Tocobaga's absence from the de Soto chronicles definitely suggests that in 1539 it was not the power that it was in the 1560s.

Irving Rouse observed that all the fisher-hunter-gatherer peoples of south Florida had a social and religious culture that differed from that of the agriculturalists to the north of them.<sup>18</sup> Particularly illustrative of the validity of his observation is the leadership nomenclature of the two areas. The Calusa title, great captain, appeared also among the Tocobaga and Ais but was peculiar to south Florida peoples.<sup>19</sup> Spaniards never used that title or "great chief" for leaders of any natives of north Florida or Georgia. Conversely, Spaniards never used indigenous terms such as *holata*, *mico*, *inija*, or the Spanish term *mandador*, which they used for leaders among the more northerly Indians, for any leaders of south Florida peoples except possibly for the Surruque, a people on the border between the Timucua-speakers and the Ais whose linguistic affiliation is still in dispute. A governor used *mandador* once for one of their leaders.

17. Marquardt, "Introduction," xvi; Randolph J. Widmer, *The Evolution of the Calusa: A Nonagricultural Chiefdom on the Southwest Florida Coast* (Tuscaloosa, 1988), 272-76.

18. Rouse, *Survey of Indian River Archaeology*, 34.

19. Hann, *Missions to the Calusa*, 254; Pedro de Ybarra to the king, July 10, 1605, Archivo General de Indias, Seville (hereinafter AGI), Patronato 19, Jeannette Thurber Connor Collection, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville (hereinafter JTCC), reel 1.

In this respect, as well as in their methods of subsistence, the two groups belonged to distinct worlds. The Calusa stood apart from the agriculturalists of the mission provinces as well in appearing to have had a patrilineal system for inheritance of the chiefship in contrast to north Florida and the Georgia coast's peoples. Among all the latter, ruling caciques and cacicas were usually succeeded by nephews or nieces, the offspring of their eldest sister, with the possible exception of the Chacato.<sup>20</sup> There is no evidence of women holding chiefships in south Florida, in contrast to parts of north Florida, the Georgia coast, and chiefdoms of the hinterland further north. The Calusa requirement of sibling marriage for their ruler does not appear among any other peoples of Spanish Florida. In the north, decline in the power of chiefs and in adherence to traditional religious beliefs occurred more rapidly after contact with Europeans than it did in south Florida. Most south Florida people were still clinging to old ways in the mid-eighteenth century when they were on the verge of extinction.<sup>21</sup>

Although Timucua-speakers directly occupied a much larger area than the Calusa and are considered to have been far more numerous, their potential strength was dissipated by their division into a number of independent chiefdoms, some of which were bitter enemies of rival Timucua-speaking chiefdoms as well as the non-Timucua-speakers on their borders.<sup>22</sup> Despite the Timucua being the best documented of Spanish Florida's natives for the sixteenth century, their dispersion and the vagaries of the documentation make it difficult to generalize about their political structure. Each major independent chiefdom, or province, as the Spaniards called them, had a head chief who col-

20. Antonio de Argüelles, visitation of Guale and Mocama, 1677; Juan Fernández de Florencia, auto concerning the revolt of the Chacatos, 1675; and Joaquín de Florencia, visitation of Timuqua, 1695, trans. John H. Hann, in "Visitations and Revolts in Florida, 1656-1695," *Florida Archaeology* 7 (forthcoming); Hann, "Florida's Terra Incognita," 69; Hann, *Missions to the Calusa*, 267.
21. Elvas, *True Relation of the Hardships*, II, 90-92; Hann, *Missions to the Calusa*, 422-25; Hudson, *Juan Pardo Expeditions*, 63, 93; Francisco Machado, list of gifts to Indians, 1597, AGI, Santo Domingo (hereinafter SD), 231, Woodbury Lowery Collection, reel 2, Strozier Library, Florida State University, Tallahassee; Juan de Pueyo, visitation of Guale and Mocama, 1695, trans. Hann, in "Visitations and Revolts."
22. Dobyns, *Their Number Become Thinned*, 293-94; René Laudonnière, *Three Voyages*, trans., Charles E. Bennett (Gainesville, 1975), 66, 74, 76-77, 81, 83, 91; Solís de Merás, *Pedro Menéndez*, 202-04, 206-07, 232-33.

lected tribute from his subjects. Writing about the Timucua in general and the Guale, a friar observed that their government, "although it does not have the perfection of ours, is very much in accord with the natural law. They have their natural lords. . . who govern their republics as head with the assistance of counsellors, who also are such by birth and inheritance. With their counsels and accord, he determines and agrees on everything that is appropriate for the village and the common good, except in the matters of favor (*cosas de merced*), for which the cacique alone is free and absolute master."<sup>23</sup>

In the Timucua's two westernmost provinces and in neighboring Apalachee, there were other important chiefs under the head chief for the province. Spaniards referred to the other important chiefs as principal cacique. The principal cacique had lesser chiefs under him. The lesser chiefs headed settlements that were satellites of the principal chiefs village.<sup>24</sup> The same pattern probably existed among the eastern provinces, but the evidence available indicates only that the head chiefs had many other chiefs under their jurisdiction in the more populous provinces and that some of those vassal chiefs seem to have been more important than others. The seemingly considerable powers and importance of Timucua head chiefs and chiefs in general declined rapidly under Spanish rule and the disruption the European-introduced epidemics brought. In 1602 a Spanish governor remarked of the chiefs, "In general the caciques are held in little consideration and are little respected by their Indians except. in the making of the salute to them seated on their bench in the council house and in having preference in the handing out of what comes from the cookhouse and for the people whom he indicates. And in everything else they have little respect for him and less fear and everything he assigns to them they execute like lifeless clods."<sup>25</sup> Of the respect accorded

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23. Kathleen A. Deagan, "Cultures in Transition: Fusion and Assimilation Among the Eastern Timucua," in Milanich and Proctor, *Tacachale*, 107; Francisco Alonso de Jesus, Memorial 1630, AGI, Mexico 302. Transcription furnished by Eugene Lyon, St. Augustine Foundation, Inc., at Flagler College.
24. John H. Hann, "Demographic Patterns and Changes in Mid-Seventeenth Century Timucua and Apalachee," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 64 (April 1986), 372, 374-75, 385-87.
25. Gonzalo Méndez de Canzo to the king, September 22, 1602, AGI, SD 224, JTCC, reel 2.

a cacique on his elevated bench, a friar reported that no one was permitted to approach the bench "except with the great respect and fear that we are taught for approaching our sacred things." A similar decline in power prevailed in Apalachee early in the seventeenth century even before the Indians came under direct Spanish rule.<sup>26</sup>

The de Soto chronicles provide the first example of a native title the Timucua used for their chiefs. The chronicles applied the title in forms such as paracoxi and hurriparacoxi to a chief belonging to the Safety Harbor culture, who lived twenty or thirty leagues inland from where de Soto landed in Tampa Bay and to whom chiefs living along the bay or close to it paid tribute.<sup>27</sup> Other than this first instance, usage of parucusi occurred only among Timucua-speakers. Paracoxi reappeared as paracousi and paraousti in René Goulaine de Laudonnière's account of his second voyage. He used the form paraousti first in telling of his meeting with an unidentified chief at Matanzas Inlet, observing that it meant "King and superior."

Laudonnière used the form paracousi in telling of his initial encounter with Chief Saturiwa, noting that "the Paraousti took him by the hand . . . and by signs showed me the limits upriver of his dominion and told me that he was named Paracousi Satouriona, which means the same thing as King Satouriona. The children bear the same title of Paraousti." Laudonnière used the two forms interchangeably, both as a title for specific chiefs and in speaking of chiefs in general. Thus he alluded to the "Paraousti of the River of May," "Paracousi Molona," "Paracousi Outina," and "Ouae Outina, this great paracousi."<sup>28</sup> The extent of Laudonnière's use of the two terms is lost in Charles E. Bennett's translation because he rendered both forms as chief

26. Hann, *Apalachee*, 12, 100-01; Francisco Alonso de Jesus, Memorial 1630, AGI, Mexico 302.

27. Luys Hernández de Biedma, report of the outcome of the journey that Hernando de Soto made and of the characteristics of the land through which he traveled, trans. John H. Hann, on file at the Bureau of Archaeological Research, Tallahassee; Elvas, *True Relation of the Hardships*, II, 46; Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, *Historia general y natural de las Indias, islas y tierra-firme del mar oceano*, 4 vols. (Madrid, 1851-1855), I, 549.

28. Suzanne Lussagnet, ed., *Les Français en Amérique Pendant la Deuxième Moitié du XVIe Siècle. Les Français en Floride, Textes de Jean Ribault, René de Laudonnière, Nicolas le Challeux et Dominique de Gourges* (Paris, 1958), 86-90, 94, 104-05, 110, 112-13, 115-16.

after their initial appearance.<sup>29</sup> But whether by accident or design, Laudonnière did not use either form for chiefs living north of the St. Johns River or for Potano, Onatheaqua, or Housatqua.<sup>30</sup> After de Soto's time, Spaniards never applied the title to a specific ruler, but the title appears as *ano parucusi holata yco* and *vtina parucusi holata*, respectively, in Fray Francisco Pareja's 1612 and 1627 catechisms, showing that it remained in use nonetheless. Parucusi likely had the particular meaning of war chief or war prince.<sup>31</sup>

Holata, another name for chief that the Timucua used more commonly than parucusi in the seventeenth century at least, was used by other peoples as well in contrast to parucusi. Holata is believed to be of Muskogean origin. In mission times, holata appeared among the Apalachee, and it later was recorded for Creek and Choctaw. Among Apalachee and Creek it was spelled *holahata*.<sup>32</sup> In the form *orata*, Juan Bandera applied this title to over 100 leaders in the territories traversed by Juan Pardo and Moyano from coastal Escamacu to the deep hinterland of the Carolinas and Tennessee.<sup>33</sup> Only for the Guale and Tamayamasee is there a lack of clear evidence of Spanish or native usage of *holahata* for chief. But even among the Guale, the title appears as part of the name of several towns, as in *Olatapotoque*, which may have been the name of a chief as well.<sup>34</sup>

Holata first appeared in de Soto's time as *Itaraholata*, the name of a Timucua village in the vicinity of present-day Gainesville.<sup>35</sup> Laudonnière applied the term to Saturiwa's principal rival, *Olata Ouae Outina*, a head chief whose domain lay along

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29. Laudonnière, *Three Voyages*, 60, 61ff.

30. Lussagnet, *Les Français en Amérique*, 86 n. 1.

31. Julian Granberry, *A Grammar and Dictionary of the Timucua Language* (Horseshoe Beach, FL, 1989), 179, 198, 218, 229; Stefan Lorant, ed., *The New World, the First Pictures of America* (New York, 1946), 11 n. 20.

32. Hann, *Apalachee*, 98-99, 108-11; Jerald T. Milanich, rough draft of article on the Timucua, 1977, prepared for future edition of William C. Sturtevant, ed., *Handbook of North American Indians*, in the possession of the author; Jerald T. Milanich and William C. Sturtevant, eds., *Francisco Pareja's 1613 Confessionario. A Documentary Source for Timucuan Ethnography* (Tallahassee, 1972), 45 n. 13, 67-68.

33. Hudson, *Juan Pardo Expeditions*, 62, 211-49, *passim*.

34. John R. Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors* (Washington, 1922), 83, 480.

35. Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, I, 551.

the upper St. Johns River north of Lake George.<sup>36</sup> But as noted, he also referred to Ouae Outina as paracousi. In his *Confessionario*, in the Timucua portion of his text, Fray Francisco Pareja used holata as the equivalent of the hispanicized cacique.<sup>37</sup> But beyond that, Spaniards were very sparing in the use of the term. In mission times there appears to be no instance of Spaniards having used the title holata in speaking of any specific chief among either the Timucua or Apalachee. This contrasts with their usage in speaking about Guale leaders, for whom they frequently used the Guale equivalent, mico (and its feminine form, mica) as titles for specific chieftains and chieftainesses rather than cacique and cacica used exclusively for the Timucua and Apalachee chiefs. For mission times, literate chiefs provided the examples, one Timucua and the other Apalachee, who signed their names Lazaro Chamile Holatama and Don Bentura Ybitachuco, holahta.<sup>38</sup>

For the Apalachee there is no evidence as to what title chiefs bore prior to mission times. Late in the mission era, except for the example of Ivitachuco's chief cited above, cacique seems to have been used almost exclusively by Spaniard and Indian alike, with the chiefs of mission centers being known as principal caciques and the remainder simply as caciques. In a 1688 letter in the Apalachee language, written jointly by the province's chiefs, those who signed it appended cacique to their names, except for the paramount chief, don Bentura of Ivitachuco, who used holahta. Holahta may well have been the common word for chief among the Apalachee as it was among the Timucua. But in the only known examples of its usage, holahta was applied to the head chief, Florida's governor, and the king of Spain. In the above-mentioned 1688 letter, the chiefs used holahta to designate the king of Spain as their great chief thus, "Pin holahta chuba pin Rey," literally "our chief great, our King."<sup>39</sup> This raises the possibility that in Apalachee, at least,

36. Lussagnet, *Les Français en Amérique*, 102.

37. Milanich and Sturtevant, *Francisco Pareja's 1613 Confessionaria*, 67.

38. Chiefs of Apalachee to the king, 21st day of the moon that is called January 1688, trans. Fray Marcelo de San Joseph, AGI, SD 839, Stetson Collection (hereinafter SC), P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History; John H. Hann, "Translation of Governor Rebolledo's 1657 Visitation of Three Florida Provinces and Related Documents," *Florida Archaeology* 2 (1986), 106.

39. Chiefs of Apalachee to the king, 21st day of the moon that is called January 1688.

holahta had the connotation of great chief. On the other hand, their use of *chuba* (great) to qualify it may indicate that *holahta* by itself meant nothing more than chief. But it is possibly not a coincidence that the head chief was the only one to use *holahta* in signing that letter.

Among other members of the Muskogean family, *holahta* did not always have the sense of great chief or head chief. Jerald Milanich and William Sturtevant noted that the Creek *holahta* was "the title of an official less important than a *mi\*kkko* or town chief."<sup>40</sup> Charles Hudson took a similar stand vis-à-vis Juan Pardo's *oratas*, remarking that "consistent with the hierarchial [sic] organization that is typical of chiefdoms, three levels of authority are discernible among the people, with whom Pardo had dealings. From lowest to highest, the three levels were *orata*, *mico*, and grand chief (*cacique grande*), the last one being a position for which no Indian word was recorded by *Bandera*." Hudson noted further that the "*orata* appears to have been a village headman, or if not this then the headman of the smallest social unit, however constituted. . . . *Bandera* defines a *mico* as a great lord (*un gran señor*), whereas an *orata* was a minor lord (*un menor señor*)."<sup>41</sup>

*Bandera*'s remarks about the relative positions of *micos* and *oratas* are susceptible to an interpretation different from the one given them by Hudson. *Bandera* did not necessarily put *oratas* in general in the inferior position posited by Hudson, but possibly only one whom *Bandera* qualified as "*orata chiquini*." When *Bandera* made the first mention of the title *orata* on introducing the *EmaeE orata* of *Guionae*, he explained in a parenthetical remark that the title stood for "great lord" (*{EmaeE / horata/ s[en]or / grande}*). A little farther on, when *Bandera* listed thirteen *oratas* who met Pardo at *Canos* (*Cofitachequi*), he described them as "very principal chiefs" while noting that there were "many others who are subjects and under the dominion of some of the above-mentioned" thirteen *oratas*. Thus *Bandera* indicates clearly that *oratas* could be head chiefs. *Canos orata* was one. *Bandera* mentioned the first *mico* only much later after Pardo passed beyond what Hudson believed to be Muskogean territory. Consequently, for most of the territory traversed

40. Milanich and Sturtevant, *Francisco Pareja's 1613 Confessionario*, 49 n. 13.

41. Hudson, *Juan Pardo Expeditions*, 61-62.

by Pardo there is no juxtaposition of mico and orata. There, oratas had the field to themselves. The following is the passage in which mico and orata are juxtaposed as superior and inferior, again in a parenthetical remark explaining the meaning of mico on its first appearance. “{Meco is a great lord. Orata Chiquini [is] a lesser lord ({meco Es gran / señor ora/ta chiquini / menos s[eñ]or}).”<sup>42</sup> In view of what Bandera said earlier about other oratas, all that one can conclude justifiably from this last passage is that an orata qualified as chiquini is less a lord vis-à-vis the mico of Guatari, but not that all oratas are inferior to micos.

In the mission territories the title mico was associated exclusively with the Guale and other north-Georgia natives, the Tama and Yamasee. For those peoples Spaniards used mico and mico mayor to designate chief and head chief respectively, but, at times, a head chief was referred to simply as mico. Although such leaders were also alluded to often as caciques, Spaniards used the form mico much more frequently for the Guale than they did holata, paracousi, or any other indigenous native title for other peoples in the mission territories. Mico and mico mayor were reserved for leaders of the more important settlements such as Tolomato, Guale (on St. Catherines Island), Tupiqui, Espogache, and Asao, while chiefs of less important settlements were referred to exclusively as caciques.<sup>43</sup> At the time of the Spaniards' first contact with the Guale, they identified Tolomato's chief as “the supreme lord [who] is called mico, which in that tongue is like king or prince of that land.” He was wasted by advanced age at that time. Because of this and because he was most valiant, the chief named Guale, who was the Tolomato chiefs son-in-law and second person in the province, was running everything.<sup>44</sup>

42. Ibid., 211-13, 215, 259-60, 262-63. It should be noted that in de Soto's time the cacica of Cofitachequi had a deserted village named Talimeco, the meaning of which was probably “village of the mico.” See Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, I, 561.

43. Argüelles, visitation of Guale and Mocama, 1677; Pedro de Ibarra, *Relacion del viaje que hizo el señor Pedro de Ibarra, Gobernador y Capitan General de la Florida, a visitar los pueblos Indios de las Provincias de San Pedro y Guale*, in Manuel Serrano y Sanz, *Documentos históricos de la Florida y la Luisiana, siglos XVI al XVIII* (Madrid, 1912), 177-91; John Tate Lanning, *The Spanish Missions of Georgia* (Chapel Hill, 1935), 82-111, passim; Pueyo, visitation of Guale and Mocama, 1695.

44. Felix Zubillaga, ed., *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae (1566-1572)* (Rome, 1946), 587.

For the 1587-1606 period during which most is known about Guale, Jones lists Guale-Tolomato, Asao-Talaxe, and Espogache-Tupiqui as separate Guale chiefdoms, noting that "each chiefdom . . . seems to have had two principal towns." One of the chiefs of the three chiefdoms served also as head chief of a federation of the three, which Jones characterized as "fragile." For the 1562-1586 period he extends the Guale's territory into South Carolina to include the Escamacu, Covexcis, Ahoya, and Orista but without demonstrating effectively that those peoples were Guale or that their leaders bore the title *mico*.<sup>45</sup> Spaniards always spoke of Orista and Escamacu as though they were peoples distinct from the Guale, even when they allied in rebellion against the Spanish. Pedro Menéndez de Avilés found Guale and Orista at war with each other when he first visited the region.<sup>46</sup>

In the mission provinces *mico* is a title that can be said to have been language specific. Guale, Tama, Yamasee, and the Lower Creek peoples, whom Spaniards identified as Apalachicola and who shared the title, spoke either the same language or variants of it that were mutually intelligible. In 1568 a Jesuit described the Guale language as the most universal he had learned of in Florida, as it was understood for 200 leagues into the hinterland.<sup>47</sup> The validity of his judgment was confirmed a century later in the person of Diego Camuñas, an interpreter whom Spaniards employed for dealings with Guale and Yamasee living along the coast and with Apalachicola on the Chatahoochee. In the 1680s a Yamasee spying for the Spaniards remarked that in the vicinity of the village of Apalachicola he was able to pass as a local when he dressed as the locals did, because people there found nothing unusual in

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45. Jones, "The Ethnohistory of the Guale Coast through 1684," in David Hurst Thomas, Grant D. Jones, Roger S. Durham, and Clark Spencer Larsen, *The Anthropology of St. Catherine's Island: 1. Natural and Cultural History. Vol. 55, part 2, Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* (New York, 1978), 200, 202-08.

46. Solís de Merás, *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, 167, 167-68 n. 7; Fernando de Valdés, government matters (inquiry), 1602, AGI, SD 2533, SC. In 1604 there was an Orista in Guale, but there is no indication that it was related to the earlier Orista in the vicinity of Santa Elena.

47. Zubillaga, *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, 325.

his language and because he understood their language very well.<sup>48</sup>

This identification of the mico-ship with peoples from north Georgia and the Spaniards' tendency to identify micos by that title makes the mico-ship a good marker for detecting migrations. That micos are not mentioned for any of the other mission provinces suggests that except for Tolomato's relocation to the vicinity of St. Augustine, the 1670s movement of Tama-Yamasee into Apalachee, and the resettlement of Yamasee and Guale on Amelia Island, it is unlikely there was any substantial movement of Guale or Yamasee into Florida prior to 1702, as has been posited at times. It also suggests that introduction of the Lamar-type ceramics known as Leon-Jefferson did not result from any substantial immigration from the Lamar heartland where the mico-ship prevailed.

Inija, a title used for the second-in-command, appears to have been the one most widely used, with a distribution that surpassed that of *holahta*. Apalachee, Timucua, Guale, Chacato, and Creek employed the term. Its use among still other peoples may be concealed under the Spanish term *mandador*. The *inija* was first mentioned in the 1560s for Pardo's far northern hinterland. At *Tocae*, Pardo met two *ynahaes oratas* whom *Bandera* described thus in a parenthetical note, "YnihaEs are what we might call justices or Jurados who command the people."<sup>49</sup> Hudson noted that *Bandera* characterized an *inija* at *Olamico* as "like a 'sheriff' who commands the town."<sup>50</sup> *Bandera's* descriptions capture more or less the role *inijas* played in the mission provinces where they were the village administrators responsible for seeing that essential tasks were attended to. During the

48. Argüelles, visitation of Guale and Mocama, 1677; Antonio Matheos to Juan Marques Cabrera, May 21, 1686, enclosed in correspondence from the viceroy of Mexico, Count of Paredes and Marquis of Laguna to the king, July 19, 1686, AGI, Mexico 56, John Tate Lanning Collection of the Thomas Jefferson Library, University of Missouri, St. Louis, vol. 5 of Colección "Misiones Guale"; Pueyo, visitation of Guale and Mocama, 1695.

49. Paul E. Hoffman, who transcribed and translated the *Bandera* accounts that appear in Hudson's work, defined *jurado* as "a member of a special panel of officials elected and sometimes appointed to represent the public interest in various matters of city government." They defended the city's *fueros*, oversaw the judicial system, protected its patrimony, and saw to it that it was well administered. Hudson, *Juan Pardo Expeditions*, 65, 229-30, 276, 296 n. 7.

50. Hudson, *Juan Pardo Expeditions*, 65.

chief's absence they spoke for the village in dealings with outsiders. In Apalachee they seem to have been repositories of tribal lore and myths and information on inheritance rights for chiefships. The position was a hereditary one like that of the chief. Fray Pareja described the Timucua ynihama as coming from the same lineage as the head chief and as "a counsellor who brings the Cacique near at hand (a la mano)."<sup>51</sup>

It is not clear whether the mission provinces had an equivalent to the enehau ulgee or collective inija-ship portrayed by Benjamin Hawkins as occupying the mico's cabin on the left in the Creek square ground, who were in charge of public works, like Spanish Florida's inija, and of preparation of the black drink.<sup>52</sup> But Francisco Pareja's description of the lineages that provided counsellors for Timucua head chiefs indicates a collective inija-ship for that people in the persons of the ynihama, anacotimas, asetama, yvitano, toponole, ybichara, and amalachini. It may also have existed in Apalachee and Guale. Large mission centers like San Luis de Talimali had more than one inija and deputies for the inija known as chacales, a title used at times as synonymous with inija.<sup>53</sup> Pareja mentioned chacales also for Timucua as chacalicarema.<sup>54</sup>

Although inijas are mentioned for all the mission provinces, they do not appear as frequently under that name for Guale and Timucua as they do for the Apalachee. For Guale and Timucua there is more frequent mention of an official Spaniard called the mandador. As its meaning of order-giver expresses the essence of the inija's duties, it is likely that in many instances when Spaniards used the title mandador they were speaking of the inija. A soldier at San Luis made this clear, testifying that Apalachee's deputy-governor "broke the head of Bi Bentura, enija of the village of San Luis, who is order-giver (mandador), second person to the cacique."<sup>55</sup> But the two are

51. Hann, *Apalachee*, 106; Francisco Pareja, *Cathecismo, en Lengua Castellana, y Timuquana* (Mexico, 1612), I-iiiii.

52. Benjamin Hawkins, *Letters of Benjamin Hawkins, 1796-1806*, reprint ed. (Spartanburg, SC, 1982), 15. The letters originally were published in 1848 as vol. 3, part 1 of the Collections of the Georgia Historical Society.

53. Hann, *Apalachee*, 106, 106 n. 7, 107; Pareja, *Cathecismo, en Lengua Castellana*, I-iiiii.

54. Milanich and Sturtevant, *Francisco Pareja's 1613 Confessionario*, 69.

55. Antonio Matheos, testimony from the record of the residencia of Juan Marques Cabrera, AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, leg. 156C, pieza 25, E. 20, SC.

not coterminous. In the first explicit mention of an inija for the Guale that this author has encountered, Florida's governor addressed an order to the "caciques, Ynijas, and mandadores" of the province.<sup>56</sup> But for the coastal peoples, when an inija was not mentioned and an official was identified as mandador, it is probable that he is an inija. For Guale, the same may be true for individuals identified as alaiguitas, as in the 1604 and 1695 visitations. In 1695 a Guale leader named Augustin was alluded to as mandador on one occasion and as alaiguita on another. But on the other hand the 1695 visitor's general auto noted that "all the caciques, micos, enijas, leading men, mandadores, and vassals are to be cited."<sup>57</sup> Of course, seventeenth-century Spaniards' love for tautology could be the explanation for this seeming repetition.

Spanish usage of mandador is particularly strong for the South Carolina region at the beginning of the seventeenth century. There it seems to have been applied to other officials in addition to the inija. For the Escamacu, Cayagua, and Sati, Spaniards used cacique for the chief and mandador and mandador mayor for officials below the level of chief who, at times, were heads of outlying settlements.<sup>58</sup> Bandera used mandador similarly for the hinterland in the 1560s.<sup>59</sup> In 1609, Francisco Fernández de Ecija said of his entrance into the Jordan River, and "going inland from the two headlands there is a large river, which we ascended until we reached some cabins and fields sown with corn, where an Indian lived, who was the mandador, which is what we call those [the leaders] of the Jordan." Ecija noted subsequently that the mandador's chief, named Sati, lived in a village some distance upriver.<sup>60</sup>

Gobernador (governor) is another Spanish term applied frequently to native leaders. The native governor was a person in

56. Benito Ruiz de Salazar Vallecilla to Antonio de Argüelles, July 11, 1650, AGI, SD 23, trans. Eugene Lyon, in possession of the author.

57. Ibarra, *Relacion*, 179, 184, 187; Diego de Jaen, Deputy-Governor Diego de Jaen's defense, 1695, trans. Hann, in "Visitations and Revolts"; Pueyo, visitation of Guale and Mocama, 1695. The title alaiguita seems to have been confined to the Guale as was another official known as ibisache whose function is unknown.

58. John H. Hann, "Translation of the Ecija Voyages of 1605 and 1609 and the González Derrotero of 1609," *Florida Archaeology* 2 (1986), passim.

59. Hudson, *Juan Pardo Expeditions*, 66, 228-29, 231, 233, 235-36, 238. Hudson speculates that mandadores were head warriors or war chiefs.

60. Hann, "Translation of the Ecija Voyages," 26.

charge of the village in the place of a chief when the legitimate chief or mico was incapable of exercising the duties of his office due to old age, illness, mental incapacity, or some other cause. In a 1695 visitation it was noted that Mico Bernabé of Tupiqui had been removed earlier and replaced by Tupiqui's *alaiguita*, who was then given the title of governor by the Spanish governor who authorized this change.<sup>61</sup> More commonly, nephew- or niece-heirs to a chieftainship were installed as governors when their ruling aunt or uncle was incapacitated by age or illness. It is not clear whether the practice had a formalized native equivalent or was introduced by the Spaniards. Among the Calusa, who had not recognized Spanish sovereignty, an old chief seems to have simply stepped aside at a certain point in favor of a son. In an instance recorded at Yustaga's San Matheo de Tolapatafi, village leaders reported that the legitimate heir, Julian, was "governing because his aunt, who is the legitimate *cacica*, has not died and that, although she is incapacitated, he has preferred, nonetheless, not to take formal possession of the chieftainship until she dies because of the respect that he owes her." The governor's official visitor sanctioned the status quo, observing that the heir's interim rule had proved adequate to the village's needs. But he ordered that an official title of governor be issued to Julian "so that he may govern this village in virtue of it with legitimacy."<sup>62</sup>

Guale is the only mission province known to have had a special title, *tunaque*, for the heir to a chiefship. A special seat in the council house was reserved for the *tunaque*. The frequent mention of Guale heirs in documents addressed to the leaders contrasts to the practice for most other provinces. This suggests that Guale heirs enjoyed more of a leadership role than their counterparts elsewhere. Similar mention of such heirs occurred to some degree in Mocama, Guale's southern neighbor, although no such title is known for Mocama heirs.<sup>63</sup> By contrast, Apalachee, Chacato, and Creek had a special title, *usinulo* (beloved son), for one of the chiefs sons, which is not recorded for the Timucua-speakers or the Guale. Special roles in ceremonies

61. Pueyo, visitation of Guale and Mocama, 1695.

62. Florencia, visitation of Timuqua, 1695.

63. Argüelles, visitation of Guale and Mocama, 1677; Ibarra, *Relacion*, 171, 176, 178-79, 183-54, 188.

associated with the tribe's ball game were reserved to the usinulo among the Apalachee. The Creek spelled the title usinjulo.<sup>64</sup>

Female leadership in the future mission provinces appears to have been negligible when Europeans first arrived. De Soto does not seem to have encountered a cacica until he reached Cofitachequi in the northern hinterland. Neither French nor Spanish sources noted female leaders among natives of the Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina coasts in the 1560s and 1570s except for the widow of Chief Hioacaia in Timucua territory twelve leagues north of Fort Caroline and Niacubacany, lady (dame) of a village near the fort.<sup>65</sup> But Pardo encountered cacicas in the northern hinterland, as had de Soto.<sup>66</sup> Timucua's Acuera, located along the Oklawaha, was ruled by a cacica in 1597 when it first gave obedience to Spain's king.<sup>67</sup> Timucua's Yufera, in the coastal hinterland opposite Cumberland Island, had a cacica when it came under Spanish sovereignty in 1604. In the first years of the seventeenth century both the Mocama and the descendants of Saturiwa's people were ruled by women.<sup>68</sup> The first evidence of cacicas in Guale dates from 1677, and in western Timucua from 1657.<sup>69</sup> Only for the Apalachee and Chacato among the missionized natives is there no evidence of cacicas. Women do not seem to have held a position of authority anywhere in Spanish Florida other than that of chief, mica, or orata.

The wide circulation of titles like holata and inija across tribal and linguistic frontiers suggests considerable borrowing of cultural elements. Only the fisher-hunter-gatherers of south Florida seem not to have participated in the nomenclature that characterized the mission provinces. Apalachee and Timucua shared the holata, inija, and chacal. Apalachee and Chacato shared inija, chacal, and usinulo. The linguistically close Guale, Yamasee, and Tama stand apart from other missionized peoples because of their use of mico, mico mayor, tunaque, alaiguita, and ibisache, although they were tied to the rest through the

64. Fernández de Florencia, auto concerning the revolt of the Chacatos, 1675; Hann, *Apalachee*, 104, 123, 338, 340.

65. Lussagnet, *Les Français en Amérique*, 136, 151.

66. Hudson, *Juan Pardo Expeditions*, 215.

67. Machado, list of gifts to Indians, 1597.

68. Ibarra, *Relacion*, 176; Valdés, government matters (inquiry), 1602.

69. Argüelles, visitation of Guale and Mocama, 1677; Hann, "Translation of Governor Rebolledo's 1657 Visitation," 104.

inija. The complexity of Guale's roster of named officials suggests that they may have constituted another *enehau ulgee*.

The superabundance of *oratas* reported by Bandera from coastal Escamacu to Chiaha near the mountains of Tennessee raises questions. There is the issue of the "r," a letter absent from Muskogean languages.<sup>70</sup> Of more concern is *orata*'s wide distribution among diverse linguistic and cultural traditions and its use for *inija* as well as chief and the lack of evidence of the use of *orata* from other Europeans— French and Spanish— who had contact with some of the same coastal chiefs like Escamacu and Orista contemporaneously with Bandera and later. Were it not for Bandera's use of *mico* for three of the northern chiefs Pardo encountered, one would be tempted to conclude that Bandera or his French interpreter applied the title *orata* indiscriminately to everyone in a leadership position whom Pardo met.

However much the power of chiefs and the populations they ruled declined in the two centuries after contact, the native leadership structure retained its form, and its members retained their privileges to a remarkable degree in the mission territories until the destruction of the missions, except for those at the level of what Hudson characterized as grand chiefs. And in Apalachee, even in the wake of the missions' destruction, Florida's governor could write that all was not lost necessarily, with the chief of Ivitachuco still loyal, for, "because he is the most important (*el mas principal*) of the entire province, we can count on it that, if things should settle down again, all the rest of the Apalachee Indians who have remained alive and are in Pensacola would return to their places with only the said don Patricio [Ivitachuco's chief] sending them word with some of his leading men."<sup>71</sup>

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70. This problem could be attributed to misperception by the interpreter or by Bandera himself. There are supposedly Muskogean names such as Orista and Aracuchi that Bandera and other Spaniards recorded with an "r."

71. Joseph de Zúñiga y Zerda to the king, October 6, 1704 (draft copy), AGI, SD 858, JTCC, reel 6.