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# San Antonio de Pocotalaca: An Eighteenth-Century Yamasee Indian Town in St. Augustine, Florida, 1716-1752

Amanda A. Hall  
*University of North Florida*

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SAN ANTONIO DE POCOTALACA: AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY YAMASEE INDIAN  
TOWN IN ST. AUGUSTINE, FLORIDA, 1716-1752

by

Amanda Hall

A thesis submitted to the History Department in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Masters of Arts in History

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH FLORIDA

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The thesis of Amanda Hall is approved:

(Date)

---

Dr. Alison Bruey  
Committee Member

---

Dr. Keith Ashley  
Committee Member

---

Dr. Denise I. Bossy  
Committee Chairperson

Accepted for the Department:

---

Dr. Charles E. Closmann, Associate Professor  
Chairperson, Department of History

Accepted for the College:

---

Dr. Barbara Hetrick, Dean  
College of Arts and Sciences

Accepted for the University:

---

Dr. John Kantner  
Dean of the Graduate School

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## DEDICATION

For my daughter Savannah

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The inspiration for this thesis came from a talk I gave on a Yamasee panel in 2013 at the American Society for Ethnohistory conference in New Orleans during my first semester of graduate school. While preparing the talk, which focused on Yamasee agency in post-war St. Augustine, I realized how little we know about Yamasee history in the colonial city during the eighteenth century and how there are great stories to be told.

There are many people to acknowledge who helped me with this thesis. First and foremost is my committee chair Dr. Denise Bossy for her guidance, encouragement, support, and patience over the past two years. I would also like to thank Dr. Keith Ashley with the UNF archaeology lab for sitting on my committee, providing insight, guidance, and laboratory space and equipment to make the archaeological component of this study possible. I would also like to thank committee member Dr. Alison Bruey for her support in my project over the past two years and offering her knowledge of Latin America.

I owe a great deal of gratitude to other people for offering their support, guidance, and expertise. I will begin with the entire faculty in the UNF History department, Dr. Thunen and Vicki Rolland at the UNF archaeology laboratory, Dr. Charles Cobb at the Florida Museum of Natural History, and St. Augustine's city archaeologist Carl Halbirt. Any errors or omissions that may occur in this thesis are my own.

I would also like to thank my family for their support. First is my husband Greg, who has patiently listened to my stories and ideas about Yamasee history and archaeology while pursuing this project. I am also grateful for my daughter Savannah who is my inspiration that keeps me moving forward.

## ABSTRACT

Following the Yamasee War of 1715, many of the Yamasee Indians rekindled alliances with the Spanish and returned to La Florida. San Antonio de Pocotalaca (1716 to 1752) was one of three initial Yamasee Indian towns to relocate from South Carolina and settle on the fringes of St. Augustine. In South Carolina, Pocotalaca (referred to there as Pocotaligo) served as the primary upper town of six Yamasee towns and was the political center for conferences and council meetings between Yamasees, their Indian allies, and South Carolina officials. When Pocotalaca relocated to St. Augustine after the Yamasee War, the town and its inhabitants retained their political significance. Having recognized the importance of the town's Yamasees, their connections to Indian groups in Apalachicola, and how the alliance could be beneficial to the colony, the Spanish treated them accordingly. As a result, Pocotalaca's Yamasees secured influence and continued to do so by bolstering power through their relations with the Spanish. For these reasons, they were able to carve out their own space in St. Augustine where they retained a high level of autonomy, maintained their Yamasee identity, some traditional practices, and many aspects in their material choices.



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## INTRODUCTION

The Yamasee Indians were a multiethnic group who began to coalesce during the early 1660s. Shortly after, many became allies to the Spanish and settled within mission provinces of La Florida. Following just over two decades of alliance, the Yamasees relocated to South Carolina where they remained partnered with the British for three decades. After the Yamasee War of 1715, many of the Yamasees returned to La Florida, realigned with the Spanish, and settled on the outskirts of St. Augustine. One of these refugee towns was San Antonio de Pocotalaca also referred to as Nuestra Señora de la Concepción de Pocotalaca occupied from approximately 1716 to 1752.<sup>1</sup> To date, no study has exclusively focused on the mission of Pocotalaca.

This study explores the eighteenth-century post-war Yamasee Indian town of Pocotalaca and its inhabitants. Currently, only limited amounts of research pertaining to the town and its people exists, which are mainly fragments of information dispersed in significant Indian and colonial scholarship by historians and archaeologists. Building on their research and contributing my own archival and archaeological research, this project offers the first in-depth study of Pocotalaca that includes an analysis of the town, its people, and some of their lifeways derived from the archaeology of one of the town's households.

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<sup>1</sup> John Worth, *The Timucuan Chiefdoms of Spanish Florida Vol. 2: Resistance and Destruction* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998), 152-153.

This study focuses on the political position of Pocotalaca. It considers how some of the town's prominent residents used alliances to build and retain power while in St. Augustine. Drawing on their influential position with the Spanish colony, the Yamasees at Pocotalaca successfully carved out space near St. Augustine where they remained sovereign, maintained their Yamasee identity, and, as reflected in the archaeological record, continued many of the lifeways they had been practicing prior to locating near the city. Aspects of persistence in the Yamasees' lifeways are apparent in their choices of pottery and other material goods, subsistence, and architecture. Despite living in close proximity to the Spanish and other Indian groups on the fringes of an unstable city that faced British and Indians attacks and epidemics, the Yamasees at Pocotalaca continued as a cultural group and maintained many of their lifeways.

In South Carolina, the town of Pocotalaca (referred to there as Pocotaligo) served as head upper town over five other Yamasee towns, while Altamaha headed the lower four towns.<sup>2</sup> Unlike Altamaha, Pocotalaca served as a central place for the Yamasees' meetings with their Indian and colonial allies. It is hard to ascertain whether the Yamasees, especially those living throughout the upper and lower Yamasee towns, considered Pocotalaca a politically influential town. This is because only a small number of documents exist describing the political structure of Yamasee towns in South Carolina, and these comprise solely of British sources.

Archaeologist Chester DePratter suggests that the concept of Yamasee head towns might reflect a colonial construct shaped by a western political viewpoint, rather than the Yamasees'

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<sup>2</sup> William Green, Chester B. DePratter, and Bobby Southerlin, "The Yamasee in South Carolina: Native American Adaptation and Interaction along the Carolina Frontier," in *Another's Country: Archaeological and Historical Perspectives on Cultural Interactions in the Southern Colonies*, ed. J.W. Joseph and Martha Zierden (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2002), 14-15.

own political structure.<sup>3</sup> Whichever the case, the paper trail attests that Pocotaligo was the main Yamasee town where British delegates, traders, and Indian diplomats gathered for important conferences to discuss issues of trade, peace, and war. Clearly, the British considered the town as prominent and the possibility remains that some of the Yamasees and their Indian allies, such as the Lower Creeks, viewed the town as such.

Because of the town's significant reputation, the Spanish also viewed Pocotalaca as an important Yamasee town. Following its relocation to St. Augustine after the war, the Yamasees attached to the town became politically significant to the Spanish colony. The Yamasees, being powerful warriors and having built multiple Indian alliances since their ethnogenesis, could offer the Spanish support that could aid in keeping British hands off La Florida. Furthermore, because of the town's influential position while in South Carolina, it is likely Pocotalaca's headmen shared tighter bonds with Indian allies than the headmen of other Yamasee towns did. For this reason, the Spanish would have considered Pocotalaca's chiefs and council the gateway to the Yamasees' Indian network, especially those in Apalachicola.

This thesis has two objectives. The first uses historical documents to present the Yamasee town of Pocotalaca. It focuses on some of the influential Yamasees who lived in the town, their relations with the Spanish, and aspects of the Yamasees' agency in La Florida during this volatile period. Many of Pocotalaca's residents were important to and often relied upon by the Spanish for their diplomatic and military skills and bravery, such as the war Chief Yfallaquisca and Indian spy and runner Juan Ignacio de Los Reyes. This study also uses documents as a way to

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<sup>3</sup> Chester DePratter, "Yamasee Settlements in South Carolina: From Port Royal Sound to the Ashepoo and Combahee Rivers" (paper presented at Flagler College, The Yamasee Indians: From Florida to South Carolina, St. Augustine, Fl., April 17, 2015).

depict Yamasee life at Pocotalaca. Although Eurocentric, when carefully considered, these sources offer significant information about some of the Yamasees' activities.

Secondly, this study explores what the archaeological data from an excavated farmstead associated with Pocotalaca can provide about post-war Yamasee lifeways and material choices. For instance, the data can shed light on the Yamasees' choices in architecture styles, foods they prepared and consumed, and materials they made and used, such as pottery and other trade goods.

According to a 1737 map drawn by Spanish military engineer Antonio de Arredondo, the town of Pocotalaca consisted of a church, possibly a fort, and twenty farmsteads dispersed over a twenty-five acre area.<sup>4</sup> In October of 2013, St. Augustine's city archaeologist, Carl Halbirt and a group of volunteers excavated one of these farmsteads, located today at 76 Duero Street in St. Augustine, Florida.<sup>5</sup> Investigations revealed evidence of a rectangular or square structure, San Marco/Altamaha ceramics, non-Indian ceramics and artifacts, trash pits, a sheet midden, and faunal remains. An analysis and interpretation of this data, in combination with documents, attempts to recreate what life was like for eighteenth century Yamasee Indians who occupied one of the scattered households at Pocotalaca and considers how the structure, features, and material assemblage at the farmstead reflect continuity in the some of the Yamasees' lifeways and materials.

Because the Yamasee Indians were multi-ethnic group that formed out of colonial pressures, while becoming Yamasee, the group established a collective identity within a colonial

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<sup>4</sup> 1737 Antonio de Arredondo Map of St. Augustine. Copy available at the St. Augustine Historical Society, St. Augustine, Florida.

<sup>5</sup> Carl Halbirt, "A Synopsis of Archaeological Investigations at 76 Duero Street," (unpublished report, January 2014), 1.

setting that not only reflects the persistence of traditional practices and materials, but also new materials. From an archaeological perspective, their material assemblage resulted in a collective Yamasee “archaeological signature” as proposed by William Green.<sup>6</sup> This signature, characterized by a blended assemblage of Indian San Marcos/Altamaha pottery, and non-Indian ceramics and artifacts, formed during the late seventeenth century and early eighteenth century as the Yamasee Indians negotiated their place and power in the post-war Spanish and English landscapes. Although the Yamasee signature is beneficial for the confirmation of Yamasee sites in South Carolina, it is impossible to apply it in the same manner to sites in post-war St. Augustine since the majority of groups; especially the Guales, made and used similar assemblages. However, Yamasee assemblages in South Carolina can be instrumental for exploring continuity and change in Yamasee material culture prior to, and after the war.

To understand material, subsistence, and structural data from the Duero site, this study draws on the data from the pre-war Yamasee sites (ca.1690-1715) of Altamaha, Pocotaligo, Chechessee and post-war Nuestra Señora del Rosario de la Punta (ca.1720-1750 ca.). It also considers data from various sites associated with the Yamasees including pre-Yamasee sites in the Oconee River valley of Georgia (ca.1520-1670 ca.) and eighteenth century Lower Creek sites in the Apalachicola region.

The Yamasee Indians played a prominent role in the colonial Southeast forming alliances among the Spanish and British for trade and military purposes while reshaping the region in the process. Even though scholars are aware of the Yamasees, tracing their origins and settlements as well as understanding them as a cultural group has and remains a difficult process. For one,

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<sup>6</sup> William Green, *The Search for Altamaha: The Archaeology and Ethnohistory of an Early 18th Century Indian Town* (Columbia, S.C.: The South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, 1992), 114.

Yamasee groups were amalgamations of Indian groups drawn together by colonial stress that frequently moved around the Southeast occupying settlements in areas of Georgia, South Carolina, and Florida, at times simultaneously. Although the Yamasees retained many of their town names as they moved across the landscape, various phonetic spellings of these settlements in Spanish and British documents have presented a puzzling, yet solvable ordeal for researchers. In addition, considering the homogeneity in the archaeological record of post-war Indian sites in St. Augustine, finding a way to delineate a distinctive material identity for the Yamasees to date has been impossible. Nevertheless, the assemblages have offered researchers opportunities for exploring continuities in their materials and practices.

### *Brief Yamasee Overview*

The people referred to as Yamasee Indians during the early 1660s are believed by scholars to have been comprised of fragmented populations many of whom once belonged to the sixteenth and seventeenth century chiefdoms of interior Georgia. From their initial merger, the Yamasees continued to incorporate other Indians into their group.<sup>7</sup> By the early 1700s, they grew to become one of the most powerful Indian groups in the colonial Southeast.

According to archaeologist John Worth, Spanish documents suggest the possibility that by 1663 the Yamasees, referred to as “Yamasis” by the Spanish, first coalesced in the area of Escamaçu (Santa Elena), located in present-day South Carolina north of the Guale mission

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<sup>7</sup> John R. Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians and their Neighbors* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1992), 95; Green, DePratter, and Southerlin, “The Yamasee in South Carolina, 14-16; John Worth, “Yamasee” in *Southeast*, ed. Raymond D. Fogelson, in *The Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 14, ed. William Sturtevant (Washington, D.C. 2004), 245.

province.<sup>8</sup> By the mid-1660s, they left the Escamagu area and settled in different regions of La Florida. By 1680, the Yamasees occupied more than twelve settlements in the Spanish mission provinces of Guale, Mocama, and Apalachee. Due to harsh the demands of the labor draft, political disputes, Westo Indian slave raids, and a pirate attack along the Atlantic coast in 1683, many Yamasee Indians began to leave Spanish Florida.<sup>9</sup> The majority relocated to the Port Royal area of South Carolina where they allied with Scots at Stuarts Town, became procurers of deerskins, and raided the Spanish missions for Christian Indian captives to trade with their new allies for non-Indian goods.<sup>10</sup> By 1686, the Spanish counterattacked and destroyed Stuarts Town, and the Yamasees relocated to the areas of the Ashepoo and Combahee Rivers in the northwest region of South Carolina where they formed alliances with the British.<sup>11</sup> The Yamasees along with their Lower Creek allies aided in British raids on the Spanish missions for Indian slaves that, in turn, eventually led to the destruction of the mission system.<sup>12</sup>

The Yamasees remained in the Ashepoo and Combahee River areas living in at least five towns including one named Pocotaligo (Pocotalaca's predecessor) until approximately 1690, when the English offered the Yamasees land to settle closer to the Port Royal area where the Yamasees remained until 1715. On an early eighteenth-century census, the British identified ten core Yamasee towns in Port Royal administratively divided into six upper towns and four lower towns. Each set of towns had a primary town; Altamaha was the head lower town and Pocotaligo

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<sup>8</sup> John Worth, *The Struggle for the Georgia Coast: An Eighteenth-Century Spanish Retrospective on Guale and Mocama*, Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1995), 19; Worth, "Yamasee," 251.

<sup>9</sup> Worth, *Struggle for the Georgia Coast*, 36-38.

<sup>10</sup> Joseph M. Hall Jr. *Zamumo's Gifts: Indian-European Exchange in the Colonial Southeast* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 99.

<sup>11</sup> Green, DePratter, and Southerlin, "The Yamasee in South Carolina," 21.

<sup>12</sup> Steven J. Oatis, *A Colonial Complex: South Carolina's Frontiers in the Era of the Yamasee War 1680-1730* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 47-50; James W. Covington, "The Yamasee Indians in Florida: 1715-1763," *Florida Anthropologist* 23, no.3 (September 1970): 121.



was designated the upper head town.<sup>13</sup> In addition to these ten core towns, scholars have identified another six towns associated with the Yamasee Indians during this period not included on the census that were composed of Indians from Coosa, Guale, Apalachee, and possibly Cherokee.<sup>14</sup>

By 1715, relations between the Yamasee Indians and British had deteriorated for reasons that included overwhelming Indian debts owed to traders, physical abuse by traders, and encroachment on Indian lands.<sup>15</sup> As a result, on April 15 in Pocotaligo town the Yamasee War erupted. Although the Yamasees earned the label as prime instigators and actors of the war, the war ultimately became a pan-Indian rebellion against the “Carolina trading regime” that involved other groups such as the Creeks, Choctaw, and the Cherokee.<sup>16</sup> After the war, many Indian groups involved, including some of the Yamasees from the settlements in South Carolina, sought refuge from British forces in La Florida. By 1717, different Indian groups occupied ten mission towns in St. Augustine, three of them belonging to the Yamasees.<sup>17</sup>

### *Previous Yamasee Research*

Over the past two and a half decades, the Yamasee Indians have steadily gained scholarly attention. Researchers have focused on tracing Yamasee origins, analyzing their ethnogenesis, locating their settlements, and defining their cultural identities. With the exception of the works of scholars such as James Covington, John Worth, John Hann, Andrea White, Sarah Bennet,

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<sup>13</sup> Green, DePratter, and Southerlin, “The Yamasee in South Carolina, 14; “Governor Johnson of Carolina to the Board of the Trade, July 12, 1720,” *Records in the British Public Record Office Relating to South Carolina*, microfilm, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, volume 10: 237-8.

<sup>14</sup> Green, DePratter, and Southerlin, “The Yamasee in South Carolina, 17-18.

<sup>15</sup> William L. Ramsey, *The Yamasee War: A Study of Culture, Economy, and Conflict in the Colonial South* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008), 1-10.

<sup>16</sup> Verner W. Crane, *The Southern Frontier 1670-1732*, (Ann Arbor: 1956), 162.

<sup>17</sup> John H. Hann, *A History of the Timucua Indians and Missions* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1996), 308-310.

Willet Boyd, and Gifford Waters, the majority of studies have centered on the Yamasee Indian towns in South Carolina during their period of alliance with the British. Regardless of region, these studies are beneficial for understanding the Yamasees during the post-war period in St. Augustine. For instance, they offer insight into Yamasee activities in South Carolina, such as their participation in the raids on the Spanish missions for Indian slaves, the deerskin trade, and their plans to return to La Florida following the outbreak of the war.

The earliest inquiries concerning the Yamasees began in 1922 with John R. Swanton, an anthropologist for the Smithsonian Institution's Bureau of American Ethnology. He noted phonetic similarities between the names of interior chiefdoms of Georgia documented by Hernando de Soto's expedition in 1540 and those of the Yamasee towns in South Carolina recorded by British sources in the 1690s and the early 1700s. For instance, one area a Soto chronicler referred to as "the province of Altamaca" shared the same name as the later primary lower Yamasee town in South Carolina the British referred to as Altamaha located in South Carolina (1686 to 1715).<sup>18</sup> Swanton also first suggested that the Yamasee town of Pocotaligo in South Carolina retained the same name after settling in St. Augustine in 1716, where the Spanish referred to it as Pocotalaca.<sup>19</sup>

Swanton's later research during the 1940s also suggested links between Indian towns in the Spanish mission provinces of the late seventeenth century to both the chiefdoms of interior Georgia and Yamasee towns in South Carolina. For instance, Swanton proposed that the name Tama associated with the settlement of La Purificación de Tama (1675 to 1704) located in the Spanish mission province of Apalachee, had connections to both the early Altamaha chiefdom in

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<sup>18</sup> Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians*, 95. Alternate spellings for Altamaha include Altapaha and Altamaca.

<sup>19</sup> Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians*, 104-105.

Georgia as well as the later lower primary town of Altamaha in South Carolina. He also linked the Yamasee settlement of Ocotoque, located in the mission province of Mocama (1667 to 1680), with the later lower Yamasee South Carolina town of Ocute (Oketee).<sup>20</sup> Swanton's early research on the origins of the Yamasees revealed that they had a complex history of migration in Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina and raised questions concerning continuity between many of their settlements in these regions.

This continuity suggests the Yamasee Indians engaged in maintaining a group identity throughout their migrations, likely for reasons relating to kinship ties and political agendas. Like other Muskogean groups, such as the Creeks, Yamasee towns would have comprised of Indians affiliated with one another by kinship or political alliances that held them together throughout settlement relocations.<sup>21</sup> However, for almost four decades following Swanton's work, research addressing Yamasee kinship, origins, and cultural identity remained nearly static. During Swanton's period, studies about Indians and colonialism in America were in their infancy, only slowly gaining attention. In addition, the small number of available Spanish documents relating to the Yamasees limited research. Furthermore, as Swanton's research has shown, archival materials can aid in tracing the Yamasees' origins, ethnogenesis, and settlements, but only provide a partial understanding of their cultural identities. Because Spanish and British sources usually discuss the Yamasees in the context of political and economic issues, they less often describe aspects of their cultural and material practices, such as ceramic traditions, which are essential to understanding them as a cultural group. This would require the aid of archaeologists.

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<sup>20</sup> John R. Swanton, *The Indians of the Southeastern United States*, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1946), 208-209.

<sup>21</sup> David Andrew McKivergan Jr., "Migration and Settlement among the Yamasee in South Carolina" (master's thesis, University of South Carolina, 1991), 5.

Beginning in the 1980s a new generation of archaeologists, inspired by Swanton's work, used documents associated with the Yamasees to locate their settlements. Archaeological excavations provided fresh cultural information about the Yamasees through analyses of their settlement patterns and cultural materials. Under the tutelage of Chester DePratter, David McKivergan and William Green began the "Archaeological Yamasee Project" at the University of South Carolina in 1989.<sup>22</sup> Their research entailed not only tracing the Yamasees origins from the chiefdoms of interior Georgia, but also locating Yamasee settlements in South Carolina. Together they have created a database consisting of Yamasee artifacts from South Carolina sites, identified a Yamasee material signature, and paved the way for future comparative studies of Yamasee Indians in other regions.<sup>23</sup>

As part of this project, David McKivergan's study located Yamasee settlements in South Carolina, analyzed what their settlement patterns revealed about the Yamasee Indians as a cultural group, and what it reflected about their relations with the British. Using British documents to locate settlement areas and archaeological surveys to confirm these locations, McKivergan first identified the three phases of Yamasee settlements in South Carolina described earlier in this introduction. The Yamasees' earliest occupational site in South Carolina first was in St. Helena Sound in the Port Royal area, where they sided with the Scottish after leaving La Florida in the 1680s. McKivergan also identified Yamasee settlements in the Ashepoo River region (occupied after the Spanish destroyed Stuarts Town), and the final phase of later towns in the Port Royal area. Focusing on the "socio- economic relationship" between the Yamasee and the British colonists, McKivergan not only revealed the locations of Yamasee sites, but also

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<sup>22</sup> Green, DePratter, and Southerlin, "The Yamasee in South Carolina," 13.

<sup>23</sup> Green, DePratter, and Southerlin, "The Yamasee in South Carolina," 13.

indicated that the Yamasees were a powerful and dynamic group who actively “negotiated their best positions in the European systems.”<sup>24</sup>

Also as part of the Archaeological Yamasee Project, William Green wrote a master’s thesis under Chester DePratter that not only established the Yamasee “archaeological signature,” but also explored the formation or ethnogenesis of the Yamasee wherein Green argues took place during the last quarter of the seventeenth century.<sup>25</sup> Following Swanton’s lead, Green also focused on the paper trails left by Soto during his expedition in 1540 and posited that the “main body of the Yamasee” originated from the interior Georgia chiefdoms of Altamaha, Ocute, Ichisi, and Toa.<sup>26</sup> While Swanton had made a link between the Georgia chiefdoms and South Carolina’s towns of Altamaha and Ocute, now Green made a connection between the early chiefdom of Ichisi and the town of Chechessee in South Carolina (1690 to 1715). Green noted that in the earlier part of the sixteenth century during the Yamasees initial formation, the introduction of European diseases from Soto’s expedition caused the Indian populations in the interior chiefdoms to fall. By the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, the pre-Yamasees who survived remained in interior Georgia referred to as Tama or La Tama by the Spanish (an obvious connection to the chiefdom of Altamaha). Because of *Chichimeco* (Westo) Indian slave raids on La Tama beginning in the late 1650s, by the early 1670s, the Yamasees fragmented. Some went to Apalachicola to live among the proto-Lower Creeks, while the majority went to La Florida and settled in the mission provinces of Apalachee, Mocama, and Guale.<sup>27</sup>

In addition to the Yamasee settlements located through efforts of the Yamasee Archaeology Project, the rise of residential development in South Carolina since the 1990s has

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<sup>24</sup> McKivergan, “Migration and Settlement,” 6.

<sup>25</sup> Green, *The Search for Altamaha*, 15-16, 114.

<sup>26</sup> Green, *The Search for Altamaha*, 6.

<sup>27</sup> Green, *The Search for Altamaha*, 6-10, 17-23.

also led to further identification of Yamasee sites by the cultural resource management firm Brockington and Associates.<sup>28</sup> Bobby Southerlin, an archaeologist with Brockington, excavated Chechessee Old Field I, a farmstead associated with the lower Yamasee town of Chechessee in South Carolina (1690 to 1715). Prior to its destruction by development, Southerlin recorded significant data relating to Yamasees' cultural materials, settlement patterns, and subsistence patterns.<sup>29</sup> To date, the combined work of McKivergan, Green, DePratter, and Brockington have helped to locate over "twenty-five recorded Yamasee sites in South Carolina."<sup>30</sup>

In addition, Brockington archaeologist Alexander Sweeney excavated Pocotaligo town, the likely ancestor of Pocotalaca. His research attempted to trace the origins of the primary upper town of Pocotaligo. While tracing Pocotaligo's origins proved problematic, Sweeney suggested that through a phonetic breakdown of the name, its origins could have ties to Guale, Cherokee, or Shawnee towns.<sup>31</sup>

Sweeney also questioned what differences in Altamaha pottery might signify about the ethnicity of Yamasees occupying upper towns and those living in the lower towns. Using samples from the upper towns of Pocotaligo and a farmstead at Huspah and comparing them to samples from the lower towns of Altamaha and a farmstead at Chechessee, Sweeney's research established that overall the Altamaha pottery at the four sites displayed the "predominant use of stamped motifs."<sup>32</sup> Differences between the towns related to incised surfaces being more common at the upper town sites and colonoware more common at the lower. Although variances

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<sup>28</sup> Green, DePratter, and Southerlin, "The Yamasee in South Carolina," 13.

<sup>29</sup> Bobby Southerlin, Dawn Reid, Connie Huddleston, Alana Lynch, and Dea Mazingo, *Return of the Yamasee: Archaeological Data recovery at Chechessee Old Field, Beaufort County, South Carolina* (Atlanta: Brockington and Associates Inc., 2001), 6-7.

<sup>30</sup> Green, DePratter, and Southerlin, "The Yamasee in South Carolina," 13.

<sup>31</sup> Alexander Y. Sweeney, "Investigating Yamasee Identity: Archaeological Evidence at Pocotaligo" (master's thesis, Radford University, 2003), 48-50.

<sup>32</sup> Sweeney, "Investigating Yamasee Identity," 154.

were slight, Sweeney argues that they were enough to demarcate the application of “unique ancestral pottery traditions.”<sup>33</sup>

Much of the information pertaining to the Yamasee’s materials and has been the outcome of studies regarding Yamasee sites in South Carolina, which are essential for understanding the post-war Yamasee landscape. In addition, there have also been studies focused on the Yamasees in La Florida that have offered information about Yamasee and Spanish relations. James W. Covington’s research during the 1970s analyzes the socioeconomic and political relations between the Yamasee and Spanish during the less often-studied period of alliance that followed the Yamasee War. Most importantly, Covington’s work, based on Spanish and British documents, reveals how the Yamasees were major contributors to La Florida during their second alliance with the Spanish and served as much needed military support. Because the Yamasees were a warrior group and shared with the Spanish a hatred for the British, they often raided and destroyed exposed British plantations in South Carolina. Covington’s assessment of the Yamasees in post-war St. Augustine reveals the Yamasees who came to the city were at the forefront and actively engaging in Spain’s attempts to retain La Florida.<sup>34</sup> Most importantly, Covington’s work also reflects the need and importance the Spanish placed on the Yamasees. If the Yamasees were not raiding South Carolina, they were in their towns bordering St. Augustine aiding the Spanish in protecting the city from outside threats.

Other studies of the Yamasees in Florida have focused on tracing their settlements and connecting many of them to Yamasee sites in Georgia and South Carolina. As earlier scholarship has revealed, many of the names of Yamasee settlements in La Florida were also phonetically

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<sup>33</sup> Sweeney, “Investigating Yamasee Identity,” 155.

<sup>34</sup> Covington, “The Yamasee Indians in Florida,” 119.

similar to those in Georgia and South Carolina. In turn, phonetic similarities, though at times puzzling, also made it possible for scholars to trace Yamasee sites spatially and temporally in Florida. Using Spanish documents, archaeologist John Worth and historian John Hann offer insight into Yamasee movements and settlements in the Spanish mission provinces during the first (ca.1660-1683) and second (1715-1763) Yamasee-Spanish alliance.

Worth's research, like that of Swanton and Green, also gave much attention to Yamasee origins, arguing that their movements throughout Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina were traceable phonetically through the names of their towns. Worth posits that the main formation of the Yamasees took place just north of the Guale mission province in the Escamaçu (Santa Elena) region during the early 1660s (mentioned earlier in this introduction) after leaving La Tama around 1661. According to Worth, by 1680, during their first alliance with the Spanish, the Yamasees had twelve settlements within the mission provinces of Guale, Mocama, and Apalachee. Spanish documents provide names of eight of the twelve Yamasee mission settlements, of those named, two, Tama and Ocotoque clearly coincide with early interior Georgia chiefdoms of Altamaha and Ocute. Worth suggests that the name "Chachises," which appears in a Spanish document in association with one of the four unnamed Yamasee settlements on Amelia Island in the Mocama province (1667 to 1683) is an alternate spelling of Ichisi that also traces back to the early interior chiefdoms in Georgia.<sup>35</sup> In addition, Worth proposes that the town of Ocotonico (1667 to 1680), located between St. Simons Island in the Spanish mission provinces of Guale and Mocama, could be the ancestor town of the later Pocotaligo sought after by Sweeney.<sup>36</sup> Overall, Worth's extensive research on Yamasee settlements in Florida during the

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<sup>35</sup> Worth, "Yamasee," 245-247.

<sup>36</sup> Worth, "Yamasee," 249.



first period of Spanish alliance serves as a significant bridge for understanding the Yamasees prior to their relocation in South Carolina.

Adding to Worth's work, John Hann's research has provided a foundation for studying post-war Yamasee towns during the second alliance. Offering an in-depth view of the direct effects the war had on St. Augustine, Hann's translation and analysis of a mission census taken by Captain Joseph Primo de Rivera in 1717 shows how the city's post-war landscape was inundated by various Indian groups seeking refuge from British forces. His study reveals the demographics, languages, and religion of nineteen different Indian groups, including the Yamasees who arrived in St. Augustine after the war. Three of the ten towns mentioned by Rivera were Yamasee: Pocotalaca, Our Lady of Candelaria de la Tamaja, and Pocosapa.<sup>37</sup>

To date, only four archaeological studies focus on Yamasee mission settlements established in St. Augustine after the Yamasee War. Three of these studies are unpublished master's theses by archaeologists Andrea White, Sarah Bennet, and Willet A. Boyer that all examine the mission community of Nuestra Señora del Rosario de la Punta (ca.1720 to 1750 ca.). Similar studies by White and Bennet analyze the Yamasees' cultural identity at La Punta using archaeological data consisting of ceramics, structural and faunal remains, and colonial goods. Both studies conclude that the Yamasees at La Punta depict a creolized population culturally impacted by the effects of colonialism. According to White, these effects are most noticeable in the San Marcos (referred to as Altamaha in South Carolina) ceramics manufactured at La Punta. When compared to those from South Carolina sites, San Marcos surfaces "exhibited poor design execution and production [that] attests to the idea that the Yamasees' ceramic tradition was being altered" by a combination of factors, such as loss of tradition or perhaps a "reduction of

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<sup>37</sup> John H. Hann, "St Augustine's Fallout from the Yamasee War," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 68 (2):184-186.

women...to produce the pottery.”<sup>38</sup> Though the Yamasees’ ceramic traditions revealed signs of change and European influences appear to have altered some of their lifeways, White maintains that they attempted to retain some traditional aspects of their cultural identity. Although they constructed their buildings using some European hardware, the Yamasees maintained their choices by constructing traditional circular designs.<sup>39</sup> Likewise, Bennet concludes creolization among the Yamasees in her analysis of another site associated with La Punta. Differing from circular structures found at White’s site, structural remains at Bennet’s site reveal the Yamasees were also constructing square buildings in the town possibly using tabby and European hardware. Combining the evidence from both sites including structural designs, ceramic, artifact, and faunal assemblages reveals the Yamasees were incorporating outside materials and techniques into their lifeways, while maintaining aspects of their own customs.<sup>40</sup>

Using Spanish documents, Boyer’s work reconfigured the settlement size of La Punta by confirming five separate sites excavated by St. Augustine’s city archaeologist Cal Halbirt were associated with the mission.<sup>41</sup> Similar to White and Bennet’s conclusions, Boyer argues that the Yamasees at La Punta appear to have combined their traditional “customs and culture” with those of outside influences.<sup>42</sup> According to Boyer, the sites made up the living, agricultural, and sanctified areas of the mission where archaeological data consisted of ceramics, faunal remains, structural and burial patterns, and artifacts. He concludes that the Yamasees’ “lifeways

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<sup>38</sup> Andrea P. White, “Living on the Periphery: A Study of an Eighteenth-Century Yamasee Mission Community in Colonial St. Augustine,” (master’s thesis: The College of William and Mary, 2002), 82.

<sup>39</sup> White, “Living on the Periphery,” 125-126.

<sup>40</sup> Sarah Bennet, “Cultural Crossroads and other Complexities: Examining Creolization at Nuestra Señora del Rosario de la Punta” (master’s thesis, University of West Florida, 2015), 134, 147-151.

<sup>41</sup> Willet A. Boyer III, “Nuestra Senora del Rosario de La Punta: Lifeways of an Eighteenth-Century Colonial Spanish Refugee Mission Community, St. Augustine, Florida” (master’s thesis: University of Florida, 2005), 1.

<sup>42</sup> Boyer III, “Nuestra Senora del Rosario de La Punta,” 106.

[were] shaped by demographic change, environmental pressures, and tensions between traditional ways of life and new ones.”<sup>43</sup>

Historians and archaeologists focusing on the Yamasees’ post-war history in St. Augustine have often found that identifying their settlements using historic documents has provided more productive results than using ceramic assemblages as markers of group identity. By the post-war period, identity markers based on traditions such as pottery manufacturing types and techniques that separated groups from one another, especially the Yamasees and the Guales, appear to have quickly become nonexistent. Archaeologist Gifford Waters’ dissertation that focuses on ceramic assemblages from St. Augustine’s post-war Indian mission towns, including a small area of Pocotalaca, analyzes the effects amalgamation had on the pottery production of the various Indian groups. Overall, Waters found that of the Indian groups in his study, the Yamasees and the Guales appear to have maintained their ceramic traditions or preferences and is apparent in the manufacturing of their San Marcos pottery surfaces.<sup>44</sup>

Since the 1980s, the majority of Yamasee scholarship in La Florida has been the purview of archaeologists. However, historian Bradley Scott Schrager’s dissertation focuses on the Yamasees in both La Florida and South Carolina. He argues the Yamasees built influence among the Spanish and British because they were astute negotiators. In both pre-war landscapes, the Yamasees created relationships and made choices that enabled them to develop and expand as a group.<sup>45</sup> Other historians have mostly understood the Yamasees as major players in the Indian slave trade, deerskin trade, and Yamasee War with a focus on South Carolina and the greater

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<sup>43</sup> Boyer III, “Nuestra Senora del Rosario de La Punta.” 106.

<sup>44</sup> Gifford J. Waters, “Maintenance and Change in 18<sup>th</sup> Century Mission Indian Identity: A Multi-Ethnic Contact Situation,” (PhD diss, University of North Florida, 2005), 174.

<sup>45</sup> Bradley Scott Schrager, “Yamasee Indians and the Challenge of Spanish and English Colonialism in the North American Southeast, 1660-1715” (PhD diss., Northwestern University, 2001), 11-14.

Southeast. These trade and war-based studies not only offer insight into circumstances the Yamasees faced during their alliance with the British, they also help to explain motivating factors for the choices they made in their dealings with other Indian groups and colonial powers. For instance, Alan Gallyay's study examines Indian slavery instigated by South Carolina's colony, its rise, its fall, and its consequences. Declaring the Indian slave trade the "most important factor to affect the south in the period 1670-1715," Gallyay explores why the Yamasees shifted allegiances from the Spanish to the British in the 1680s.<sup>46</sup> Rather than becoming slaves, the Yamasees chose to become Indian slave raiders, which for nearly three decades allowed the Yamasees to prosper in the British economy. However, the rise of an agricultural based economy moved the British colony to rely on African labor rather than Indians who were quick to rebel and more prone to escape because of their familiarity with the Southeastern landscape.<sup>47</sup> Furthermore, because the Yamasees' land was more fertile for growing rice, they constantly dealt with colonists encroaching on their lands.<sup>48</sup> The Yamasees found themselves in a financial dilemma and pushed off their land, which sparked the beginning of the Yamasee War. Gallyay argues that the war "marks a watershed" for the rise of what is referred to today as the Old South.<sup>49</sup> The combination of different actors and South Carolina's changing economy resulted in the deterioration of alliances between the Yamasees and the British, which motivated many Yamasees to rekindle alliances with the Spanish in La Florida.

Among the many accomplishments of Gallyay's study, he has shown that reasons for the war were complicated and tied to various economic changes within South Carolina's colony and geopolitical circumstances happening simultaneously, and that they involved different groups

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<sup>46</sup> Alan Gallyay, *The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the British Empire in the American South 1670-1717* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 5-7.

<sup>47</sup> Gallyay, *The Indian Slave Trade*, 346-347.

<sup>48</sup> Gallyay, *The Indian Slave Trade*, 330-331.

<sup>49</sup> Gallyay, *The Indian Slave Trade*, 346-347.

linked together including Indians, Africans, and colonists. For decades scholars remained in agreement about the causes of the Yamasee War. Earlier anthropologists and historians such as Swanton, Verner Crane, and Chapman Milling argued that the Yamasee War erupted because of British trader misconduct such as physical abuse and threats to enslave the Yamasees for the debts they owed.<sup>50</sup> More recently, scholars like Gally have stepped back from these common conceptual reasons for the war, developed complex explanations, and focused on how the war resulted in social and economic changes between Indian and non-Indian groups. Historian William Ramsey, who has written the only book solely dedicated to the Yamasee War, focuses on how the war resulted in “new patterns of trade and diplomacy worked out mutually by Indians and Europeans.”<sup>51</sup> In a similar vein, Joseph Hall’s study explores how ancient Indian cultural practices of trade and exchange during the Mississippian period were still very much part of the Yamasees’ cultural makeup and apparent in their dealings with the British traders. According to Hall, “when the British traders insisted on defining exchange in terms of credit, debt, and, most disturbingly, the enslavement of debtors many of the colony’s [Indian] partners decided to use war to reform the entire system,” and, as Gally and Ramsey have pointed out, they proved successful.<sup>52</sup>

Just as there were many causes for the war, several outside factors drove the Yamasees to make the choices they did, such as uniting with other groups, relocating, or becoming Indian enslavers. In many ways, Yamasee history depicts Robbie Ethridge’s model of the “Mississippian shatter zone.”<sup>53</sup> The shatter zone describes the period between the fall of the

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<sup>50</sup> Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians*, 97; Crane, *The Southern Frontier*, 162; Chapman J. Milling, *Red Carolinians*, (University of North Carolina Press: 1940), 137, 142.

<sup>51</sup> Ramsey, *The Yamasee War*, 184.

<sup>52</sup> Hall, *Zamumo’s Gifts*, 11.

<sup>53</sup> Robbie Ethridge, *From Chicaza to Chickasaw: The European Invasion and the Transformation of the Mississippian World, 1540-1750* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 4.

Mississippian chiefdoms and rise of Indian confederacies (late sixteenth thru the early eighteenth century) in eastern North America. Taking a broad approach, the model focuses on how colonialism, violence, epidemics, and the commercial trade of deerskin and Indian slaves destroyed the Indian's pre-contact Mississippian world. These circumstances resulted in the uniting and reconstructing of survivors from the Indian chiefdoms, such as the Yamasees, as a means of survival.<sup>54</sup>

Collectively, research on the Yamasee Indians reveals they were a powerful group who were highly adaptive to, as well as active in, the colonial worlds that surrounded them. Scholarship also reveals that since contact, the Yamasees faced constant change in an unpredictable colonial world while attempting to maintain aspects of their identity as a cultural group. As encompassed by Ethridge's shatter zone, major changes for the Yamasees entailed the introduction of non-Indian people who were very culturally different, followed by the rise of their colonial settlements, which spread quickly and vastly throughout the space the Yamasees and other Indians groups had been calling home for centuries. In addition, change also meant incorporating other Indians into their group, building and breaking colonial and Indian alliances, having to relocate their towns and people, facing cultural and material changes, attacks by colonists and other Indian groups, epidemics, and adjusting to foreign economic systems and standards. In order to survive the entanglement of colonial and Indian worlds, or the shatter zone, the Yamasees quickly learned and adopted ways they could remain a powerful group, maintain their group identity, and continue many of their lifeways.

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<sup>54</sup> Ethridge, *From Chicaza to Chickasaw*, 4.

## *Chapter Outline*

This thesis researches the history of the Yamasee using an ethnohistorical approach. With contributions from the fields of history and anthropology, this study draws on Spanish and British historical documents and archaeological data from a Pocotalaca household to add to the small amount of existing research on Yamasees in Florida. Filling in gaps of Yamasee history in St. Augustine, this study focuses on the political position Pocotalaca's Yamasees. It examines relations between them and the Spanish and explores Pocotalaca's Yamasees to understand how their influence and Indian alliances provided them a vehicle to remain Yamasee.

The first chapter of this study focuses on the origins of the Yamasee Indians and their ethnogenesis during the seventeenth century. As previous research has shown, the Yamasee were a conglomeration of Indians from other Southeastern Indian groups. This chapter explores their ethnogenesis, Indian alliances, colonial alliances, and how the Yamasee became one of the most powerful Indian groups in the Southeast until the first few decades of the eighteenth century. This chapter argues that by initially building and maintaining strong Indian alliances, followed by their firm handling of relations with their colonial alliances, the Yamasees' power grew. By the second half of the seventeenth-century, their influence and reputation offered them an active position in Spanish and British colonial landscapes where they maintained space, upheld their autonomy, and were determined to remain Yamasee regardless of living in close proximity with the Spanish and other Indian groups.

Chapter two offers an in-depth historical analysis of the Yamasee mission community of Pocotalaca. This chapter explores how the significance of Pocotalaca's Yamasees transferred from South Carolina to La Florida following the Yamasee War. Focusing on the Yamasees

interaction with the Spanish, it argues that the Spanish recognized Pocotalaca as a prominent Yamasee town. For this reason, the Spanish considered many of its Yamasees as politically important and treated them as such. The atmosphere of relations between the Yamasees and Spanish allowed the Yamasees to strengthen and secure influence in St. Augustine. This, in turn, provided the Yamasees an opportunity to carve out space on the outskirts of St. Augustine where they could maintain their town and group identity.

Chapter three examines what the archaeological record at Duero site reveals about the Yamasees at Pocotalaca. It argues that because the Yamasees were able to retain a high level of autonomy, they could maintain their town and continue many of their lifeways. Drawing on the data from the Duero site and comparing it to pre-war towns in South Carolina, it is evident that after relocating to St. Augustine, the Yamasees continued to manufacture and acquire ceramics and goods similar to what they did in South Carolina. Furthermore, structural, botanical, and faunal remains from the household also depict continuity in Yamasee architecture and subsistence practices as many of these practices are traceable to pre-Yamasee and pre-war Yamasee towns.



## CHAPTER 1

### THE RISE OF THE YAMASEES

From the second half of the seventeenth century through the 1760s, the Yamasee Indians played powerful roles within British and Spanish colonial landscapes. Rather than allowing these outside powers or other Indian groups to place them in a niche, the Yamasees acted upon their own interests. In order to survive, they created their own positions during the rise of colonialism in the Southeast through Indian and colonial alliances. Acting at times as diplomats, trading partners, and additional defense for their colonial allies, the Yamasees earned a reputation as a dynamic and influential group in the eyes of colonial powers and other Indian groups that, in turn, resulted in their ability to maintain their identity as a group.

For nearly a century of dealing with and living in close proximity the Spanish, British, and other Indian groups, three notable characteristics of the Yamasees enabled them to remain a group and maintain influence. One was their skill in building successful alliances with other Indian groups, which added to their numbers, power, and longevity. Second was their determination to remain Yamasee regardless of merging with or living in close proximity to other Indian groups. Last was their ability to maintain political and cultural control over their towns regardless of their level of collaboration with colonial powers. The Yamasees placed limits on the alliances they built with the Spanish and British that entitled them to a high level of autonomy and mutual respect. Since they were not obligated to remain allies with either colonial

side, when the Spanish and the British crossed the line, the Yamasees shifted allegiances in order to retain their power to ensure the survival of the group.<sup>55</sup>

This chapter considers how the Yamasees became such prominent actors in the colonial Southeast while becoming Yamasee. It focuses on how their network of Indian alliances earned them a powerful reputation not only in the eyes of other Indian groups, but also in the eyes of colonial powers. As a result, the Yamasees held power in negotiations with the British and Spanish and were able to set limits in their alliances.<sup>56</sup> Moreover, because the limits permitted the Yamasees control of their people and towns, they could uphold their group identity.

#### *Yamasee Ethnogenesis and Alliances*

The Yamasee Indians were a multiethnic Indian group that began to form out of colonial pressures during the last quarter of the seventeenth-century.<sup>57</sup> Their collective identity developed through a process of ethnogenesis that led to a “new ethnic identity in colonial contexts.”<sup>58</sup> Since the Yamasees were a combination of several Indian identities each having their own set of cultural traditions, their formation is best described as a creative process that stemmed from circumstantial necessity and resulted in cultural cohesion. External circumstances caused the Yamasees to reinvent themselves and as a result, they became a fluid and flexible group in order to survive in an ever-changing colonial Southeast.

From early on, the Yamasees became familiar with the importance of building alliances to ensure survival of the group. When they began coalescing during the 1660s, they were mainly comprised of various fragmented populations that belonged to sixteenth and seventeenth-

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<sup>55</sup> Schrager, “Yamasee Indians,” 10-12.

<sup>56</sup> Schrager, “Yamasee Indians,” 12.

<sup>57</sup> Green, DePratter, and Southerlin, “The Yamasee in South Carolina,” 13.

<sup>58</sup> Kent G. Lightfoot, “Dynamics of Change in Multiethnic Societies: An Archaeological Perspective from Colonial North America,” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences for the United States of America* (2015) accessed June 28, 2015, 5 doi: 10.1073/pnas.1422190112.

century chiefdoms of interior Georgia (Ichisi, Altamaha, and Ocute) disrupted by Spanish contact. When Hernando de Soto and his men trekked through the interior chiefdoms in 1540, they brought European diseases that resulted in the reduction of the Indian populations and gradual fall of their chiefdoms. As early as 1661, the pre-Yamasee people who survived the consequences of Soto's wake in central Georgia, which, by the late sixteenth century was referred to as La Tama (derived from the name of the Altamaha chiefdom) by the Spanish, already began incorporating Guale Indian refugees.<sup>59</sup> Subjected to *Chichimecos* (Westo Indians) Indian slave raiders armed with flintlocks and instigated by English Virginians, many of the Guales from the Spanish province of Guale located along the northern Georgia coastline went to the La Tama region.<sup>60</sup>

The development of the Yamasees was a response to change generated by colonialism. While being driven from their Mississippian world and into a colonial one, the Yamasees continued to incorporate other Indians, contributing to the rise in Yamasee numbers.<sup>61</sup> Because of the group's fluidity, it is more accurate to describe the Yamasees as a confederation, or network of multiethnic allied Indian towns under the Yamasee name. Though the term confederation is ambiguous, it is overarching and capable of reflecting unification among a diverse multiethnic group.<sup>62</sup> Although kinship or ethnicity bonded many of the Yamasees, colonial circumstances tethered others together.

One of the main alliances formed by the pre-Yamasees was with the Guale Indians, which would later prove a pivotal relationship for the persistence of the Yamasee Indians. It is possible that the people of La Tama and the Guales made their initial connections during the

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<sup>59</sup> Green, DePratter, and Southerlin, "Yamasee in South Carolina," 16.

<sup>60</sup> Green, *Altamaha*, 15.

<sup>61</sup> Schrager, "Yamasee Indians," 71, 32.

<sup>62</sup> Green, *Altamaha*, 3-4; Schrager, "Yamasee Indians," 66.

Guale Revolt 1597. Though the revolt was between Spanish missionaries and the Guales living along the Georgia coast, it affected other Indian communities as far as the La Tama region. The La Tama-Guale alliance grew even more resilient following the *Chichimeco* Indian slave raids in 1661.<sup>63</sup>

By 1662, the raids expanded into La Tama. Despite the La Tama-Guale merger, the pre-Yamasee and Guale numbers alone could not provide protection from the armed *Chichimecos*. As a result, the raids pushed La Tama's people from the interior of Georgia. Some settled in regions such as Apalachicola and established ties with Indians who would later become Lower Creeks and significant allies to the Yamasees. However, the majority of the La Tama people went to La Florida where in 1663, the Spanish began referring to the group as the Yamasees.<sup>64</sup> Some Yamasees resided on the fringes of Spanish territory in hopes of gaining Spanish support without having to give in to Spanish demands, while others lived in the mission system and established a symbiotic alliance with the Spanish, yet remained politically independent.<sup>65</sup>

#### *Alliances with the Spanish*

The arrival of the Yamasees in the northernmost mission province of Guale around 1665, helped to ease Spanish minds. Because *Chichimeco* raids during the first half of the 1660s devastated the mission Indian population in the Guale province, the Spanish colony was suffering from lack of Indian laborers to work the fields to provide food for the Spanish.<sup>66</sup> Furthermore, since the Spanish relied on large Indian populations as a means of defense from outside attacks, the low number of remaining Indians in Guale made the province vulnerable to further attacks and British encroachment. At the time, Spain was considering "abandoning

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<sup>63</sup> Green, *Altamaha*, 3, 14-15.

<sup>64</sup> John Worth, "Yamasee Origins and the Development of the Carolina-Florida Frontier" (essay prepared for the fifth annual Omohundro Institute of Early American history and culture, June 12, 1999, Austin Texas), 9-10.

<sup>65</sup> Oatis, *A Colonial Complex*, 25.

<sup>66</sup> Worth, *The Struggle for the Georgia Coast*, 18-22.

Florida altogether.”<sup>67</sup> This made the Yamasees’ arrival extremely beneficial for the Spanish and they were welcomed and acknowledged as a crucial source of defense for the colony.

Under their newly formed alliance with the Spanish, the Yamasees provided labor and served as an extra means of defense for the colony in exchange for protection under Spanish guns. Though the purpose of the mission system was to save the Indians’ souls through religious conversion, the system also offered a means to control the Indians through organized labor referred to as the *repartimiento*.<sup>68</sup> In exchange for labor, the Yamasees were entitled to religious education, military protection, and a small daily wage in the form of trade goods.<sup>69</sup> The Yamasees collected their payment in trade goods and protection in return for their labor, however, the majority refused to accept religious instruction. Although Spanish officials and friars were not pleased with many of the Yamasees’ unwillingness to convert to Catholicism, they tolerated it since the Yamasees supplied the bulk of the labor.<sup>70</sup> According to John Worth, *repartimiento* orders from 1665 thru 1669 reveal that the Yamasees living in Guale and Mocama represented a large part of the laborers. In addition, in 1673, the Yamasees sent to labor in St. Augustine to maintain the cornfields and work on public projects, such as the Castillo de San Marcos, made up nearly half of the *repartimiento* quota. Of fifty workers sent, twenty-four were Yamasees and the remaining twenty-six comprised of both Guales and Timucuas.<sup>71</sup> Apparently, to the Spanish colony, the Yamasees’ labor outweighed the importance of their conversion

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<sup>67</sup> Schrager, “Yamasee Indians,” 73-74.

<sup>68</sup> Jerald T. Milanich, *Laboring in the Fields of the Lord: Spanish Indians and Southeastern Indians* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1999), 130.

<sup>69</sup> John Worth, *The Timucuan Chiefdoms of Spanish Florida Vol. 1: Assimilation* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida), 193.

<sup>70</sup> Worth, *Struggle for the Georgia Coast*, 21; Milanich, *Laboring in the Fields of the Lord*, 171.

<sup>71</sup> Worth, *Struggle for the Georgia Coast*, 21.

because by 1680, mainly non-Christian Yamasees occupied twelve villages in the Spanish mission provinces of Guale, Mocama, and Apalachee.<sup>72</sup>

A few of the Yamasees' towns in La Florida reflect the names of their earlier towns in central Georgia, for instance, Ocotoque (Ocute), La Tama (Altamaha), and Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria de la Tama (also Altamaha).<sup>73</sup> This reveals that from early on, regardless of their geographic location, the Yamasees actively engaged in maintaining their identity. Although colonial landscapes such as La Florida were multiethnic and comprised of Spanish and various Indian ethnicities such as Timucuas and Guales, the Yamasees lived in close proximity to others and yet managed to maintain Yamasee towns.<sup>74</sup> Overall, the continuation of the Yamasees' towns reveals their flexibility and ability to adjust under colonial pressures in order to remain Yamasee. Although the Yamasees changed places from a Mississippian Indian setting to a colonial one, the importance of their towns remained.

The appearance of additional unnamed and new Yamasee towns in the mission provinces from 1667 to 1683 noted by Worth reveals that the autonomous town system the Yamasees established and maintained in Spanish Florida appears to have worked to further their identity, solidarity, and overall success as a cultural group.<sup>75</sup> Not only does the appearance of nine new settlements throughout the provinces reveal the magnitude of the Yamasees' population growth through alliances since leaving their homelands, it also reveals the level of influence the Yamasees managed to harness while living in a colonial setting.

The act of reestablishing their villages in Spanish Florida was not only important for the Yamasees to reinstate and maintain their identity as a group; it also allowed Yamasee *caciques* to

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<sup>72</sup> Worth, *Struggle for the Georgia Coast*, 28; Worth "Yamasee" 247.

<sup>73</sup> Denise Bossy, "Spiritual Diplomacy: The Tama Yamasees in and out of La Florida's Missions" (paper presented at the Franciscan Florida in pan-Borderlands Perspective, St. Augustine, Fl. March 1, 2014).

<sup>74</sup> Worth, "Yamasee," 249.

<sup>75</sup> Worth, "Yamasee," 245-247.

retain their position. Because Spanish documents lack details about the level of power held by the *caciques*, it is impossible to measure the extent of control they had over their towns. It is possible that the *caciques* had very little influence over their townspeople.<sup>76</sup> Instead, their positions may have been solely diplomatic for the purposes of securing and maintaining alliances, or perhaps symbolic, for instance, representing the lineage of a town or an alliance. Any power the *caciques* may have had might have been bolstered by the Spanish for purposes of asserting control over the Yamasees through the *caciques*. Regardless, some level of influence existed, whether preexisting in the Yamasees' towns or established by the Spanish because the *caciques* were responsible for providing men from their towns for the labor draft.<sup>77</sup> Although the Yamasees' towns were autonomous, this did not stop the Spanish from attempting to assert control over the Yamasees, which undermined their relations with the Yamasees.

The main way the Spanish tried to harness the Yamasees was through the *repartimiento*. This caused Yamasee-Spanish relations to grow uneasy shortly after the Yamasees' arrival.<sup>78</sup> From 1666 to 1669, orders reveal Spanish dependency on the Yamasees to fulfill the labor drafts. Although other missionized Indian groups, such as the Timucua and Guale, were capable of providing labor, orders stipulated that Yamasee *caciques* were to "send as many Indians of their nation as they can."<sup>79</sup> It is likely that Spanish reliance on Yamasee labor was partially from the decline in Christian Indians from Westo raids on the Guale and Mocama provinces. It also might relate to the Yamasees' unwillingness to convert to Catholicism. To the Spanish, it may have seemed just to use non-Christian Indians to serve as the colony's burden-bearers. Another reason

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<sup>76</sup> Worth, "Yamasee," 250.

<sup>77</sup> Don Francisco de la Guerra y de la Vega, Commission to Ensign Juan Dominguez, January 21, 1668, in *Struggle for the Georgia Coast*, trans. John Worth, 78-79.

<sup>78</sup> Hall, *Zamumo's Gifts*, 99.

<sup>79</sup> Governor Guerra y Vega, quoted by Worth, *Struggle for the Georgia Coast*, 20.

could also be that since the Spanish could not control the Yamasees through religion, they resorted to asserting control through the labor draft.

As early as 1668, while the Spanish overstepped the relationship's boundaries, the Yamasees began challenging Spanish authority. Documents reveal a rebellious tone in the Yamasees' attitude toward the draft and the reluctance of the Yamasees to abide by Spanish rules.<sup>80</sup> One instance describes how the Yamasees abandoned work in St. Augustine's cornfields and left the crops to spoil. Because their actions brought considerable "damage and harm to the colony," the Spanish governor instituted a law that stipulated any *caciques* who allow their vassals to return to their villages after abandoning the fields would face punishment.<sup>81</sup> The severity of the governor's actions suggests this was not an isolated occurrence among Yamasee laborers.<sup>82</sup> Furthermore, the Yamasees' actions reveal that they were determined to remain autonomous and disregarded attempts by Spanish officials to use the labor draft as a means to control the group.

Abuse inflicted on Yamasees by Spanish soldiers also contributed to the breakdown of the alliance. Because the mission provinces were targets for British and Indian attacks, at times Spanish soldiers would occupy Indian towns to protect Spanish territory, which often resulted in conflicts between the Yamasees and soldiers.<sup>83</sup> According to a Christian Yamasee by the name of Santiago claiming to be the sole Yamasee remaining at the mission of Santa María on Amelia Island following the Yamasees' departure from La Florida in 1683, the Yamasees left the province because of how the Spanish soldiers treated them. If the Yamasees refused to give into

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<sup>80</sup> Schrager, "Yamasee Indians," 12.

<sup>81</sup> Don Francisco de la Guerra y de la Vega, Commission to Ensign Juan Dominguez, January 21, 1668, in *Struggle for the Georgia Coast*, trans. John Worth (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2007), 78-79.

<sup>82</sup> Worth, *Struggle for the Georgia Coast*, 77.

<sup>83</sup> John Hann, "Twilight of the Mocamo and Guale Aborigines as Portrayed in the 1695 Spanish Visitation," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 66 (1987): 22.



the soldier's demands, at times they suffered from physical abuse.<sup>84</sup> Santiago himself received "some slaps and heavy blows to the face and chest" by soldiers when he refused to hand over his entire catch of fish intended for feeding his four children.<sup>85</sup>

But the main catalyst in the rift of the Yamasee and Spanish alliance was the inability of the Spanish to protect the mission provinces from outside attacks and their unwillingness to arm the Indians so they could protect themselves.<sup>86</sup> Because their bows and arrows were no match for flintlocks and the Spanish were an unreliable source of protection, the Yamasees were vulnerable to attacks. In 1680, the *Chichimecos* engaged in a brutal attack on the missions of San Buenaventura de Guadaliquini on St. Simons Island and Santa Catalina de Guale on St. Catherine's Island. The attack resulted in many Indian deaths and left its surviving residents shaken.<sup>87</sup> However, that same year, a war between the *Chichimecos* and the British, causing a break in their alliance, provided a respite from attacks on the provinces. For a short time, the mission landscape remained rather quiet until 1683, when the French pirate Grammont attacked the province. It appears that Grammont's raid was the final defining factor in the Yamasees' decision to shift allegiances to the British. Mission censuses show that in 1681, 322 Yamasees lived in the Guale and Mocama provinces and following Grammont's raid, the towns had been abandoned.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> Hann, "Twilight," 22.

<sup>85</sup> Hann, "Twilight," 22.

<sup>86</sup> Worth, *Struggle for the Georgia Coast*, 36-37; Covington, "The Yamasee Indians in Florida," 121.

<sup>87</sup> Worth, *Struggle for the Georgia Coast*, 31-34.

<sup>88</sup> Worth, *Struggle for the Georgia Coast*, 37.

### *Shifting allegiances: The Yamasee-British alliance*

The decision made by the Yamasees to trade their Spanish alliance for a British one aided in ensuring the survival of the Yamasee group. Because the British traded firearms with their Indian allies, the Yamasees could protect their people.<sup>89</sup> Moreover, by switching sides, the Yamasees became the enslavers, taking on the roles of the *Chichimecos*. Not only did becoming the enslavers provide Yamasees relief from fears of enslavement, their numbers also grew. Finally, since the British did not use their Indian allies as laborers, they would not have to take part in labor drafts.<sup>90</sup> Unlike the Spanish, the Yamasees were basically given free reign while allied with the British, which allowed them to labor for their own benefit and engage in the trade economy, whether by procuring deerskins or Indians.

Changing positions in colonial alliances not only altered the Yamasees' space in the Southeast but also their political position. Because deerskins and Indian slaves were important commodities to the British, the Yamasees' ability to conform to their new surroundings and skill quickly earned them an influential reputation that enabled them to flourish in their new colonial setting.

The majority of the Yamasees living in La Florida relocated to the Port Royal area of South Carolina and, until 1715, maintained successful relations collaborating first with the Scottish in Stuarts Town and later the British in Charles Town.<sup>91</sup> While in Stuarts Town, the Yamasees and the Scottish built an alliance based on "a shared hatred of the Spanish and the

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<sup>89</sup> Green, DePratter, and Southerlin, "Yamasee in South Carolina," 22; White, "Living on the Periphery," 97.

<sup>90</sup> Schrager, "Yamasee Indians," 168.

<sup>91</sup> Worth, *Struggle for the Georgia Coast*, 45-46; Green, DePratter, and Southerlin, "Yamasee in South Carolina," 21-22.

desire to profit from the sale of captives from the missions.”<sup>92</sup> Returning to the Spanish mission provinces to carry out slave raids, including the provinces they themselves once occupied, kept the Yamasees busy. Scottish leaders provided the Yamasees with “thirty shotguns and cutlasses,” which they used to raid the mission of Santa Catalina de Afuyca, capture twenty-one of the Christian Indians, take the “church furnishings,” and “silver chalices.”<sup>93</sup> The Yamasees’ successful endeavors among the Scots resulted in greater numbers, prominence, and cohesion among the Yamasees. Not long after the Yamasees’ success among the Scots spread throughout other Indian and colonial towns, other Yamasees living among the Apalachicolas, in Apalachee missions, and on the fringes Spanish territory joined the Yamasees in South Carolina swelling the Yamasees’ population from a few hundred to an estimated four thousand.<sup>94</sup> In addition, many of the Lower Creeks from the Apalachicola region moved to the lower Savannah River area, approximately thirty miles from the Yamasees’ settlements in South Carolina.<sup>95</sup> Here they could be near their Yamasee counterparts and share their success.

Because of the Yamasees’ rising influential status and numbers, their potential as lucrative allies gained the attention of the English. In 1686, in retaliation for the raids on the missions, the Spanish destroyed Stuarts Town and the Yamasees relocated along the Ashepoo and Combahee Rivers in northwestern South Carolina. Not long after, the Yamasees settled closer to the Port Royal area where they relocated sometime between 1687 and 1695.<sup>96</sup> The Yamasees, now English allies, continued to raid the Spanish missions and either enslaved or

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<sup>92</sup> Hall, *Zamumo’s Gifts*, 99.

<sup>93</sup> Cover Letter of Governor Don Manuel de Montiano, August 15, 1739, trans. John Worth, in *Struggle for the Georgia Coast*, 58; Worth, *Struggle for the Georgia Coast*, 45.

<sup>94</sup> Hall, *Zamumo’s Gifts*, 99; Schrager, “Yamasee Indians,” 66.

<sup>95</sup> Hall, *Zamumo’s Gifts*, 100.

<sup>96</sup> Hall, *Zamumo’s Gifts*, 100; Green, DePratter, and Southerlin, “Yamasee in South Carolina,” 21-22.

killed the majority of the mission Indians that by 1704, these attacks forced the Spanish to retract their missions to seven surrounding St. Augustine.<sup>97</sup>

At the turn of the early eighteenth-century, by procuring deerskins and Indian captives, a British census reveals that the Yamasees became a thriving group living in independent towns on the fringes of the British colony.<sup>98</sup> Just as the Yamasees relocated their villages from central Georgia to the mission provinces in La Florida in the 1660s as a way to maintain their group identity, the Yamasees' movement from La Florida to South Carolina reveals a similar pattern. Not only did the Yamasees reestablish their old towns in South Carolina, they also reestablished some of the newer towns that previously originated in La Florida. The British identified ten Yamasee towns in Port Royal divided into six upper and four lower towns each led by a head town. Pocotaligo served as the primary upper town over Pocosabo, Tomatley, Sacketche, Huspah, and Tulafina, while Altamaha headed the lower towns of Okatee, Chechessee, and Euhaw.<sup>99</sup> In addition to the ten towns, documents suggest six other new towns associated with the Yamasees appeared in South Carolina, three of them Guale from La Florida, two from Coosa, and one from Apalachee.<sup>100</sup> Collectively, the reestablishment and additions of towns referred to as Yamasee by the British reveals that by the turn of the eighteenth-century the Yamasee had become an extremely powerful group—powerful enough to build a cohesive yet independent network of Yamasee towns within the colonial system.

The various ethnic consistencies of Indian groups residing in the Yamasee towns in South Carolina reflect the importance the Yamasees placed on their Indian alliances and how the

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<sup>97</sup> Hann, "Fallout," 182.

<sup>98</sup> "Governor Johnson of Carolina to the Board of the Trade, July 12, 1720," *Records in the British Public Record Office Relating to South Carolina*, microfilm, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, volume 10: 237-8.

<sup>99</sup> Green, DePratter, and Southerlin, "Yamasee in South Carolina," 14, 18.

<sup>100</sup> Green, DePratter, and Southerlin, "Yamasee in South Carolina," 17-18.

incorporation of these allies was central to the strength and persistence of the Yamasees as a group. Because the four lower Yamasee towns represent pre-Yamasee chiefdoms in central Georgia as noted by de Soto, it is probable many of the Yamasees who occupied them shared ancestral ties with the people of La Tama.<sup>101</sup> As for the upper towns, at least three Sadketché, Huspah, and Tulafina are thought to have been comprised of mostly Guale Indians that, because of the bonds the Yamasees managed to form with them early on, left the Guale province to reunite with the Yamasees around 1703. The origins of the remaining upper towns, Pocotalaca, Pocosabo, and Tomatley are unclear. Although some scholars believe that Tomatley's occupants may have been Tama, Cherokee, or Lower Creek, to date the possible origins for Pocotalaca and Pocosaba remain enigmatic. The remaining six towns associated with the Yamasees were Apalachee, Tuscagy, Chehawes, and Guale Indians.<sup>102</sup> Because one of the Yamasees' main characteristics was remaining a fluid group, they were successful at incorporating more Yamasees using their large network of Indian alliances for building and maintaining the Yamasee confederation.<sup>103</sup>

Although Yamasee towns in South Carolina were part of an overarching Yamasee network, the overall political structures of the towns are unknown. Because existing documents only reveal how the British perceived the political landscape of the towns and not the Yamasees' views, much of the political structure in and among Yamasee towns is unclear.<sup>104</sup> British documents note that the Yamasees' towns had chiefs, at times referred to as kings, and councils for decision-making within that specific town, which was likely the case. Not only was that keeping with Indian custom, Spanish documents also mention the presence of *caciques* in many

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<sup>101</sup> Worth, "Yamasee," 245, 248.

<sup>102</sup> Green, DePratter, and Southerlin, "Yamasee in South Carolina," 17-18.

<sup>103</sup> Schrager, "Yamasee Indians," 32, 66.

<sup>104</sup> DePratter "The Yamasee on the Ashepoo and Combahee Rivers."

of the Yamasees' towns in La Florida.<sup>105</sup> However, in both cases the amount of control the chiefs held over the people is uncertain. Furthermore, because political relations between the Yamasee towns in South Carolina are unknown, it is probable the designations of Pocotaligo and Altamaha as head towns are British constructs.<sup>106</sup> Although by reading between the lines, documents reveal that the head towns held some significance. Pocotaligo served as a central meeting place for many of the Yamasees and their Indian and colonial allies. Because Pocotaligo was where the majority of business between the Yamasee and South Carolina ambassadors took place, Yamasees and their Indian allies from other upper and lower towns and even Lower Creek chiefs from Apalachicola grew accustomed to coming to Pocotaligo for trade discussions, war council meetings, and to collect gifts from the Carolinians. Furthermore, Pocotaligo played a substantial role serving as the place for the final conference talks between South Carolinians, Yamasees, and their Indian allies, and the place where the Yamasees' alliance with South Carolina was shattered by the onset of the Yamasee War in 1715.<sup>107</sup>

Origins of the Yamasee War were many and included overwhelming Indian debts owed to traders, physical abuse by traders, threats to enslave the Yamasees, and encroachment on the Yamasees' lands.<sup>108</sup> Because of their debt to traders, traders resorted to abusing some of the Yamasees. Yamasee women were often the target of physical abuse. Chief Altamaha of Altamaha town and "several of [the town's]warriors" petitioned for justice concerning trader Alexander Nicholas for beating Altamaha's sister, a Yamasee man's pregnant wife to death, and another chief's sister that made her very ill.<sup>109</sup> The Yamasees filed "many grievous complaints"

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<sup>105</sup> Hann, "Fallout," 184-186.

<sup>106</sup> DePratter "The Yamasee on the Ashepoo and Combahee Rivers."

<sup>107</sup> Oatis, *A Colonial Complex*, 125; Ramsey, *The Yamasee War*, 76.

<sup>108</sup> Green, DePratter, and Southerlin, "Yamasee in South Carolina," 26-27; Oatis, *A Colonial Complex*, 115-117.

<sup>109</sup> Board of Commissioner's Meeting, October 25, 1712, "Complaints of Altimahaw King and Several Other Warriors against Alexander Nicolas, September 29, 1712," in *Colonial Records of South Carolina: Journals of the*

asking South Carolina commissioners to control the traders, yet received no satisfaction.<sup>110</sup> The Yamasees also lived in fear of the traders, who often enslaved them for their debts. In 1715, the Yamasee chief Huspah of Huspah town in South Carolina wrote a letter to South Carolina's Governor Craven, describing the final hours of the conference at Pocotaligo town. He explained that British trader "Mr. Write" told Pocotaligo's chief King Lewis that the British had plans to kill many of the Yamasees' headmen and enslave the rest of their people as payments for their debts.<sup>111</sup>

Although the war started in Pocotaligo, the war ultimately became a pan-Indian rebellion against South Carolina that involved other groups such as the Lower Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Cherokees. It was the Yamasees' actions against the South Carolinians at Pocotaligo labeled them as the war's prime instigators.<sup>112</sup> On the night of April 25, while the ambassadors from South Carolina slept believing the Yamasees were content with the negotiations made earlier that evening entailing issues of trade, abuse, and debt, the white men were suddenly awoken by Indian war whoops and violence.<sup>113</sup> Just as the Yamasees turned on the Spanish for overstepping set boundaries based on independence and respect, the Yamasees also ended alliances with the Carolinians.

### *The Return to La Florida*

The outbreak of the war resulted in the dispersion of the Yamasees from South Carolina and many of them came to La Florida to rebuild an alliance with the Spanish. Despite the

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*Commissioners of the Indian Trade, 1710-1715*, ed. W.L. McDowell (Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department, 1955), 37.

<sup>110</sup> John Wright to the Board of Commissioners, May 30, 1711, "A Letter from Pocotaligua Town May 14, 1711," in *Colonial Records of South Carolina: Journals of the Commissioners of the Indian Trade, 1710-1715*, ed. W.L. McDowell (Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department, 1955), 9.

<sup>111</sup> King Huspaw to Governor Charles Craven, 1715, in Ramsey, *The Yamasee War*, 228.

<sup>112</sup> Crane, *A Southern Frontier*, 162.

<sup>113</sup> Oatis, *A Colonial Complex*, 126; "Rodd to a Gentleman in London," May 8, 1715 in South Carolina Records, 6:75.

Yamasees' part in the destruction of the mission system, Spanish Governor Francisco de Corcoles y Martinez welcomed their return. On May 27, 1715, a delegation of Yamasee and Lower Creek leaders arrived in St. Augustine to negotiate a new alliance with the governor.<sup>114</sup> Since British and Indian raids nearly depleted La Florida's Indian population and with the ongoing threat of further attacks, the Spanish were "desperately in need of Indian allies" and welcomed the Yamasees' return.<sup>115</sup> Because of the influential position the Yamasees built by the onset of the Yamasee War, reestablishing alliances with the Yamasees also offered the Spanish access to the Yamasees' network of Indian alliances consisting of 161 Indian villages in South Carolina and regions of Apalachicola, which the Spanish quickly acted upon by requesting that Spain send Franciscans to serve the towns.<sup>116</sup> Most importantly, having rightfully earned the reputation as fierce warriors from their time as enslavers and their revolt against the British, the Yamasees could provide defense for La Florida from further British-Indian attacks and because of their knowledge of the Carolina landscape, they could conduct raids against the Carolina colony.

Not all of the Yamasees who left South Carolina came to St. Augustine, which reflects a breakdown of the confederation. While consequences of going to war with the British resulted in the deaths or enslavement of some of the Yamasees, others chose not to side with the Spanish and went to the Apalachee and Apalachicola regions.<sup>117</sup> The number of Yamasees who came to St. Augustine after the war only totaled 427, which by the late 1750s would fall to just thirty as

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<sup>114</sup> Francisco de Corcoles y Martinez to the King of Spain, July 5, 1715, Archivo General de Indias, Santo Domingo 843, trans. by John Worth, 2007; Alejandra Dubcovsky, "One Hundred Sixty- One Knots, Two Plates, and One Emperor: Creek Information Networks in the Era of the Yamasee War," *Ethnohistory* 59, no. 3 (summer 2012), 489.

<sup>115</sup> Milanich, *Laboring in the Fields of the Lord*, 190.

<sup>116</sup> Martinez to the King, January 25, 1716, attached "Testimony through interpreter Antonio Pérez Campaña, Christian Guale Indian, resident among the Guale [Yguaja]," May 28-29, 1715, AGI SD 843, trans. by John Worth, 2007, 2; Michael V. Gannon, *The Cross in the Sand: The Early Catholic Church in Florida, 1513-1870* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1965), 81.

<sup>117</sup> Covington, "The Yamasee Indians in Florida," 121-122.



the result of raids on the city and epidemics.<sup>118</sup> Although from 1715 to 1763, the Yamasee population was in gradual decline, they were not discouraged from remaining an influential group.

The Yamasees who chose to rebuild alliances with the Spanish settled in three villages “at a distance of ten and twelve leagues” (fifteen to forty-eight miles) from St. Augustine, where they could continue to remain independent from the Spanish, yet for the Spanish, be close enough to serve as the defense for their colony.<sup>119</sup> Although the Yamasees only totaled 427, they represented nearly half of the Indian population in St. Augustine. The first three Yamasee villages reestablished in St. Augustine were San Antonio de Pocotalaca (Pocotaligo), Nuestra Señora de Candelaria de la Tamaja (Altamaha), and Pocosapa, all of which were previously established towns in South Carolina prior to the war.<sup>120</sup> Although the three towns represent only a small fraction of the pre-war towns, nevertheless their reestablishment reveals the Yamasees remained active in remaining Yamasee. Eventually the Yamasees inhabited other villages such as Nombre de Dios Chiquito (1718 -1728) and La Punta. Despite these village names do not reflect any previous known Yamasee settlements from the interior Georgia chiefdoms or South Carolina, documents reveal the towns were predominately Yamasee. Furthermore, for nearly four decades, documents also reveal the towns of Pocotalaca and La Punta remained mainly Yamasee.<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>118</sup> Worth, “Yamasees,” 252; Hann, “Fallout,” 184-186.

<sup>119</sup> Juan de Ayala Escudero to the Spanish Ambassador at London, February 17, 1716, in *Early History of the Creek Indians and their Neighbors*, ed. and trans. John R. Swanton (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1922) 102; Oatis, *A Colonial Complex*, 181.

<sup>120</sup> Hann, “Fallout,” 184-186. In 1717, the total number of Indians living within ten Indian villages throughout St. Augustine was 946.

<sup>121</sup> Hann, *A History of the Timucua Indians and Missions*, 307-325.

Regardless of the confederacy's decline, the Yamasees managed to maintain many of their Indian alliances that aided in their ability to remain influential, especially in the eyes of the Spanish. Because they realigned with the Yamasees, the Spanish were able to build alliances with some of the "Uchizes... Talapuses, and Chickasaws," who, in addition to the Yamasees, the Spanish acknowledged as being "the most important and numerous tribes in the region."<sup>122</sup> However, many of these new Indian allies also kept their distance from the Spanish and remained in their homelands, which created problems for the Spanish to retain these Indian alliances. Shortly after the 1715 negotiations in St. Augustine between the Yamasee-Creek delegation and the Spanish, Martinez requested that Spain immediately send friars to serve the 161 towns in Apalachicola. However, his request went only partially fulfilled, because "by 1724, there was a friar in only 11 of the 161 receptive Indian villages."<sup>123</sup> At the same time, the British were also canvassing the Apalachicola region in hopes of creating Indian alliances. Many of the Indians living in towns the Spanish were unable to secure or maintain alliances with were often enticed by the abundance of resources the British could offer and traded sides. In addition, some scholars believe that Lower Creek micos or chiefs such as Brims of Coweta, quickly learned how to play the neutrality card between the Spanish and the British and benefit from using one colonial power against the other.<sup>124</sup>

Because the majority of the Yamasees' Indian alliances (including other Yamasees) and other Indian groups that sided with the Spanish chose not to relocate near the city, as well as epidemics, and British and Indian raids, it was impossible for the Yamasees who settled in St. Augustine to maintain or build their numbers. Unlike their tenure in South Carolina where they

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<sup>122</sup> Michael C. Scardaville and Jesús Mária Belmonte, *Florida in the Late First Spanish Period: The 1756 Griñán Report*. vol. 16 of *El Escribano* (St. Augustine Historical Society, 1979), 15.

<sup>123</sup> Gannon, *The Cross in the Sand*, 81.

<sup>124</sup> Steven Hahn, *The Invention of the Creek Nation, 1670-1673* (Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 83-84.

were joined by many of their allies, most refused to live near the Spanish. In addition, as with other Indian groups in St. Augustine, a smallpox epidemic in 1727 and a measles outbreak in 1732 claimed the lives of many of the Yamasees. Furthermore, the Yamasees also took the brunt of the British and Indian raids.<sup>125</sup> For their actions against South Carolina during and after the war, the British embarked on a “genocidal campaign” to destroy them.<sup>126</sup> During the war not only did the Yamasees destroy South Carolina plantations, they continued to do so after regrouping in St. Augustine. Yamasee warriors accompanied by their Lower Creek allies killed colonists, stole valuables and goods, and torched the plantations. The Yamasees also took British women and children as captives, but more often, they liberated African slaves. From 1715 to 1721, the Yamasees brought more than twenty African slaves to St. Augustine. Although the Yamasees actions would have hindered some of South Carolina’s production and profits, it also added to British animosity toward the Yamasees.<sup>127</sup> As a result, British retaliation against the Yamasees living near the city became a reoccurring theme. Attacks on Yamasee towns, such as one in 1725 on All Saints Day in the area of Las Rosas that devastated La Tama, and Colonel John Palmer’s raid in 1728 that resulted in the deaths of thirty Yamasees, fifteen others taken as captives, and the destruction of the town of Chiquito, gradually took their toll on the Yamasees’ numbers.<sup>128</sup>

Though Yamasee population and village numbers in St. Augustine were much smaller than they had been previously in South Carolina, the Yamasees continued to maintain

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<sup>125</sup> Kathleen Deagan, “St. Augustine and the Mission Frontier” in *The Spanish Missions of La Florida*, ed. Bonnie McEwan (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1994), 94.

<sup>126</sup> John Hann, *Apalachee: The Land Between the Rivers*, (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1988), 289.

<sup>127</sup> Covington, “The Yamasee Indians in Florida,” 122; Oatis, *Colonial Complex*, 277.

<sup>128</sup> Fray Joseph Bullones to the King, October 5, 1728, in *Missions to the Calusa*, trans. by John H. Hann (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1991), 376; Amy Turner Bushnell, “Living at Liberty: The Ungovernable Yamasees in Spanish Florida” (paper presented at Flagler College, The Yamasee Indians: From Florida to South Carolina, St. Augustine, Fl., April 17, 2015).

independent villages on the fringes of the Spanish colony. During this period, Yamasee *caciques* and councils still maintained their positions. According to a census taken by Rivera in 1717, Pocotalaca, Pocosapa, and la Tamaja each had a *cacique* and more than a handful of leading men.<sup>129</sup> Even into the 1750s, documents reveal *caciques* were present throughout the tenure of Yamasee villages.<sup>130</sup>

Unlike their first alliance with the Spanish, the majority of the Yamasees who settled in St. Augustine converted to Christianity. Because documents composed by the Spanish only provide one view, it is impossible to be certain why the Yamasees converted after 1715 or whether they became practicing Christians. Although the Yamasees' acceptance of the holy faith may have been sincere, political motivations in the form of "spiritual diplomacy," which was a practice that had been taking place between Southeastern Indians and the Spanish since contact, was likely the case.<sup>131</sup> Of the 427 Yamasees who came to St. Augustine, less than twenty-percent were Christian. Furthermore, the number of Christian Yamasees represented less than twenty percent of the combined total converted Guales, Timucuas, and Apalachees.<sup>132</sup> Over the span of four decades following their arrival, it appears that the majority of Yamasees converted.<sup>133</sup> However, by the 1750s, this would have been a very small number. As conversions were taking place among the group, their numbers were declining from raids, epidemics, and Yamasee flight.

Even during the last decade prior to the Spanish relinquishing La Florida to the British in exchange for Havana to finalize the end of the Seven Years' War, the Yamasees remained a significant group to the Spanish. By 1759, the remaining Indians from mission villages were

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<sup>129</sup> Hann, "Fallout," 184-185.

<sup>130</sup> Hann, *History of the Timucua Indians*, 308-325.

<sup>131</sup> Denise Bossy, "Spiritual Diplomacy: The Tama Yamasees in and out of La Florida's Missions" (paper presented at the Franciscan Florida in pan-Borderlands Perspective, St. Augustine, FL. March 1, 2014).

<sup>132</sup> Hann, "Fallout," 184; Oatis, *A Colonial Complex*, 180.

<sup>133</sup> Worth, "Yamasee," 250.

combined into two, Nombre de Dios Chiquito and Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Tolomato. Although Chiquito was comprised of not only Yamasees, but also Timucuas, Ibajas, Chiluques, Costas, Casipuyas, and Chickasaws, a Yamasee *cacique* named Juan Sánchez governed the village.<sup>134</sup>

In 1763, when the Spanish handed its Florida colony over to the British, about eighty-nine Indians from various groups departed with the Spanish. Some of the remaining Yamasees in St. Augustine went to live among the Lower Creeks, while others chose to depart the city with the Spanish and along with other Indians and became part of a community in Guanabacoa, Havana. Because documents do not provide details about political structure or ethnicity among Florida's Indians living in Guanabacoa, whether the Yamasees living in the settlement maintained any influence or attempted to maintain their group identity remains unknown. Unfortunately, what the paper trail does reveal about the Indians is that the majority of them did not survive past the first decade.<sup>135</sup>

### *Conclusion*

The consequences of the Yamasee War resulted in drastic changes for the Yamasees. Just as they chose to break alliances with the Spanish, leave La Florida, and align with the British, in the wake of the war the Yamasees faced making decisions that entailed where to go based on what would be best for their people. The majority of them chose to rebuild alliances with the Spanish; however, not all chose to settle in La Florida. Some of the Yamasees did go to live near the Spanish in Apalachee and St. Augustine, while others chose to live near their Indian alliances in Apalachicola region. In comparison to the tight network of Yamasee towns the Yamasees

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<sup>134</sup> Hann, *Timucua Indians*, 323; Worth, *Timucuan Chiefdoms* Vol. 2: 155-156.

<sup>135</sup> Worth, *Timucua Chiefdoms*, Vol. 2, 156; John Worth, "Forging a New Identity in Florida's Refugee Missions" Paper presented in the symposium "Missions and Frontiers in Spanish America" at the 53rd International Conference of Americanists (Mexico City, July 19-24, 2009.Mexico), 8-9; Worth, "Yamasee," 252.

managed to maintain in South Carolina, their post-war (1715 to 1763) landscape looked much different. Collectively, the dispersal among the Yamasees resulted in adverse effects on the confederation. Though separation did not break bonds among the Yamasees, distance left them physically loosely knitted. For this reason, in addition to population loss from epidemics and British attacks on the Yamasees, the confederation fell into decline and was never able to regain a foothold in the Southeast. Though consequences of the war drastically weakened the Yamasee confederation, the Yamasees who went to St. Augustine managed to continue as an influential group within a colonial context by maintaining their group identity and alliances throughout the mid-eighteenth century, which is the focus of the next chapter.

## CHAPTER 2

### EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY POCOTALACA

In 1715, the Yamasees who returned to La Florida inhabited a very different setting than what they had become accustomed to in South Carolina. Instead of living in a network of confederated Indian villages, the Yamasees relocated to different areas of La Florida and Apalachicola.<sup>136</sup> Although they managed to maintain many of their Indian alliances, epidemics and British and Indian attacks prevented the confederation from reconsolidating to the degree it had in the past. While some of the Yamasees chose not live near the Spanish and instead lived among their Indian allies, others came to St. Augustine and lived in close proximity to the Spanish and other non-allied Indian groups.

The Yamasee towns reestablished in St. Augustine after the war included San Antonio de Pocotalaca (Pocotaligo), Nuestra Señora de Candelaria de la Tamaja (Altamaha), and Pocosapa.<sup>137</sup> While in South Carolina, Pocotalaca was an influential town among the Yamasees, their Indian allies, and most notably the British. The town served a location for negotiations between Indian councils, traders, and Carolinian officials, and was the place where the Yamasee War began.<sup>138</sup> Even after the reestablishment of Pocotalaca in St. Augustine, the town and some of its inhabitants held prominent political statuses in the eyes of the Spanish. Since the 1660s, the

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<sup>136</sup> Oatis, "*A Colonial Complex*," 179.

<sup>137</sup> Hann, "Fallout," 184-186.

<sup>138</sup> Oatis, *A Colonial Complex*, 115-117; Ramsey, *The Yamasee War*, 76.

Yamasees had built a group identity within colonial landscapes based on their Indian alliances and sovereignty. While in South Carolina (1683-1715), the Yamasees and their allies formed a confederacy, or network, of multiethnic Indian towns under the Yamasee name.<sup>139</sup> Although the war weakened the confederacy's numbers and unity, when Pocotalaca's Yamasees came to St. Augustine, they were determined to maintain their group identity and power while allied with the Spanish.

Overall, much of the Yamasees' history following the Yamasee War (1715 to 1763) remains unaddressed. Scholars know little about the Yamasees' identities, mission villages, lifeways, and agency in Spanish Florida during this period. This chapter focuses on these issues not only to understand what Yamasee life might have been like at Pocotalaca, but how the Yamasees living in the town maintained their group identity and influence by retaining their Indian alliances and securing a strong alliance with the Spanish. This chapter examines some of the Yamasees who lived at Pocotalaca and their roles and relations with the Spanish and other Indian groups. It also focuses on the political position of some of Pocotalaca's Yamasees in St. Augustine and the methods they used to secure their status. This chapter argues that the town's influential status in St. Augustine was similar to what it held as upper head town of Pocotaligo in South Carolina. It considers how for over three decades Pocotalaca's Yamasees and their influential Indian allies, who often served as dignitaries for Indian and colonial relations, shaped the way the Spanish held relations with the town's inhabitants. Because they retained their high status following their shift of allegiances, the Yamasees at Pocotalaca continued to maintain a high level of sovereignty and assert and preserve their group identity.

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<sup>139</sup> Green, *Altamaha*, 3-4; Schrager, "Yamasee Indians," 66.



## *The Yamasees Return to La Florida*

*“I remain with great satisfaction that in my time, at the end of such ruinous murders and damages that these barbarians have done to these miserable inhabitants, I might arrive to see them reduced to the obedience of Your Majesty...”*<sup>140</sup>

—La Florida’s Governor Francisco de Corcoles y Martinez to the King of Spain, July 5, 1715.

On May 27, 1715, four Indian leaders, two Yamasees and two Apalachicolas (possibly Lower Creeks), arrived in St. Augustine to solicit a pardon from Governor Francisco de Corcoles y Martinez for their actions against the Spanish colony while allied to the British. Representing a weakened yet vital confederacy, the delegates sought permission to return to Spanish Florida and requested aid from the Spanish.<sup>141</sup> The Yamasee diplomats were Alonso, the Christian *Cacique* of Ocute, and Gabriel, the pagan son of Christian Yamasee chief Santiago Sule. Diplomats from the Lower Creek faction were Yfallaquisca, the warrior chief of the town of Satiquicha (who may have actually been a Yamasee), and Istopoyole from the town of Nicunapa, both from the province of Apalachicola.<sup>142</sup>

Decades before the war, intermarriages between the Yamasees and many of the Lower Creeks (Uchises) resulted in an alliance deeply rooted in kinship. Although after the war, the British often attempted to entice the Lower Creeks into siding against the Yamasees, because of these early-established Yamasee-Lower Creek bonds, they were mainly unsuccessful. However, since individual Creek towns maintained their own governance, occasionally town leaders

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<sup>140</sup> Martinez to the King of Spain, July 5, 1715.

<sup>141</sup> Martinez to the King of Spain, July 5, 1715; Dubcovsky, “One Hundred Sixty- One Knots,” 489.

<sup>142</sup> Dubcovsky, “One Hundred Sixty- One Knots,” 489. Yfallaquisca is also referred to as Brave Dog or Perro Bravo.

shifted allegiances to the British and attacked the Yamasees in St. Augustine.<sup>143</sup> Nevertheless, some Yamasees and groups of Lower Creeks maintained a strong post-war alliance.

Making a unified choice, the Yamasee and Lower Creek delegation arrived “to establish diplomatic links with local Catholic powers” by offering the strength of their Indian network to the Spanish governor for the benefit of the Spanish colony.<sup>144</sup> Yfallaquisca, chosen by the micos (chiefs) Brims of Coweta and Chislacaliche of Coosa and by “all the caciques and micos of the villages of all the provinces” in Apalachicola to clarify to Martinez the reasons why the Yamasees made war on the British.<sup>145</sup> Explaining, “the causes which moved them to this [war] were many,” but the most alarming was the British plan to enslave their people in exchange for debts owed to the traders for their purchases of “guns, powder, balls, cutlasses, pistols, cassocks, hats, and bottles of firewater.”<sup>146</sup> Though the Yamasees attempted negotiations with South Carolina’s governor of San Jorge to pay off their debts in animal skins and crops, the governor “ordered the plantations fortified and the construction of stockades in Carolina,” which signified to the Yamasees that the British fully intended to enslave them.<sup>147</sup>

Following his explanations for the war, Yfallaquisca handed eight leather belts to Ystopojole who stepped forward and presented them to Governor Martinez. Each belt was a strand of knots and each knot represented one of one-hundred and sixty-one Native villages in South Carolina, Apalachicola, and its various surrounding provinces willing to ally with the

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<sup>143</sup> Steven Hahn, “The Long Yamasee War: Reflections on Yamasee Conflict in the Eighteenth Century” (paper presented at Flagler College, *The Yamasee Indians: From Florida to South Carolina*, St. Augustine, Fl., April 17, 2015).

<sup>144</sup> Hahn, *The Invention of the Creek Nation*, 84.

<sup>145</sup> Martinez to the King of Spain, January 25, 1716, attached “Testimony” May 28, 1715.

<sup>146</sup> Martinez to the King of Spain, January 25, 1716, attached “Testimony” May 28, 1715.

<sup>147</sup> Martinez to the King of Spain, January 25, 1716, attached “Testimony” May 28, 1715.

Spanish.<sup>148</sup> Yfallaquisca asked Martinez to deliver the belts to the King of Spain as a symbol of a new alliance. Because the Yamasees initiated the alliance, it appeared to Governor Martinez that the purpose of their visit was to render obedience to the crown.<sup>149</sup> However, for the Yamasee-Lower Creek delegation, the visit was to build a mutual alliance, which meant realigning with the Spanish, yet remaining independent.

### *Eighteenth Century Spain, England, and the Greater Southeast*

In order to stop the French from colonizing Florida, in 1565 Pedro Menéndez de Aviles and the King of Spain established the colony of St. Augustine. That same year, the Spanish ousted the French from their recently established fort on the River of Mai (known today as the St. John's River in Northeast Florida) named Fort Caroline. Menéndez and the crown were disappointed after discovering that La Florida lacked precious metals such as gold and large groups of Indigenous agriculturalists from whom the Spanish could benefit.<sup>150</sup> Instead, in the last quarter of the sixteenth-century, Jesuits, later followed by Franciscans, came from Spain to missionize La Florida's Indians.<sup>151</sup> The Spanish were so successful in their endeavor that by the mid-1600s, they devised a major enterprise referred to today as the Spanish mission system that stretched across La Florida and relied on the labor of the Indians living in the mission towns. Eventually extending as far west as Apalachee, the system served as the main artery for the Spanish colony.<sup>152</sup>

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<sup>148</sup> Martinez to the King, January 25, 1716, attached "Testimony" May 28, 1715.

<sup>149</sup> Martinez to the King, July 5, 1715.

<sup>150</sup> Kathleen Deagan, ed. *Spanish St. Augustine: The Archaeology of a Colonial Creole Community* (New York: Academic Press Inc., 1983), 22.

<sup>151</sup> Worth *Timucuan Chiefdoms*, Vol. 1, 44.

<sup>152</sup> Worth, *Timucuan Chiefdoms*, Vol. 1, 76, 213.

As discussed in chapter two, beginning in the 1650s, English-Virginians began arming Westo Indians with flintlocks to raid Indian towns for slaves throughout the Southeast.<sup>153</sup> Not only were the pre-Yamasee towns in interior Georgia and other surrounding towns targeted by the Westos, so were Spanish mission towns. The Westos captured many of the mission Indians and traded the captives to Virginians for British goods and many of them became slaves on Virginian tobacco plantations.<sup>154</sup>

With the establishment of British Charles Town South Carolina in 1670, the Southeast truly became the theater for battles between British, Spanish, and Indian powers.<sup>155</sup> A substantial amount of Charles Town's economy thrived on Indian slaves and deerskins. Traders offered Indian groups British goods for deerskins to meet Britain's high market demand.<sup>156</sup> British traders also exchanged goods with Indians for their Indian captives who either became slaves to Carolinian planters, or faced exportation to British sugar plantations in areas such as the Barbados.<sup>157</sup> As a result, Indian slaves became a major exportable commodity, and raids on the Spanish missions continued. In addition to diseases, decades of British attacks on the missions dealt a devastating blow to the mission provinces and the number of Indians occupying them. Colonel Moore's raids in 1702 and 1704 marked the destruction of the Spanish mission system.<sup>158</sup> This allowed the British to gain a stronger grasp on the Southeast.

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<sup>153</sup> Schrager, "Yamasee Indians," 26.

<sup>154</sup> Worth, "Yamasee," 249, Worth, *Struggle for the Georgia Coast*, 15-18; Christina Snyder, *Slavery in Indian Country: The Changing Face of Captivity in Early America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012), 49.

<sup>155</sup> Worth, *Struggle for the Georgia Coast*, 22-23.

<sup>156</sup> Schrager, "Yamasee Indians," 66.

<sup>157</sup> Gallay, *The Indian Slave Trade*, 300.

<sup>158</sup> Deagan, *Spanish St. Augustine*, 25-26.

## *Eighteenth-Century St. Augustine*

Following Moore's raids, "Spanish control was reduced to the vicinity of St. Augustine."<sup>159</sup> Many of the Indians who survived the attacks and eluded capture, such as small numbers of Mocama, Guale, and Apalachee, relocated to St. Augustine where they lived in approximately seven mission villages surrounding the city totaling about 400 inhabitants.<sup>160</sup>

By this time, Spain became convinced that British powers posed a major threat to Spanish Florida and began sending men from Spain, making the landscape of St. Augustine basically a military town surrounded by Indian towns strategically placed on the fringes of the city to serve as the initial line of defense from outside attacks.<sup>161</sup>

Although the Spanish still relied on the Indians to labor for the colony, *repartimiento* demands were different from those of the seventeenth-century. This was likely a result of the destruction of the mission provinces by Moore from 1702 to 1704. During the raids, the British destroyed many of the agricultural fields the Indians cultivated for the Spanish. In addition, Franciscan influence over the Indians was subtle compared to what it had been during the peak of the mission period. This was because the small number of Indians in the city to provide labor and help protect the city against attacks was invaluable to the Spanish. In fear of Native flight, the friars refrained from pressing conversion on the Indians in an attempt to keep peaceful relations.<sup>162</sup>

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<sup>159</sup> Deagan, *Spanish St. Augustine*, 26-27.

<sup>160</sup> Hann, *Timucua Indians*, 306.

<sup>161</sup> Carl D. Halbirt, "where the sea breezes constantly blow—an ideal place for a home..." The 18th Century Mission Community of Nuestra Señora del Rosario de la Punta" (paper presented at the 2005 South Eastern Archaeological Conference, Columbia, South Carolina), 1; Deagan, *Spanish St. Augustine*, 31.

<sup>162</sup> Oatis, *A Colonial Complex*, 180.

### *Yamasee Refugee Towns*

The timing of the Yamasees' arrival in St. Augustine just after the war could not have been better for the vulnerable Spanish colony. Not only did their arrival double the Indian population in St. Augustine, but also increased the number of mission villages in 1717 from seven to ten.<sup>163</sup> Just as the other Indians were living on the fringes of the city as buffers against outside intrusions, Yamasee towns also provided defense for the colony. However, because of British hatred for the Yamasees, their towns were also more prone to attacks adding extra stress to the Yamasees' existence in St. Augustine.<sup>164</sup> During attacks and threats, the Yamasees moved their towns from the periphery of the city inward to be closer to the guns of the Castillo. When the threat was over, the towns often returned to the outskirts of the city.<sup>165</sup>

Yamasees inhabited a handful of post-war refugee mission towns surrounding the city, many of which fell victim to British and Indian attacks. The Yamasee towns of Pocotalaca and La Tama initially settled south of the city in the area of Las Rosas de Ayamón.<sup>166</sup> According to Spanish sources, the location of Las Rosas ranged from six to twelve leagues from the city (fifteen to forty-eight miles), which would have extended down the coastline south of St. Augustine.<sup>167</sup> Here, the Yamasees' towns would have also provided some protection for the city from the south and offered the Yamasees some distance from the Spanish.<sup>168</sup> However, following

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<sup>163</sup> Hann, *Timucua Indians*, 306-307.

<sup>164</sup> Hann, *Apalachee*, 289.

<sup>165</sup> Susan Parker, "The Second Century of Settlement in Spanish St. Augustine, 1670-1763," (PhD diss., University of Florida, 1999), 47.

<sup>166</sup> Petition of Agustín Guillermo de Funes y Herrera, April 29, 1734, AGI SC 86-7-21/6.

<sup>167</sup> Petition of Agustín Guillermo de Funes y Herrera, April 29, 1734; Bullone's Report, in Hann, *Missions to the Calusa*, 378; Escudero to the Spanish Ambassador at London, February 17, 1716, in Swanton, 102.

<sup>168</sup> Parker, "The Second Century of Settlement," 48. According to Parker, Spanish leagues ranged from two-and-a-half miles and by the late seventeenth-century approximately three miles.

the British and Indian attack on the Yamasees' towns in Las Rosas in 1725 that left the town of La Tama battered, the Yamasees moved their towns closer to the Castillo de San Marcos to be under the protection of the guns. Here Pocotalaca's Yamasees settled "at a distance of a rifle-shot" from the city's gates and inhabited approximately twenty farmsteads dispersed over twenty-five acres.<sup>169</sup> Not only did living closer to the city gates offer the Yamasees temporary relief under the guns of the Castillo, the new location, which was part of a strategic defense plan designed by the Spanish, also offered the city's colonists protection from outside intrusion.<sup>170</sup>

Sometime between 1725 and 1728, for undocumented reasons, La Tama's remaining Yamasees moved to Santa Theresa de Moze, thought to have been an Apalachee mission whose population fell to an epidemic in 1729.<sup>171</sup> The Yamasees at Moze also offered protection for the city as the town's location, approximately two miles north of the city, was also part of the city's defense system. Over the subsequent decade, Moze became a settlement established by the Spanish for African slaves seeking sanctuary in La Florida, which suggests Africans joined La Tama's Yamasees. Pocosapa, noted as the largest Yamasee town that arrived after the war totaling 172 people, ceased to appear in documents after 1717, leaving its tenure in St. Augustine unknown (at least by that name).<sup>172</sup>

The Yamasees at Nombre de Dios Chiquito (1718 to 1728) also suffered a devastating British and Indian attack. In 1728, the British wreaked havoc on the town. Colonel John Palmer along with two-hundred British men and a like number of Indian allies attacked the town of

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<sup>169</sup> 1737 Antonio de Arredondo Map of St. Augustine; Bullones to the King, October 5, 1728, in Hann, *Missions to the Calusa*, 378.

<sup>170</sup> Parker, "The Second Century of Settlement," 48; Carl D. Halbirt, "where the sea breezes constantly blow," 1.

<sup>171</sup> Halbirt, "where the sea breezes constantly blow," 3; Bullones to the King, October 5, 1728, in Hann, *Missions to the Calusa*, 376-377.

<sup>172</sup> Hann, "Fallout," 193. John Hann suggests the name of Pocosapa changed to one of two Yamasee towns listed on a 1726 census, either San Antonio or San Diego.

Chiquito killing thirty Yamasees and capturing fifteen others. While the remaining Yamasees scuttled to the *Castillo*, Palmer and his men destroyed the mission.<sup>173</sup> Scholars believe those Yamasees who managed to avoid death or capture likely formed the village of La Punta (1720s to 1750s).<sup>174</sup>

Meanwhile Pocotalaca remained at its new location near the Castillo from 1725 until 1738, before returning to the area of Las Rosas for a brief respite, possibly to distance themselves from the Spanish colony, or perhaps a move inspired by the Spanish to refortify the city from the south.<sup>175</sup> Although the exact date of the town's return is unknown, reoccurring harassment and attacks from enemy Indians forced the town back to its location near the city's gates where it is shown (represented by a Z) on a 1763 map by Spanish Engineer Pablo Castello of St. Augustine (Figure 1).<sup>176</sup> Here Pocotalaca permanently remained near the gates until the aggregation of St. Augustine's Indian populations into the mission settlements of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Tolomato and Nombre de Dios (also referred to as Nuestra Señora de la Leche) in the late-1750s.<sup>177</sup>

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<sup>173</sup> Bushnell, "Living at Liberty"

<sup>174</sup> Carl D. Halbirt, "where the sea breezes constantly blow," 3.

<sup>175</sup> Bullones to the King, October 5, 1728, in Hann, *Missions to the Calusa*, 378; Hann, "Fallout," 194.

<sup>176</sup> 1763 Pablo Castello Map, copy located at the St. Augustine Historical Society, St. Augustine, Florida; Parker, "The Second Century of Settlement," 48.

<sup>177</sup> Hann, *Timucuan Indians*, 323.



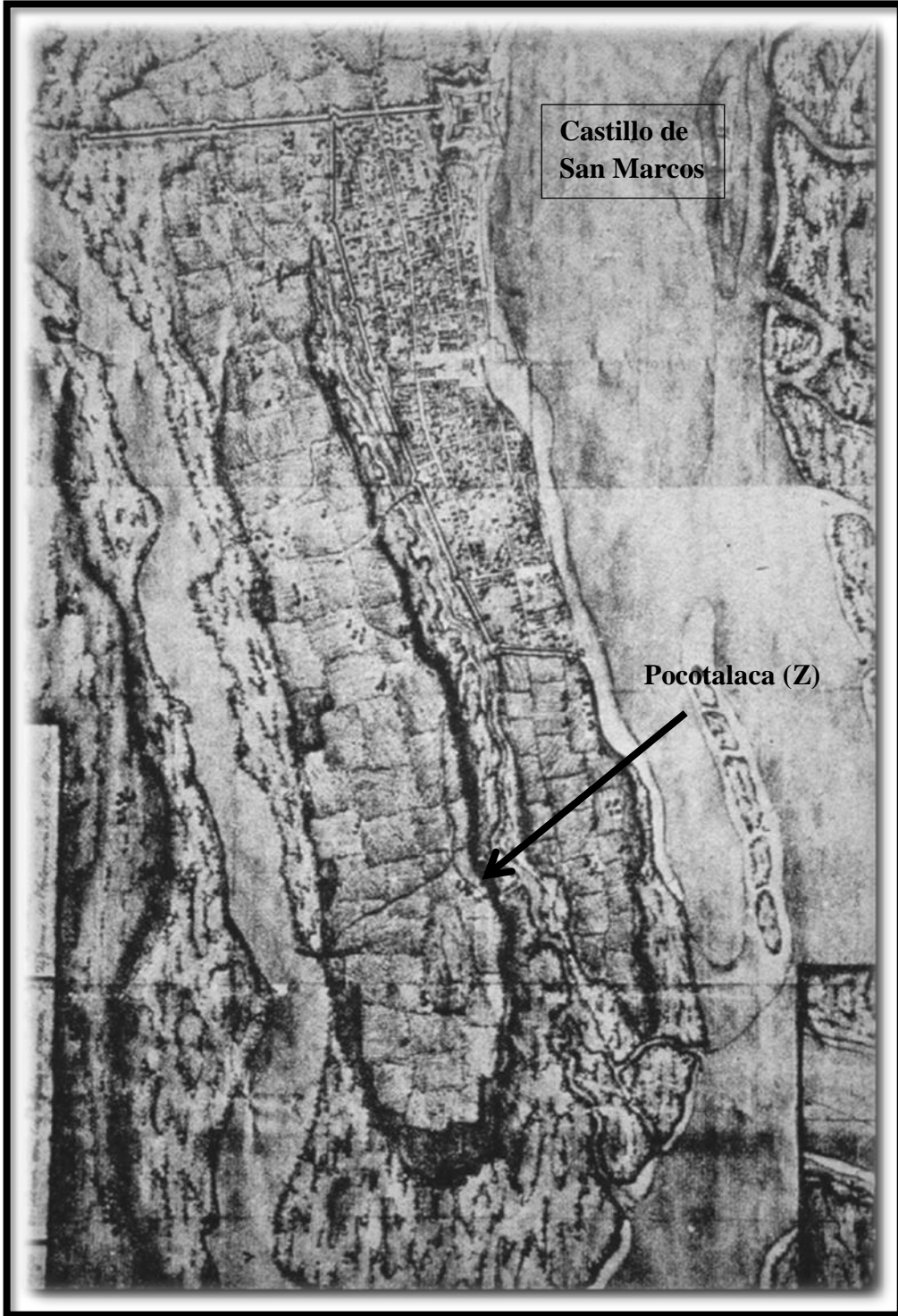


Figure 1. 1763 Pablo Castello Map of St. Augustine. *Source:* St. Augustine Historical Society

*Pocotalaca: Reestablishing Identity and Influence*

While moving between Spanish and British powers the Yamasees worked to remain a distinctive group.<sup>178</sup> A characteristic of their determination to maintain their group cohesion and identity is their choice to retain village names (see chapter 1). Continuity of the town name Pocotalaca, a phonetic rendition of South Carolina's Pocotaligo, suggests that regardless of their geographic location, retaining the name would have also been important for political purposes and status recognition upon the Yamasees' arrival in St. Augustine.

Surely, the Spanish would have acknowledged the Indian dignitary "Don Francisco Ya Quisca," or Lower Creek war chief Yfallaquisca who was Pocotalaca's *cacique* at the time of the Yamasees' arrival.<sup>179</sup> Serving as the primary negotiator for the Yamasee-Creek delegation who came St. Augustine in 1715 to rebuild alliances with the Spanish, "Brave Dog (Yfallaquisca) was the first to step forward and speak," representing the power the leading men came to offer.<sup>180</sup> For this reason, the Spanish would have recognized the town's prominence and shown preferential treatment to Pocotalaca's residents.

Yfallaquisca's relations with Pocotalaca go back to the town's tenure in South Carolina (and possibly even further). In fact, he was a primary participant in the attack on the British at Pocotaligo during the opening of the Yamasee War. On April 15, 1715, following the conference between the Yamasees and British ambassadors, the Yamasees "appeared satisfied, shook hands in a token of friendship and drank."<sup>181</sup> That night while the British slept totally unaware of the Yamasees' discontent, Yfallaquisca, two Yamasee headmen from Pocotaligo and Salkehatchie (a Yamasee upper town), and other Indians "painted their faces and several other parts of their

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<sup>178</sup> Worth, "Yamasee," 249.

<sup>179</sup> Hann, "Fallout," 186.

<sup>180</sup> Hahn, *Invention of the Creek Nation*, 84.

<sup>181</sup> "Rodd to a Gentleman in London," May 8, 1715.

bodies...with red and black streaks” and awoke the Carolinians with their “terrible war-whoop.”<sup>182</sup> Yfallaquisca and the other headmen “threw themselves first upon the agents” and then started to “fire upon everybody without distinction.”<sup>183</sup>

Yfallaquisca’s dedication to the Yamasees prior to, throughout the war’s tenure, and after suggests that he was Yamasee and not Lower Creek. Not only were there established kinship ties between the Yamasee and Lower Creeks, but also after the war some of the Yamasees’ towns from South Carolina relocated to Apalachicola. The town where Yfallaquisca was reportedly serving as war chief during the delegation’s meeting with the Spanish governor in 1715, Sataquica (Satiquicha), is likely a poor phonetic rendition of the pre-war Yamasee upper town of Sadkatche (Salkehatchie, Salchiches).<sup>184</sup> Moreover, it is important to note that a Salkehatchie headman accompanied Yfallaquisca during the initial attack on the Carolinians at Pocotaligo. Documents do not clarify Yfallaquisca’s ethnicity. For instance, the document describing the 1715 meeting with governor simply references Yfallaquisca as war captain of Sataquica in Apalachicola.<sup>185</sup> However, Rivera’s 1717 census suggests that Yfallaquisca might be Yamasee. He notes Yfallaquisca, who was also serving as Pocotalaca’s cacique, as Yamasee. Though Rivera clearly distinguishes between Yamasee Indians living at Pocotalaca, that included “four Christians of the Oapa (Huspaw Town) nation,” he does not differentiate Yfallaquisca as a Lower Creek.<sup>186</sup>

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<sup>182</sup> Oatis, *A Colonial Complex*, 126; “Rodd to a Gentleman in London,” May 8, 1715.

<sup>183</sup> “Rodd to a Gentleman in London,” May 8, 1715.

<sup>184</sup> Oatis, *A Colonial Complex*, 126; Worth “Yamasee,” 248; In a conversation with the author on October 1, 2015, Denise Bossy made that suggestion that Sadkatche and Sataquica might be phonetic renditions of the same town and suggests that Yfallaquisca might have been a Yamasee. Jane Landers also refers to Yfallaquisca as a Yamasee War Captain in “Black Indian Interaction in Spanish Florida” (paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Organization of American Historians, Washington D.C., March, 1990).

<sup>185</sup> Martinez to the King of Spain, January 25, 1716.

<sup>186</sup> Hann, “Fallout,” 186.

Yfallaquisca's attachment to Pocotalaca aided in the continuation of the town's influential status and independence. In addition to his role in the 1715 meeting with the Spanish governor and his position as Pocotalaca's chief, it is likely Yfallaquisca served as a main diplomat during the early post-war period and recognized by the Spanish as a gateway for negotiations to secure additional Indian alliances in Apalachicola. The governor of St. Augustine quickly acted upon securing these alliances shortly after his 1717 meeting with the Yamasee-Creek delegation by requesting friars from Spain to serve in Apalachicola Indian towns. However, likely due to Spain's poor financial position during this period, Martinez's efforts went only partially fulfilled. Over a period of seven years, Spain sent less than a dozen friars to serve 161 villages.<sup>187</sup> Although this clearly created a problem for the Spanish to gain and uphold alliances with the Indians in Apalachicola, especially with the British with their abundant resources competing for Lower Creek allies, this did not have any derogatory effects on Spanish relations with the Yamasees at Pocotalaca. In fact, it appears that strong relations between the Spanish and the town's inhabitants continued to build and Pocotalaca maintained a high degree of autonomy.

Because documents pertaining to Yamasee towns in St. Augustine lack insight about their political structures, it is unclear how Pocotalaca functioned politically and how much influence *caciques*, such as Yfallaquisca, held over their towns. However, it is apparent that Pocotalaca had a political system that required the presence of a *cacique* and perhaps a council. For instance, the 1717 Rivera census lists six other sub chiefs under Yfallaquisca, which suggests they represented a council where each held an important position for the function and cohesion of the town.<sup>188</sup> Rather than holding significant power over their people, the town's headmen likely

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<sup>187</sup> Gannon, *The Cross in the Sand*, 81.

<sup>188</sup> Hann, "Fallout," 186.

served as the primary negotiators for affairs between their Indian and Spanish allies and played an extremely important role for the autonomy of the town. A chief speaking on behalf of a town's inhabitants signifies trust between the people and their headmen and certainly indicates cohesion and strength within a community.

The Yamasees' web of Indian alliances also offered Pocotalaca's Yamasees a means for building and securing influence in St. Augustine. Because they maintained many of the Indian alliances established prior to the war, most notably those with factions of Lower Creeks in Apalachicola, the Spanish knew that by bolstering their relationship with the Yamasees and giving them "everything they asked for" they had a greater chance at gaining additional Indian allies.<sup>189</sup> For instance, in a letter believed to have been written in 1716 by Martinez's successor, Governor Juan de Ayala Escobar to the Spanish Ambassador, reveals the "Spanish presented them [ the Yamasee *caciques*] with gifts" such as "hats and coats" and that they were also requested to "dine with the Governor."<sup>190</sup> Clearly, treatment toward the Yamasees during the post-war period reveals that for the Spanish, securing their partnership was high priority.<sup>191</sup>

Because Pocotaligo (Pocotalaca) was the main political center in South Carolina, at times the Spanish showed even greater preferential treatment to the *caciques* at Pocotalaca — sometimes going as far as to treat them like nobility. For instance, the night of the 1725 British and Lower Creek attack on the Indian towns in Las Rosas, one of St. Augustine's prominent and wealthy Spanish citizens Agustín Guillermo de Fuentes brought Pocotalaca's "*Cacique principal*," Don Antonio Jospo and eight of his family members into his home where they were

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<sup>189</sup> Escudero to the King, 1734, in Swanton, *The Creek Indians*, 102.

<sup>190</sup> Covington, "The Yamasee Indians in Florida: 1715-1763," 121.

<sup>191</sup> Oatis, *A Colonial Complex*, 180.

offered hospitality and allowed to stay for some time.<sup>192</sup> Despite the assaults on the towns of three other *caciques*, one of which was also Yamasee, the Spanish singled out Pocotalaca's *cacique* to receive this sort of superior treatment.<sup>193</sup> Meanwhile, the other towns consisting of Yamasees, Timucuas, and Jororos had to prepare temporary shelters near the city walls.<sup>194</sup> Although Fuentes' exact motivations for offering Pocotalaca's *cacique* and his family aid to such an extent is unclear, it is likely that his generosity was likely politically motivated.

The Yamasees at Pocotalaca also secured their power in St. Augustine by building strong bonds with the Spanish. One method they might have used was religious conversion. Unlike the Yamasees' initial alliance with the Spanish, documents reveal that many of those at Pocotalaca engaged in some level of Christianity. Since evidence of Yamasee conversions at Pocotalaca comes solely from Spanish sources, it is impossible to say with certainty what conversion meant to them or their sincerity in the practice. It is possible some genuinely converted to the Christian faith. However, an alternative explanation could be that the Yamasees were engaging in what one scholar refers to as "spiritual diplomacy."<sup>195</sup> Rather than taking "the first step in a slippery slope of assimilation," they may have used conversion as a form of negotiation for building and securing a strong alliance with the Spanish.<sup>196</sup> Southeastern Indians often used spiritual diplomacy as a means of obtaining power in their alliances with colonial powers, especially Indian groups building alliances with the Spanish.<sup>197</sup> Because conversion of the Indians was a

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<sup>192</sup> Petition of Agustin Guillermo de Fuentes Herrera, April 29, 1734; Parker, "The Second Century of Settlement," 48.

<sup>193</sup> Parker, "The Second Century of Settlement," 48.

<sup>194</sup> Susan Parker, "Nations Oldest City: How Local Villages were Devastated on Nov. 1, 1725," Published, Sunday, November, 2, 2003. Date Accessed: April, 21, 2014.

<sup>195</sup> Denise Bossy, "Spiritual Diplomacy, the Yamasees, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel: Reinterpreting Prince Georges Eighteenth-Century Voyage to England," *Early American Studies, An Interdisciplinary Journal* 12, no. 2, (Spring, 2014), 369.

<sup>196</sup> Denise Bossy, "Spiritual Diplomacy," 383.

<sup>197</sup> Denise Bossy, "Spiritual Diplomacy," 369.

primary concern to the Spanish, undoubtedly Pocotalaca's Yamasees would have used this to their advantage.

Documents indicate the majority of the Yamasee converted to Christianity during Pocotalaca's tenure. In 1717, Rivera noted that over 80 percent of the town's occupants were non-Christians. However, as early as 1718, Pocotalaca's Yamasees started to convert as a list shows the baptism of fourteen children and thirteen adults.<sup>198</sup> By 1726, the town received a "palm-thatched church," which originally served as a *doctrina*, meaning a friar resided there full time.<sup>199</sup> However, following Colonel Palmer's raid on Chiquito in 1728, friars were reluctant to live in Yamasee mission towns for fear of British attacks. Instead, they lived "in the convent of the presidio" and the Indians visited the friars for religious needs.<sup>200</sup> Apparently, this did not remain the case for the duration of the town, because sometime after 1740, Pocotalaca received a school for friars to instruct Yamasee children in catechism.<sup>201</sup>

The Yamasees at Pocotalaca also used their military skills to build and maintain a strong alliance with the Spanish. An unmistakable characteristic of the Yamasees noted by Don Pedro Sánchez Griñán in 1756 recalling his tenure in St. Augustine from 1731 to 1742 is that the Yamasees were "brave warriors" and spent a good portion of their time "wag[ing] war."<sup>202</sup> The Yamasees used warring as a way to continue to accumulate power and assert it so that they could maintain their group's cohesion and identity. Just after the Yamasees first left La Florida in the early 1680s and aligned with the British, they gained influence among their new British allies by raiding the mission provinces. By the early 1700s, the Yamasees, serving as the main supplier of

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<sup>198</sup> Hann, *Timucua Indians*, 310, 314.

<sup>199</sup> Hann, *Timucua Indians*, 310, 314; Bullones to the King, October 5, 1728, in Hann, *Missions to the Calusa*, 379; Though the name Pocotalaca does not appear on Benavides's 1726 list, two Yamasee villages, called San Antonio with palm-thatched churches are noted. It is probable one represents San Antonio de Pocotalaca. Bullones also reported that Pocotalaca had a church.

<sup>200</sup> Bullones to the King, October 5, 1728, in Hann, *Missions to the Calusa*, 379

<sup>201</sup> Jane Landers, *Black Society in Spanish Florida* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 49.

<sup>202</sup> Scardaville and Belmonte, *Griñán Report*, 11.

Indian slaves for the British, grew to one of the most powerful and feared Indian groups in the Southeast. Following their return to St. Augustine and realignment with the Spanish, the Yamasees having first-hand knowledge of the South Carolina landscape, continued their roles as warriors and were a major asset to Spanish forces. Griñán noted there were “50 to 60” Indians from the local mission villages who helped to secure the defenses of the town and “serve on frequent expeditions” accompanying Spanish soldiers.<sup>203</sup> In 1727, the Spanish, taking advantage of the available and willing military power, offered the Yamasees and their Lower Creek allies “bounties for English scalps and black slaves.”<sup>204</sup> Together they raided Carolina plantations and either “killed or captured at least twenty” white colonists, stole their goods, “captured or liberated” over twenty African slaves, and torched plantations.<sup>205</sup> Surely, these raids included the warriors from Pocotalaca, as there were twenty-three warriors listed by Arredondo as capable of bearing arms for the town.<sup>206</sup>

Some of Pocotalaca’s Yamasees even held significant positions directly assisting Governor Montiano as runners and spies during British attacks and encroachment on La Florida, which placed an even greater importance on the town. Montiano recognized one of Pocotalaca’s Lower Creek Indians named Juan Ignacio de los Reyes for his military skills and dedication.<sup>207</sup> From 1739 to 1740, during English General Oglethorpe’s preparation and failed siege on St. Augustine, Juan Ignacio took the position as a spy and a runner responsible for delivering information for the Spanish. Governor Montiano was pleased with Ignacio’s skills and often sent him on “important mission[s]” to reconnoiter areas in Spanish Florida overtaken by British

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<sup>203</sup> Scardaville and Belmonte, *The Griñán Report*, 9.

<sup>204</sup> Oatis, *A Colonial Complex*, 277.

<sup>205</sup> Covington, “The Yamasee Indians in Florida, 122; Oatis, *A Colonial Complex*, 277.

<sup>206</sup> Antonio de Arredondo Pueblos Capases de Tomar Armas, November 27, 1736, Archivo General de Indios, 87-1-1, Stetson Collection, St. Augustine Historical Society, St. Augustine, Florida.

<sup>207</sup> Jane Landers, “An Eighteenth-Century Community in Exile: The *Floridanos* in Cuba,” *New West Indian Guide*, 70, no.1/2 (1996), 44.



forces like Fort Pupo on the St. John's River and gather intelligence on Spain's enemies.<sup>208</sup> In addition, Ignacio spied on the British during their invasion of Fort Picolata also on the St. John's River where he "observe[ed] the movements of the enemy" and provided important information to Montiano.<sup>209</sup> The governor was so pleased with Ignacio's assistance and allegiance that he even wrote his superiors stating that Ignacio was skilled at using his "native wit" to gather information pertaining to the British's numbers, whereabouts, and plans.<sup>210</sup>

Interestingly, Juan Ignacio was not the only inhabitant of Pocotalaca to assist Montiano against Oglethorpe's invasion in exchange for recognition. Chislala, listed as thirty years old on the 1736 list of Yamasee warriors, was "an Indian of bravery and prize" as Montiano described.<sup>211</sup> In 1739, following the dispatch of Ignacio by Montiano to Fort Picolata, Montiano also relied on Chislala along with "eight Indians of his choice" to go to Picolata and capture a "hostile Indian or Englishman prisoner alive" to be brought back to Montiano for interrogation.<sup>212</sup> Though by the time Chislala arrived in the area the camps were deserted, Montiano wrote that by using his skills to read the "signs left behind" by the enemy forces, Chislala provided Montiano with the number of British and their Indians forces.<sup>213</sup>

Considering Montiano's admiration of Ignacio and Chislala's assistance during Oglethorpe's siege, it is clear their actions played crucial roles in the helping Spanish withstand British encroachment. Although in January of 1740, Oglethorpe and his Indian allies seized and

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<sup>208</sup> Manuel de Montiano, "Letters of Montiano, Siege of St. Augustine," Collections of the Georgia Historical Society, translated by Ce. D.W.W. (Savannah: Georgia Historical Society, 1909), 42.

<sup>209</sup> Montiano's Letters, 34.

<sup>210</sup> Montiano's Letters, 25.

<sup>211</sup> John Hann, "Demise of the Poyjoy and Bomto" *Florida Historical Quarterly* 74 (2) (Fall, 1995):193. John Hann suggests that Chislala is listed as Chislada on the 1736 list of men for Pocotalaca.

<sup>212</sup> Montiano's Letters, 34.

<sup>213</sup> Montiano's Letters, 34-35.

destroyed Pupo and Picolata, their victory was short lived because four months later, the Spanish took back both forts.<sup>214</sup>

Because the Yamasee were able to build and secure power using their Indian and Spanish alliances, they were able to maintain space near the city where they could also remain a group and continue many of their lifeways. After arriving from South Carolina, the ethnic composition of the town was predominately Yamasee. According to Rivera, the village was of the “Yamasee Nation and tongue” and totaled over ninety Yamasees, which is similar in size to average size of Yamasee pre-war towns in South Carolina.<sup>215</sup> Evident in Rivera’s census and noted by historian Steven Oatis, the Yamasees who came to St. Augustine after the war mainly settled with other Yamasees. Furthermore, Oatis suggests many settled with Yamasees from their old towns, which suggests those living at Pocotalaca would have been some of the men, women, and children who occupied Pocotaligo in South Carolina.<sup>216</sup> Other census and petitions that span Pocotalaca’s tenure reveal the town continued to remain primarily Yamasee, which suggests that they actively engaged in remaining as a group.<sup>217</sup>

Upholding a Yamasee identity at Pocotalaca also applied to the Yamasees’ social interactions with other Indian groups in St. Augustine. Remaining the longest occupied Yamasee town in St. Augustine, Pocotalaca Yamasees’ did not choose to aggregate with other Indians until after 1752 when only six Indian towns remained. Because of the effects of British and Indian attacks on the city and epidemics, Indian populations dwindled and many of the Indians towns aggregated for safety. Although other Indians such as the Lower Creek, Guale, and Costa

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<sup>214</sup> Jane Landers, “Fort San Francisco de Pupo (Florida),” in *Colonial Wars of North America, 1512-1763: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Allan Gallay (New York: Garland, 1996), 663.

<sup>215</sup> Hann, “Fallout,” 186. Alexander Sweeney, “Cultural Continuity and Change: Archaeological Research at Yamasee Primary Towns in South Carolina” (paper presented at Flagler College, The Yamasee Indians: From Florida to South Carolina, St. Augustine, Fl., April 17, 2015).

<sup>216</sup> Oatis, *A Colonial Complex*, 180.

<sup>217</sup> Bullones to the King, October 5, 1728, in Hann, *Missions to the Calusa*, 378; Hann, *Timucua Indians*, 311-323.

occasionally lived at Pocotalaca, these groups made up only a small fraction of the inhabitants.<sup>218</sup> More than three decades after the reestablishment of the town, Pocotalaca remained predominately Yamasee. Of forty-one inhabitants in 1752, thirty-three were Yamasees and the remainder was Costa.<sup>219</sup> When Pocotalaca's inhabitants moved to Nombre de Dios in 1759, they totaled only twenty-three. Despite their small number, the Spanish still identified them as Yamasees.<sup>220</sup>

The power and place Pocotalaca's Yamasees secured for themselves in St. Augustine allowed them to remain a cultural group. In addition, it also appears they were maintaining some of their lifeways similar to those practiced in South Carolina. Former St. Augustine resident Don Pedro Sanchez Griñán's memoir of his time in the city from the 1730s to the early 1740s describes some of the Yamasees' daily activities and reveals they engaged in hunting, small-scale farming, and colonial trade.

According to Griñán, the Yamasees engaged more in hunting for wild game rather than farming. He wrote that the Yamasees had fields for planting, yet they preferred their traditional diet of wild game and cultivated "only a small harvest."<sup>221</sup> This is consistent with the Yamasees' dietary choices while in South Carolina. Archaeological evidence recovered from the Yamasee town of Chechessee reveals that, although species such as pig, cow, and chicken were present, the Yamasees relied more heavily on deer, bear, raccoon, squirrel, fish, and shellfish for their main sources of protein.<sup>222</sup> Griñán also noted that the Yamasees "limited [their] efforts at farming," which also appears to be consistent with earlier Yamasee traits as they did not practice

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<sup>218</sup> Hann, "Fallout," 186; John Hann, *Indians of Central and South Florida 513-1763* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003), 103.

<sup>219</sup> The Gelabert Report, Father Gelabert, General Mission List 1752, Archivo General de Indias, 87-1-14, (Copy available at the St. Augustine Historical Society, St. Augustine, Florida); Hann, *Indians of Central and South Florida*, 103.

<sup>220</sup> Hann, *Timucuan Indians*, 323.

<sup>221</sup> Scardaville and Belmonte, "The Griñán Report" 11.

<sup>222</sup> Green, DePratter, and Southerlin, "Yamasee in South Carolina," 19-20.

intense farming while in South Carolina.<sup>223</sup> Although plant species such as maize, chokeberry, sour cherry, pepperweed, and knotweed, of which many contributed to the core of the Yamasees' diet, the cultivation of plants was small scale.<sup>224</sup> It is quite possible that the Yamasees were growing even less food at Pocotalaca. Documents reveal that areas of St. Augustine were not good for cultivation, including Pocotalaca's location near the city gates. According to Governor Montiano, when the Yamasees relocated back to the Las Rosas area for a brief time in 1738, one of the main reasons was because the area "was more suitable for growing food."<sup>225</sup>

While in South Carolina, the Yamasees became well versed in colonial trade from over three decades of trading among the British while in South Carolina as suppliers of deerskins and Indian slaves. The Yamasees appear to have retained their astute trading skills following their relocation to St. Augustine. Griñán wrote that the Yamasee "earn[ed]" from their hunts and crops, which suggests the Yamasees at Pocotalaca engaged in trade with the Spanish and marketed their goods in the city.<sup>226</sup> In the early 1700s, British and Indian raids forced the Spanish and their Indian allies from the lush landscape of interior Florida to St. Augustine. As a result, the Spanish abandoned their cattle ranches and other resources they relied on for subsistence. Because of British and Indian raids on St. Augustine, it was risky for colonists and Indians to venture out from under the protection of the Castillo guns to hunt and gather food.<sup>227</sup> This made domestic and wild protein sources costly commodities in the city. Because the procurement and maintenance of "wild terrestrial game" was expensive, colonists considered animals such as deer

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<sup>223</sup> Scardaville and Belmonte, "The Griñán Report" 11.

<sup>224</sup> Green, DePratter, and Southerlin, "Yamasee in South Carolina," 19-20. Botanical remains are based on the excavation of Chechessee in South Carolina.

<sup>225</sup> Montiano's Letters, 33.

<sup>226</sup> Scardaville and Belmonte, "The Griñán Report," 11.

<sup>227</sup> Deagan, *Spanish St. Augustine*, 26.

and cattle “prestigious foods.”<sup>228</sup> Although the Yamasees reportedly also sold their crops, Griñán notes they were more inclined to hunt.<sup>229</sup> Considering the value of wild game in the city, it might have been lucrative for the Yamasees to invest more time in hunting than growing plants.

Because of the influence the Yamasees at Pocotalaca managed to harness from their relations with the Spanish, they were able to manage their own space on the fringes of the Spanish colony where they could remain Yamasee and maintain some of their lifeways comparable to those practiced in South Carolina. Still, despite these successes, the Yamasees at Pocotalaca faced many stresses relating to attacks, epidemics, and living in the multiethnic atmosphere of St. Augustine. According to Griñán, the Yamasees were “inclined to inebriety, consuming in this vice whatever they earn from their hunting and even from the fruits of their sowing,” suggesting the Yamasees might have been relieving stress in the form of alcohol consumption.<sup>230</sup> While in South Carolina, the Yamasees earned a reputation for the fondness of alcohol.<sup>231</sup> It is possible they continued to consume rum while in St. Augustine. However, it is important to consider Griñán’s description as a Eurocentric projection of Indian behavior in the city.

Whether or not Pocotalaca’s Yamasees actually consumed large amounts of alcohol is unclear. What is clear is the steady decline in the town’s population. As with other eighteenth-century Yamasee communities in St. Augustine, such as La Punta, the people of Pocotalaca suffered from outside attacks, epidemics, and Yamasee flight.<sup>232</sup> Furthermore, many of the Yamasees and their Indian allies did not come to La Florida after the war at all. Although many

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<sup>228</sup> Elizabeth J Reitz and Stephen L. Cumbaa, “Diet and Foodways of Eighteenth-Century Spanish St. Augustine,” in *Spanish St. Augustine: The Archaeology of a Creole Community*, ed. Kathleen Deagan (New York: Academic Press Inc., 1983), 159.

<sup>229</sup> Scardaville and Belmonte, “The Griñán Report,” 11.

<sup>230</sup> Scardaville and Belmonte, “The Griñán Report,” 11.

<sup>231</sup> Oatis, *A Colonial Complex*, 115.

<sup>232</sup> Deagan, ed. *Spanish St. Augustine*, 32.

of the bonds between the groups remained strong, most did not want to live that close to the Spanish. Very small numbers of Lower Creeks came to St. Augustine to “ratify the friendship they had promised” with the Spanish, while others, such as the Chickasaws and Talapuses, did not.<sup>233</sup> Unlike their tenure in South Carolina where large numbers of Lower Creeks, Guale, and other Indian allies often relocated to be near their Yamasee counterparts, this did not occur in St. Augustine, at least not to the extent that it reflected a significant rise in the Yamasees’ numbers at Pocotalaca. Although the majority of Lower Creek towns remained allies with the Yamasees, occasionally Lower Creek chiefs, perhaps those not strongly connected to the Yamasees by kinship, sided with the British and attacked Yamasee towns.<sup>234</sup> Furthermore, Indian women marrying Spanish soldiers also effected the populations of Yamasee, as well as other Indian groups in St. Augustine. Following Moore’s raids on the missions in 1702 and 1704, Spain sent soldiers to fortify St. Augustine, which resulted in the city’s residents being predominantly male. In turn, soldiers often married Indian women.<sup>235</sup> By residing in St. Augustine, it appears that the Yamasees at Pocotalaca isolated themselves.

This is evident when considering the number of Yamasees at Pocotalaca beginning with the arrival of just over ninety in 1717, which represents the highest number of Yamasees (Table 1) living in the town at once. From 1728 onward, Pocotalaca’s population slowly declined. In 1737, the town numbered sixty-seven, which included twenty-three men and forty-four women and children.<sup>236</sup> The last census available for Pocotalaca taken in 1752 prior to its aggregation

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<sup>233</sup> Scardaville and Belmonte, *The Griñán Report*, 15.

<sup>234</sup> Hahn, “The Long Yamasee War.”

<sup>235</sup> Deagan, *Spanish St. Augustine*, 31.

<sup>236</sup> Worth, *The Timucuan Chiefdoms of Spanish Florida* Vol. 2, 153.

with St. Augustine’s remaining mission towns listed thirty-three Yamasee Indians including Pocotalaca’s *Cacique* Juan Sanchez.<sup>237</sup>

**Table 1. Pocotalaca’s population 1717 to 1752**

<u>Source/Date</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Children</u>	<u>Total</u>
Joseph Primo de Rivera	1717	38	31	25	96
Pablo Castillo	1728	22	19	14	55
Antonio de Arredondo	1737	23	44*		67
Antonio de Benevides	1738				62
Manuel de Montiano	1738	14	20	13	47
Güemes y Horcasitas	1739				54
Father Gelabert	1752	8	13	12	33

\*Includes women and children

Sources: Worth, *Timucuan Chiefdoms*, Vol: 2, 150- 155; The Gelabert Report, 1752.

Regardless of Pocotalaca’s decline in numbers, the town’s Yamasees remained prominent and upheld their autonomy until the 1750s. By this time, the town was so small in number that in order to obtain protection, they aggregated with other Indians. Even then, Pocotalaca’s Yamasees retained power. The last documented *cacique* for Pocotalaca was Yamasee Juan Sánchez who obtained the role as chief at Nombre de Dios in 1759 after the final aggregation of the six mission towns. Revealing the significance the Spanish placed on Pocotalaca’s Yamasees,

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<sup>237</sup> The Gelabert Report, Father Gelabert, General Mission List 1752.

Sanchez governed not only Pocotalaca's Yamasees, but also small numbers of other Indian groups until the Spanish ceded La Florida to the British in 1763.<sup>238</sup>

### *Conclusion*

Although consequences of the war, such as death, enslavement, and dispersion of the Yamasees resulted in the weakening of the confederacy, when Pocotalaca's Yamasees returned to St. Augustine after the war, they were still an influential group especially in the eyes of the Spanish. Because of their political influence, especially within their network of Indian alliances, their military skills, and perhaps their choices to convert to Catholicism, they managed to build and maintain a strong bond with the Spanish. In turn, the Yamasees secured power and place in St. Augustine that allowed them to remain a group.

In many ways and often implicitly, documents describing Yamasees at Pocotalaca reveal their determination to remain a powerful Yamasee group. Because the Yamasees' formed and lived in close proximity to colonial powers, it is important to understand their identity as an outcome of two very different colliding worlds, one Indian and one colonial. Just as the Yamasees remained fluid in their ethnic make-up, they also allowed for flexibility in their lifeways. As a result, characteristics of the Yamasees' practices were indigenous in origin and others non-indigenous. The Yamasees retained aspects of their traditional lifeways, while incorporating outside influences acquired from the British and Spanish in order to survive in a colonial world. The next chapter focuses on the archaeology of a Yamasee household associated with the town of Pocotalaca. As a case study, it examines not only Yamasee life at Pocotalaca

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<sup>238</sup> Worth, *The Timucuan Chiefdoms of Spanish Florida* Vol. 2, 155.



through the archaeological record, but it also considers what the material reveals about the Yamasees who occupied the town.

CHAPTER 3  
ARCHAEOLOGY OF A POCOTALACA HOUSEHOLD: CONTINUITY IN LIFEWAYS  
AND MATERIALS

The previous chapter focused on the influence of the Yamasees at Pocotalaca. Despite facing constant threats of British and Indian attacks on their town, epidemics, and having to live in close proximity to the Spanish and other Indian groups, such as the Mocama, Guale, and Apalachee, the Yamasees did not simply blend into the Spanish and Indian fabric of St. Augustine. Instead, they remained an autonomous and influential group. This chapter focuses on what the archaeology of a Pocotalaca household reveals about the Yamasees who occupied it. As documents have shown, despite the breakdown of the Yamasee confederacy, Pocotalaca's Yamasees were determined to remain living as a powerful and self-governing group in St. Augustine. In addition, archaeological materials recovered from a household associated with Pocotalaca suggest the Yamasees there continued many of their traditional lifeways and material choices. Rather than examining solely the dynamics of cultural change among the Yamasees occupying the site, this study considers the maintenance of traditions and materials among the household's occupants.

As discussed in the previous chapter, some of Pocotalaca's inhabitants were beneficial to the Spanish colony. Some served as dignitaries between Indian and colonial spheres, while others served important roles working alongside the Spanish in the fight for La Florida. For this

reason, rather than following Spanish direction, the Yamasees at Pocotalaca were able to maintain their own space on the fringes of the city and uphold a significant level of autonomy. Having the ability to carve out their own space politically also provided the inhabitants the opportunity to persist mostly on their own terms, which is apparent in the continuity of some of the inhabitants' lifeways.

Because St. Augustine was home to various Indian groups whose material assemblages were similar to that of the Yamasees', especially the Guales', distinguishing Yamasee assemblages from those of other contemporaneous groups living in St. Augustine has been difficult. Therefore, the use of documents is necessary to establish that Pocotalaca was indeed a Yamasee town. Documentary evidence, presented in the two previous chapters in the form of census, letters, petitions, and reports, reveals Pocotalaca was indeed a Yamasee village inhabited primarily by Yamasee Indians. For this reason, it is likely that Yamasees occupied the household described in this chapter and not by other Indian groups who occasionally lived in the town.

As a benchmark for interpreting the archaeological data from the Pocotalaca household, this study uses the archaeology of Mississippian pre-Yamasee sites in the Oconee River valley of Georgia, pre-war Yamasee towns in South Carolina, and the post-war town of Nuestra del Rosario de la Punta in St. Augustine. I argue that despite living near Spanish and other Indian influences in an unstable eighteenth-century colonial landscape, the position that Pocotalaca's Yamasees created for themselves allowed them to retain many of their lifeways, most notably in some of their material choices, such as ceramics and trade goods, and traditional practices relating to their foodways and structural design.

This chapter is divided into four parts. The first discusses the location of Pocotalaca and previous archaeological investigations of the town, and it provides information pertaining to the

household (Duero site) excavation, including field and laboratory methods. The second part focuses on the cultural material and faunal and botanical remains recovered from the household. It explores how some aspects of the Yamasees' material assemblage and subsistence practices reflect a traditional persistence when compared to the archaeology of pre-war towns in South Carolina.

Part three pieces together archaeological features, both structural and non-structural, to provide the layout, or a picture of the Pocotalaca household. Using documents and archaeological comparisons to some of the Yamasees' proto-, pre- and post-war towns, and other Muscogee-Creek towns, it explores what the structural remains and activity areas (non-structural features) reveal about the use of indigenous practices among the household's inhabitants in view of activities and structural design. Finally, part four combines all of the archaeological and documentary evidence. It offers a synthesis of what Yamasee life may have been like for those occupying the town.

#### Part 1: Archaeology at Pocotalaca

In 1737, Spanish military engineer Antonio de Arredondo drew a map of St. Augustine (Figure 2). With the *Castillo de San Marcos* as the focal point, Arredondo included many of the surrounding Indian towns, for instance, the Guale settlement of Tolomato and the Yamasee towns of La Punta and Pocotalaca. On Arredondo's map, Pocotalaca is approximately one and a half miles southwest of the *Castillo*, where the town relocated in 1725 following the British attack on Las Rosas (see chapter 2). According to the map, the town's inhabitants occupied around twenty dispersed households covering approximately twenty-five acres. Interestingly, Arredondo's depiction corresponds with the archaeological record of dispersed Yamasee towns in South Carolina. For instance, excavations at Altamaha revealed the Yamasees lived in

scattered households, also referred to as farmsteads, spaced approximately 60-100 meters apart.<sup>239</sup> Other documents, such as Griñán's, describe the Yamasees' structures and living patterns as "small palm houses, much distant from one another."<sup>240</sup> Although he does not mention the layout of the households at Pocotalaca, in his 1728 report, Fray Joseph Bullones similarly notes the Yamasees' structures as "huts."<sup>241</sup>

Arredondo's map also depicts the town as having a small fort or garrison and perhaps a church represented by a rectangle. The presence of a small military outpost and church also appear in other documents describing the town. For example, in a 1736 list of soldiers posted around St. Augustine, Arredondo notes one infantry and an artillery gunner at Pocotalaca.<sup>242</sup> As for the church, Bullones' also mentions in his report that Pocotalaca had a church that was made of straw, which was likely pole and frame with a thatched roof. According to Bullones, following Palmer's 1728 raid on St. Augustine, Pocotalaca's church was the only one left standing.<sup>243</sup>

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<sup>239</sup> Sweeney, "Cultural Continuity and Change."

<sup>240</sup> Scardaville and Belmonte, "The Griñán Report, 11.

<sup>241</sup> Bullones to the King, October 5, 1728, in Hann, *Missions to the Calusa*, 379.

<sup>242</sup> Arredondo Pueblos Capases de Tomar Armas, November 27, 1736.

<sup>243</sup> Bullones to the King, October 5, 1728, in Hann, *Missions to the Calusa*, 379.

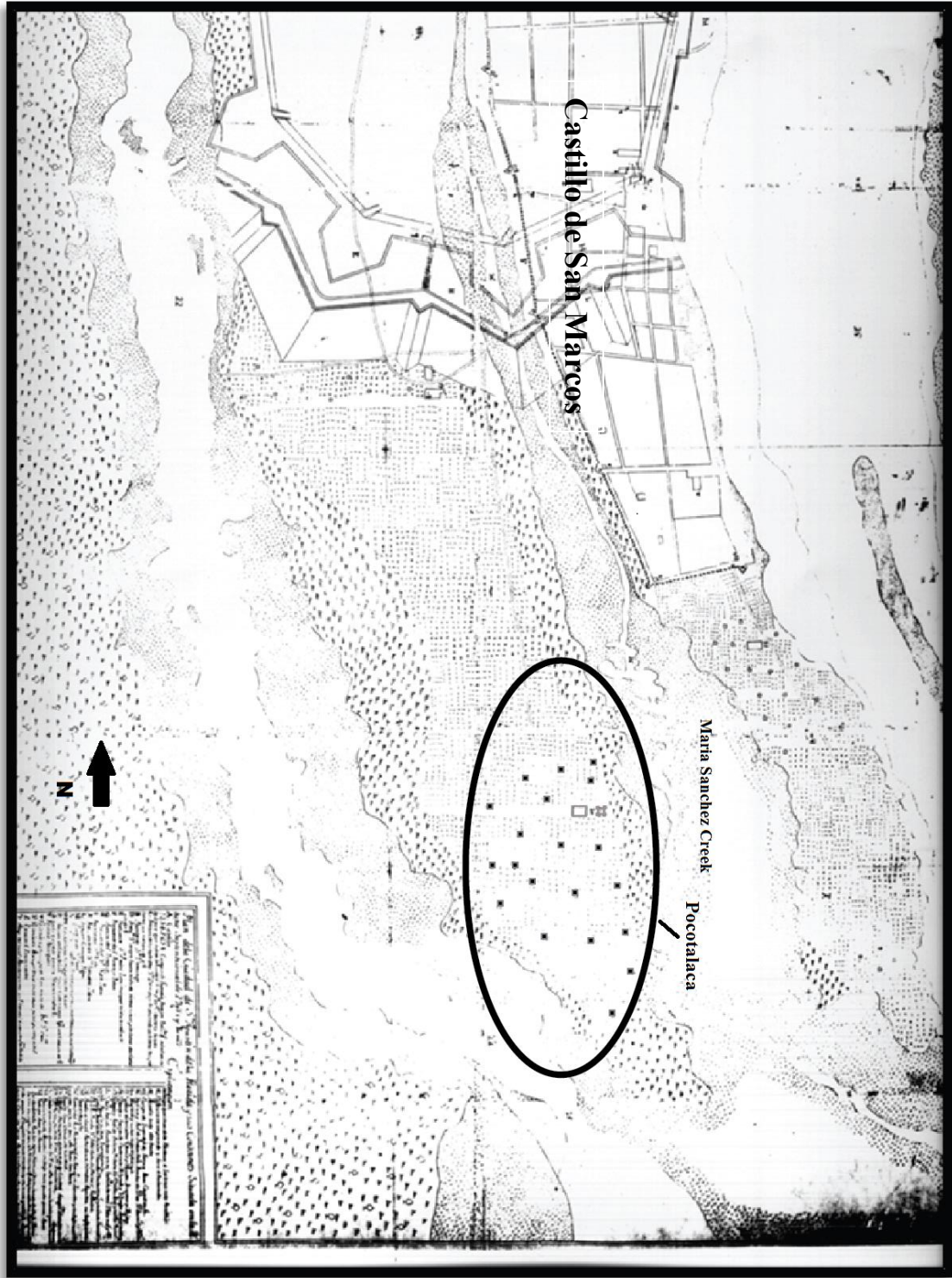


Figure 2. 1737 Antonio de Arredondo map of St. Augustine. *Source:* Original map located at the St. Augustine Historical Society.

Previous archaeological research at Pocotalaca is limited to Gifford Waters' analysis of ceramics from a small number of post holes and three 1 x 1 meter tests pits excavated within a small section of Pocotalaca by St. Augustine's city archaeologist Carl Halbirt in 2001. Located on Oneida Street, this town location is referred to as the Oneida site (Figure 3).



Figure 3. Duero and Oneida sites *Source:* Base map by MisCha Johns, City of St. Augustine Assistant Archaeologist.

This study builds from Waters' work at the Oneida site by detailing the results of archaeological testing in another area of Pocotalaca. The Duero site, located approximately three tenths of a mile south of the Oneida site (Figure 3), is a Yamasee household consisting of Indian and European artifacts, discarded shell and animal bone refuse, and the partial outline of a structure. The archaeological evidence from these two sites combined with archival data allows us to present a more detailed picture of daily life at Pocotalaca.

Using ceramic assemblages from various post-war Indian towns in the city, Waters suggests that plain San Marcos pottery from the Oneida and La Punta sites may help to distinguish Yamasee pottery assemblages.<sup>244</sup> He concludes that of other Indian groups living in St. Augustine, such as Timucua or Apalachee, the Yamasees and Guales were “retain[ing] their traditional identities in the new multiethnic situations.”<sup>245</sup> Individual analysis of San Marcos pottery surfaces from the Oneida site reveal a higher frequency of plain wares, which Waters points out might be the result of Yamasee preference. San Marcos data collected from seventeenth century Guales sites also suggests this was the case. Because surfaces reveal a higher rate of stamped designs, Waters concludes that the Guales were more likely inclined to produce stamped designs.<sup>246</sup> He also suggests that check stamped surfaces on San Marcos could also be a marker of a Yamasee pottery tradition. Correlating its small appearance at Guale sites and its presence at Altamaha in South Carolina and La Punta, he suggests that the Yamasees might have been more inclined to decorate their vessels with check stamping than other paddle designs. According to Waters, the Yamasees at Pocotalaca and La Punta appear to have remained a stable group regardless of the hardships they faced living in colonial St. Augustine, which is

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<sup>244</sup> Waters, “Maintenance and Change,” 158-160.

<sup>245</sup> Waters, “Maintenance and Change,” 174.

<sup>246</sup> Waters, “Maintenance and Change,” 121.



apparent in their continuation to decorate their San Marcos pottery as they had in South Carolina.<sup>247</sup>

Excavations at the Duero site took place in 2013 under the auspices of the city of St. Augustine's Archaeological Preservation Ordinance (APO) headed by Carl Halbirt. The site consisted of a modern 32-x-18 meter residential lot immediately west of Maria Sanchez Creek, which would have been in the southeast area of the town (Figure 2).

As with most archaeological sites in historic St. Augustine, the Duero site is multi-component ranging from the pre-mission period to the present. Following Pocotalaca's occupation, historic maps and city records reveal that during the early nineteenth-century the area consisted of plantation and farmland containing structures, citrus groves, and cornfields. After the Civil War, it was part of the area identified as Lincolnville, a freed slave community, and finally it became an urban area similar to what it is today.<sup>248</sup>

### *Methods*

Investigations began with a post-hole survey of the residential lot at 2.5-meter intervals that delineated a concentration of eighteenth-century material and resulted in the excavation of eight units of varying size.<sup>249</sup> Excavated in 10 cm level intervals, six of the units extended to the base of level three and two extended into level four before reaching culturally sterile soil.<sup>250</sup>

Analysis of the artifacts from the site was performed by the author at the University of North Florida (UNF) Archaeology Lab. Faunal remains from the site were analyzed by the author and Vicki Rolland (UNF). Weights and counts were recorded for all artifacts and faunal bones. Unidentifiable corroded iron and other metal was weighed and recorded. Soil samples

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<sup>247</sup> Waters, "Maintenance and Change," 159-161, 174.

<sup>248</sup> Halbirt, "A Synopsis of 76 Duero Street" (unpublished report, 2014), 2.

<sup>249</sup> Sizes of units in meters (oriented East-West and North-South) consisted of (2) 3-x-1, (2) 2-x-2, (1) 1-x-3, (1) 1-x-2.5, and (2) 2.5-x-1.

<sup>250</sup> Halbirt, "A Synopsis of 76 Duero Street," 1.

underwent flotation and were then processed using 1/16 inch screen. The collected data were encoded into excel. All materials were bagged and given field specimen numbers in accordance with St. Augustine's archaeology lab.

### *Results*

Archaeological investigations at the Duero site resulted in the excavation of 11 subsurface features, eight units, and the recovery of 304 artifacts relating to the mission town of Pocotalaca. Level one in all eight units was disturbed and contained mostly post-1760 artifacts omitted from this study (e.g., pearlware, creamware, whitewares, modern glass, metal, and building debris). However, some artifacts associated with Pocotalaca's period came from the first level and included small amounts of European and British wares and Indian pottery sherds, many less than 1 cm in size. Diminutive sherds (< 1cm) were most frequent in the first level, suggesting the area likely sustained plowing during the plantation period and other disturbances later on. Level two was lightly disturbed (units 1, 4, 5, 6 and 7) and contained small amounts of diminutive sherds, whiteware, creamware, porcelain, ironstone, glass, and corroded and modern metal fragments. Overall, the main concentration of the mission period artifacts came from levels two and three, approximately 10 to 30 cm below datum, which appear to be consistent with the period of Pocotalaca.<sup>251</sup>

### Part 2: Cultural Materials and Subsistence

Comparing the material assemblages of pre-and post-war Yamasee towns can offer insight to continuity and change in Yamasee choices throughout time. For the inhabitants of the Duero site household, remaining Yamasee was not solely in name, but apparent in what they made, used, acquired, and consumed.

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<sup>251</sup> Diminutive sherds from the Duero site (<1cm) were counted and weighed. Halbirt, "A Synopsis of 76 Duero Street," 3.

## *Pottery and Artifacts*

San Marcos pottery is characteristic of Yamasee archaeological assemblages and is the most abundant ware recovered from Yamasee sites in South Carolina and Florida.<sup>252</sup> San Marcos and Altamaha pottery represent the same series and from about the first quarter of the 1600s to 1763, it was manufactured by Yamasee, Guale, and Mocama (Timucua) Indians. Referred to as San Marcos in Florida and Altamaha in South Carolina, currently attributes establishing a significant difference between the two series is inconclusive.<sup>253</sup> Generally tempered with coarse grit, sand and grit, and less often with shell, and/or crushed limestone, San Marcos surfaces can be plain, punctuated, or incised. However, most commonly, exterior surfaces display a paddle stamped surface design that usually falls into one of three sub-categories: simple (and cross simple), checked, and complicated stamped.<sup>254</sup> Indian pottery dominated the Duero site assemblage (91.3%) and included Orange, St. Johns, sand tempered, grit tempered, colonoware, and San Marcos; of these, San Marcos totaled 89.0 percent (Table 7).

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<sup>252</sup> Sweeney, "Investigating Yamasee Identity," 118; Alex Y. Sweeney and Eric C. Poplin. "Perspectives on Yamasee Life: Excavations at Altamaha Town" ( Paper presented at the Society of Early Americanists Biennial Conference, 2013).8; White, "Living on the Periphery," 73; Green, *The Search for Altamaha*, 94; Southerlin, et al., *The Return of the Yamasee*, 168. At the Chechese site, Altamaha/San Marcos made up nearly 50% of the total Aboriginal pottery.

<sup>253</sup> Keith Ashley, *Straddling the Florida-Georgia State Line: Ceramic Chronology of the St. Marys Region (A.D. 1400-1700)* in *From Santa Elena to St. Augustine: Indigenous Ceramic Variability (A.D. 1400-1700)*, eds. Kathleen Deagan and David Hurst Thomas, *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* 90 (Washington D.C. American Museum of Natural History, 2009),137; Rebecca Saunders, *Stability and Change in Guale Indian Pottery A.D. 1300-1702 (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2000)*, 152-153.

<sup>254</sup> Hale Smith, "Two Historical Periods in Florida," *American Antiquity* 13, no. 4 (1948):314-315; John Solomon Otto and Russell Lamar Lewis Jr., "A Formal and Functional Analysis of San Marcos Pottery from Site Sa-lb-23, St. Augustine," *Florida Department of State Bureau of Historic Sites and Properties Bulletin* 4 (1974); 95.

**Table 2. Duero site San Marcos sherd surfaces by count and percent**

<u>Surface</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>% of count</u>
Check Stamped	16	6.8
Complicated Line Block	26	11.2
Complicated Curvilinear	11	4.7
Complicated Rectangular	8	3.4
Cross Simple Stamped	42	17.9
Simple Stamped	36	15.4
Plain	19	8.1
Unidentified	76	32.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>234</b>	<b>100</b>

**Table 3. Duero site San Marcos sherd surfaces by weight and percent**

<u>Surface</u>	<u>w(g)</u>	<u>% of weight</u>
Check Stamped	60.6	6.2
Complicated Line Block	135.7	14.0
Complicated Curvilinear	86.9	8.9
Complicated Rectangular	40.4	4.2
Cross Simple Stamped	190.5	19.6
Simple Stamped	137.9	14.2
Plain	77.2	8.0
Unidentified	242	24.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>971.2</b>	<b>100</b>

Over half of the San Marcos pottery surfaces recovered from the Duero site exhibited stamping, and only a small number (n= 19) had plain surfaces with the most common (n=42) being cross simple stamped (Tables 2 and 3). Differing from the Duero site, Waters' analysis of San Marcos pottery surfaces from the Oneida site indicate that plain sherds (n=94) represented the largest surface finish (Table 4). Waters' relates the high frequency of plain sherds to preference or tradition among Yamasees. However, given that Guales periodically lived at Pocotalaca and might have been more inclined to use stamping on their San Marcos, he does not

rule out that stress during this period may have caused the Guales to manufacture more plain surfaces.<sup>255</sup> The fresh San Marcos surface data from the Duero site suggests that the occupants applied stamped designs to the majority of their San Marcos pottery (88%). Furthermore, although only (n=2) check stamped sherds were recovered from the Oneida site, check stamped surfaces at the Duero site (n=16) appear frequently (Tables 2 and 3).<sup>256</sup>

**Table 4. Duero and Oneida site stamped and plain San Marcos surfaces\***

<u>Surface</u>	<u>Duero</u>		<u>Oneida</u>	
	#	% of count	#	% of count
Stamped	139	88.0	42	30.9
Plain	19	12.0	94	69.1
<b>Total</b>	158	100	136	100

\*Table does not include UID stamped San Marcos surfaces. Check stamped included in stamped category.

Source: Oneida San Marcos data are adapted from Waters, “Maintenance and Change,” 151.

Attempts to isolate attributes of San Marcos pottery that distinguish Yamasee and Guale groups at Pocotalaca has demonstrated mixed results. However, differences in stamped and plain surfaces at the Duero and Oneida sites might suggest preferences or the maintenance of pottery traditions between Yamasee families. Research suggests that pottery surfaces could reflect individual households.<sup>257</sup> Because Pocotalaca consisted of approximately twenty households likely occupied by different families, surfaces could vary by the family who was manufacturing the pottery.

<sup>255</sup> Waters, “Maintenance and Change,” 159-161.

<sup>256</sup> Waters, “Maintenance and Change,” 151.

<sup>257</sup> Eric C. Poplin and Jon Bernard Marcoux, “Altamaha Ceramics in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> Centuries: Comparing Yamasee Indian Occupations in Coastal Georgia and South Carolina” (paper presented at Flagler College, The Yamasee Indians: From Florida to South Carolina, St. Augustine, FL., April 17, 2015).

**Table 5. Comparison of Pocotalaca, La Punta, and Altamaha stamped and plain San Marcos surfaces\***

<u>Surface</u>	<u>Pocotalaca</u> <u>(Duero &amp; Oneida)</u>		<u>La Punta</u>		<u>Altamaha</u>	
	#	% of count	#	% of count	#	% of count
Stamped Surfaces	181	61.6	640	43.2	88	59.1
Plain	113	38.4	840	56.8	61	40.9
<b>Total</b>	294	100	1480	100	149	100

\*Table does not include UID stamped San Marcos surfaces.

Source: Oneida, La Punta, and Altamaha San Marcos data are adapted from Waters, “Maintenance and Change,” 151, 148, 153.

The comparison of the combined San Marcos data from the Duero and Oneida sites to the town sites of Altamaha and La Punta also blur any attempts to delineate a Yamasee preference for a specific surface design. At Pocotalaca (61.6%) and Altamaha (59.1%), stamped surfaces are more frequent, whereas plain surfaces are more common at La Punta (Table 5).<sup>258</sup>

Research has shown that stamped ceramics (mainly San Marcos) appear to be associated more with Guales.<sup>259</sup> This makes an explanation for the higher percentage of stamped designs at Altamaha perplexing, though not unique at pre-war Yamasee towns. Sweeney’s combined analysis of San Marcos from Pocotaligo, Altamaha, and farmsteads at Huspah and Chechessee, reveals stamping was used more frequently.<sup>260</sup> This might suggest that more Guale lived in these particular pre-war towns under the Yamasee name as documented by the British, or that the

<sup>258</sup> Oneida, La Punta, and Altamaha San Marcos data are adapted from Waters, “Maintenance and Change,” 151, 148, 153.

<sup>259</sup> Waters, “Maintenance and Change,” 117, 119, 121.

<sup>260</sup> Sweeney, “Investigating Yamasee Identity,” 131.

Yamasees often used stamped designs to decorate their pottery. Likewise, reasons for the predominance of stamping at Pocotalaca might be the result of larger numbers of Guales living in the town and producing the majority of the pottery. However, this is probably not the case at Pocotalaca. Spanish documents (e.g., census, petitions, and town lists) pertaining to eighteenth-century St. Augustine appear to differentiate Indian groups and reveal that the town was a Yamasee town occupied by only a few Guales.<sup>261</sup> In addition, if check stamped San Marcos is indeed indicative of Yamasee tradition, then its common appearance at the Duero site might suggest the presence of Yamasee potters.

When making comparisons of San Marcos assemblages from contemporaneous and non-contemporaneous Yamasee (and Guale sites) spanning over a 150-year period, differences in surface treatments might relate more to temporal factors. For instance, during the three decades that Pocotalaca was near the *Castillo*, it is impossible to say if the Duero and Oneida sites were precisely contemporaneous, which makes the differences in surface treatments ambiguous. Whether at the town level or on a broader scale, variances could relate to several circumstances resulting in changes throughout time. For instance, internal factors such as women marrying into Yamasee groups and incorporating their pottery traditions, or external factors such as war, relocation, or, other stress might have influenced the need for change in pottery manufacturing techniques.

The recovery of San Marcos rim sherds from the Duero site denotes five vessels. Rim forms with various exterior surfaces including, plain, simple stamped, line block stamped, and unidentifiable, reveal five simple bowls with orifices ranging from 18 to 20 cm in diameter (Table 6).

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<sup>261</sup> It is possible that more Guales inhabited the towns than documents reveal.

**Table 6. San Marcos vessels from the Duero site**

<u>Surface</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>Form</u>	<u>Orifice Size (cm)</u>
Simple Stamped	2	Excurvate	18
Line Block Stamped	1	Simple	18
Plain	1	Simple	18
Unidentified	1	Simple	20
<b>Total</b>	<b>5</b>		

In addition to San Marcos wares, colonoware was part of the Duero site's assemblage. Colonoware was part of the Yamasees' pre-war material assemblages, and its appearance at the site indicates the Yamasees continued to manufacture and use the type. Colonoware, a post-contact pottery, has a red slip applied to the vessel's interior, often the brim of deep plates.<sup>262</sup> The type represents a blended Indian-European ware. Although manufactured by Indian potters using local clays and techniques, certain characteristics of colonoware "clearly speak to a colonial influence" since vessels typically represent European forms (e.g., brimmed bowls, plates, handled mugs).<sup>263</sup>

The appearance of colonoware at La Punta and post-war Yamasee sites in South Carolina, including Chechessee and Altamaha, reveals a consistent presence in Yamasee

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<sup>262</sup> Vicki Rolland and Keith Ashley, "Beneath the Bell: A Study of Mission Period Colonoware from Three Spanish Missions in North East Florida," *The Florida Anthropologist* 53, no.1 (2000):36.

<sup>263</sup> Charles Cobb and Chester DePratter, "Multisited Research on Colonowares and the Paradox of Globalization," *American Anthropologist* 114, no. 3, 453, (2013) accessed December 4, 2015, doi: 10.1111/j.1548-1433.2010.01445.x; Keith Ashley, Vicki Rolland, and Robert Thunen, "Missions San Buenaventura and Santa Cruz de Guadalquini: Retreat from the Georgia Coast," in *Life Among the Tides: Recent Archaeology on the Georgia Bight*, ed. by Victor Thompson and David Hurst Thomas, American Museum of Natural History Anthropological Papers No. 98, 2013, 417.



assemblages.<sup>264</sup> Like other Indian groups living in close proximity to the Spanish during the pre-war period, such as the Guale and Mocama, the Yamasees' introduction to colonoware likely happened during their initial alliance with the Spanish (1660s to 1680s). Interestingly, they continued to manufacture the type even while living outside of Spanish Florida. However, its occurrence at Yamasee pre-war sites in South Carolina and post-war Florida only makes up a small portion of the ceramic assemblages. For instance, at the Duero site, colonoware represents 5.7% of the Indian ceramic assemblage (Table 7)

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<sup>264</sup> Southerlin et al., *Return of the Yamasee*, 121, 170; Sweeney and Poplin, "Perspectives on Yamasee Life," 9; White, "Living on the Periphery," 72-73, 82.

**Table 7. Pocotalaca's household assemblage\***

<u>Ceramic group</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>% of Category</u>	<u>% of Group</u>
<b>Indian ceramics</b>			
San Marcos	234	89.0	81.3
Colonoware	15	5.7	5.2
Other Indian	14	5.3	4.9
<b>Total Indian ceramics</b>	<b>263</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>91.3%</b>
<b>European ceramics</b>			
Majolica	4	16.0	1.4
Spanish Olive Jar	1	4.0	0.3
Coarse Earthenware	4	16.0	1.4
El Morro	11	44.0	3.8
Blue and White Delft	3	12.0	1.0
English Slipware	2	8.0	0.7
<b>Total European Ceramics</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>8.7%</b>
<b>Total Ceramics</b>	<b>288</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b><u>Kitchen group</u></b>			
Ceramics	288	98.6	94.7
Bottle glass	4	1.4	1.3
<b>Category total</b>	<b>292</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>96.0%</b>
<b><u>Arms group</u></b>			
Gunflint	1	25.0	0.3
Lead shot	2	50.0	0.7
Sword hilt	1	25.0	0.3
<b>Category total</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>1.3%</b>
<b><u>Tobacco</u></b>			
Kaolin pipe stem fragments	7	100.0	2.3
<b>Category total</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>2.3%</b>
<b><u>Architectural hardware group</u></b>			
Nails	1	100.0	0.3
<b>Category total</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>0.3%</b>
<b>Total assemblage</b>	<b>304</b>		<b>100%</b>

\*Artifacts from the Duero site are placed in functional groups assigned by Stanley South, which are solely used as a method to organize the data.

Colonoware surfaces consist of plain, both burnished and hard-tooled, and stamped, including simple, cross simple, and complicated. Identified sherds include rims, which denote the presence of four brimmed plates and one detached foot ring; the latter is a characteristic of European bowls and plates (Table 8).<sup>265</sup>

**Table 8. Colonoware surfaces from the Duero site by count and percent**

<u>Surface</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>% of Count</u>
Complicated Stamped	1	7.1
Plain Hard-tooled	3	21.4
Burnished	4	28.6
Cross Simple Stamped	1	7.1
Simple Stamped	1	7.1
Unidentified	4	28.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>100</b>

Just as in their pre-war South Carolina towns, the Yamasees occupying the Duero site also continued to incorporate Spanish and British ceramics into their lifeways. Spanish majolicas, delft, English slipwares, and coarse earthenwares (Table 7) make up 8.7% of the household assemblage. Although the majority of ceramic assemblages recovered from Indian towns in post-war St. Augustine are a mixture of Indian and non-Indian ceramics, the Duero site reflects consistency when compared to the Yamasees' pre-war and post-war assemblages. European and British wares at the site indicate the inhabitants were continuing to acquire and use these types after returning to St. Augustine. The addition of non-Indian wares, originated during the Yamasees' initial alliance with the Spanish and over time became a more profound part of their material make-up while allied with the British. Assemblages from Yamasee towns in South

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<sup>265</sup> Southerlin et al., Return of the Yamasee, 170.

Carolina show that although Indian wares make up majority of recovered ceramics, small amounts of non-Indian types such as majolicas, delft, slipwares, and coarse earthenwares were a facet of Yamasee material assemblages.<sup>266</sup>

At the Duero site, the recovery of Spanish and British wares, including Puebla (n = 1), Aranama (n = 2), and unidentified (n = 1) Spanish majolicas, English slipware (n=2), Blue and White delft (n=3), Spanish olive jar (n = 1), El Morro (n = 11), and unidentifiable coarse earthenwares (n=4) (table 7), were mainly associated with the domestic and trash accumulation areas of the site. Though it is impossible to be certain how the Yamasees were using these ceramics at the site, in European households majolica, delft, and slipware usually served as tablewares, whereas, olive jar, El Morro, and coarse earthenwares typically functioned as utility vessels for “storing, transporting, and cooking.”<sup>267</sup> Considering the contexts of the ceramics, it is probable the wares served similar uses among the Yamasees.

Collectively, Indian and imported ceramics represent 98.6% of the kitchen group (Table 7). The remainder consists of four pieces of light green glass representing no more than one bottle. Glass bottles were usually associated with rum, and, according to Griñán, the Yamasees spent all of their earnings on alcohol.<sup>268</sup> However, since excavations at the site were limited to the east side of the structure and the recovery of glass was such a small amount, it is impossible to conclude how much rum the household’s inhabitants were acquiring or consuming. Much of the Yamasees’ reputation for the fondness of rum stems from their time in South Carolina. Although documents claim the Yamasees were obtaining large amounts of debt “from their traffikin and dealing with the traders for rum,” at Chechessee, the recovery of glass only

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<sup>266</sup> Southerlin et al., *Return of the Yamasee*, 173; Green, *Altamaha*, 98; White, “Living on the Periphery,” 82-83.

<sup>267</sup> Kathleen Deagan, *Artifacts of the Spanish Colonies of Florida and the Caribbean, 1500-1800, Vol. 1: Ceramics, Glassware and Beads* (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1987), 30.

<sup>268</sup> Scardaville and Belmonte, “The Griñán Report,” 11.

represented about four bottles.<sup>269</sup> Furthermore, it is important to note that South Carolina traders often filed claims for rum debts owed by the Yamasees that were pure fabrications.<sup>270</sup>

Also recovered from the Duero site were a small number of artifacts associated with armaments including a gunflint, two lead shot, one buck and one bird, and a sword hilt, (Table 7) which suggests that the Yamasees continued their roles as warriors and hunters after returning to St. Augustine. Similar to the Yamasees at La Punta, the recovery of gunflints and shots, which are required for operating flintlock muskets, suggests that the Yamasees at the Duero site also had arms and likely used them to defend the city during British and Indian attacks and to hunt for wild game.<sup>271</sup> Flintlocks, though regularly used by the English beginning around 1675, became common issue for the Spanish military after 1728.<sup>272</sup> It is unclear where the Yamasees occupying the site were obtaining the armaments. Initially, the Spanish refused to supply their Indian allies with firearms. Though undocumented, sometime after the 1740s (or perhaps earlier), this changed and the Spanish began arming the Indians (most notably to aid in attacks against the British in South Carolina).<sup>273</sup> Alternatively, the Yamasees could have brought the armaments from South Carolina in 1716, since prior to the war, they had easy access to firearms and supplies through the traders.<sup>274</sup>

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<sup>269</sup> Southerlin, et al., 131.

<sup>270</sup> Board of Commissioners Meeting, August 3, 1711, in *Colonial Records of South Carolina: Journals of the Commissioners of the Indian Trade, 1710-1715*, ed. W.L. McDowell (Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department, 1955), 14.

<sup>271</sup> Halbirt, "where the sea breezes constantly blow," 1; Scardaville and Belmonte, "The 1756 Griñán Report," 11; White, "Living on the Periphery," 97.

<sup>272</sup> Ivor Noël Hume, *A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America* (New York: Alfred A. Knoph, Inc, 1969), 213; Kathleen Deagan, *Artifacts of the Spanish Colonies, Vol. 2: Portable, Personal Possessions* (Washington: Smithsonian Press, 2002), 280.

<sup>273</sup> White, "Living on the Periphery," 97; Covington, "Yamasee Indians in Florida," 121.

<sup>274</sup> Southerlin et al., Return of the Yamasee, 173-174; Sweeney and Poplin, "Perspectives on Yamasee Life, 9; Green, DePratter, and Southerlin, "Yamasee in South Carolina, 22.

The recovered hilt was part of a sword of Spanish origin manufactured from 1740 to 1760.<sup>275</sup> Because the Spanish failed to keep descriptive documentation about these types of weapons, details of this type of sword are unknown. However, many Spanish soldiers carried swords since they were standard issue for the Spanish military.<sup>276</sup> According to the 1737 Arredondo map, the mission had a garrison where at times Spanish soldiers served, which could suggest the hilt may have belonged to a soldier (Figure 2).<sup>277</sup> Because the recovery of the hilt was in close proximity to the structure along with San Marcos pottery, it might have belonged to a Yamasee. It is possible the hilt was part to a sword solely worn to signify status or used as a weapon since Yamasee warriors often served as extra military power for the Spanish colony.

Kaolin pipe fragments make up 2.3 percent of the Duero site artifact assemblage (Table 7). Their appearance reveals the Yamasee inhabitants continued their traditional use of pipes for tobacco smoking. Interestingly, the Spanish preferred cigar smoking and although the Yamasees at Pocotalaca lived near the Spanish and would have had easy access to cigars, they still preferred to use kaolin pipes for tobacco smoking. The preference for their use is likely rooted in the Yamasees' indigenous customs. For most Indians, pipe use was traditional and using kaolin pipes was simply incorporating familiar items into old practices.<sup>278</sup> The recovery of kaolin pipe fragments from Yamasee sites in South Carolina suggests their use among Yamasees may have originated during their alliance with the British, but more likely occurred earlier during their initial alliance with the Spanish.<sup>279</sup> Kaolin pipe fragments recovered from the Mocama Indian mission town of Santa Cruz de Guadaliquini on Black Hammock Island (1684 to 1692) shows

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<sup>275</sup> John T. Powell, Professor of History, Curator of History, Retired, e-mail message to author, July 31, 2015 and August 3, 2015.

<sup>276</sup> Powell; Halbirt, Personal Communication, June 2015.

<sup>277</sup> 1737 Arredondo Map.

<sup>278</sup> White, "Living on the Periphery," 105.

<sup>279</sup> Sweeney, "Investigating Yamasee Identity," 116; Sweeney and Poplin, "Perspectives on Yamasee Life," 6; Southerlin et al., Return of the Yamasee, 174; Green, *Altamaha*, 100.

that Indians who were not allies with the British were able to acquire pipes.<sup>280</sup> Because the Spanish never developed a strong desire for pipe smoking, the Yamasees' procurement of kaolin pipes in eighteenth-century St. Augustine was likely through trade with the British, or perhaps they acquired them indirectly from other Indian groups allied with the British. In addition, because of an unreliable *situado*, a system developed for the supply of goods from New Spain to St. Augustine, the city's Indians and Spanish often resorted to trading, at times illicitly, with the British.<sup>281</sup> Furthermore, access to kaolin pipes might have been through Spanish privateers. The ineffectiveness of the *situado* also encouraged privateering of British vessels. Just in the period spanning the War of Jenkin's Ear (1739 to 1748), the Spanish reportedly captured thirty British prizes and sold the goods in St. Augustine.<sup>282</sup>

Finally, the architectural hardware group represents a sparse amount of artifacts from the Duero site. It indicates the Yamasees' use of metal at the site and consisted of 1 wrought nail from Feature 12 and 749.2g of unidentifiable iron due to heavy corrosion. The location and context of the nail suggests it might be associated with the structure, whereas the function of the unidentifiable iron is impossible to determine. Unidentified iron was present in all units except for Units 1 and 8 and small amounts came from Features 3, 10, and 12.

#### *Bone and Shell Tools*

In addition to Indian and non-Indian ceramics and trade goods, modified animal bones and shells made up part of the Duero site assemblage and indicate that the Yamasees occupying the household were manufacturing and using traditional types of tools to perform daily tasks. Ten percent of the animal bone assemblage appears to have signs of secondary human use.<sup>283</sup>

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<sup>280</sup> Keith Ashley, Personal Communication, 01/01/2016.

<sup>281</sup> Deagan, *Artifacts of the Spanish Colonies*, Vol. 2, 310; Deagan, *Spanish St. Augustine*, 34-35.

<sup>282</sup> Deagan, *Spanish St. Augustine*, 37-38.

<sup>283</sup> Faunal assemblage (n=122) elements.

Many of them, revealing multiple damages, suggest the Yamasees were using them for various tasks, such as piercing, and scraping. These modifications included edge wear, polish, reduced tips, serrations, and pointed tips. In addition, five modified quahog clams reveal signs of edge wear, which could point to their use as scrapers commonly used for tasks such as cleaning animal hides.

Unfortunately, the faunal assemblages from Altamaha and Chechessee in South Carolina were not analyzed for bone modification congruent with tool use. Despite a comparison to South Carolina sites, modifications to bones and shells are consistent with Indian practices. Although the Yamasees at the household likely had some access to European tools, they continued to manufacture and use some traditional tools.

### *Summary*

Materials from the Duero site are consistent with assemblages from some of the Yamasees' pre-war towns and nearby post-war La Punta. Overall, a comparison of materials between sites suggests continuity in the Yamasees' manufacturing of San Marcos and colonoware pottery and the procurement of European and British ceramics and goods. Furthermore, manipulating raw materials, such as bone and shells to manufacture tools reflects Indian practices and is indicative of persistence in Yamasee traditions.

At the town-level, the comparison of San Marcos surfaces from Duero and Oneida sites, two separate areas of Pocotalaca, point to differences in decorating San Marcos pottery perhaps by Yamasee families occupying the town. Those at the Duero site household may have been more inclined to apply stamping to their vessels, whereas in the area of Oneida, plain surfaces were more dominant. On a larger scale, the Duero site has provided further information that has raised more questions than answers about markers of Yamasee traditions or choices on their San



Marcos pottery surfaces. Overall, comparisons of San Marcos surfaces from pre-war Altamaha, Pocotaligo, Guale sites, and post-war Pocotalaca and La Punta are inconclusive as to whether the predominance of plain wares or stamping is indicative of Yamasee preference or identity.

#### *Subsistence at the Duero Site*

Recovered faunal and botanical remains from the Duero site offer insight into some of the foods the Yamasees were acquiring and eating. The faunal remains from the site totaled 122 elements (Table 9). Though a small sample, it offers a snapshot of some of the Yamasees' choices in subsistence and how they compare to their food preferences in South Carolina. Moreover, the distribution of bone across the site indicates possible areas of food preparation at the household.<sup>284</sup>

Overall, the sample suggests the Yamasees occupying the site preferred a local diet. The sample contains indigenous animals, including deer, bird, turtle, fish, shellfish, and a small amount of domesticated species (pig and cattle), which is similar to the Yamasees at Chechessee that appear to have also been relying on indigenous animals for their main source of protein.

At the Duero site, the appearance of deer outnumbered pig and cow combined, suggesting the Yamasees' preference for wild game. In addition, more deer at the site might relate to its "prestigious food" status among prominent households in St. Augustine (see chapter 2).<sup>285</sup> Griñán described the Yamasees were avid hunters that "earned from their hunts," making the acquisition for men and processing of deer by women an even greater part of Yamasee daily life in the city.<sup>286</sup> Following suit with what ethnohistorical research has revealed about Southeastern Indian tradition, after the Yamasee men acquired the deer and returned from their

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<sup>284</sup> The small sample size could relate to limited excavations at the site or to previously mentioned methods of refuse disposal used by the farmstead's inhabitants. The use of sheet middens, such as Feature 8, would have exposed any discarded animal remains to natural elements, scavengers, and insects, which could have resulted in the loss of data.

<sup>285</sup> Reitz and Cumbaa, "Diet and Foodways of Eighteenth-Century Spanish St. Augustine," 159.

<sup>286</sup> Scardaville and Belmonte, *The Griñán Report*, 11.

hunt, they would have prepared the meat while the Yamasee women would have prepared the skin.<sup>287</sup> Thereafter, Yamasees likely traded some of the meat and perhaps the skin for goods in St. Augustine's city square. Not only does Griñán suggest the Yamasees profited from their hunts, but because of the Yamasees' previous economic relationship with the British in South Carolina, it would have been characteristic of them to hold lucrative trade relations with the Spanish colony.<sup>288</sup>

Mammal bones recovered from the household outnumber those of aquatic sources (fish and shellfish), again suggesting the Yamasees' preferred protein source was mammals (Table 9). Moreover, based on the village of Pocotalaca in close proximity to the Maria Sanchez Creek and tidal estuary, evidence pointing to the exploitation of aquatic resources is expected. However, excavations revealed only a small number of fish remains at the site (n=5). Similarly, the appearance of shellfish at the site was low. In addition to the quahog clam in Feature 3, other species, such as oysters were sparse.<sup>289</sup> Shells recorded in the field consisted of oysters and clams that totaled 825 grams. Shells processed in the lab totaled 1725.91 grams and consisted mainly of clam and oyster. Other shells (n=4) noted were unidentified, and one small whelk.

Overall, the number of faunal bones, many with signs of butchering, recovered from the eastern side of the structure suggests it was possibly an area used for animal processing, or perhaps just where the occupants disposed of the remains. Although animal bones were

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<sup>287</sup> Charles Hudson, *The Southeastern Indians* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee, 1976), 266-267.

<sup>288</sup> Scardaville and Belmonte, *The Griñán Report*, 11.

<sup>289</sup> When working with faunal remains, there are many sample biases to consider. Other explanations for the lack of remains could relate to the Yamasees' methods of trash disposal. Recovery methods during excavations could have also affected the sample. Because fish bones can be small and sifting for remains at the site was through ¼-inch screens, there remains the possibility that other present fish remains could have fallen through the screens, resulting in the loss of data. Furthermore, if the inhabitants were capturing very small or infant fish from the estuary, they may have cooked and consumed them entirely leaving no trace in the archaeological record. In addition, the consumption of large amounts of shellfish could have still occurred at the site. It is possible that shells were disposed in an unexcavated part of the site, or shellfish may have been collected, then steamed or roasted to open, the meat extracted near the shoreline, and either consumed on site or transported back to the village.

recovered from all eight units totaled 543.04 g grams, 274.7 g or 50.5 percent was from Units 1, 3 and 4, all of which are associated with the northeast corner of the structure and in close proximity to the smudge pit and a sheet midden. At the site, medium to large mammals totaled 460.8 g. Of that number, 207.1 g, or 44.9 percent was from the northeast area and included elements from cattle, pig, and deer, some of them revealing possible cut marks.<sup>290</sup>

**Table 9. Faunal remains from the Duero site**

<b><u>Taxon</u></b>	<b><u>#</u></b>	<b><u>% of #</u></b>	<b><u>w (g)</u></b>	<b><u>% of w</u></b>
<i>Odocoileus virginianus</i> (White-tailed deer)	10	8.2	23.8	4.4
<i>Sus scrofa</i> (Domestic pig)	5	4.1	28.8	5.3
<i>Bos Taurus</i> (Domestic cow)	8	6.6	24	4.4
Mammal UID	85	69.7	459	84.5
Bird UID	6	4.9	1.61	0.3
Turtle UID	1	0.8	0.3	0.1
Fish UID	3	2.5	1.91	0.4
<i>Pogonais cromis</i> (Black drum)	1	0.8	0.02	
<i>Paralichodes</i> (Flounder)	1	0.8	0.5	0.1
Bone UID	2	1.6	3.1	0.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>122</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>543.04</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Griñán’s report also suggests the Yamasees were practicing some farming. Although the only botanical remains recovered during excavations were charred corncobs that made up a smudge pit (Feature 2A), their presence suggests the Yamasees were growing corn at Pocotalaca

<sup>290</sup> Medium to large mammal weights and percentages do not include modified bones congruent with tool use.

(Figure 4).<sup>291</sup> It is also likely they were cultivating other types of crops as Griñán states that the Yamasees were growing not only “corn” but also “legumes on their respective plots.”<sup>292</sup> Griñán’s use of “plots” suggests that the households likely cultivated small gardens and were not tending large fields.<sup>293</sup> Growing small amounts of crops for subsistence or perhaps trade would be consistent with the Yamasees’ lifeways while in South Carolina. Botanical remains recovered from Chechessee reveal the Yamasees grew maize, roots and berries such as, chokeberry, sour cherry, pepperweed, and knotweed, and other nutritional plants for food.<sup>294</sup> This suggests that the recovery of only a small amount of botanical remains at the Duero site could simply be the result of limited excavations, preservation bias, or recovery methods used at the site.

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<sup>291</sup> Scardaville and Belmonte, “The 1756 Griñán Report,” 11.

<sup>292</sup> Scardaville and Belmonte, “The 1756 Griñán Report,” 11.

<sup>293</sup> Scardaville and Belmonte, “The 1756 Griñán Report,” 11.

<sup>294</sup> Green, DePratter, and Southerlin, “Yamasee in South Carolina,” 19-20.



Figure 4. Corncobs from the smudge pit (Feature 2A)

*Summary*

Faunal and botanical analysis from the Duero site reveals some continuity in the inhabitants' foodways. Preferring mammals to fish or shellfish, leaning more toward indigenous sources, such as deer, and engaging in small amounts of farming suggests that the Yamasees were maintaining aspects of an indigenous diet corresponding with data from Chechessee.

Part 3: Features and Structural Evidence at the Duero Site

Because excavations of post-war Yamasee towns in St. Augustine have been limited to La Punta and a small number of post-hole tests associated with the Oneida area of Pocotalaca, architectural evidence and other types of features at the Duero site can offer insightful

information about household activity areas, daily activities, and structures.<sup>295</sup> Furthermore, these types of data can also offer a foundation for addressing continuity and change in the Yamasees' use of interior and exterior space and architectural practices.

#### *Non-structural Features and Areas*

Pits and middens (non-structural features) at Pocotalaca offer information about how the Yamasees might have been living at the household and how they were using the space (Figure 5). At the Duero site, excavations revealed a smudge pit (Feature 2A), artifact scatter, refuse pit (Feature 3), sheet midden (Feature 8), and miscellaneous pit (Feature 12).

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<sup>295</sup> In 2001, St. Augustine's city archaeologist Carl Halbirt performed a series of post-hole tests on Oneida Street in St. Augustine. No structural evidence was uncovered.

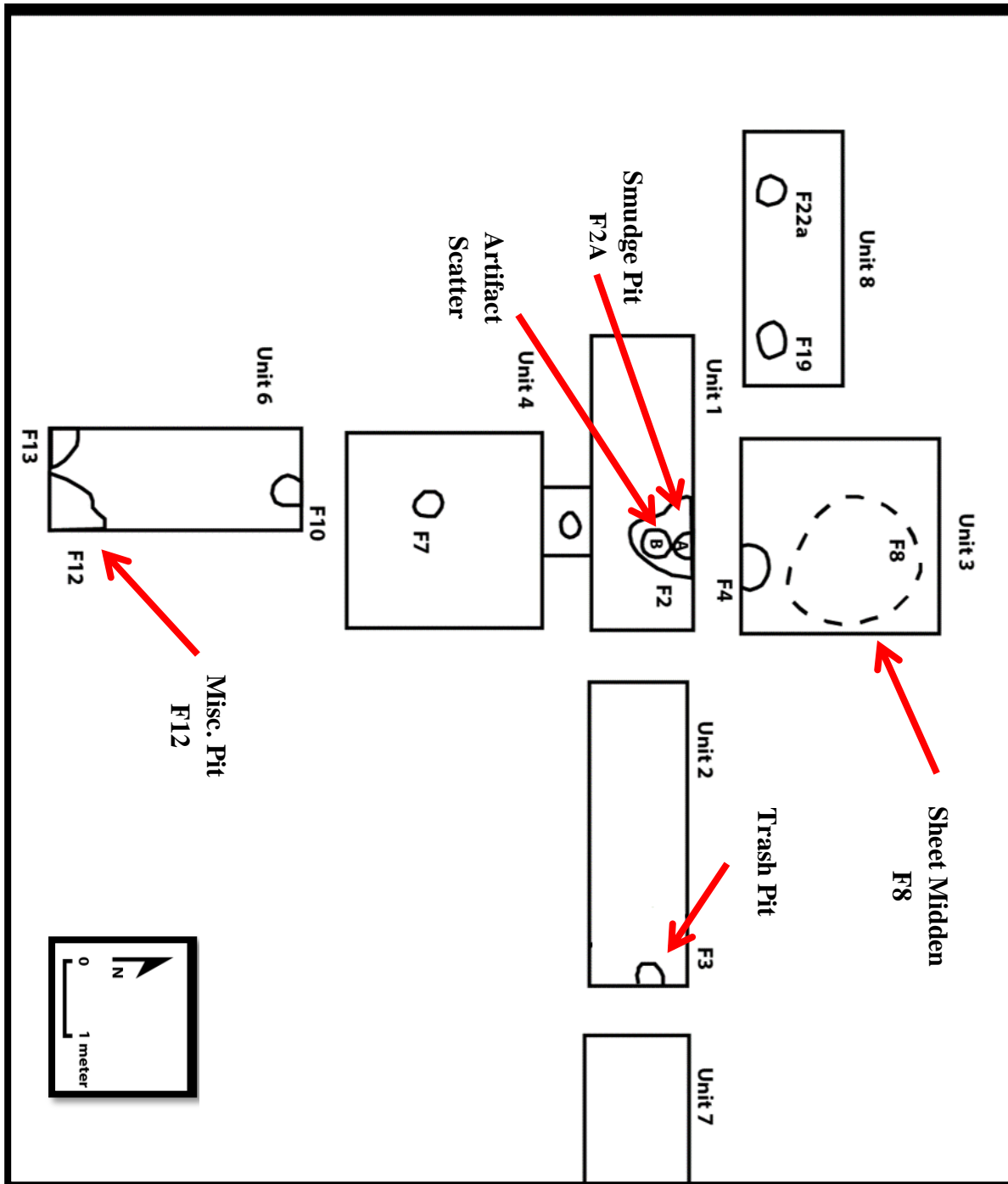


Figure 5. Non-structural features and areas at the Duero site. *Source:* Robert Thunen and Amanda Hall. Map adapted from original Duero site map by Carl Halbirt.

Smudge pits usually take the shape of a basin or saucer. Using smudge pits for daily activities such as, smoking hides, meats, and plants, for repelling insects, and at times for

ceremonies was common practice among Southeastern Indians.<sup>296</sup> The smudge pit, located along the east alignment of postholes and partially within Unit 1, contained a moderate amount of charred corncobs and charcoal. The presence of a smudge pit at the site suggests the construction and use of a traditional feature. Smudge pits have also appeared at the towns of Altamaha and Chechessee.<sup>297</sup> Their presence not only suggests that the Yamasees were also using smudge pits for household activities while in South Carolina, it reveals a long history of use among Yamasees.

The artifact scatter in Unit 1 (Figure 6) was irregularly shaped, approximately 1 x 1 meters in size, and consisted of a light accumulation of ceramics such as San Marcos, colonoware, English slipware, and animal bones, some of which were modified. Because the scatter surrounded the smudge pit, it is possible that the Yamasees used the area for domestic activities such as preparing hides or food. The animal bones recovered were mainly mammal, although fish and bird species were present. Two of the mammal bones appeared to be modified long bones, the larger of the two revealed signs of butchering, with sawed off ends and surface cut marks. Modifications made to the smaller bone, which included a pointed tip, polishing, pitting, and thermal altering, suggest that it functioned as a tool.

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<sup>296</sup> Mary Theresa Bonhage-Freund, "Botanical Remains" in *Archaeology of the Lower Muskogee Creek Indians, 1715-1836*, ed. H. Thomas Foster (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2007), 146.

<sup>297</sup> Sweeney, "Cultural Continuity and Change," Southerlin, et al., *The Return of the Yamasee*, 161.



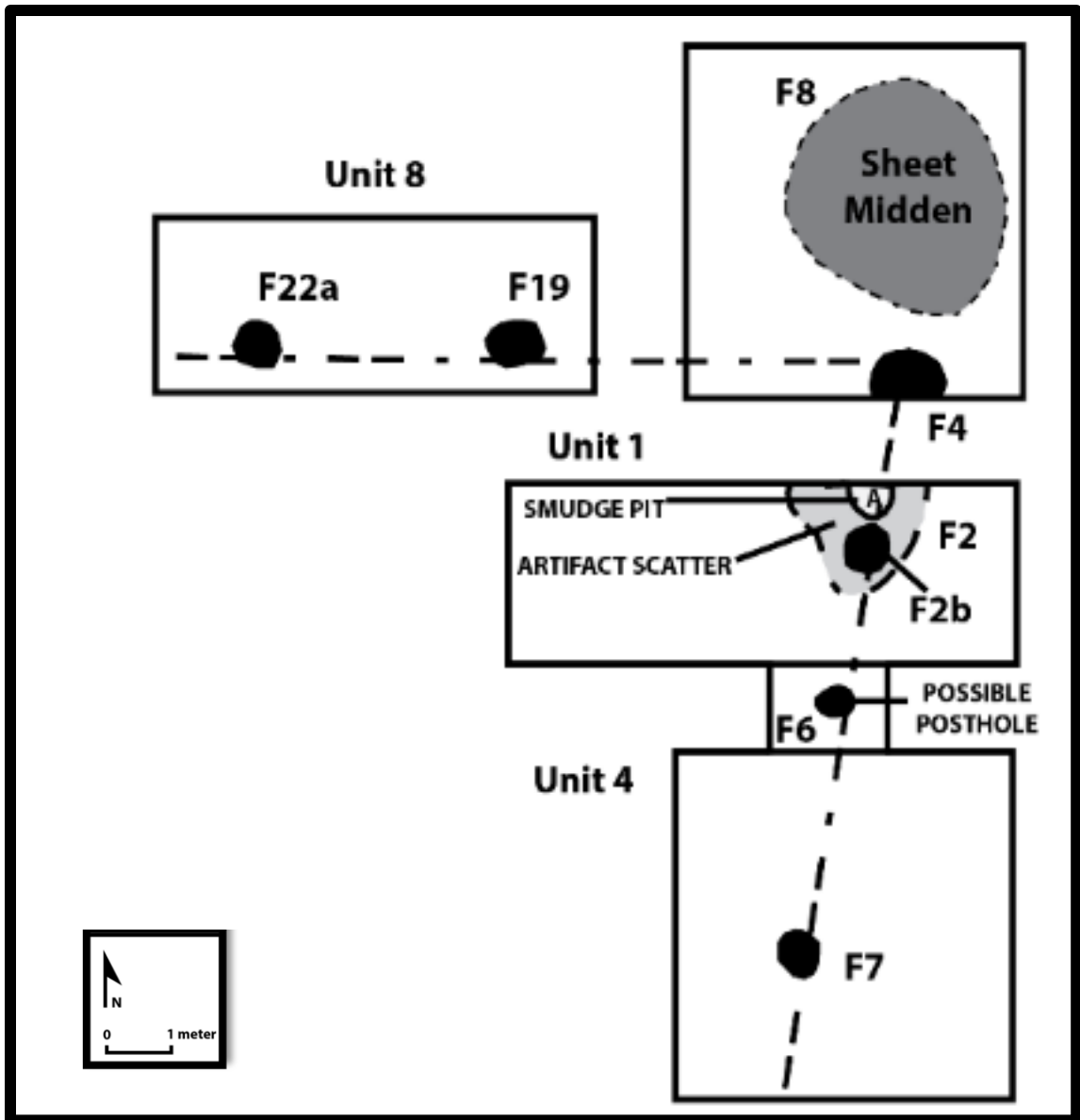


Figure 6. Artifact scatter at the Duero site *Source:* Robert Thunen and Amanda Hall. Map adapted from original Duero site map by Carl Halbirt.

Materials recovered from Unit 4, a half meter south of the smudge pit and artifact scatter, suggest another area used for domestic activities. These items consisted of a moderate concentration of San Marcos and colonoware, and other Indian sherds, along with small amounts of European and British wares, that included majolica, delft, El Morro and other coarse

earthenwares, (Table 10) all of which are associated with the preparation, consumption, and storage of food.

Two features outside the outline of the structure reveal Yamasees' methods of refuse disposal that include a distinct trash pit and a thin sheet midden (Figure 5) similar to their trash disposal methods at Altamaha and Chechessee in South Carolina.<sup>298</sup> Feature 3 contained various Indian and non-Indian artifacts. Although quahog clam shells and charcoal made up the majority of the pit's contents, it also contained a San Marcos sherd, 8 pieces of El Morro (likely from the same vessel), corroded iron fragments, a small lead birdshot, animal bones, oyster shells, a whelk whorl, and a small piece of partially drilled shell, perhaps the beginning of a shell bead.<sup>299</sup>

Feature 8 represents a sheet midden measuring approximately 1.2 meters in diameter and roughly 7 cm deep. Containing a small accumulation of San Marcos, colonoware, English slipware, and sparse animal bones and oyster shells, its shallowness suggests it functioned as a trash or sheet midden. The midden is a result of the household's inhabitants deliberately discarding trash onto the ground surface.<sup>300</sup>

Feature 12 represents a partially exposed pit in Unit 6. The visible area extended into the wall of the southeastern corner of the unit suggesting a diameter of greater than 50 cm. The pit's contents yielded a small number of San Marcos sherds, bottle glass, a wrought nail, and a large amount of unidentifiable corroded iron. The pit could be another intentional trash pit; however, because of its partial excavation and small amount of ceramics and artifacts, its function at the site is inconclusive.

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<sup>298</sup> Sweeney and Poplin. "Perspectives on Yamasee Life." 7; Bobby Southerlin, et al., *The Return of the Yamasee*, 93. Excavations at Chechessee yielded ten pits.

<sup>299</sup> Feature 3 was located 4.5 meters from the east wall in Unit 2 and was approximately 50 cm in diameter and 12 cm deep.

<sup>300</sup> Halbirt, "A Synopsis of 76 Duero Street," 5.

**Table 10. Duero site ceramic count and weight (g) by unit & feature**

	San Marcos		Colomoware		Indian other		<1cm sherds		Majolica		Spanish olive jar		El Morro		Coarse earthenwares		Delft blue & white		English slipware	
	#	w(g)	#	w(g)	#	w(g)	#	w(g)	#	w(g)	#	w(g)	#	w(g)	#	w(g)	#	w(g)	#	w(g)
U1	34	129.7	3	12.5	2	8.8	20	27.2											1	1.5
U2	6	40																		
U3	76	340.7	3	25.4	2	12.5	25	32.5	2	1.1					2	5.2				
U4	50	173.9	5	24.3	2	5.8	25	37.3	3	1.3					1	2	2	0.6		
U5	24	98.1			3	12.5	8	9.5			1	75.1			1	5.4	1	0.5		
U6	7	36.1			1	1.2	7	4.1												
U7	10	47.7			2	9.8	5	8.2					1	4.3						
U8	4	19	1	2			4	6.5												
F2B	4	9.5	2	12.6	1	3.5	3	3												
F3	1	8.2					2	0.1					8	10.9						
F4							3	2.9												
F5	2	6.8					1	1.8												
F8	11	38.5	1	2.5			16	18.7											1	2.9
F10	1	5.1																		
F11							1	1.1												
F12	3	9.4					3	2.2												
F13	1	8.5																		
F19					1	4.7														
Total	234	971.2	15	79.3	14	58.8	123	155.1	4	2.4	1	75.1	11	16.8	4	12.6	3	1.1	2	4.4

### *Structural Remains*

An alignment of postholes at the Duero site reveal the presence of a structure that suggests the Yamasees might have used traditional architectural design (Figure 7). The outline consists of 11 postholes, ranging from 20 to 35 cm in diameter. The posthole alignment appears to represent the corner of an either square or rectangular structure. Three of the postholes (Features 4, 13, and 2B) were deeper (ranging from 25 to 32 cm below datum) and more defined than the others, suggesting these functioned as the main structural supports. Clearly, Feature 4 represents the northeastern corner of the structure. Feature 13 could possibly denote the structure's southeastern corner post based on its similarity in size and depth to Feature 4.<sup>301</sup> However in order to verify this, additional excavations to the south and east are needed.

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<sup>301</sup> Dense vegetation on the western side of the property halted excavations to the west of Feature 13, the location and function of Feature 13 within the structure's alignment is unclear. Additionally, a light stain in the east wall (Feature 6) could be another post; however, because of its shallow depth (2cm), its function remains inconclusive.

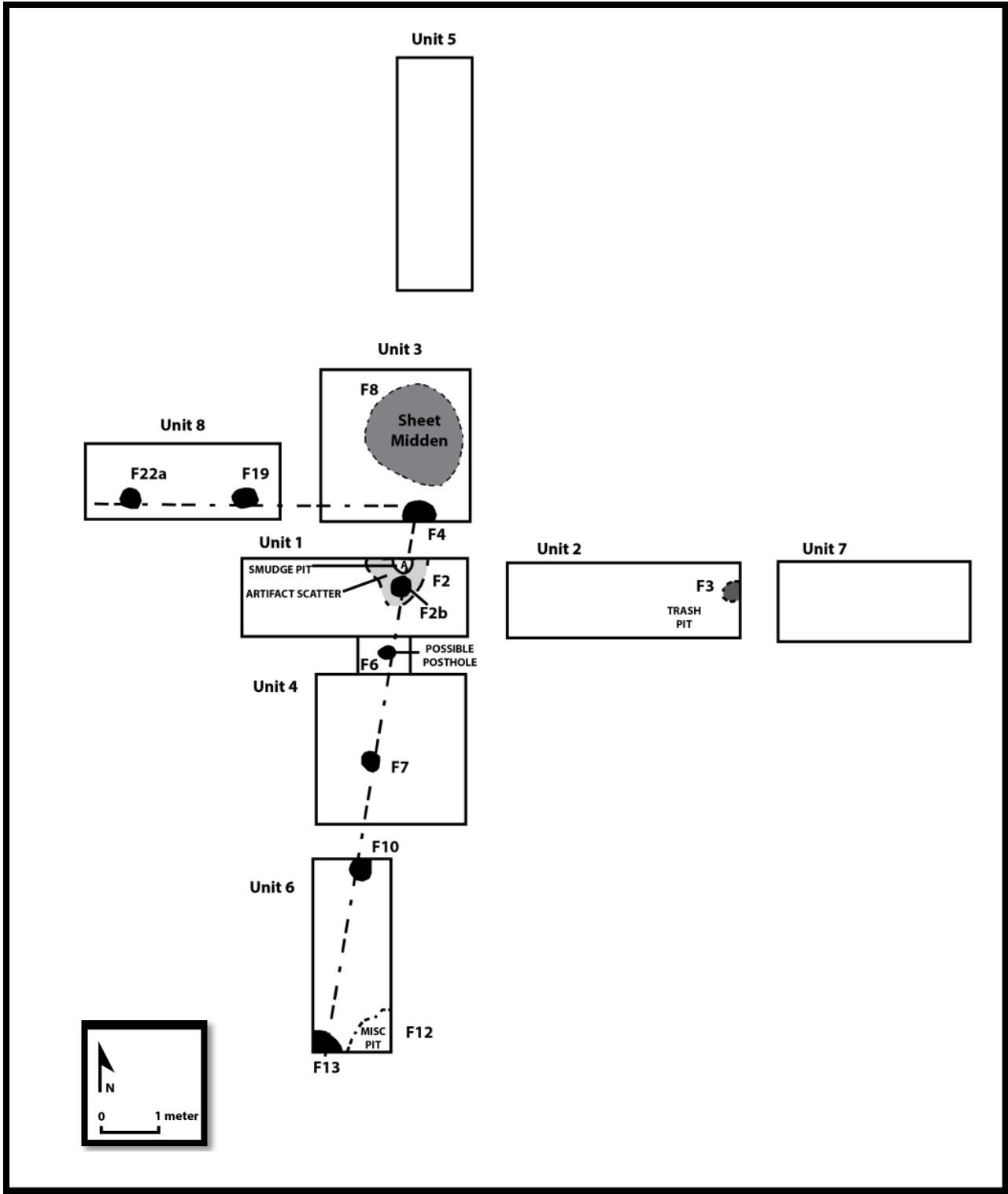


Figure 7. Map of the Duero site's units, features, and structure. *Source:* Robert Thunen and Amanda Hall. Map adapted from original Duero site map by Carl Halbirt.

Because Europeans were the first recorded people to build rectangular structures in the St. Augustine area, rectangular or square architectural designs in the city are usually associated with European building styles. Archaeological excavations by Kathleen Deagan in St. Augustine at Pedro Menendez's 1565 encampment and documents suggest that the Timucua Indians living in the town of Seloy (in present-day St. Augustine) only built circular structures. The first recorded building of rectangular structures in St. Augustine was during this same year by Menendez. While requisitioning the Timucua chief Seloy's round council house for nearly a year, Menendez and his men prepared their initial plans for the city and erected seven to nine rectangular structures near Seloy's village.<sup>302</sup>

Although the Timucua Indians built only circular structures, it was traditional for the Yamasees to build both rectangular and circular structures. As discussed in chapter 1, the Yamasees' cultural origins are traceable to the towns of Altamaha, Ocute, Ichisi, and possibly Toa in the Oconee River valley of interior Georgia. Archaeological evidence presented by James Hatch reveals that pre-Yamasees living in the valley were building both circular and rectangular structures.<sup>303</sup> In addition, structural evidence and documents have shown that Muscogee Lower Creek Indians in Apalachicola were also building their structures using both patterns during pre- and post-Yamasee war periods.<sup>304</sup> Because the Yamasees were in many ways connected to the Creeks, similarities in practices are expected. Not only do the Yamasees and Creeks belong to the same Muskogean Indian language family, during the colonial period they shared political alliances, kinship ties, and often lived with one another.<sup>305</sup> Collectively, evidence suggests that in

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<sup>302</sup> Elsbeth Gordon, *Florida's Colonial Architectural Heritage* (University Press of Florida, 2002), 56-57.

<sup>303</sup> James W. Hatch, "Lamar Period Upland Farmsteads of the Oconee River Valley, Georgia," in *Mississippian Communities and Households*, eds. Daniel Rogers and Bruce D. Smith (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1995), 144-147.

<sup>304</sup> H. Thomas Foster, ed. *Archaeology of the Lower Muskogee Creek Indians, 1715-1836* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2007), 108.

<sup>305</sup> Hahn, "The Long Yamasee War."

addition to circular structures, building rectangular ones was also tradition of the Yamasees, making their appearance at post-war Yamasee towns in St. Augustine likely the result of Yamasee practices rather than European influence. In addition, structural data at La Punta in St. Augustine suggests that the Yamasees during the post-war period were continuing to build circular and square/rectangular structures.<sup>306</sup>

Likewise, archaeological evidence at Yamasee pre-war towns in South Carolina shows the Yamasees were building circular and possibly rectangular structures. At Altamaha town, evidence revealed six circular structures, which are strikingly similar in design to the pre-Yamasee Mississippian houses in the Oconee River valley.<sup>307</sup> Although ambiguous, postholes at Chechessee revealed the outline of a building, representing an oval or rectangular shape. Similar to the Duero structure, posts were individually set and lacked a wall trench. Additionally, pit features surrounded the structure.<sup>308</sup>

The absence of wall trenches or daub associated with the structure at the Duero site suggests it was likely a pole-and-frame design with a palm thatched roof and thatched walls. Alternatively, the building may have been more open like a chickee. Other evidence also indicates this was likely the case. For instance, because the artifact scatter surrounding the smudge pit in Unit 1 extended beyond the eastern alignment of the structure and into the exterior area, the excavated portion of the building likely did not have walls (Figure 6). Considering Florida's climate, it might have been practice of the Yamasees to construct and use an open or partially open structure during the hot summer months.

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<sup>306</sup> Halbirt, "A Synopsis of 76 Duero Street," 4; White, "Living on the Periphery," 56; Bennet, "Cultural Crossroads," 133.

<sup>307</sup> Sweeney and Poplin "Perspectives on Yamasee Life," 5.

<sup>308</sup> Southerlin et al., *The Return of the Yamasee*, 90.

For pre-Yamasee and Muskogean peoples, structural design was often the result of climate. During the winter, houses were circular and had daub walls for insulation. Summerhouses were rectangular pole and frame structures with thatched roofs designed for warmer temperatures and were partially open or had windows for ventilation.<sup>309</sup> In the Oconee River valley, rectangular or summer structures appear to have had thatched walls replaced by the inhabitants from season to season.<sup>310</sup>

Similar to the proto-Yamasees, for the warmer months, Lower Creeks also constructed rectangular structures. Drawn in 1789 by botanist William Bartram and thought to be similar in design to their residential summerhouses, the Creek's constructed square ground public buildings that served as summer council houses. Appearing to be a pole and frame construction, they were rectangular and partially open.<sup>311</sup> Later the Seminoles, (many of them Yamasees) "carried the pattern to an extreme," and used simple canopies referred to as chickees for houses.<sup>312</sup> Considering what the archaeological remains and documents reveal about pre-Yamasee and Muskogean structural designs, the building at the Duero site might depict a building used during warmer climates, which in Florida is most of the year. The smudge pit could have served as a means to control mosquitos and other pests.

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<sup>309</sup> Foster, *Archaeology of the Lower Muskogee Creek Indians*, 108.

<sup>310</sup> Hatch, "Lamar Period Upland Farmsteads of the Oconee River Valley, Georgia," 146-147.

<sup>311</sup> Foster, *Archaeology of the Lower Muskogee Creek Indians*, 104-106.

<sup>312</sup> Foster, *Archaeology of the Lower Muskogee Creek Indians*, 108.



## *Summary*

In many ways, non-structural and structural features reveal the Yamasees' continuation of traditional and indigenous practices, suggesting they built, organized, and utilized the household based on some customary lifeways. Because the Yamasees' ancestors and other Muskogee groups built rectangular structures for the summer months, the structure at the site correlates with Yamasee traditions in relation to its shape and surrounding climate. This also suggests the Yamasees might have built other structures more suitable for winter months at Pocotalaca. Furthermore, the lack of European building materials (e.g., nails, mortar, or coquina) emphasize the likeliness the structure resembles a traditional design. In addition, activity areas at the site show the Yamasees' use of smudge pits, trash pits, and middens were keeping with tradition.

## Part 4: Discussion

The main goals of this chapter were to offer a description of what life was like for the Yamasees at Pocotalaca based on archival and archaeological data from the Duero site. The Yamasees at Pocotalaca were maintaining aspects of their traditional practices and material choices, many of which are traceable to their pre-war and ancestral towns. The political influence of Pocotalaca's Yamasees, partially based on their network of Indians alliances and their ability to bolster power through their alliance with the Spanish, offered the Yamasees a high level of independence. In turn, Pocotalaca's Yamasees used their status to create their own place near the city where they could remain Yamasee by upholding their traditions and material expression. Despite the limited excavation of the site, which resulted in partial exposure of a structure and recovery of small artifact and faunal assemblages, it has provided important information about the Yamasees' who lived at the household.

The overall picture of the structure at the site reveals a possible rectangular or square building, which is consistent with Yamasee cultural practices. The size of the assemblage suggests the Yamasees' occupation at the site was ephemeral. However, with the absence of excavations on the west side of the building, the structure's duration remains questionable. Considering available excavation data, it appears some of the main activity at the site probably took place in and around the northeast area of the structure. This area contained the majority of Indian and imported ceramics and features. Considering the location of the structure in relation to the other cultural features and the distribution of refuse, the structure possibly represents a partially enclosed area, such as a canopy or chickee. Because of its open design, it is questionable whether the Yamasees slept in the structure at night. Thus, it might represent a seasonal field house occupied only during the day or a briefly inhabited residence. Bullones' report also suggests this was the case. He states that following Palmer's raid on Nombre de Dios in 1728, some of Pocotalaca's Yamasees who feared additional attacks on the city, built huts and lived there during the day.<sup>313</sup>

Although purely speculative, the positioning of the structure with its eastside facing the tidal estuary (Maria Sanchez Creek) would have provided a breeze during the hot summer months. In addition, if the eastern side of the structure were indeed open, this would have offered a more comfortable environment for the Yamasees while performing their daily tasks. Given the faunal analysis and concentration of tablewares and utilitarian wares, these tasks would have likely included animal skinning, butchering, and cooking. Faunal remains reveal that the animals the Yamasee were preparing and cooking consisted of both wild and domesticated animals, and a small amount of fish and shellfish. Furthermore, modified bone tools and shells suggest that some of the animal processing, or other daily tasks, were completed using traditional tools.

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<sup>313</sup> Bullones to the King, October 5, 1728, in Hann, *Missions to the Calusa*, 379.

Though the appearance of corn in the smudge pit suggests the Yamasees were growing crops at the farmstead, it is unclear how much time they were investing in the activity.

Even though the Duero site's artifact and faunal assemblages are not very large, and the feature and structural data are limited, it is consistent with aspects of pre-Yamasee, pre-war, and post-war Yamasee sites. For the Yamasees, San Marcos pottery remained the dominant ware and on a lesser scale, their manufacturing and use of colonoware persisted for many decades following their initial alliance with the Spanish. They continued to acquire non-Indian goods, such as imported ceramics, armaments, and other British trade goods such as kaolin pipes. It appears that the Yamasees occupying the household also maintained aspect of their indigenous traditions, which is reflective in their tool manufacturing and use, foodways, and structural designs.

## CONCLUSION

The formation of the Yamasees started in the early 1660s. Their coalescence was a response to circumstances beyond their control. Because European diseases and *Chichimeco* slave raiders ravaged the pre-Yamasee, the people who later became the Yamasee developed ways to persist in a world different from that of the Mississippian they recognized.<sup>314</sup> From early on, they created ways to withstand the drastic changes and challenges they faced that, in turn offered them the opportunity to acquire their own space in Spanish and British colonial settings.<sup>315</sup> By remaining a dynamic group and by building and maintaining their Indian alliances for nearly a century, the Yamasees were able to secure their autonomy and uphold their group identity.

As this study has emphasized, one of the Yamasees' main strengths was their fluidity and flexibility, which enabled them to build and secure power and carve out space among colonial and Indian alliances. Not long after de Soto and his men left their disastrous imprint on the pre-Yamasees, which nearly a century later was further impacted by Indian slave raiders, the Yamasees began incorporating other Indian groups as a way to reassure the survival of their group. By building their numbers, the Yamasees became a powerful group.<sup>316</sup>

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<sup>314</sup> Green, *Altamaha*, 15; 112-113.

<sup>315</sup> Schrager, "Yamasee Indians" 66.

<sup>316</sup> Green, *Altamaha*, 112-113; Schrager, "Yamasee Indians" 66.

The Yamasees' strategies to become a powerful group by way of numbers and movement proved successful, as they became important allies to the Spanish and the British during separate periods. For the Spanish, the timing of the Yamasees' arrival in the Guale and Mocama provinces in the 1660s could not have been better. Just as *Chichimeco* raids forced the remaining pre-Yamasees from their fractured chiefdoms, they had also taken their toll on the coastal mission Indian population.<sup>317</sup> It is interesting to consider the fate of the Spanish colony had it not been for the Yamasees. Throughout their initial alliance with the Spanish, which lasted until the early-1680s, the Spanish had come to rely on the Yamasees as they played major roles as laborers who helped build and maintain Spain's La Florida colony. They worked in the fields planting and harvesting corn for the colony, and they contributed to the building of public works, such as the Castillo de San Marcos, fulfilling the majority of the labor quota.<sup>318</sup>

Though the Yamasees and Spanish maintained a nearly twenty-year relationship, their partnership was not without problems. When the Spanish disregarded their position in the alliance by attempting to control the Yamasees and subject them to episodes of physical abuse, the relationship suffered an irreversible breakdown. Moreover, because the Spanish could not ensure the Yamasees' safety from British and Indian attacks on the provinces, the Yamasees sought other alternatives to ensure their survival, which they found among the British in South Carolina.<sup>319</sup>

The Yamasees' ability to break their alliance with the Spanish and uproot themselves from La Florida after nearly two decades reflects their determination to remain Yamasee and not fall under the rule of the Spanish. Instead, by the early-1680s, the Yamasees regarded bad

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<sup>317</sup> Worth, *The Struggle for the Georgia Coast*, 15-20.

<sup>318</sup> Milanich, *Laboring in the Fields of the Lord*, 171.

<sup>319</sup> Worth, *The Struggle for the Georgia Coast*, 37.

relations between the Spanish and British as an opportunity for their survival and chose to take on roles as major actors in the Southeast. The Yamasees reinvented themselves and their purpose on the colonial landscape.

For this reason, the Yamasees quickly and successfully transitioned as allies to the British and grew larger in number and influence. Having claimed their place and power in South Carolina by the early 1700s, the Yamasees were main participants in the colonial battle for the Southeast. Alongside the British, the Yamasees engaged in their animosity toward the Spanish and aided in destroying the Spanish mission system by raiding the provinces for Indian captives to trade.<sup>320</sup>

The Yamasees engaged in major roles during the formation of the colonial Southeast. As historian Bradley Schrage has suggested, in order to conceptualize their significance, it is important to consider the outcome for the Spanish or British had it not been for their alliances with the Yamasees. Although counterfactuals must be used carefully, had the Yamasees stayed allied with the Spanish in 1683, rather than shifting allegiances, perhaps the Spanish would have been able to keep the British from encroaching on La Florida. Furthermore, without the Yamasees on their side, would the British in Charles Town have been able to build such a large economic foundation?

Interestingly, following the Yamasee War of 1715, the Spanish accepted the Yamasees' negotiation of alliance and welcomed their return.<sup>321</sup> The willingness of the Spanish to realign with the Yamasees reveals that the Spanish viewed the Yamasees not only as an influential group, but also as important negotiators, especially among their Indian allies. Although

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<sup>320</sup> Hall, *Zamumo's Gifts*, 99.

<sup>321</sup> Martinez to the King of Spain, July 5, 1715.

weakened by war, by 1716, when many of the Yamasees had relocated to St. Augustine, they remained a vital group to the Spanish.

In Florida, the Spanish recognized the influence of Pocotalaca because it had been the upper head Yamasee town in South Carolina.<sup>322</sup> Some of Pocotalaca's residents were politically influential and others had military skills the Spanish found extremely useful. This made them part of St. Augustine's political sphere where they created bonds with the Spanish and space near the city where the Yamasees could maintain their autonomy and identity as a group, notably in name, and, as archaeological investigations at the Duero site reveal, their material expression and some of their traditions.

Unfortunately for the Yamasees at Pocotalaca, by choosing to relocate to St. Augustine they unintentionally distanced themselves from their Indian alliances. While in South Carolina, having these allies near brought quick reinforcement, but after the war very few of the Yamasees' alliances resided in La Florida. Though at times the Lower Creeks or Guales joined the Yamasees at Pocotalaca, for the most part they represented about a handful of the town's inhabitants, not nearly enough to replenish population losses from British and Indian attacks, epidemics, and Indian flight. Regardless of their small number, Pocotalaca's Yamasees maintained their town until the 1750s. Pocotalaca was one of the last few remaining Indian towns around St. Augustine that combined into two, Tolomato and Dios, by the late 1750s.<sup>323</sup>

Collectively, the mid-seventeenth and eighteenth-centuries were pivotal for the Yamasee Indians. The bigger picture reveals that the Yamasees, drawn into a colonial whirlwind, quickly adapted to a changing landscape while not letting go of their group identity. Reoccurring town

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<sup>322</sup> Swanton, *The Creek Indians and their Neighbors*, 104.

<sup>323</sup> Hann, "Timucua Missions," 323.

names, remaining autonomous, maintaining Indian alliances, upholding traditional practices, including architectural designs, foodways, ceramics, and indigenous tools underscores their determination to remain Yamasee. Although they may not have welcomed any cultural changes, their decision to obtain and use non-aboriginal materials for daily life reveals the Yamasees remained flexible in their material choices, which likely helped them to acclimate to the changing colonial economy. However, it is important to note that incorporating non-Indian materials into their lifeways did not make the Yamasees any less indigenous as we can never be fully certain how they used these items, or what values they placed on them.



## FUTURE RESEARCH

The significant research conducted on La Punta and Pocotalaca by historians, archaeologists, and volunteers has helped uncover the existence and importance of the Yamasee Indians in colonial St. Augustine during the eighteenth century. Collectively, documents and archaeology have revealed that St. Augustine's Indian populations were very active in the rise of the colonial Southeast. Just as their non-Indian colonial partners, the Yamasees and other Indian groups residing in and around St. Augustine during this tumultuous period have their own stories to tell about the city's multiethnic colonial history.

Documents provide a stepping-stone for delineating and researching Yamasee towns in post-war St. Augustine. The paper trails reveal much about which towns the Yamasees inhabited, some of the town's major actors, their relations with the Spanish, and, to a certain extent, clues about life in their post-war towns.

The archaeological record of Yamasee towns suggests continuity in many of their materials and lifeways. However, to date attempts at pinpointing an exclusive Yamasee identity using San Marcos surfaces remains inconclusive. Even though this has been the case, isolating Yamasee pottery manufacturing and decorating techniques from those of the Guales is an avenue worthy of further research. Additional excavations at Pocotalaca could provide more information entailing the Yamasee structures and how the Yamasees used space. Just as excavations at La Punta have revealed the Yamasees built both circular and square/rectangle structures, those at

Pocotalaca could have been engaging in similar building designs and uses. Collectively, comparative studies of archaeological data from Pocotalaca and La Punta and the various Yamasee sites in South Carolina should shed more light on what we currently know about preferences or traditions regarding the Yamasees' daily lifeways through time.

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## VITA

Amanda was born . She spent the initial half of her childhood growing up before moving . In 2010, she relocated to Jacksonville to attend the University of North Florida where in 2012 she received a bachelor's degree in anthropology with a concentration in Southeastern archaeology. As a history minor, in 2013 she decided to pursue a master's degree in the history program at UNF with a focus on Southeastern Indian history.