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Demise of the Pojoy and Bomto

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NOTES AND DOCUMENTS
Demise of the Pojoy and Bomto

by JOHN H. HANN

South-central Florida's aboriginal inhabitants remain among the least known of Florida's native peoples during the first Spanish period because Spaniards did not maintain a permanent presence among them. It is likely that a number of the region's tribes disappeared without even their names having been recorded. That is true particularly of the peoples living in the interior beyond the southernmost missions and those living on or near the Gulf coast between Tampa Bay's southern shore and the Caloosahatchee River. Some of those peoples began to appear fleetingly in Spanish records during the 1710-1740 period when attacks by Indians allied to the British of South Carolina and Georgia forced them to seek refuge intermittently in the vicinity of St. Augustine.

The documents presented here record the virtual demise of at least two of those peoples, the Pojoy and the Bomto, and indicate that another two, the Mayaca and the Amacapira, may have suffered the same fate. The documents reveal the Pojoy to have been a predatory people who were holding Jororo as slaves and who required tribute payments from the Bomto. They indicate also that strong ties bound the Pojoy and the Calusa. When the Bomto killed Pojoy's chief and a number of his people, the Calusa ruler felt obliged to retaliate against the Mayaca as people who were within his reach and had a link with the Bomto. The documents confirm that all the south Florida Indians mentioned in them had become allies of the Spaniards. But they indicate that those Indians' continued internecine wars diminished the value of the alliances for the Spaniards and facilitated the destructive forays by Indians allied to the British.

The era of these documents is 1738-1739, when the Spaniards and the British were preparing for the armed struggle known as the War of Jenkin's Ear. In Florida the war led to General James

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Oglethorpe's failed attempt to capture St. Augustine in 1740. The Spaniards were very concerned about the steady attrition of the native populations of the lower half of the peninsula. As allies of the Spaniards, those Indians provided intelligence about British and other foreign activity on the coasts. The Indians even took hostile action against such intruders when it was feasible.

In addition to the Pojoy, Bomto, Mayaca, and Amacapira, the documents presented here mention the Jororo, Maymi, Carlos or Calusa, Jega, Uchize, Ocone, and Talapuce. Discussion of the natives whom the documents mention requires allusion additionally to the Ais or Costas, the Alafaes, Casapullos, Santa Luzos, Timucua, and Yamasee.

Except for the Calusa, the Mayaca are the best known of the people the documents mention who were residents of Florida in 1738-1739. Mayaca had been in intermittent contact with Spaniards since the time of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés. When first mentioned under the name Macoya, the Mayaca lived along the upper St. Johns River just south of Lake George where the river narrows. Franciscan friars began to work among the Mayaca late in the sixteenth century at about the same time they initiated the missions among the Timucua living along that river in the vicinity of Palatka. Spanish sources mentioned a formal mission named San Salvador de Mayaca as being among the Mayaca for the first and last time in 1655. It was 36 leagues or about 93 miles from St. Augustine. When the mission's name resurfaced in 1680, San Salvador de Mayaca was described as a new mission and all or most of its inhabitants were Yamasee, a people who had migrated into Florida from Georgia. The Mayaca mentioned in the documents presented here undoubtedly belonged to a band known to have been living on Lake Okeechobee during this era.[1] Their residence there is reflected in the name Port Mayaca, the eastern terminus of the modern Lake Okeechobee ferry.

The Jororo apparently were related to the Mayaca as they were recorded as speaking Mayaca and Spaniards spoke of the two tribes' territory at times as the province of Mayaca and Jororo. The

1. Joseph Maria Monaco and Joseph Javier Alaña, "Report on the Indians of Southern Florida and Its Keys, 1760," in John H. Hann, ed. and trans., *Missions to the Calusa* (Gainesville, 1991), 419-431.

Jororo occupied the lakes district immediately south of Mayaca territory. Their territory may have extended into the Kissimmee Valley. Their name first appeared in the 1690s when Franciscans established several missions among them. The modem name Kissimmee may have descended from the native name Jizime attached to one of those missions.

Jororo appeared with some frequency from 1717 to 1738 as living in villages in the vicinity of St. Augustine. A 1728 report compiled by a friar who was then in Havana spoke of a village composed of Jororo "united with the Pojoyes and Amacapiras . . . all idolaters and heathens except two or three," who lived with a friar for a short time about nine leagues south of St. Augustine. Like all the other south Floridians, they relied completely on hunting, gathering, and fishing for their sustenance. The friar reported that most of them died in an epidemic in 1727 after which, "the few who remained withdrew to their former lands and to their idolatries.[2] Despite that friar's possibly overly pessimistic report, a new village composed of Pojoy, Alafaia, and Amacapira emerged by 1731. Another village inhabited by Jororo was 750 feet away from it. Three friars who had been in charge of those two villages reported that in 1734, after a new governor had moved the natives and imposed unrecompensed labor on them, those Indians had withdrawn again to the southern coast, "returning to their heathen ways and their wars with one another" such as the one that led to the deaths of the Pojoy and Amacapira chiefs and the surviving Pojoy's retaliation, which is the focus of the documents reproduced below.3

The Mayaca and Jororo probably were closely related to the Ais of the Indian River region. Spanish authorities seemingly equated the Jororo with the Ais, speaking of the Jororo missions at times as missions to the Ais

2. Joseph Bullones to the king, October 5, 1728, in Hann, *Missions to the Calusa,* 371-380.

3. Antonio Navarro, Francisco Gómez, and Pablo de Rodríguez to Manuel de Montiano, June 1, 1738, in Manuel de Montiano to Juan Francisco de Güemes y Horcasitas, June 4, 1738, Archive General de Indias (hereinafter AGI), Santo Domingo (hereinafter SD) 865, Stetson Collection (hereinafter SC).

4. For more details on the Mayaca and Jororo, see Hann, "The Mayaca and Jororo and Missions to them," in Bonnie G. McEwan, ed., "The Missions of Spanish Florida," *Florida Anthropologist* (special issue) 44 (June, September, and December 1991), 164-175, or in McEwan, ed., *The Spanish Mission of La Florida* (Gainesville, 1993), 111-140.

The documents presented here contain what appears to be the only mention of the people whom Spaniards called Bomto or occasionally Bonito. Their exact place of origin is not known. But a Spanish scout's mention of having met up with Chief Bomto at Jega, together with a report of the Bomto's having brought to St. Augustine a Cuban vessel that went aground on the coast south of that city, suggest that the Bomto were living somewhere on the coast south of Cape Canaveral in 1738-1739. Bomto's friendliness with the Jororo slaves of Pojoy and the Calusa attack on the Mayaca mentioned above suggest kinship of the Bomto with those two peoples.

Nothing is known about the Amacapiras except that they came from a place in southern Florida that Spaniards referred to as the rinconada of the Macapiras. They were first mentioned only in 1726 as living in a village near St. Augustine that was attached to a mission for Timucua-speakers. Later mention of them as living with Pojoy and Alafaia and their union with the Pojoy when Bomto killed the Amacapira chief suggest the likelihood of a tie between the Amacapira and the Pojoy and Alafaia. The Amacapira were not mentioned after the 1730s.[5]

Pojoy were first mentioned under that name during the first decade of the seventeenth century. But ancestors of the Pojoy may have been among the first Indians whom Pánfilo de Narváez and Hernando de Soto encountered when they landed in Tampa Bay. In one of the earliest mentions of the Pojoy by that name, Spaniards gave the name Bay of Pojoy to a portion of Tampa Bay where a Spanish expedition landed in 1612. The natives there told them that the Bay of Pojoy was where de Soto had landed.[6] The Pojoy appear to have been closely related with a neighboring people Spaniards identified variously as Alafaia, Alafaes, and Elafay, who evidently gave their name to the Alafia River on Hillsborough Bay. Jerald T. Milanich and Charles Hudson identified that river as de Soto's river of Moscow.[7] Spaniards rendered the name Pojoy variously as Pujoy, Pohoy, Pojoi, Pooy, and Posoy.[8]

5. Harm, *Missions to the Calusa,* 366,370.
6. Juan Fernández de Olivera to the king, October 13, 1612, AGI, SD 229, Woodbury Lowery Collection (hereinafter WLC), reel 3 of the Strozier Library copy, Florida State University; Julian Granberry, *A Grammar and Dictionary of the Timucua Language,* 2nd ed. (Horseshoe Beach, Florida, 1989), 34.
7. Jerald T. Milanich and Charles Hudson, *Hernando de Soto and the Indians of Florida* (Gainesville 1993), 61.
8. Harm, *Missions to the Calusa,* 10-12, 30, 328, 348, 356, 366.

The Pojoy's name first appeared when they joined the Tocobaga of Old Tampa Bay in attacking a mission named Cofa located near the mouth of the Suwannee River in the first decade of the seventeenth century.[9] A Spaniard who visited Pooy in 1612 described it as located at twenty-seven and one-third degrees. of latitude.[10] A friar's mention of Pojoy in 1634 as part of "the Province of Carlos, Posoy, and Matecumbe" indicates that it had become allied with or subject to Calusa's chief, who had been the Tocobaga's major rival and enemy in the 1560s. That realignment is borne out by the account of a 1680 Spanish expedition that passed through Pojoy while headed for the Calusa country.[11] Persistence of the realignment is indicated by a 1718 Pojoy attack on some of their former Tocobaga allies, who were then living on the Gulf coast of Apalachee Province.[12] Prior to 1723, Pojoy referred to as Alafaes settled in a "village of Timuqua" located in the vicinity of St. Augustine. Between 1718 and the beginning of 1723, friars baptized 134 adult Alafaes and 28 of their children in that village. The governor referred to the same village in 1726 as a "settlement of the Timucua and Pojoi nation."[13] In 1680 the village of Elafay lay just to the south of Pojoy on the way to the Calusa heartland. The close relationship or virtual identification of the Pojoy with the Alafaia is suggested also by the name of a Chief Antonio Pojoi who identified himself as head of the Alafaias Costas nation.[14]

The "Costas" name he assumed or was given by Spaniards may suggest a tie between his people and either the Ais or the Indians of the Keys. Spaniards began to use "Costas" as a name for the Ais at least as early as 1711 when Ais came to settle in a village near St. Augustine.[15] A Spaniard applied the name also to Keys Indians in

9. John E. Worth, "The Timucua Missions of Spanish Florida and the Rebellion of 1656," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1992), 59-60.
10. Fernández de Olivera to the king, October 13, 1612.
11. Juan Bautista de la Cruz, Declaration, February 20, 1680, in Hann, Missions to *the Calusa,* 25-26; Alonso de Jesús to the king, n.d. [1634] AGI, SD 225, Jeannette Thurber Connor Collection. (hereinafter JTCC)
12. Harm, *Missions to the Calusa,* 348.
13. Blas Pulido and Joseph del Castillo, February 25, 1723; Antonio de Benavides, Visitation of Settlements near St. Augustine and San Marcos de Apalachee, December 1-11, 1726, in Hann, *Missions to the Calusa,* 361-366.
14. Fray Thomás de Aguilar, Fray Joseph de Jesús y Casas, and Fray Juan de la Rosa to the king, March 15, 1735, AGI, SD 844, JTCC, reel 5; Pablo de Hita Salazar to the king, February 20, 1680, AGI, SD 226, WLC, reel 4.
15. Francisco de Córcoles y Martínez to the king, April 9, 1711, AGI, SD 843, SC.

1762.[16] It is likely that Antonio Pojoi was the Pojoy chief whom Bomto killed early in 1738. The Pojoy do not appear to have been mentioned after 1739.

Maymi, also rendered as Mayaimi, were first mentioned by Hernando d'Escalante Fontaneda about 1575 as having many towns on Lake Okeechobee, which bore the name "Lake of Mayaimi" then and as late as 1675. In that latter year Bishop Gabriel Díaz Vara Calderón mentioned the "large lake of Maymi," but failed to take note of its people in his listing of south Florida's inhabitants from Ponce de Leon Inlet around to Tampa Bay.[17] The Maymi are not known to have had any contact with Spaniards prior to the Maymi chief's visit to St. Augustine recorded in the documents presented here. His visit appears to be the first one to St. Augustine recorded for a native leader from deep south Florida during the First Spanish period. The Alaña-Monaco Report contains the last mention of the Maymi. In 1743 about 100 people comprising remnants of the Maymi, Santaluzos, and Mayaca were living together four days journey north of the mouth of the Miami River.[18]

The Carlos or Calusa Indians of Southwest Florida's coast are the best known of south Florida's aboriginal peoples as befits the region's most powerful native people. The Calusa head chief exercised hegemony over much of the rest of south Florida at one time or another. That hegemony reached from Tampa Bay southward through the Keys around to Biscayne Bay at least. It extended inland along the Caloosahatchee River to peoples living around Lake Okeechobee. Although Spanish contacts with them were very brief and episodic in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, those encounters generated considerable documentation that places the Calusa among the best known of Florida's aboriginal peoples in some respects. The Calusa's contacts with Spaniards became more frequent beginning in the last years of the seventeenth century until the Calusa's disappearance at the end of the first Spanish period. But most of the contact involved Spaniards from Cuba, treasure-salvors from Mexico, and Spaniards in Cuba rather than Spaniards based at St. Augustine. After the 1560s the only recorded contacts between St. Augustine and the Calusa resulted from the 1612 expe-

16. Hann, *Missions to the Calusa,* 331.
17. Gabriel Díaz Vara Calderón to the queen, 1675, AGI, SD 151; Buckingham Smith, trans., *Memoir of Do. d'Escalante Fontaneda* (Miami 1944), 13.
18. Monaco and Alaña, Report 1760, 420.

dition mentioned above and a 1688 encounter in Apalachee between Florida's Governor Diego de Quiroga y Losada and the son and heir of Calusa's head chief, who traveled to Apalachee while the governor was conducting a formal visitation of that province.[19]

The Jega, Gega, or Jeaga, first mentioned by Fontaneda, are among the least known of south Florida's Indians, although the Jega were in contact with Spaniards intermittently from the sixteenth century on. They lived on the Atlantic coast between St. Lucie Inlet and Jupiter Inlet, according to Bishop Calderón's placement of them between the Santaluces or St. Lucie Indians and the Jobeses or Hobe Indians. They were a problem for the Spaniards initially because of the hostile reception the Indians gave to the survivors of shipwrecks. Repeated punitive expeditions eventually led those Indians to establish friendly relations with the Spaniards by the late 1620s. The Jega's respect for and fear of the Spaniards is reflected vividly in Jonathan Dickinson's account of his experiences in the wake of his 1696 shipwreck on that coast.[20]

The name Uchize or Uchisi was by 1738 one that the Spaniards used to designate a large group of Indians from the lower Chattahoochee and Flint Valleys in central and southwest Georgia whom the English referred to as Lower Creeks. Spaniards also used the name Uchize for the Hitchiti language spoken by a majority of the towns of the Uchize Province. The Uchize were for the most part the same people whom Spaniards identified as Apalachicola in the seventeenth century.[21] The name first appeared in the de Soto chronicles as Achese, Chisi, or Ichisi and applied to Indians living in the vicinity of Macon, Georgia, who were linked to the site now known as the Ocmulgee National Monument.[22] The Apalachicola in general began to be known as Uchize or as Ocheese Creeks (in the case of the British) when some of their towns moved to the Oc-

19. Hann, *Missions to the Calusa*, 3-4, 8,9-12,80,237, 268.
20. Díaz Vara Calderón 1675; Evangeline Walker Andrews and Charles McLean Andrews, eds., *Jonathan Dickinson's Journal or, God's Protecting Providence*, 10-44, passim; Hann, *Missions to the Calusa*, 19-20; Smith, *Memoir*, 17.
21. Díaz Vara Calderón 1675; Domingo de Leturiondo to Juan Marques Cabrera, November 5, 1685; Antonio Matheos to Juan Márquez Cabrera, October 4, 1685, AGI, SD 639, John Tate Lanning Collection, Thomas Jefferson Library, University of Missouri at St. Louis, vol. 3 of "Misiones Guale," document dd; Damian de Vega Castro y Pardo to the king, August 22, 1639, AGI, SD 225, SC.
22. Lawrence A. Clayton, Vernon James Knight, Jr., and Edward C. Moore, eds., *The De Soto Chronicles: the Expedition of Hernando de Soto to North America in 1539-1543*, 2 vols. (Tuscaloosa, 1993), I, 70, 76, n. 106, 271.

mulgee River in the late decade or so of the seventeenth century to escape Spanish attempts to force them to sever their trade ties with the English. The Ocmulgee River then bore the name Uchize Creek from the de Soto era town.[23] After the Yamasee War of 1715, the Uchise became the principal native allies of the British in an ongoing campaign to weaken the Spanish hold on Florida by enslaving and exterminating the Florida Indians partial to the Spaniards.[24] Today's Mikasuki speaking groups are descendants of the Hitchiti speaking Uchize.

The Ocone were from an Uchize town named Ocone. When Ocone was first mentioned in 1675 and in the mid-1680s, it was located on the west bank of the Chattahoochee River between Talipasli and the town of Apalachicola, which were then the three southernmost towns of Apalachicola Province if one does not consider Sauocola Grande to be a part of the province.[25] They are believed to have migrated to the Oconee River when the people of other towns of Apalachicola Province migrated to the Ocmulgee.[26] Ocone were among the first of the Uchize marauders to settle in Florida on the Alachua prairies. Micanopy was an Ocone chief.[27]

Talapuce was the Spaniards' name for one of the major components of the Indians whom the English called Upper Creeks, who lived on the Tallapoosa River in the 1730s. It is uncertain whether there was a town bearing that name.[28] They participated to some degree in the British-inspired attacks on the Spaniards and their native allies in Florida. In 1738 they and the Creeks in general were wavering in their fidelity to the British alliance. It took a visit by Oglethorpe to the Lower Creek country in 1739, where he met with the Creek leaders in council, to persuade them to renew the alliance.[29]

23. Verner W. Crane; "The Origin of the Name of the Creek Indians," *Journal of American History* 5 (1918), 339-342.
24. Bullones to the king, October 5, 1728.
25. Díaz Vara Calderón 1675; Matheos to Márquez Cabrera, October 4, 1685.
26. John R. Swanton, *The Indians of the Southeastern United States* (Washington, D.C. 1946), 165, 179.
27. Swanton, *The Indians of the Southeastern United States*, 165, 181; Brent Richards Weisman, *Like Beads on a String: a Culture History of the Seminole Indians in Northern Peninsular Florida* (Tuscaloosa, 1989), 7.
28. Swanton, *Early History* of *the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors* (Washington 1922), 197, 286.
29. Herbert E. Bolton, ed., *Arredondo's Historical Proof of Spain's Title to Georgia* (Berkeley, California, 1925), 83-84.

The documents presented here would provide an exemplary illustrative text for a course in historiography. They provide three radically different accounts of the first attack that set the stage for the demise of the Pojoy as an organized group. Historians and other scholars can be grateful that the Spanish governor did not content himself with the first report of the Pojoy chief's death, made by an Indian who was an interpreter for that tribe. The interpreter identified the perpetrators of the assault as Uchise. Had the governor not persisted in learning more, there probably would be no record at all of the Bomto. He might justifiably have let the matter drop inasmuch as the Uchize were then the major assailants of the Indians allied to the Spaniards.

These documents also provide what appears to be the only reference to the south Florida Indians' use of smoking for the curing of a fruit that possibly was the palm berry. The expression that the governor used was *"ahumando Uba."* "Grape" is the most usual rendition for *uba* (or *uva* in modern Spanish) and the governor could have been referring to sea grapes. But, in view of the natives' reliance on palm berries as a staple in that region and the Spaniards' referral to palm berries as *"uba de palma,"* palm berries probably were intended on this occasion. The documents are from the Archive General de Indias in Seville, Spain, Santo Domingo leg. 37, East Florida Papers, reel 15. They were viewed at the Library of Congress, Manuscript Section.

Governor Manuel de Montiano to Juan Francisco de Güemes y Horcasitas,[30]
Florida, February 2, 1738.

My Dear Sire:

> The night of the 27th of December, the Indian Clemente, atequi[31] or interpreter for the Pujoy, arrived at this plaza with the news that the night of the twelfth day of the same month, while the Cacique Pujoy was building a canoe 10 leagues distant from his village and fort, he was surprised

30. Juan Francisco Güemes y Horcasitas was governor at Havana.
31. This native word meaning "interpreter" appeared in variant forms among diverse linguistic groups in the Southeast at least as far north as South Carolina.

> at midnight by a very numerous troop of Uchises. That it was reported that Sigunaca was commanding it. And that they killed him [Cacique Pujoy], taking advantage of the occasion of catching him sleeping. And they also [killed] the Cacique Amacapira, 10 men, and a woman, and carried off 10 persons as prisoners, 5 of them men, and the rest women and children, and among them the wife of Pujoy. And a woman wounded in one hand [escaped], with her son, also wounded, having freed herself because of the darkness of the night from falling into the enemy's hands. Because of that, 16 men and 10 women, who were in the fort, received the news in it. And they withdrew to the woods, terrified by this ill-fortune and fearful that they would come to attack it, although, before taking this decision, they resolved to send an Indian to examine the spot where this sorrowful event had happened. And the corpses having been seen by the emissary, he ratified it to his companions, who were waiting for some time to pass or to have news that the enemies had moved off in order to bury the bodies *(enterrar los cuerpos)* and come to the shelter of this plaza afterward.

On receiving that news, I dispatched Luis Gomes, a scout *(practico)* for that land, on the first day of January so that he might verify the truth of the case for me and so that, after gathering the fugitive Indians together, he might conduct them to this plaza with their families. And after having reached the Bar of Mosquitos,[52] he found the crossing cut off by some Indians whom he discovered by way of their tracks. And he saw that they were in ambush. And he returned to this plaza on the 7th day of the said month, on deciding not to go forward. And at once I dispatched Cacique Chislala,[53] an Indian of bravery and enterprise *(desempeño),* so that he might determine whether or not any enemy Indians remained at the cross-

32. This is Ponce de Leon Inlet. See Irving Rouse, *A Survey of Indian River Archeology* (New Haven, 1951), 270, n. 14.
33. Chislala is possibly the 30-year old Yamasee of the village of Pocotalaca whose name is rendered as Chislada on a list from the year 1736 published by Swanton, *Early History of* the Creek Indians, 105, although Chislada was not identified as a cacique in 1736.

ing of those whom Luis Gomes had seen. And the cacique having returned on the 14th day, he replied to me that the passage was clear. And assured of this, I dispatched Luis Gomes again on the 15th day. And while I was awaiting his return, 12 Indian men and one woman from the Pujoy village appeared here.

And when I questioned them about the event, they made a report about it in the following manner. That while el Pujoy was engaged in curing fruit with few people, the Cacique Bomto had come to the spot where they were with all his [people]. And not being fearful about this because of the subjection in which he had him dominated, they remained together with the friendship that was customary. And as Bomto needed to find a way of paying the contribution to Pujoy in order to maintain it [the friendship], he persuaded him to lend him the arms *(armas)* so that he might go with his people to hunt and that with [them] he would be able to regale him with what they killed. And el Pujoy let him have the arms after having yielded to Bonto's petitions. And el Bomto arranged a dance that same night that lasted the entire [night], with which he entertained them cunningly, keeping them from sleeping. And he set off when dawn came as if he actually was going to hunt. And that night, considering that he would have surrendered himself to sleep, he attacked them, finding them just as he thought he would. And he carried out his depraved intention and [achieved] his desire of avenging himself by killing Pujoy, his wife, the cacique of Amacapira, and up to 21 [?] [34] persons in all whom el Pujoy had with him, without having awakened anyone of his party *(parcialidad)* except for the Jororos whom el Pujoy had as his own slaves. And a nephew of Pujoy, who found himself in this *jens*[n],[35] came out of it wounded in one thigh. And he enjoyed the good fortune of escaping with his life on feigning to be dead. And he is the one who told me about the matter that is so lamentable. After having rested for three or four days, they went off to get the women and children, whom they left behind with 4 men a matter of eight or ten leagues from here in order to come to establish themselves

34. The "1" in 21 could be another number such as "6," as a hole in the page took out the lower two-thirds of the number that I have interpreted as a "1."

35. *Jensn* is an abbreviation. Although the letter that I have interpreted as "J" is written clearly, I am uncertain about the validity of that rendition. I was unable to find anything to match it in the rest of the document that might confirm such an identification. The identity of the "nsn" is clear. But the "e" might be interpreted also as a "u" or an "i."

in the village of the Casapullos or next to *(junto a)* San Nicolás,[36] one league distant from here toward the south, where they have good lands for planting. This is as much as I have been able to learn up to now, having also forewarned the cacique of Maymi, who is here presently, so that he may come with his people at the first warning *(aviso).* May God protect your lordship as I desire. Florida, February 2 of 1738. Your most devoted second (seg^{do}) servant kisses your lordship's hand.

D^{n} Manuel de Montiano= to S^{r}. D^{n}. Juan Fran^{co} de Güemes y Horcasitas

Manuel de Montiano to Juan Francisco de Güemes y Horcasitas, Florida, February 15, 1738.

My Dear Sire:

[I have omitted the first 18 lines of this letter because they do not pertain to the Pojoy-Bomto affair].

> During the afternoon of the 11th of this [month] Luis Gomes returned from his trip and reported that he had found the cadavers of the Cacique Pujoy and of those who were with him. And that he met up with el Bonito [Bomto], after having passed on to Jega. And he said to him that he should tell him if it had been he who killed el Pujoy. That which moved him [was that] [37] a few days before he [Pujoy] had killed two of his Indians without a motive and also because he had threatened him, saying to him that he would do the same to him and to his people. And on having word from an Indian woman slave of el Pujoy

36. The identity of the Casapullos (rendered also as Cosapuya and Casapuya) is uncertain. Swanton, *Indians of the Southeastern United* States, 129, 217, speculated that they might be Cusabo from South Carolina's village of Cocapoy or Cosapue. The Casapuya's settlement near St. Augustine in the wake of the Yamasee War, attached to the Yamasee village of Pocosapa is consistent with such an identification (See Hann, St. Augustine's Fallout from the Yamasee War," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 68 (October 1989), 185). But their association with south Florida Indians raises questions about that identification. Whatever their origin, they were identified in 1717 as speaking the Casapuya language. By June of 1738, San Nicolás and the Casapullos's village had been consolidated (see Montiano to Güemes y Horcasitas, June 4, 1738, AGI, SD 865, SC).

37. "That which moved him" might be joined to the sentence that precedes with equal justification. The Spanish text is: *y lo dije me dijesi haur sido el qn mato al Pujoy aloq le movio haverle muerto pocas dias antes. . .*

> and [who was] on familiar terms with el Bomto *(de la parcialidad del Bomto),* whom he had helped *(faborecido)* in her labors *(travaios).* In gratitude for them, she had forewarned him that el Pujoy had resolved to kill him and his people that night. And on his communicating with them about it, they decided to move right after nightfall before he did *(anticiparle a prima noche),* as they did do with the hatchets and other arms without sparing anyone [?][38] other than the Indian woman who gave him the warning.

This cacique says that he was not a slave of el Pujoy for him to be able to treat him [?][39] so badly. That he should not be considered a rebellious Indian *(Indio levantado)* because of having shaken off the yoke *(jugo)*[40] of the oppression in which he found himself. That he [has][41] fondness *(afecto)* for the Spaniards. That he will remain on the coast in order to support them in whatever may occur.[42] That he will come here to explain to me about the many motives that have obliged him to carry out this action. [On being] informed of this, the Indians of Carlos moved against the Mayacas, partisans *(parciales)* of Bonito, to avenge the injury. And after having met one another, they came to blows *(llegaron a manos)* in such a way that Luis Gomes assures me that more than three hundred have died on the one side or the other.

I am involved today in dispatching a leading man of the Talapuces who was in Mexico, much esteemed by Señor Valero. And he was his godfather of baptism. I have entertained him to the degree that it has been possible for me. And as a mark of friendship he leaves me the feathers that the Cherokees (Chalaques) gave him when they arranged their peace. And I am striving to dispatch him as soon as possible so that he may spread the word *(participe)* about

38. My rendition of this word as "anyone" is tentative because part of it was lost to a hole in the page.
39. My rendition here involving "to be able to treat him" is tentative because of two holes in the page.
40. I am presuming that *jugo* was meant to be *yugo* as *jugo* (juice, sap, marrow) does not make sense in this context.
41. About four letters of this word have been lost to a hole in the page. The surviving letters as the end of the word appear to be "ui." The context seems to call for "has."
42. Bomto was pushing the right button in making this promise. The Spaniards were looking for Indian allies with great intensity at this juncture as armed confrontation with the English approached.

that which I have sent to Apalache with the intention of spreading the word in the *Pra ns* [?] .[43] 1717 (see Hann, *Apalachee: the Land between the Rivers* (Gainesville 1988), 312-313.) And I am practicing the same with Diapreso [?],[44] who is established at two leagues from Apalache, from whence I had a courier yesterday with the news of the schooner's *(goleta)* having arrived with the provisions. And the Indian Juan p °s [?] [says?] that he will wait until the one arrives that your lordship is sending from there. That I will rejoice that it may be entirely felicitous, with the which I beseech a D^{g} *[?]* G^{e} [45] your lordship m^{s} f^{ds}. Florida, 15th of February of 1738. Your most devoted second [?] servant kisses your lordship's hand.

Man[el] de Montiano to s[r] D[n] Ju° fran[co] Guemes y Horcasitas

Manuel de Montiano to Juan Francisco de Güemes y Horcasitas, Florida, October 28, 1738.

[I have translated only a brief excerpt from this piece in which the Maymi are mentioned again. The excerpt appears in a note *(esquela)* that Governor Montiano appended to his letter, after dating it. The letter is document no. 98 and the excerpt appears on folio 142v.]

> . . . The cacique of Maymi arrived here on the tenth day of this [month] with 131 [?][46] persons, men, women, and children, to tell me that he had already made a fort *(fuerte)* on the Isle of Pines (which is situated on the other side of the Cape of Canaveral 30 leagues from here)[47] and estab-

43. About three letters of this word have disappeared because of a hole in the page. The middle letter of the three is probably an "i" as there is a dot above the line. Conceivably that Tallapoosa leader was a warrior captain from Talisi named Texjana whom Pensacola's Governor Gregorio de Salinas dispatched to Mexico in 1717 (see Hann, *Apalachee: the Land between the Rivers* (Gainesville 1988), 312-313.
44. My rendition of this name is tentative, particularly the "p."
45. These abbreviations and those that follow "lordship" probably represent a formulaic closing expression such as "May God protect your lordship," although not all the letters as rendered here conform to any of the standard formulas with which I am familiar.
46. My uncertainty about this number applies only to the first one, which was not entirely clear. But I am reasonably certain that my interpretation is correct.
47. The Spanish text does not have a close-parentheses sign. This seems to be a logical place for it.

> lished his village on it. That he came to ask for a padre doctrinero and soldiers for their preservation and protection from the Uchises. And as the distance at which he has placed himself is far too great *(desumesurada)* for us to be able to give prompt assistance for now, which could be needed, or for the provisioning of the garrison and as we also are ignorant of the qualities of the location, I will not decide without examining it before giving him what he asks. But the priests can ask for the doctrineros or conversions for the southern part of these provinces under law 23, title 15, book 1 without it being opposed to the former . . . .

Manuel de Montiano to Juan Francisco de Güemes y Horcasitas, Florida, March 3, 1739.

[The first three pages of this four-page letter deal with matters in Apalachee and relations with the Uchises and other members of the Creek Confederacy. The letter per se ended in the middle of the third page with the posting of its point of origin and date. But the governor then added almost a page and one-half of postscript. Neither the letter nor the postscript bear the governor's signature, a characteristic of many of the pieces in this letter-book. The material on the Bomto begins at the top of page 4 of the letter. The letter is document no. 1241.

My Dear Lord:

> With the date of November 25 the past year [1738], replying to your letter. . ./ page 4
>
> The Indians who had survived from the Bonito came here, as I wrote to your lordship, to bring the *Bongo* (a canoe or boat).[48] And the Indians of el Pojoy, who were in the village of San Nicolás de Casapullos, [went out] with the pretext of going to hunt. They were waiting for them [the Bonito]

48. *Bongo* means "Indian canoe" in Central America and "boat or barge" in Cuba. The reference below to this *bongo's* need for pitch and tar suggests that it was a boat or barge in this instance rather than a canoe.

on the trail and they surprised them at their departure and killed 5 men, three women, and two boys. And the rest came back fleeing, bringing along an Indian badly wounded in one arm. And those of el Pojoy, who did this misdeed *(fechoria),* having [?][49] stationed themselves on the crossing *(paso)* of the Uchizes of the village of Ocone they also surprised them [in their turn], killing four of their men. And they have carried off ten of their women as prisoners. And because there is no way of subjecting this people, they are all being finished off with these ongoing enmities, which is very regrettable because of the loss they mean to us on the coast. And with this in mind, he had reconciled them through the intervention of Pedro Lamberto. But their desires of killing and of avenging themselves for their injuries does not suffer respect for anyone. [Document no. 124 ends in this fashion. The excerpt below throws a little more light on the *Bongo.* It is from no. 118].

El Bongo number 16, which your lordship told me had been lost with the storm *(temporal),* the Indians of el Bonito brought to me on the 8th day of November good and whole without any damage at all. And with [my] merely having given it pitch and tar, it began to serve at once.

[There is no ready explanation for the variability of the accounts of Bomto's killing of the Pojoy and the Amacapira. Despite those discrepancies, the accounts establish that the Bomto were responsible for the initial killings and indicate that Chief Pojoy held Bomto in some sort of tributary relationship. They suggest as well that the Bomto had ties of blood or alliance to the Mayaca and Jororo and that strong ties bound the Pojoy to the Calusa. This documentation provides the only clue to date to the existence of the Bomto. Its data dramatically highlight the disastrous demographic impact of the Native Americans' internecine conflicts and the

49. My rendition of "having" is tentative because this word is somewhat obscured by a blot.

Spaniards' concern over them, which is merely hinted at in other more or less contemporaneous sources that have been published.

The Maymi apparently did not remain very long at their new settlement. The report from the 1743 Alaña-Monaco expedition to the Biscayne Bay region reveals that the remnants of the Maymi, Santaluzos, and the Mayacas had united and were living on the mainland four days journey north from the mouth of the Miami River. Omitted portions of the last of these letters may have a link to that 1743 Jesuit expedition as Governor Montiano discussed in them the possibility of the Company of Jesus working among south Florida's natives.][50]

50. Monaco and Alaña, Report, 420. Other published sources for this report are William C. Sturtevant, "The Last of the South Florida Aborigines" in Jerald Milanich and Samuel Proctor, eds., *Tacachale: Essays on the* Indians *of Florida and Southeastern Georgia during the Historic Period* (Gainesville, 1978), 141-162 and Arva Moore Parks, "Where the River Found the Bay: Historical Study of the Granada Site, Miami, Florida," vol. II of John W. Griffin et al., *Archaeology and History of the Granada Site* [Tallahassee, 1985], 56-65.