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Vengeance with Mercy: Changing Traditions and Traditional Practices of Colonial Yamasees

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Vengeance with Mercy: Changing Traditions and Traditional Practices
of Colonial Yamasees

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Dissertation presented to the Graduate Faculty of The College of William &
Mary in Candidacy for the Degree of
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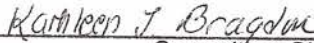
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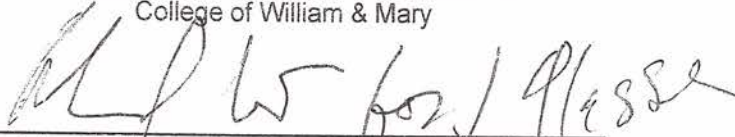


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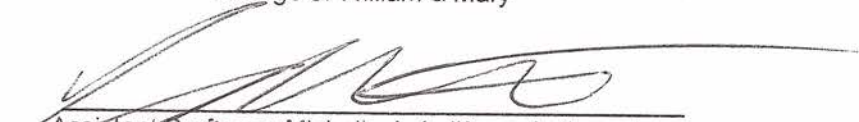
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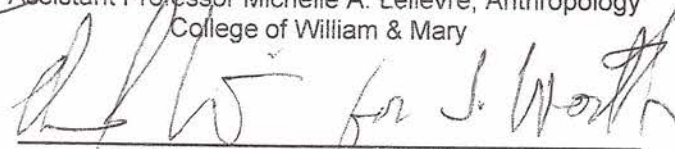
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ABSTRACT

This dissertation argues that colonial Yamasee communities moved hundreds of miles throughout the present-day Southeastern United States, often to gain influence, and maintained traditions such as names they more closely associated with their ethnicity and authority than ceramics. Self-identification by Yamasees in censuses, speeches, and letters for a century and archaeological evidence from multiple towns allows me to analyze multiple expressions of their identity. Their rich rhetoric demonstrates the mechanics of authority—they dictated terms to Europeans and other Native Americans by balancing between, in their words, vengeance and mercy. I focus on a letter and tattoo from a warrior called Caesar Augustus who justified his valor and the writings of a diplomat named Andres Escudero who justified retribution. Combined, these and other leaders demonstrate the flexibility in their offices of authority. Their political rhetoric—both ritual speech understood throughout the region as well as their specific titles and town names—demonstrates continuities between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. In addition, multiple movements of Yamasee communities across hundreds of miles demonstrates their agency and connections to their neighbors. These movements allowed Yamasees to dictate terms to Europeans and maintain town names, signs, and rhetoric for centuries.

However, as a result of these community movements, Yamasees adopted the ceramic traditions of their neighbors. Considering the authority and ethnicity of Yamasees in their own words allows analysis of continuity and change in Yamasee landscapes of ceramic practice in Georgia, South Carolina, and Florida. More specifically, I analyzed materials from my own excavations at Mission San Antonio de Punta Rasa in Pensacola, Florida as well as assemblages excavated by the City of St. Augustine Archaeology Program and in South Carolina by Brockington and Associates. I quantify the extent to which Yamasees adopted the ceramic practices of their neighbors, including Guale, Mocama, Timucua, Apalachee, and Creek Indians. In a sense, this material flexibility reflects the very mobility and social connections that allowed them to maintain geopolitical influence. However, given their authority in Spanish documents and at times invisibility in the archaeological record, Yamasees show only indirect connections between authority and daily ceramic practice. Further, these ceramic practices, as well as Yamasee multilingualism, represent hybrid practices between multiple Native American groups rather than the influence of Europeans.

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Chapter 1: Yamasee Authority and Ceramic Practice in the Colonial Southeast

This dissertation traces the creation, maintenance, and transformation of Yamasee identity and practice from the early colonial period through the nineteenth century using ceramic evidence and historical documents. Yamasees demonstrate a paradox of sorts in that they maintained their ethnicity and authority in historical documents yet adopted local traditions and are difficult to distinguish archaeologically. I argue that Yamasee communities moved hundreds of miles throughout the present-day Southeastern United States, often to gain influence, and maintained traditions such as names that more closely associated with ethnicity and authority than ceramics. Their rich rhetoric demonstrates the mechanics of authority—they dictated terms to Europeans and other Native Americans by balancing between, in their words, vengeance and mercy. Additionally, documents allow me to trace multiple movements of Yamasee communities. As a result of these movements across dozens or hundreds of miles, and the extent to which they outnumbered or were outnumbered by neighboring Native Americans their ceramics either dominated or were replaced by those of other groups. These ceramics, made largely at the household level, at times are the only archaeological evidence available. I demonstrate that colonial Yamasees in East Georgia, South Carolina, East Florida, and West Florida adopted new local and neighboring Native American traditions.

Such traditions include ritual speech—which involved semiotic conventions understood throughout the region—in addition to titles and town names specific to Yamasees as well as ceramic practices of particular groups and places. However, my analysis of rhetoric and ceramic assemblages shows only indirect connections between

authority and daily ceramic practice. Additionally, I demonstrate limited European influence on ceramic production. Instead, material culture represents Yamasee agency and the influence of their Native American neighbors. Rather than disrupting material practices, European colonists focused on influencing Native American movements, trade, and war, though Yamasees demonstrate their agency in those realms as well. In short, I consider the authority and ethnicity of Yamasees in their own words which allows me to demonstrate continuity and change in Yamasee landscapes of ceramic practice.

This study contributes to anthropological examinations of authority and practice using historical and archaeological evidence. My analysis of political rhetoric shows Yamasee ritual speech balanced between vengeance and mercy when dictating terms to the Spanish and to other Native Americans. Vengeance, when used by Yamasees and their neighbors, represented a violent response that is not only warranted but natural in the words of Andres Escudero, who led a mid-eighteenth-century mission in Pensacola. Mercy represented another response to war, which Caesar Augustus explicitly connected to the ability to grant life in a 1740 threat to St. Augustine. Another form of balance existed—Yamasees maintained ancestral town names and titles as well as social, linguistic, and material connections to their neighbors. Historical documents I analyzed demonstrate the persistence of martial and diplomatic protocols and describe the ethnicity and other demographic details of towns. Such details allow archaeological evidence, particularly pottery I recovered during excavations at Mission San Antonio de Punta Rasa, to posit that changing ceramic tempers and decorations reflect the influence of neighboring indigenous groups rather than Europeans.

This dissertation builds on previous Yamasee research. John Worth's (2004) entry into the Southeastern volume of the Handbook of North American Indians analyzed research including his own discussion of their relation to their Guale and Mocama neighbors (i.e. Worth 1993:40-45, 1995:19-22, 1999, 2002:52). Anthropologist John Swanton (1922:14, 97) claimed Yamasees spoke a Muskogean language and described their South Carolina towns. These towns have been recovered archaeologically (Green 1991; Southerlin et al 2001; Green and DePratter 2000; Green, DePratter, and Southerlin 2002; Sweeney 2003, 2009; Poplin and Marcoux 2016; Poplin and Sweeney 2016) and the 1715 Yamasee War those and other towns conducted against Charleston has also been discussed by historians Crane (1956:164) and Ramsey (2008). Post-1715 Yamasee towns have been investigated archaeologically in St. Augustine. I began this dissertation in response to such research, Worth's (2008) initial discussion of mid-eighteenth-century Yamasees in Pensacola, my own recovery of Yamasee material in Spanish archives, and the 2015 Yamasee conference organized by Denise Bossy and Chester DePratter. The extent of Yamasee research offers resolute data to ask anthropological questions about identity, ranging from town and community identity to that of Yamasees at a regional scale.

I trace Yamasee ethnogenesis— defined by Sturtevant (1971:92) when considering the Seminole as an “establishment of group distinctness”—and connect centuries of their rhetoric and ceramic practices to those of their neighbors. Their landscapes of practice demonstrate a constant balancing of ancestral, new, and neighboring political, ritual, and daily practices. In other words, social and political

factors shaped ceramic practice, political rhetoric, and military actions. I apply and develop ideas of ethnogenesis, authority, rhetoric, practice, and hybridity using my own historical and archaeological data as well as published and unpublished data from archaeologists and historians described earlier. This introduction discusses the anthropological concepts that inform this study, beginning with authority and rhetoric, before describing my methods and individual chapters.

Authority and Rhetoric

Authority, or the ability to govern and structure actions (Foucault 1984:428), is embedded in social interaction and institutions (Foucault 1970, 1973; Foucault et al 1988; Bourdieu 1991). For the Yamasees and their neighbors, authority worked as a process involving social and consanguinal connections, material culture, rhetoric, titles, ceremonies, and esoteric knowledge. Some archaeologists (e.g. Cobb 2003:74) have described elite control of esoteric knowledge as essential for their continued positions of authority while others such as Saitta (1994) have urged consideration of communalism and consent in processes of claiming authority. Still others have interpreted authority as involving successful claims to ancestors and deities, such as in Polynesia (Kahn and Kirch 2011:94) and Peru (Goldstein 2000:184-186). Similarly, ethnohistorians of New England reminded us that authority also rests with community consent and the consent of past leaders (Goddard and Bragdon 1988:2-3; Salisbury 1982:43). Such examples show access to power was demonstrated through the organization and influence ideological, economic, military, and political relationships (Colson 1977:275-277; Foucault 1983:217-219; Mann 1986: 1-7; Adams 1977:359).

Leaders around the world have often connected materials to places, used metaphors and other signs, and otherwise used socially-constructed meanings to support their legitimacy (Foucault 1983:217-218; Sharp 1995:48; Merritt 1998:62; Wolf 1990:592-593). Bloch (1975:22) defined a formal speech's propositional force as its ability to connect perception of the past and future and, in so doing, "corner reality." While potentially a tool for enforcing a leader's will, formal language is structured by various limitations (Bloch 1975). Other scholars (e.g. Kuipers 1990; Keane 1997, 2007; Jackson 2013) refer to such language as ritual speech when it uses specific rhetorical strategies, including references to ancestral forces and material culture, to achieve political ends.

Webb Keane (2006:182) described leaders in Indonesia as using specific rhetorical strategies to appear legitimate and lay "claim to a form of agency that transcends the spatial and temporal limits of the individual, mortal body." Those and other ritual speakers around the world detached themselves from their individual context by using euphemism and metaphor instead of personal pronouns. Another key strategy is parallelism, in which structures, names, and references are repeated to construct a clear logical argument (Du Bois 1986:317-320; Kuipers 1990, 1992; Keane 2006). Ritual speakers also refer to their ancestors through speech and using material culture to demonstrate the validity of their logical arguments. Leaders thus used "repeatable, relatively stable, and intertextually rich" (Keane 2003:420) signs and speech to claim legitimacy.

Such a rich, repeatable form of logic appears in Yamasee speeches and writings.

My analysis of this material demonstrates how these Yamasee leaders and warriors established and used their authority, and how authority functioned as a larger process within their societies. In so doing, I answer Wolf's (1990:394) call to connect changes in settlement and sociopolitical organization of towns to their diplomatic and martial relations. I do so by analyzing the formal arguments in Yamasee ritual speech to demonstrate the balance individual Native Americans maintained between vengeance and mercy.

Divisions of Metaphor, Gender, and Community

Rather than distinguishing between vengeance and mercy, researchers often distinguish between war or red towns, individuals, or offices of authority and white or peace ones. Lankford (2008:94-96) described the red/white distinction—between order and innovation in addition to between reason and war— as extending to an individual man in terms of social rank, political groups of men within a town, and groups of towns within a confederacy. Those towns that did refer to themselves as for example white towns of peace—such as Okfuskee Creeks (Piker 2004) — may have been in flux as often as towns noted by anthropologist Mary Haas. She (Haas 1940) noted multiple people described the same town as either red or white and others explicitly described how it shifted through time. Such switches could emerge from success or loss during ball-games matches to enemy towns, or could emerge from political agreements or disagreements that led to the merging or splitting of towns. At times such shifts occurred more than once in a generation, and “the relative strength of the semi-divisions may have oscillated frequently in the course of the history of the confederacy” (Haas 1940: 381). In

addition, preferred friends and enemies influenced and were influenced by these conflicts. Consanguinal connections traced through matrilineages also influenced negotiations.

In general, ethnographic analogy and historical observations of the colonial Southeast demonstrate that men maintained regional protocols of diplomacy and war while women adopted the ceramic traditions of their neighboring social groups. Women also adopted new members into a community (see Perdue 1998: 54-55, 69 for discussion of Cherokee adoption practices). European labor demands exaggerated Native American gendered labor divisions. The seventeenth-century Spanish labor draft pressed men into traveling to St. Augustine for months at a time and British slave trade escalated conflict conducted by male warriors (Bushnell 1981:11-25, 98-99; Hann 1988:139-154; Jennings 2009). In addition to gendered divisions, historians (e.g. Piker 2004; Galloway 2008; Boulware 2011) have demonstrated that Southeastern Native Americans identified more with their town than with larger confederacy-level identities. I maintain that such a town level of identity affected ceramic production and exchange mediated by women more than the political interactions mediated by men at a regional level.

Yamasees reflect distinct divisions—including making different pottery and participating in different sides of European conflicts—depending on physical location and social connections. As Yamasee communities moved hundreds of miles, they traced family connections through matrilineages and maintained ancestral place names and titles. While Yamasees did identify themselves as such when speaking or writing to Europeans, they often also identified themselves based on their personal and town name.

These personal, town, and larger identities do not overlap neatly with ceramic and other material practices.

Landscape of Practice: Diversity, Coalescence, and Hybridity

Yamasees in Central Georgia, South Carolina, East Florida, and West Florida made pottery of those regions at least as frequently as they maintained past traditions. As such, they demonstrate Worth's (2017) concept of a landscape of practice. This approach breaks assemblages down into practices and *chaîne opératoire* of decoration and temper to "explore their individual distributions within the broader landscape of practice" (Worth 2017: 154). His work and similar approaches do so by examining temper, decorations, motif designs, and design spacing before considering social, ethnic, and political connections and distinctions between communities. He maintains that potters mimic their neighbors more often than they channel their ancestors. I build on this landscape of practice approach by showing that differences in authority, such as the numbers of one group or another, cause the less influential group to adopt the traditions of the more influential group. The rest of this section outlines practice-based approaches before segueing to a discussion of diversity, hybridity, and unequal power.

Worth (2017) joined ethnoarchaeologist Olivier Gosselain (1992, 2000:191-193) in stating that certain *chaînes opératoires* or operational sequences relate more closely than others to changes in location or practice within a society. Soressi and Geneste (2011:335-336) trace the genealogy of such an operational approach, beginning with Leroi-Gourhan's (1993 [1964]) consideration of the term that derived from Marcel Mauss' (1927, 1947, 2006) examinations of societies through their bodily techniques.

Among such operational sequences, Sassaman and Rudolphi (2001) as well as Pigott (2015) focus on decoration size, patterning, directions, and the use of particular tools to distinguish potters or communities. Other archaeologists focus on temper. Gosselain (2000:191-192) used ethnographic observations to show temper changes less frequently in one place than do decorations or vessel forms. Philip Arnold (2003:24) similarly noted distances ranging from 0.4 to 5.5 km for clay and temper gathering in Veracruz, Mexico, tying resource gathering more closely to a place than other actions associated with ceramic production. Such observations allowed archaeologists such as Whyte (2017:161) to tie temper more closely than other operational sequences to particular places. Such examinations of operational sequences, however, do not explicitly consider relations between practices and unequal power dynamics.

The landscape of practice approach builds on communities of practice literature which similarly does not consider the role of unequal power in structuring social and material interaction (see Roberts 2006 for discussion). Communities of practice were first defined by social anthropologist Jean Lave and educational theorist Etienne Wenger (1991:98) as the “set of relations among persons, activity and world, over time in relation with other tangential and overlapping communities of practice...an intrinsic condition for the existence of knowledge.” Wenger (1998:118-119) emphasized that people learn as much from other practitioners as from masters and as such communities change constantly, organically, unconsciously, and in ways that cannot be easily bound. Such an understanding of learning derives in part from Polanyi’s (1966) idea that tacit knowledge of the working environment, larger surroundings, tradition, and community leads to

regenerated knowledge.

Ethnoarchaeology also considers the regeneration of knowledge and similarly lacks consideration of unequal power structures (see Gosselain 2017:222 for discussion). Ethnoarchaeologist Olivier Gosselain (2017:222) described practitioners as neither sticking to tradition nor fully adopting new ideas or structures, instead they change according to social, economic, and political circumstances in whichever ways they feel do not compromise themselves. Ethnoarchaeologist Margaret Friedrich (1970:342) stated that design structures do not connect to politically-bounded units. Without ethnographic observations or interviews to explain distinctions within assemblages, archaeologists have interpreted homogeneity, diversity, and hybridity in a variety of ways.

Archaeological Approaches to Diversity and Hybridity

Archaeologists often interpret assemblage diversity as demonstrating diverse ethnicities or interpret assemblage homogeneity as reflecting coalescence or standardization into a new identity. Considerations of hybridity range from considering two or more combined ways of speaking or categories of objects to explicit examination of the power structures that led to those combinations. Languages and ceramics have each been used to define groups of people. I demonstrate that Yamasees were often multilingual, often made multiple types of pottery, and that each of these hybrid practices were structured by their power relations. For example, Spanish and British colonists described Yamasees as speaking languages of powerful, interior groups— Muscogee, Hitchiti, Alabama-Koasati, and Cherokee— rather than coastal groups in Florida such as Guale, Timucua, or Apalachee. Such observations may reflect European biases; both

Spanish and British officials wished to expand into those areas and may have only noted those individuals who may have aided such efforts. This section begins by relating Yamasee assemblages to archaeological conceptions of diversity before connecting their ceramic and linguistic data to archaeological and anthropological conceptions of hybridity.

Archaeologists have interpreted homogeneous assemblages as demonstrating interaction to the point of standardization (MacEachern 1994; Ogundiran 2001) and diverse assemblages as indicating borders (Hodder 1982). Historical archaeologists Marcoux (2010) and Ginn (2009) respectively interpreted diverse and homogeneous ceramic assemblages, in different contexts, as representing coalesced communities. Jon Marcoux (2010) interpreted high levels of ceramic diversity at the historical Cherokee site of Townsend as demonstrating the coalescence of potters from different geographic areas. Sarah Ginn (2009) interpreted a homogeneous dominance of plain vessels at California missions as evidence of a coalesced community negotiating sameness rather than emphasizing past distinctions. These two approaches used historical documents to show coalescence of a new community and archaeology to demonstrate two potential responses to such coalescence—either emphasizing or deemphasizing distinct traditions. My analysis of diversity in Chapter 6 demonstrates that diversity in Yamasee decorations at Punta Rasa reflects either direct social connections to powerful local Creek Indians or indirect connections to those neighbors through the closer yet less powerful Apalachees. Assemblages at Punta Rasa and other locations are also hybrid in the sense they represented the influences of multiple Native American groups.

Using Yamasee ceramic data, I demonstrate how unequal power and demographic structures between Southeastern Indians created diverse and hybrid assemblages. For example, so-called Creek ceramic decorations of brushing and roughening outnumbered stamped Yamasee decorations at the eighteenth-century Yamasee site of Pensacola. I interpret this result as indicating the influence of Apalachees, who had lived among Lower Creeks, on the Yamasee assemblage. Similarly, a Timucuan assemblage in eighteenth-century St. Augustine had more sand/grit tempered pottery of Guales, Mocamans, and Yamasees than sponge-tempered Timucuan pottery. Such a result demonstrates the demographic dominance of Yamasees in eighteenth-century St. Augustine, which along with the presence of other Native Americans, led Timucuan to adopt new ceramic practices. Few other archaeologists explicitly examine assemblages that represent hybrids of multiple Native American groups (though see Sassaman 2005:356; Alt 2006:302; and Meyers 2017 for exceptions). Yamasees demonstrate that while Europeans influenced their physical movements to new locations, the material culture Yamasees produced in those new locations was affected by Native American rather than European social and political factors. In short, Yamasee ceramic assemblages across the Southeast represent the influences of neighboring Native American groups.

Several scholars have considered hybridity in terms of combined languages (Bakhtin 1981:272, 293, 304) while others followed Bhabha (1985:153-154) in considering the role of unequal power in influencing or dictating such combinations. Archaeologists and anthropologists referring to hybridity may thus refer to a vernacular definition of combining two types of things, a Bakhtinian consideration of combining

two ways of speaking (Bakhtin 1981: 272, 293, 304), or a Bhabian consideration of a third space of otherness with unequal status or power (Bhabha 1985:153-154, 1990:211). I relate Yamasee hybrid linguistic and material practices to the unequal power structures that shaped, and were shaped by, those practices. Yamasees often reinvented their ceramic practices as a result of moving hundreds of miles to new locations yet throughout the colonial era maintained their ethnic affiliation and language even as they learned other languages. Their linguistic and ceramic practices thus demonstrate hybridity in different ways.

Bakhtin (1981:304) defined a hybrid construction as “an utterance that belongs, by its grammatical (syntactic) and compositional markers, to a single speaker, but that actually contains mixed within it two utterances, two speech matters, two styles, two ‘languages,’ two semantic and axiological belief systems.” Such a definition demonstrates how one individual has multiple forms or styles of speaking. Multiple linguists (i.e. Drechsel 1994; Hofmeyr 1987:95-123; Martin 1994) have demonstrated how interaction between communities leads to pidgins, trade jargons, loan words, and other forms of multilingualism. Such discussions may also speak to Bhabha’s (1985:153) idea of hybridity within colonialism as “the effect of an ambivalence produced within the rules of recognition of dominating discourses as they articulate the signs of cultural difference.” For example, Silverstein (1996) explicitly discussed how changing power balances and physical movements led to ever-changing multilingual communities throughout colonial America. While the Yamasee language itself has only been discussed by linguists in terms of its lack of available data (i.e. Goddard 2005), historical

documents demonstrate how frequently Yamasees spoke multiple languages, including their own, Spanish, Hitchiti, Koasati, Muscogee, and Cherokee.

Yamasees spoke Native American languages of the interior rather than the Apalachee, Guale, and Timucua languages of Spanish Florida. Figures 1 and 2, excerpts from lists of Florida officers from Mexico's Franciscan Archives I examined in the Spellman Collection at the PK Yonge Library of the University of Florida, demonstrate that the Spanish friars who worked in the region rarely spoke Yamasee. At this point in the mid eighteenth-century Yamasees were the Spaniards' most numerous ally, meaning Franciscans either lacked the resources or interest to learn the Yamasee language. These Latin records list the *idiomates* or languages of Guale, Timucua, Apalachee, and Yamasee though friars are not listed as speaking Yamasee. Additionally, as shown in Figure 1, Juanes de Torree was already established as a speaker of Apalachee in 1750 and was nominated to translate for Guale as well. Rather than speaking through Franciscan friars or speaking languages indigenous to Florida, Yamasees learned Spanish and worked as translators, diplomats, and messengers for languages in the interior. Historian Tyler Boulware (2010:22) noted that Yamasees also spoke Cherokee. Europeans noticed linguistic connections between Yamasees and their neighbors but rarely described material practices or distinctions between groups and material practices. However, the social relationships between groups that led to multilingualism noted by European also influenced ceramic and other material practices of Native Americans.

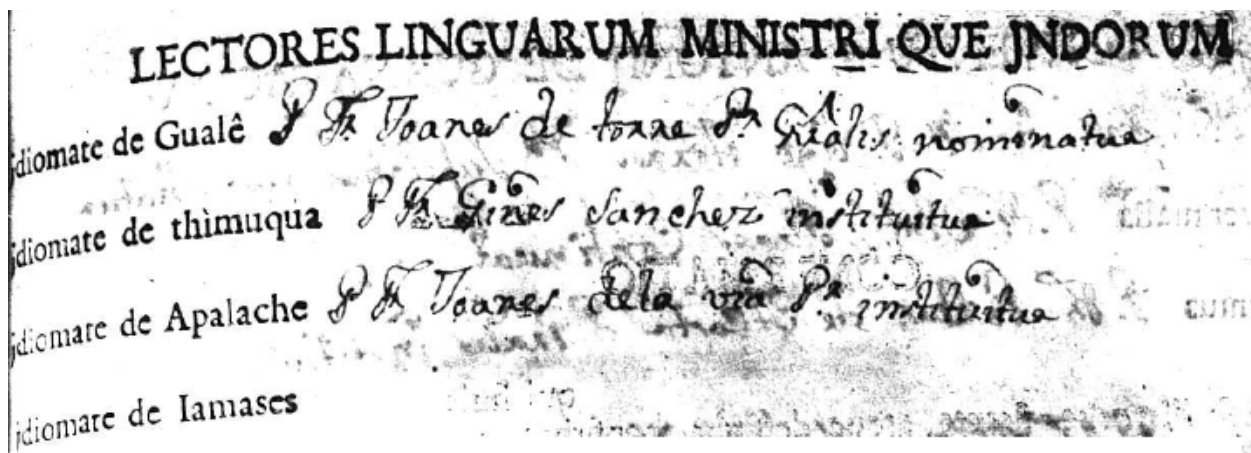


Figure 1. The Readers of Languages who Ministered to the Indians, 1750 Florida Officers.

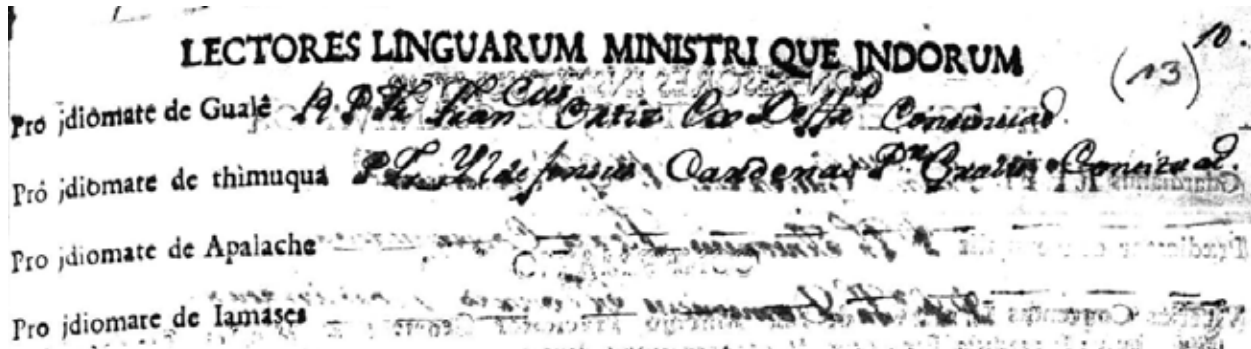


Figure 2. The Readers of Languages Who Ministered to the Indians, 1753 Florida Officers

My Yamasee case study demonstrates that material practices define communities differently than language, leadership, ethnicity or other definitions of social boundaries only directly offered by historical documents. Correlations between distinct material patterns recognizable in the archaeological record and political or ethnic identity may exist but must be demonstrated rather than assumed. Yamasee potters utilized ancestral and neighboring ceramic techniques. Depending on differences in authority between those neighbors, Yamasees either replaced or adopted their techniques and temper sources. Aside from the fact that Spanish and British partnerships led them to move, Europeans had less direct influence on Yamasee material transformations than

neighboring Native Americans. As such, Yamasees offer a cautionary tale for archaeological interpretation of material culture as signaling ethnic or linguistic identity. I used a combination of historical and archaeological methods to reach these conclusions.

Archaeological and Historical Methods

For this dissertation, I conducted archaeological field and lab work with the University of West Florida, analyzed that assemblage as well as published and unpublished archaeological data, and conducted archival research. My archaeological field and lab work with the University of West Florida identified and interpreted Yamasee Mission San Antonio de Punta Rasa. I began this process by speaking with 45 landowners and receiving permission to excavate from all but a few. Fifteen test units at Mulat Bayou recovered no definitively Yamasee or Spanish material while 125 50 x 50 centimeter shovel tests established the boundary of such material near Garcon Point. Excavations near the three shovel tests with the most eighteenth-century material were limited to four 1 x 1 meter test units given time and budget constraints. As discussed in Chapter 5, these excavations along the shore of Escambia Bay also showed evidence of plowing, but the Native American artifact assemblage appeared strikingly similar to the Spanish garrison at Santa Rosa Island as reported by Harris and Eschbach (2006). Chapter 5 also compares the Yamasee assemblage to the Spanish garrison and to the neighboring Apalachee assemblage using University of West Florida data to demonstrate the role Yamasees played in Pensacola's landscape.

In Chapter 6, I compare the Pensacola-area Yamasee assemblage I analyzed to other archaeological assemblages from published and unpublished data. Alex Sweeney

and Dr. Eric Poplin at Cultural Resource Management Firm Brockington and Associates shared unpublished data of Yamasee sites in South Carolina and allowed me to view ceramic assemblages on-site. Data for St. Augustine Yamasee and other Native American sites has been published in Master's theses (White 2002; Boyer 2005) and by Glifford Waters (2005, 2009). I interpreted materials from Pre-Yamasee sixteenth-century chiefdoms using published data of the Dyar and Bell sites (Smith 1994; Williams 1983). While not definitively the sites of the same chiefdoms that coalesced into a Yamasee identity, these sites are in the same geographic area and the same time period, with much larger assemblages of unmixed contexts. Yamasee settlements have not been identified or interpreted in the Tallahassee area of Florida. However I examined secondary sources (Byrne 1988; Fairbanks 1964; Stacy 1967a, 1967b) and site file forms to present data interpreted as either Creek, Seminole, or historic Native American to map and rank possible Yamasee settlements based on historical descriptions.

Historical documents offer more than descriptions of sites and individuals but also the words of Yamasees themselves and their neighbors as well as trade lists, censuses, peace treaties, and other elements of their daily, economic, and political lives. My historical research began while working for John Worth at the University of West Florida where I cataloged, scanned, and partially transcribed his collection as well as Stetson, Coker, Hann, and Childers collections. I also conducted my own on-site work at Mexico's National Archives—several documents I cite in this dissertation resulted from this work and were translated by John Worth and Danielle Dadiago. Other translations are my own. My on-site work at University of Florida's P.K. Yonge Library examined

Spellman's collection from Mexico's Franciscan archives, revealing linguistic insights offered in this introduction, as well as whole bundles of documents copied from the Archive of the Indies, including Cesar Augustus' letter analyzed in Chapter 3. Much of this material in Spanish remains underutilized by historians in comparison to British documents and further marriage and baptismal records of Spanish Florida likely exist in Havana, Cuba.

I built on this historical research at William and Mary, where I examined our own collections of British documents and conducted research at other archives. Particularly relevant material came from the *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia* and South Carolina materials in *Documents Relating to Indian Affairs*, *Journals of the Commissioners of the Indian Trade*, *Records in the British Public Record Office Relating to South Carolina*, and *Journals of the Commons House of Assembly of South Carolina*. Many of these volumes are also available online. I supplemented this material with visits to the Newberry Library, the Smithsonian's National Anthropological Archives, the New York Historical Society, the Clements Library of the University of Michigan, and the South Carolina Department of Archives and History. Given the increased use of British documents more than those in Spanish by historians, I found only isolated references to Yamasees that other scholars did not notice, such as an eighteenth-century "Andrés the Spaniard"—actually Yamasee Andrés Escudero—that British agents noted negotiating with Upper Creeks. While individual British traders or superintendents kept careful records, in general Spanish records offered more careful details about group identities, translations, and other information given their longer history of colonial bureaucracies in

the Americas (see Haring 1947 for discussion of Spanish bureaucracies).

In addition to varying British and Spanish perspectives, my analysis of financial, religious, military, and diplomatic records illuminates how Yamasees described authority as a process and used that process to dictate terms to Europeans and conduct actions against other Native Americans. My use of archaeological data, particularly my own excavations at San Antonio de Punta Rasa, show changes in Yamasee material culture from the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries. The rest of this introduction discusses individual dissertation chapters, which are organized roughly chronologically.

Yamasee Ethnogenesis and the Colonial Southeast

Chapter 2 describes seventeenth-century Yamasees' coalescence from Mississippian-era chiefdoms encountered by Hernando de Soto and other Spaniards and . Ethridge (2017) described this Mississippian world as a stable mosaic of infrastructures through which services, information, materials, and people flowed between sophisticated polities. Chiefs, spokesmen, interpreters, traders, and warriors visited neighboring or enemy towns, both offering and receiving gifts. Larger centers redistributed gifts to and collected tribute from smaller ones; Altamaha, for example, paid tribute to Ocute. Such procedures extended to Mississippian-era centers that collapsed before European contact, such as Moundville (Blitz 2008). Hierarchies between centers persisted or shifted during the sixteenth and later centuries as chiefdoms coalesced into confederacies, though these chiefdoms lasted for nearly a century after European contact before coalescing into a Yamasee identity.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Yamasee among other Native

Americans emerged as ethnic groups and transitioned from chiefdoms to confederacies. Such ethnic groups were defined by Native American leaders on Spanish and British censuses. In this sense, “a person’s race might be described as a short-hand summation of social network” (Cope 1994:83). Using documents and material culture that reflect such networks, I join other archaeologists (i.e., Comaroff 1987; Hegmon 1998: 272) inspired by Fredrick Barth’s (1969, 1987) consideration of ethnicity as a dynamic, multivariate entity—something people do, not something people are.

To quote ethnohistorian Patricia Galloway, chiefdoms “organized hierarchically though a system of ranked kinship groups” (Galloway 1994: 395) became a confederacy of “a series of autonomous villages articulated as a tribal organization” (Galloway 1994: 393). Native Americans maintained earlier diplomatic protocols and other traditions even in this new sociopolitical reality (Galloway 1998:6). As Voss (2008:13, 33) described in colonial California, groups negotiated meanings and practices, demonstrating a unified but not necessarily uniform front to outsiders. Archaeologist Sarah Ginn (2009:297) described these communities as gaining new cultural expressions as a result of coalescence and outlined the role plain ceramics played in mediating those communities through neutral, undecorated pottery. Yamasee material culture played a different role in their ethnogenesis.

Yamasees coalesced from Tama, Ocute, Ichisi chiefdoms as a result of Westo raids, sponsored by Virginia colonists. These Westos (also known as Chichimecos and Richahecrians) left the Northeast to move along the Savannah River and raid other Southeastern Native Americans for slaves from their 1656 agreement with Virginia

traders until colonists armed Savannahs to destroy them in 1682 (Bowne 2009; Meyers 2009; Gallay 2009). The process of coalescence may have begun before Westo raids, but after leaving the area attacked by Westos and moving *en masse* two hundred miles to the Georgia coast, the groups became known as Yamasees. They also shifted entirely from incised to stamped ceramic designs, a process that either began shortly after their ethnogenesis and physical movement or occurred within a few years of those processes. Yamasees emerged as an ethnicity as they migrated from the Georgia interior to the coast and shifted from incised to stamped ceramic designs.

Large confederacies, mapped in Figure 3, emerged as ethnicities during the colonial era. However, most Native Americans maintained loyalties more to their



Figure 3. Yamasees and the Colonial Southeast

extended families and towns than diplomatic affairs at a larger scale. Yamasees, for example, fought simultaneously on opposite sides of British-Spanish conflicts during the colonial era. Throughout the dissertation I demonstrate that the reinvention associated with their ethnogenesis continued—while they identified as Yamasees in each region, different regions of Yamasees emphasized different social and political connections while transforming their ceramic practices in distinct ways.

I demonstrate that colonial Yamasees in East Georgia, South Carolina, East Florida, and West Florida utilized neighboring Native American ceramic traditions more than they maintained those of their ancestors in Central Georgia. Sixteenth-century Central Georgian chiefdoms Altamaha, Ocute, and Ichisi encountered by Hernando de Soto exchanged material goods with him, initially through messengers, and offered provisions for the Spaniards' journey. Among these chiefdoms, Altamaha leader Zamuno paid tribute to Ocute and potters throughout the region made ceramics tempered with sand or grit and decorated with incisions. The term Yamasee emerged in the 1660s along Georgia coast, where Yamasees moved near the Guales and Mocamans and adopted their ceramic traditions—termed Altamaha—decorated with stamped designs. Other Yamasees briefly lived along the St. John's River and a longer-term community joined Apalachee Province in Western Florida, likely making pottery akin to Apalachees. Attacks by pirates, coupled with Spanish inability to defend them, led Yamasees to leave Florida to join the Lower Creeks along the Chattahoochee River or join the British near Port Royal Sound. The British slave trade collapsed due to a lack of targets and Yamasees started the Yamasee War of 1715 before leaving the Port Royal Sound area to either the

Chattahoochee River where they adopted Lower Creek pottery designs or St. Augustine where Yamasee/Guale/Mocama ceramic traditions dominated the entire city. From St. Augustine, one group moved to West Florida, took advantage of linguistic connections to negotiate with Upper Creeks, and made pottery balancing Yamasee traditions with those of local Apalachees who previously lived among the Lower Creeks. Throughout this dissertation I demonstrate how social and linguistic connections to other Native Americans influenced Yamasee movements and political negotiations.

Seventeenth-Century Yamasees: Connections to Guales, Mocamans, Apalachees, and Creeks

Chapter 2 also describes seventeenth-century connections to Guales and Mocamans of the Georgia Coast, Apalachees near Tallahassee, Florida, as well as Lower Creeks of West Georgia and East Alabama that led Yamasees to adopt new practices. While Yamasees across the Southeast maintained an identity as Yamasees, their movements to distinct areas led them to reinvent ceramic traditions by often adopting those of their neighbors. In the 1680s, Yamasees lived along the Chattahoochee River among Creek Indians, in West Florida among Apalachees, in Central Florida not far from the Jororo province, and along the Georgia coast among the Mocama and Guale.

In the seventeenth century Yamasees lived near and among both Mocama and Guale Indians while residing principally in abandoned Mocama territory along the Georgia coast just south of the Guale province and just north of Mocama Province. Guales made stamped pottery from AD 1300-1600 termed Irene before making similar pottery termed Altamaha. They represented the northern limit of Spanish success from St.

Augustine (Saunders 2000:27). Linguistic information is limited but Sturtevant (1994) interpreted their language as an isolate. Guales rebelled against the Spanish capital of Santa Elena in 1576 and 1580 after trading with the French throughout the 1560s and 1570s; such conflict and French trade continued with rebellions in 1597 and 1645 (Milanich 1999:105; Oatis 2004:24). Colonial Mocamans spoke a Timucuan language and had towns from Guadalquini to the north whose potters made Altamaha pottery to San Juan del Puerto to the south, where sponge-tempered St. John's ceramics were common. Towns in between made grog-tempered San Pedro wares. By 1650, Mocama potters made Altamaha/San Marcos pottery (Milanich 1996, 2000; Ashley 2009). In the seventeenth century, Guales included six primary towns and Mocama four (Worth 1995:10-12). Outlying satellite villages physically relocated to these central towns but maintained a distinct identity, including hereditary titles (Worth 1995:12-15). Yamasees moved into these Guale and Mocama Provinces, paid tribute to at least one Mocama leader, adopted Guale and Mocama ceramic techniques, outnumbered their populations, and contributed the most to the Spanish labor draft in St. Augustine. Given the distances between Guale, Mocama, and Yamasee towns, their shared ceramic practices likely represent not learning directly shared but instead indirect social connections and tacit knowledge structured through Spanish, Guale, and Mocama political control.

Pirate attacks in 1683 destroyed these coastal provinces, leading Yamasees to leave Spanish Florida entirely to move near Charleston and Guales and Mocamans to ultimately move to St. Augustine. Yamasees became close allies for the British slave trade. South Carolina communities included Yamasees from the Chattahoochee River and

from the Georgia coast, as well as some Guales from that area who largely lived in separate towns. These new communities, which existed from the 1680s or later until 1715, made pottery akin to that made by earlier Yamasees, Mocamans, and Guales along the Georgia coast while maintaining political and linguistic connections to Cherokees to the north as well as the towns of Chiaha, Taskigi, and Apalachicola among the Lower Creeks to the southwest.

Yamasee ties to Lower Creeks included physically living in or near their towns and speaking their language. The lower Chattahoochee River Valley initially included local Apalachicolans and immigrants such as Westos and Yuchis (Worth 2000:267). Pottery changes in the sixteenth and seventeenth century—the adoption of shell tempered pottery with distinctive incised, brushed, and burnished decorations—likely reflect both local adoption of non-local designs and immigration to the area (Worth 2000:268-270). Hitchiti-speaking towns included at least Oconee, Ocmulgee, Sawolki, Apalachiola, and Hitchiti and Muscogee-speaking towns included Kolomi, Kasita, and Coweta. An Alabama-Koasati speaking Tuskegee town, in addition to the one among the Upper Creeks near present-day Montgomery, existed as one of the northern-most Lower Creek towns (Worth 2000:271). This town is persistently associated with Yamasees and Yamasee connections with Lower Creeks grew later in the seventeenth century.

Both Spanish and British individuals noted individuals in the Koasati-speaking town of Tuskegee in Alabama as speaking Yamasee and described them as belonging to the Yamasee “nation” (Hann 1988:363; Salley 1907a:10; Green 1991:24; Worth 2004:248). In the late seventeenth century, the Charleston trade tempted many if not all

Creeks to move from the lower Chattahoochee River to the Ocmulgee, Oconee, and Savannah Rivers to fight more closely for the English (Worth 2000:278-286). Among these towns, Chiaha was described as Yamasee by one Charleston trader (McDowell 1955:42). As a result of the 1715 Yamasee War, Creek towns returned to the Chattahoochee River and some Yamasees maintained close ties to them and lived near them while others who moved to St. Augustine maintained what Hahn ([2019]) calls the “Long Yamasee War.”

Other seventeenth-century Yamasees had a town in Apalachee Province in northwest Florida or lived in San Luis, the Apalachee capital town with the largest Spanish presence. Apalachees descended from pre-colonial Fort Walton chiefdoms, but by the mission period shifted their ceramic tradition from predominantly incised and plain Fort Walton pottery to the stamped and pinched-rim decorations of Lamar groups to the north (Scarry 1985; Worth 2009). Scarry (2010:23-41) interpreted persistent pre-colonial social and political norms, including protecting women and children, as leading Apalachees to attack Hernando de Soto. By 1608, Apalachees at the town of Ivitachuco and perhaps Inihayca desired a Spanish alliance to expand their control (Hann 1988:11). Spanish missionization grew in earnest in the 1630s. At this time, eleven largely independent major Apalachee villages each possessed one to five satellite villages with a total population of about 34,000 people, the largest allied with the Spanish (Hann 1988:14; Hoffman 2002:109).

Yamasees migrated to Apalachee Province by 1675. Hann (1988:35-37) described 300 Yamasees as living in the Candelaria or Purification mission de la Tama near

Mission San Luis, a large Apalachee town with the largest Spanish presence in the province. While invisible archaeologically, the town name Tama existed at the same time as Altamaha Town that existed in South Carolina and the Tama on Amelia Island, but before the establishment of the before post-1715 Tamatlé towns in Apalachee Province and along the Apalachicola River. These town names not only likely refer to each other but also demonstrate a shared connection to the Tama and Altamaha of sixteenth-century Georgia. In addition to these towns with a distinctly Yamasee name, Hann (1988:42, 173) described Yamasees in the Chine mission and Mission San Luis. Spanish governors gave Yamasees separate treatment during official visitations to air grievances, though due to the small size of the town and the different language they spoke, Spanish friars treated it as a low priority.

In 1704, Colonel James Moore and his 1,000 Indian allies destroyed the entire Apalachee Province. Some 1,300 surrendered, another 1,000 were taken as slaves, and still others moved west to Pensacola. Yamasees largely surrendered, though some had abandoned the province before the attacks; both actions demonstrate connections to the Creeks who attacked them (Hann 1988:269, 294).

Seventeenth-century Yamasees living in Apalachee province spoke Hitchiti. Diego Camuñas was paid by Spaniards to interpret for the Guale and Yamasee languages and for the town of Apalachicola in the late seventeenth century and another Yamasee bragged to the Spanish about his ability to dress and speak like an Apalachicolan (Hann 1988, 2006:12). In addition to these connections, a Yamasee town Tamatlé was on the Chattahoochee/Apalachicola River and a “New” Tamatlé existed just to the south in

Apalachee Province from ca. 1720 to 1763. Both of these towns likely made Creek pottery, roughened and brushed, rather than Yamasee stamped ceramics. In addition to these Tamatle Yamasees, others lived elsewhere in the eighteenth century.

West and East Florida Yamasees of the Eighteenth Century: Ties to the Spanish, Creeks, and Seminoles

Chapter 3 discusses Yamasees in St. Augustine, “Old” Tamatles along the Apalachicola River in between Lower Creek towns, and “New” Tamatles in Apalachee Province. These communities made distinct political decisions to live in Spanish missions in St. Augustine, near a Spanish store and garrison in Apalachee, or among the Creeks. I also demonstrate that each of these communities practiced ancestral, local, and neighboring ceramic traditions. In St. Augustine, Altamaha/San Marcos pottery made by Guales, Mocamans, and Yamasees at least co-dominated Timucuan assemblages as well. “New Tamatle” potters in Apalachee Province likely made ceramics like their Lower Creek neighbors, though as yet this site is unknown archaeologically. Similarly, “Old” Tamatle Yamasees likely joined other groups that migrated to join Creeks and adopted brushing and roughening techniques. These three eighteenth-century Yamasees made distinct political decisions which led to distinct ceramic traditions as well as their fates during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Many Yamasees among Lower Creeks, including Old Tamatle Yamasees and New Tamatles that joined them after 1763, coalesced into the Seminole Nation in the early nineteenth century. While Yamasees played a role in the ethnogenesis of that group of Seminoles, they played a different role for Alachuan Seminoles in East Florida. I use

William Bartram's 1770s descriptions of Yamasees within Seminole territory to show that Alachuans justified their possession of Florida to the British by describing their attacks on the Spanish and conquest of St. Augustine-allied Yamasees. Ahaya Secoffee, known as Cowkeeper, led 45 warriors during Oglethorpe's 1740 attack on St. Augustine (Lanning 1954: 55, 155). His group of Seminoles became known as Alachua and the term Seminole was first applied to them by the British in 1765 (Sturtevant 1971). These Alachuans fought with the British and Spanish in 1812 and Georgia and Tennessee militia burned two towns, leading Alachuans to move south, where they housed Creeks who left the Apalachicola River after Andrew Jackson burned their towns in 1817-1818 (Sturtevant 1971:102-107). While Alachuans proved critical for early nineteenth-century history, I demonstrate that success emerged in part due to the fact they articulated conquest of Yamasees from 1740-1763.

Oglethorpe's 1740 attack on St. Augustine included the Seminole leader Cowkeeper as well as a Yamasee-Cherokee warrior Caesar Augustus. Their attacks led Andrés Escudero and other Yamasees to move to Pensacola to pursue diplomatic options with Upper Creeks. The rhetoric of Caesar Augustus, Andrés Escudero, and Upper Creeks translated by Escudero demonstrate a regional use of ritual speech, including a balance between vengeance and mercy. I analyze this balance, show it extended beyond larger the town or society level to the individual, and suggest that such individual balance affected European policies and actions.

Yamasee Rhetoric: Authority among Southeastern Indians

Chapter 4 analyzes the ritual speech of Yamasee Caesar Augustus and Andrés

Escudero as well as Upper Creek leader Acmucaiche. Although he never took action, Caesar Augustus, Yamasee-Cherokee, “King of the Indians,” threatened to burn St. Augustine in 1740 in a letter that invoked his regional authority through a tattoo. In another case, multilingual Yamasee Andrés Escudero, while leading a Spanish mission town from 1749-1761, negotiated peace between the Spanish and Upper Creeks before destroying an Upper Creek town allied to the Spanish after that peace was broken. Although a diplomat, this leader described such retaliation as natural. Rhetoric and signs from these two Yamasees—one a warrior who threatened vengeance and another a diplomat who took it—demonstrate how Native Americans gained, enforced, and justified authority in the colonial Southeast, including over Europeans.

Yamasees did not live among Upper Creeks but connected to them linguistically and diplomatically during the eighteenth century. The term used by British colonists glossed over regions described by Spaniards: Alabamas at the headwaters of the Alabama River, Tallapoosas along the lower Tallapoosa River, Okfuskees farther upstream, and Abihkas along the Coosa River. These regions in turn glossed over distinctions between towns (Waselkov and Smith 2000:242). Abihkas migrated from the sixteenth-century of Coosa in northwest Georgia and joined an indigenous group at the Coosa river in the seventeenth century before hosting Chickasaw, Natchez, and Shawnee refugee towns in the mid-eighteenth century (Waselkov and Smith 2000:244). Tallapoosas descended from local prehistoric populations and include archaeologically-identified towns such as Big Tallassee, Tukabatchee, Hoithlewaulee, Hickory Ground, and Fusihatchee (Waselkov and Smith 2000:250). Instead of these groups, Yamasee connected more explicitly to

Alabamas.

Alabamas moved into central Alabama in the seventeenth century, changed their material culture, and maintained external relationships to areas from which they moved. Eighteenth-century towns included Coosada, Tubani, and Taskigi towns (Waselkov and Smith 2000: 248; Shuck-Hall 2009:259). Archaeological excavations at Taskigi reveal that potters soon abandoned their earlier shell-tempering in favor of using sand, the local Upper Creek standard (Waselkov and Smith 2000:249). At the same time, Alabama-Koasati leadership terms demonstrate alliances extended to Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Yamasees. Alabamas, Coushattas, and other Creeks adopted the Choctaw word *mingo* meaning headman to replace the Muskogean word *micco* in titles such as *Fannimingo* and *Tamatlemingo* (Ethridge 2010: 228; Piker 2004:23; Galloway 2006:256, 271). Adoption of the Yamasee town name Tamatle, particularly in conjunction with the adoption of another neighbor's term, may also reflect a diplomatic connection to Yamasees. Other diplomatic connections included two Shawnee towns among those who signed a treaty between Upper Creeks and Pensacola, as mediated through Yamasee Andres Escudero in 1758 (Appendix A). Support by the University of West Florida and the College of William and Mary allowed me to locate Andres Escudero's town archaeologically.

Eighteenth-Century Yamasees of Pensacola: Archaeological Recovery and Analysis

Chapter 5 describes the process of locating Yamasee Mission San Antonio de Punta Rasa in Pensacola as well as my interpretation of its ceramic assemblage. Yamasees moved to the area to develop economic and diplomatic connections with

Lower and Upper Creeks and in so doing contributed to the economic development of the Spanish garrison. Similarities between the Spanish garrison and Yamasee mission assemblages demonstrate that such economic development extended to their own trade in pottery and that Spaniards did not affect Yamasee ceramic production techniques. Their connections to local Apalachees and more distant and powerful Upper Creeks led potters to make use of local, ancestral, and neighboring ceramic traditions.

I identified the Yamasee Mission San Antonio de Punta Rasa using several Spanish and British maps that consistently described Yamasees as across the bay from present-day downtown Pensacola and mentioned no other Native Americans living in the area. My archaeological investigations—with the help of University of West Florida students and staff—bounded the site and conducted sufficient other 50 x 50 cm and 1 x 1 meter units to offer a statistically-viable sample of the Native American assemblage. Archaeological recovery revealed mixed contexts, marked by plow scars and the mixture of materials across centuries. This material ranged from pottery dating to about 3000 years before present to potentially twentieth-century glass and also included British, Spanish, and postbellum objects. I identified, counted, weighed, and cataloged objects with the help of University of West Florida staff who are also curating materials, notes, and photos from this excavation.

While a mixed context, comparisons of the Yamasee assemblage at Punta Rasa to the Apalachee assemblage at San Joseph de Escambe and the Spanish garrison assemblage at Santa Rosa demonstrate significant similarities in tempers and decorations. Tempers in particular are very similar at all three sites and demonstrate resources shared

between Apalachees and Yamasees in the Pensacola area. Decorations and surface treatments overlap more closely with Yamasees and the Spanish garrison than between Apalachees and the Spanish garrison. Significant similarity between the Yamasee assemblage and the Native American assemblage at the Spanish garrison thus demonstrates not only that the Yamasees likely were the only Native American occupants after the Archaic period at that site, but that Yamasees likely made more pottery for the Spanish than the Apalachees. The Yamasee assemblage reflects brushing and roughening decorations associated with Creeks, San Marcos stamped pottery associated with Yamasees, as well as incised designs common to Pensacola and associated with Apalachees.

As a result of political connections to Upper Creeks and physical proximity to Apalachees who made Creek-like pottery, Pensacola-area Yamasees in turn made ceramics similar to those of Creeks more often than they maintained their ceramic traditions. Despite such ceramic similarities, few Pensacola-area Yamasees lived among the Creeks. Trade and diplomatic relations with Creek Indians—mediated in the eighteenth century by Apalachees and Yamasees—dictated the success or failure of the Spanish garrison at Pensacola. Apalachees who lived in the Pensacola area when Yamasees arrived in 1740 moved there after living among Lower Creeks in eastern Alabama and western Georgia. As a result of living among Lower Creeks, Pensacola-area Apalachee potters largely adopted Creek styles of brushing and roughening. The similarity of the Yamasee assemblage to that of the Creeks may reflect either direct shared learning between Apalachees and Yamasees, direct exchange of vessels from

either Apalachees or Creeks to Yamasees, or social connections that are more indirect.

While Apalachees and Yamasees lived about thirty miles apart after 1749, during the 1740s the five miles that separated an undiscovered Apalachee settlement on the mouth of the Escambia River and an undiscovered Yamasee site along Escambia Bay likely allowed for shared learning practices. Direct discussion of Yamasee travel and ceramic practice does not exist in the historical record, though ethnoarchaeological comparisons demonstrate a roughly that distance as a boundary for shared practice. More specifically, Blanchard's (1999) canoe travels along the Southwest Florida coast offered a rough estimate of 2.5 miles an hour and Arnold's (2003:24) ceramic ethnoarchaeology in Veracruz, Mexico estimated an upper limit of 3 hours of round-trip travel time.

The nature of interactions between these two settlements, and the two later missions recovered archaeologically that existed about thirty miles apart, were not described by the Spanish, who did note both groups visited the Spanish garrison on Santa Rosa Island. However, Creek influence on Yamasee pottery likely occurred through their Apalachee neighbors. The Apalachee assemblage is more Creek-like with brushing and roughening decorations and also has more incised designs, while Yamasees maintained more of their ancestral stamped designs. Such distinctions make sense given that Apalachees rather than Yamasees lived among the Lower Creeks. Given these differences, and the similarity of the Yamasee assemblage to the Santa Rosa garrison, Punta Rasa demonstrates the role of Native American social and political relationships on material culture. In addition, a few Altamaha/San Marcos sherds at the Apalachee mission may reflect social connections to Yamasees.

Yamasee Ceramics: Continuity, Change, and Diversity over Time and Space

Chapter 6 develops the idea that while opportunities offered by European colonists led to movements and other actions by Native Americans, social and political relationships to other Native Americans rather than Europeans affected continuity and change in material culture. I compare my ceramic data at Punta Rasa to published and unpublished data of other Yamasee sites to demonstrate distinct ceramic practices within one ethnic group, whose towns were separated by hundreds of years and miles. In addition to interpreting surface treatment and temper data in ways comparable across sites using tables and graphs, I analyzed diversity statistics for surface treatments. Ceramic practices changed dramatically according to time and space yet historical documents demonstrate that Yamasees demonstrated a strong ethnic identity and political influence in the Southeast. Different locations, as well as the social and political relationships in those locations, often led to new Yamasee ceramic practices. As such, distinctions between Yamasee assemblages in different regions demonstrate the impact of indigenous peoples on the practices of other indigenous groups rather than influence of European practices.

I directly compared the constituent tempers, decorations, and rim treatments that archaeologists use to define those types and varieties. This process ensures not only that identical types such as San Marcos and Altamaha—respectively defined in Florida and Georgia as largely stamped wares made by Yamasees—were compared directly, but that changes within decorations and tempers of those types were evaluated as well. Sherds with multiple tempers or decorations were counted once per instance. As a whole,

sixteenth-century Dyar and Bell Phase assemblages demonstrate largely uniform use of sand/grit temper with incised designs while seventeenth-century assemblages in South Carolina shift almost completely to stamped designs. Eighteenth-century assemblages at St. Augustine continue such trends while the eighteenth-century assemblage at Pensacola's Punta Rasa demonstrates diverse techniques and tempers. Significant ceramic transformations occurred as a result of seventeenth-century Yamasee ethnogenesis and 1740 movement to Pensacola.

Assemblages from sixteenth-century chiefdoms to seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Yamasee towns demonstrate how material changes through time and space relate to social circumstances. Unequal power relations contribute to assemblage diversity and hybridity. For example, co-dominance of so-called Yamasee pottery at a largely Timucuan site in eighteenth-century St. Augustine and of so-called Creek pottery at an eighteenth-century Yamasee site in Pensacola demonstrates the role of unequal relations between Yamasees and their neighbors on ceramic production. Yamasees took advantage of political opportunities and, in so doing, broke down social boundaries between communities using material and linguistic practices. My approach joins only a few others (Sassaman 2005:356; Alt 2006:302; Meyers 2017) who have explicitly examined assemblages that reflected hybrid practices between multiple Native American groups rather than between Native Americans and Europeans. In addition, my analysis contributes to relationships between diverse communities and assemblages.

Diversity, or lack thereof, has been interpreted in a variety of ways by archaeologists. For example, some (i.e. MacEachern 1994; Ogundiran 2001) interpret

homogeneous assemblages as reflecting high levels of interaction to the point of standardization. Others such as Sarah Ginn (2009) interpret similar assemblages as multiple ethnic groups unconsciously emphasizing similarities. Diverse assemblages may indicate border zones (as interpreted by Hodder 1982) or towns representing coalesced communities maintaining their ancestral traditions (as interpreted by Marcoux 2010). Such options do hold true for diverse or homogenous Yamasee assemblages. Large Mississippian centers at Dyar and Bell are not diverse and likely reflect standardization. Low diversity at St. Augustine sites reflect standardization even among small populations given a shared landscape of practice. The fairly diverse site of Huspah in South Carolina may reflect its border between Yamasee and Guale communities. However, in addition to being a border zone that maintained ancestral techniques, the Punta Rasa assemblage demonstrates local and neighboring ceramic traditions. Yamasees offered a rare opportunity to trace assemblage changes through time and space while making local comparisons and in turn develop archaeological considerations of hybridity and diversity. Chapter 2 begins this discussion by considering Yamasee ethnogenesis and changing ceramic practices between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Chapter 2: Yamasee Ethnogenesis, Authority, and Practice: From Sixteenth-Century Chiefdoms to the 1715 Yamasee War

This chapter considers Yamasee ethnogenesis, mobility, authority, and ceramic practices beginning with their sixteenth-century ancestors and ending with the 1715 Yamasee War. I demonstrate that Yamasee ethnogenesis, or “establishment of group distinctness” (Sturtevant 1971:92), occurred in response to physical movement of 200 miles of their entire community from the Georgia interior to the coast. I start by discussing chiefdoms in Central Georgia—Altamaha, Ocute, and Ichisi— that coalesced into Yamasees along the Georgia coast. From there, I demonstrate that Yamasee moved to the Georgia coast, South Carolina coast, Chattahoochee River, as well as Central and Western Florida and adopted not only to the diplomatic decisions but also the material traditions of their new neighbors.

Multiple Yamasee groups existed in different locations at the same time. Each of these groups self-identified as Yamasees but differed dramatically; at times such differences extended to fighting against each other and making different ceramics. Ceramic traditions thus mark locations and social relationships rather than ethnicity. This chapter demonstrates Yamasee political and material continuity and change, processes other scholars have noted in the Southeast (e.g. Sturtevant 1971; Galloway 1994, 1998, 2008; Weisman 2007; Jenkins 2009; Shuck-Hall 2009; Beck 2013) and elsewhere (e.g. Ginn 2009 and Voss 2008 in California) as a result of colonial coalescence. I also show the role of physical movements and new sociopolitical connections in Yamasee adoption of neighboring ceramic practices.

I use secondary sources, my own archival work, and unpublished archaeological

data to analyze sixteenth-century Yamasee ancestors as well as four Yamasee groups that existed in the late seventeenth century. Figure 4 depicts these communities and their movements, most of which moved entirely as communities using a mix of water and land travel. In addition to these community movements, Yamasee men moved as hunting, martial, or diplomatic groups, often hundreds of miles and at times with allied Native Americans. Yamasee men allied with the Spanish also worked seasonally in St. Augustine, which involved movement of up to 200 miles from their homes. Yamasees emerged as an ethnicity along the Georgia coast before moving to join the Mocama and Gule mission provinces in that area. Some from there moved to join Creeks along the Chattahoochee River while others moved to Apalachees in northwest Florida and to the upper St. Johns River in central Florida.



Figure 4: Colonial Movements of Yamasee Communities (Redrawn from Worth 2004: 246)

British-sponsored attacks on the Guale and Mocama Provinces led Yamasees to move from that area closer to British Charleston in the 1680s. At about the same time, Spanish abuses led Creeks and Yamasees among those communities to also move *en masse* closer to Charleston. Charleston-area Yamasees and other Native Americans raided against Spaniards, Yamasees, and other Native Americans in Spanish Florida. As these targets for slave raids collapsed, particularly beginning with the 1704 destruction of Apalachee Province and the subsequent depopulation of the southern Florida peninsula, British demanded Yamasees settle their debts or else face enslavement themselves. Instead, Yamasees murdered Charleston traders, temporarily allied other Southeastern Indians against Britain in the 1715 Yamasee War, and moved *en masse* from South Carolina to join Creeks and the Spanish once again.

My discussion of these communities offers a historical ethnography of 175 years of Yamasees and their ancestors in which I demonstrate persistent authority and changing ceramic practices. In each of these locations, their pottery became indistinguishable from that of their neighbors. Rather than making pottery similar to other Yamasees, Yamasee potters participated in Guale, Creek, and Apalachee landscapes of ceramic practice. Before Yamasee ethnogenesis, separate chiefdoms shared ceramic and diplomatic practices.

Hernando de Soto and Yamasee Ancestors

Hernando de Soto's chroniclers provide documentary evidence to interpret diplomatic traditions ancestral to Yamasees, including use of Altamaha as a town name and leader title, as well as regional traditions including exchanges of food and other gifts.

Charles Hudson (1997) offers the most detailed analysis of Soto's 4,000 mile or so trek across the Southeast from 1539-1543, including discussion of each of the four chronicles of the journey and thorough investigations of the locations they encountered. Among the towns visited by Hernando de Soto in 1540, Worth (2004:245) described Central Georgian chiefdoms of Altamaha (also known as Tama), Ocute, and Ichisi (also known as Chechesee, Chachisi, and Chasee) as later towns of the Yamasees. I use archaeological data from investigations by the LAMAR Institute and the University of Georgia at the Bell and Dyar sites as examples of ceramic assemblages of those chiefdoms before Yamasee ethnogenesis.

Hernando de Soto's encounters demonstrate regional diplomatic norms within societies of the Mississippian era. Robbie Ethridge (2017) described this Mississippian world as a stable mosaic of infrastructures through which services, information, materials, and people flowed between sophisticated polities. Larger centers redistributed gifts to and collected tribute from smaller ones. Chiefs, spokesmen, interpreters, traders, and warriors visited neighboring or enemy towns, both offering and receiving gifts. O'Brien (2002:80) described such protocols: visitors waited outside of a village, communicated with its leader through messenger, received gifts of food and shelter, and ritually smoked tobacco with the chief before starting negotiations. Smith and Hally (1992) described such negotiations as visits of paramount chiefs and their representatives to their subordinate chiefdoms. Knight (1986), among other archaeologists, interpreted paramount chiefs and warriors as having access to foreign goods as demonstrated in burials, control over a community's labor as evidenced by mound construction, and

control over the supernatural as expressed in animal and other motifs. Hierarchies and protocols persisted during the colonial era. As discussed in this and later chapters, Yamasees among other colonial Native American groups received foodstuffs when traveling as well as objects of adornment and other gifts for themselves and for distribution.

Hernando de Soto's dealings at Ichisi, Altamaha, and Ocute demonstrate such protocols and hierarchies. According to anthropologist Charles Hudson (1997:158-162), Hernando de Soto encountered the chiefdom of Ichisi— later known as Chechesee, Chachisi, or Chasee—at the Ocmulgee River, roughly near the present-day town of Westlake. After following trails and capturing Indians, his expedition came to a village near present-day Warner Robins and encountered a delegation of principal men offering gifts of deerskins and woven shawls. This ritualized protocol of offering food, gifts, tribute, a place to sleep, and porters to a visiting paramount chief also extended to asking, “Who are you; where did you come from; what do you want; where are you going?” At a small village subject to Ichisi, women in white mantles gave the Spaniards corn cakes and wild onions. The next day, Ichisi representatives ferried the Spanish in large dugout canoes to meet Ichisi, the title of the person who led the chiefdom of the same name. Ichisi gave more food to Soto as well as 15 porters, a guide, and an interpreter for finding and speaking to the nearby paramount chief at Ocute (Hudson 1997:158-162).

Later, representatives from Altamaha met Soto at the Oconee River. The next day, a messenger from Altamaha offered presents to Soto and dugout canoes to ferry the army. Soto, speaking to this messenger, sent word for Altamaha's leader, named Zamuno, to

come meet with him. The messenger replied Zamuno would come armed because his territory bordered that of a rival chiefdom Cofitachequi. Soto presented Zamuno with a large feather adorned with silver, to which Zamuno reportedly replied, “You are from Heaven, and this plume of yours which you have given me, I can eat with it; I shall go to war with it; I shall sleep with my wife with it.” This declaration reportedly amused Soto (Hudson 1997:162-164). While perhaps a trifle to Soto, his gift surpassed the exchange of food and lending of canoes or porters. Silver represented a rare gift from Soto, one no other Southeastern Indian would have possessed, and as discussed in Chapter 4 white feathers demonstrated not only peace and friendship but the ability to clean away bloody conflict from the landscape. The feather from either a Spanish hat or quill may have come from a waterfowl, which often demonstrated supernatural power due to the fact they did not fit neatly into categories of Upper or Lower World beings (Hudson 1976:144-145).

For such reasons, Soto apparently accidentally offered a gift that demonstrated authority and symbolic values in terms of rare, distant silver and a familiar, powerful white feather. I interpret Zamuno’s reply as a brief ritual response that initially described the authority of Soto, glossed or translated as “from heaven,” before describing the feather as such. Repeating “I shall” or “I can” in short, clear sentences that balanced going to war with maintaining himself and his family is similar to the eighteenth-century ritual speech that balanced vengeance and mercy I analyze in Chapter 4.

Soto did not always recognize such protocols. While amused by Zamuno’s response to an otherwise effective gift, Soto did recognize the role of food, translators, porters, and negotiations. While biased against Native Americans, his experience with

Pizarro in Peru instilled in him at least a limited appreciation for Native American knowledge and alliances. The four chronicles of the Soto expedition offered Hudson (1997) and subsequent scholars a wealth of material for analysis and comparison to evaluate the mechanics of Soto's interactions in particular locations across the Southeast. Such scholars have continued to interpret sixteenth-century negotiations by chiefdoms and connect them to eighteenth-century confederacies, as I do in this dissertation. In addition, I emphasize distinctions between political protocols and ceramic traditions, two well-documented aspects of Yamasee culture. I maintain that sixteenth-century political protocols persisted even though ceramics of Georgia chiefdoms transformed as a result of Yamasee ethnogenesis.

Pottery of Sixteenth-Century Yamasee Ancestors

While specific archaeological sites may correspond to Yamasee ancestral towns of Ocute and Altamaha as described by Soto's chroniclers, I use the Dyar and Bell sites as assemblages for interpreting ceramics of Yamasee ancestors. Hudson (1994: 177, 1997:163-165) hypothesized that the principal town of Altamaha was the Shinholser mound site near Milledgeville, Georgia and interpreted Ocute as the Shoulderbone archaeological site near present-day Sparta, Georgia. Worth's (1994:119) use of historical documents showed that the distance from Shinholser and Shoulderbone roughly corresponded to Hernando de Soto's day of travel between Altamaha and Ocute. Archaeological investigation by Williams (1990b:107) at Shoulderbone identified only a very small population in 1540. Similarly, the Shinholser site, which may have been Altamaha, demonstrates a very limited occupation and mixed contexts (Williams

1990a:67-136, 157). Non-populous towns may have still housed paramount chiefdoms, as demonstrated by the Coosa chiefdom at the Little Egypt site (Hally 1994:228; Hudson 1997:215), though in these cases do not offer sufficient ceramic assemblages for statistical analysis.

Rather than compare very small sites and potentially mixed contexts, I used data from larger assemblages of contemporary sites with less disturbed archaeological contexts. Assemblages from the Dyar phase (ca. 1520-1570) are contemporary with Soto's expeditions while the subsequent Bell phase (ca. 1580-1640) is contemporary with later Spanish expeditions that noted the same chiefdoms. While not definitively identified with the chiefdoms that became Yamasee, these assemblages offer comparative value to trace transformations resulting from the genesis of a Yamasee identity and their subsequent mobility.

Pottery in the Dyar (ca. 1520-1570) and Bell (ca. 1580-1640) phases both involved the use of sand/grit temper and largely incised designs. During the mid-sixteenth-century Dyar Phase, potters largely incised their pottery though also made more stamped pottery and less plain pottery than in earlier phases. Incised lines greater than 4 millimeters form scrolls on the top of incurved *cazuela* bowls, generally with unfolded rims, akin to the Lamar Bold Incised type depicted in Figure 5. Complicated stamping occurred on larger excurvate rim jars, and jars as a whole have folded, pinched, or notched rims (Williams 1983:52-53). This Dyar phase pottery is common throughout the area though for these comparisons I utilized an unmixed provenience from the Dyar Site.



Figure 5: Dyar Phase Lamar Bold Incised Pot (Image from Peach State Archaeological Society Website < <http://www.peachstatearchaeologicalsociety.org/index.php/8-pottery/252-georgia-incised-pottery-a-to-l>>)

The Dyar Site itself lies on the Oconee River about 3 miles above the confluence with the Apalachee River (Smith 1994:4). Only level 3 of provenience 11 (Table 1), excavated at the northern base of the mound at the Dyar Site, consists entirely of Dyar Phase sherds. In this unmixed provenience, plain sherds outnumber decorated at roughly a ratio of 3:1 and incisions dominate other decorations at a ratio of 4:1 (Smith 1994:99). Hally and Randolph (1986: 68) summarize the phase in general as being about 73% plain, 18% incised, and 8% complicated stamped, representing a more dramatic difference between plain and incised values but less dramatic between incised and stamped. Incised decorations outnumber stamped ones during the later sixteenth-century and early seventeenth-century Bell phase at the Bell Site but this proportion reverses later in the seventeenth century.

Table 1: Dyar Phase Sherds from an Unmixed Context at the Dyar Site (Adapted from Smith 1994:99)

Pottery Type	Sherds	Percentage
Bold Incised	31	1.6
Medium Incised	284	14.6
Fine Incised	76	3.9
Curvilinear Complicated Stamped	36	1.8
Rectilinear Complicated Stamped	53	2.7
Fylfot Stamped	2	0.1
Etowah Complicated Stamped	2	0.1
Brushed	1	0.1
Fabric Marked	1	0.1
Punctated	1	0.1
Plain	993	51.0
Burnished Plain	190	9.8
Rough Plain	278	14.3
Total	1948	

Worth (1994:119) connected late sixteenth-century and early seventeenth-century Spanish expeditions that described Tama and Ocute to the Bell Phase (ca. 1580-1640 AD) of the upper Oconee River. Marvin Smith (1994:133) described pottery of this period as increasingly plain or fine incised, replacing stamped designs. Williams (1983:54) stated that incisions became finer and showed a wider variety of design elements. Figure 6 depicts such Bell Phase pottery from the main area of the Bell site and Table 2 offers this data. Plain pottery—including smoothed and burnished sherds—outnumber decorated sherds at a ratio of 7:1 and incised designs outnumber stamped ones at a similar ratio. Such ratios are similar to earlier ones at the Dyar site but more dramatic, and these ratios are distinct from chiefdoms in the Oconee Valley. Stamped pottery dominated during Lamar phases in other areas of Georgia and may have influenced Tama and Ocute chiefdoms between the circa 1640 end of the Bell Phase and

the circa 1660 coalescence of those chiefdoms as Yamasees along the Georgia coast.

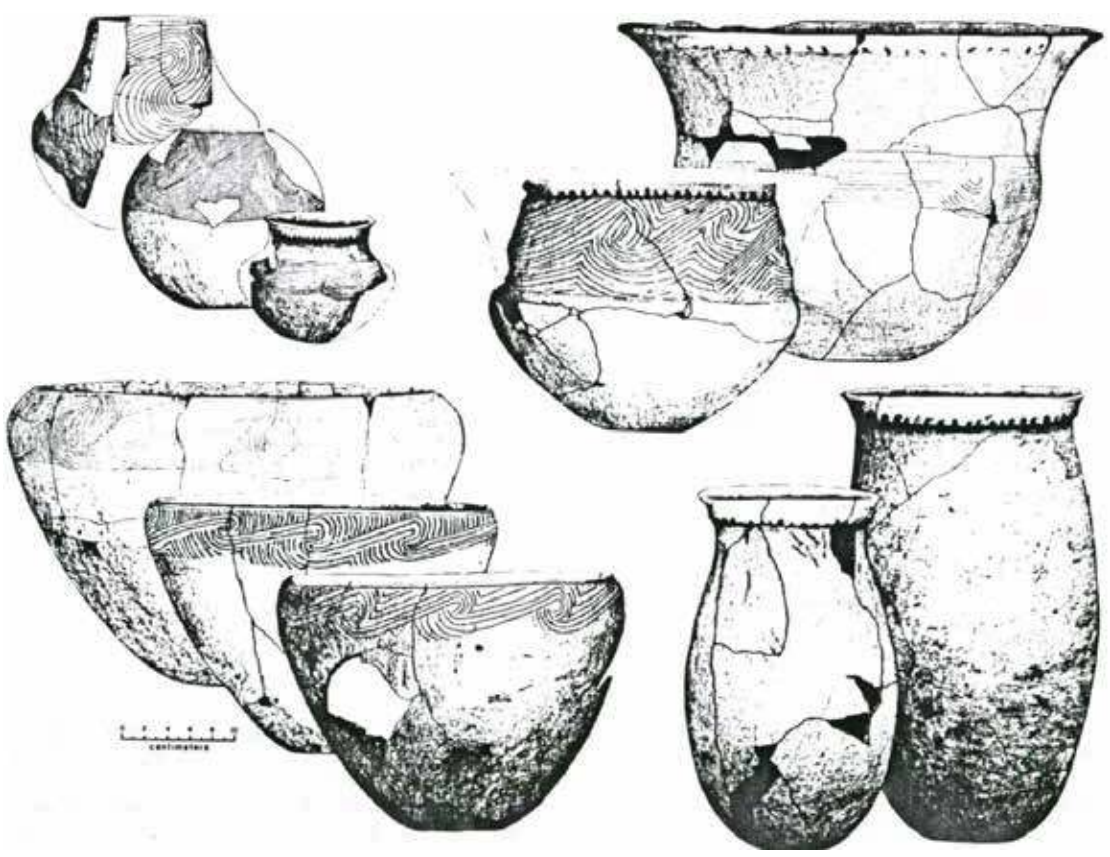


Figure 6: Bell Phase Pottery (Adapted from Williams 1983: 260)

Table 2: Bell Phase Sherds from 1977 Excavations at Main Area of Bell Site (Adapted from Williams 1983:207)

Decorations	Sherds	Percentage
Smoothed, fine grit temper	1009	28.6
Smoothed, coarse grit temper	1901	54.0
Burnished, fine grit temper	143	40.1
Burnished, coarse grit temper	30	0.9
Fine (<1 mm) incised	58	1.7
Medium (1-2 mm) incised	184	5.2
Bold (>2 mm) incised	23	0.7
Cross hatched incised	18	0.5
Unidentified incised	41	1.2
Simple stamped	11	0.0

Lamar stamped	4	0.0
Unidentified stamped	33	0.1
Weathered	13	0.0
Pinched	5	0.0
Unidentified decoration	51	1.4
Total	3522	

Bell and Dyar Phase ceramics of Oconee River Valley chiefdoms ancestral to Yamasees included more incised than stamped designs. However, other Lamar phases had much higher percentages of complicated stamping. Ceramics of the Cowarts and Bull Creek phases to the west had between 35% and 26% stamping respectively, Square Ground Lamar to the south had between 44-62%, Tugalo to the north had about 65%, and Irene/Altamaha to the southeast had between 55-60% (Hally and Rudolph 1986: 68; Snow 1990:90; Saunders 2000:39-51). Stamping may have emerged in Bell Phase Tama and Ocute potters between about 1640 and 1660 from any cardinal direction. Or this shift may have occurred as a result of their 1660 ethnogenesis and move to the Georgia Coast, where Yamasee potters made Altamaha pottery.

Tama and Ocute chiefdoms persisted for a century after European contact before coalescing into a Yamasee identity and moving east to the Georgia coast in the 1660s. As a result of this coalescence and movement, or shortly before it, their ceramics transformed. In Chapter 6, I compare seventeenth and eighteenth-century Yamasee assemblages to those of their ancestors. The subsequent section discusses their coalescence, including changing ceramic traditions.

Ethnogenesis of Yamasees and their Neighbors

As a result of attacks by Westos (discussed below), Yamasees in the 1660s coalesced from Tama, Ocute, Ichisi, and perhaps other chiefdoms, moved closer to

Guales on the Georgia coast, and adopted Guale-style pottery. Ethnohistorian Patricia Galloway interpreted coalescence as a process through which chiefdoms, which were “organized hierarchically though a system of ranked kinship groups” (Galloway 1994: 395), became a confederacy of “a series of autonomous villages articulated as a tribal organization” (Galloway 1994: 393). While such confederacies led to new social and political relations between indigenous groups and to Europeans, these groups also maintained a “workable substrate of tradition” (Galloway 1998:6). Archaeologists in California interpret similar coalesced communities as demonstrating a unified but not necessarily uniform front to outsiders (Voss 2008:13) and gaining new cultural expressions to demonstrate such unity (Ginn 2009:297). Yamasees demonstrate these phenomena—including unified language and place names but differing ceramic practices—as well as conflict and violence within their distinct ethnic group.

Violence occurred within confederacies. According to Galloway (2008:74), the Choctaw Civil War occurred because southern, eastern, and western Choctaws allied more closely with their non-Choctaw neighbors than with the more distant Choctaw towns. Yamasee communities, while more dispersed from each other than Choctaw towns, similarly show conflicts resulted from alliances with neighbors. Physical locations and social connections also led to new ceramic traditions for the Yamasees. The seventeenth-century coalescence of Alabama-Coushattas, important negotiating partners for Yamasees in the eighteenth century, offer a close comparative case study for the role of movement in creating identity in the colonial Southeast.

Alabama-Coushattas have been argued to descend from the sixteenth-century

chiefdom of Coste, encountered by Hernando de Soto at present-day Bussell Island in the Little Tennessee River. Charles Hudson and others have interpreted Coste as existing under the political jurisdiction of a larger chiefdom named Coosa (Hudson 1997; Hudson, Smith, DePratter 1984). More recently, archaeologist Ned Jenkins (2009:215) maintained that the Coste chiefdom migrated from Moundville between 1050 and 1100 A.D. His evidence includes similarities between Coste and Moundville pottery as well as the presence of a particular style of shell gorget at both sites. Historian Sheri Shuck-Hall (2009:252) described other descendants of Moundville: Taliepacana, Mocolixa, Apafalaya, and others who stayed on the Black Warrior River of eastern Alabama, as well as the Alibamu and Miculasa who moved west to the Tombigbee River. Jenkins (2009:235) stated that Alibamus, Miculasas, Taliepacanas, Mocolixas, and perhaps Apafalays coalesced near present-day Montgomery, Alabama and became collectively known as the Alabamas. By 1686, Coushattas and perhaps others within the Coosa political system migrated to join the Alabamas (Shuck-Hall 2009). Alabama-Coushatta coalescence, depicted in Figure 7, thus occurred as a process over six centuries involving movement to new locations, which played a role in seventeenth-century Yamasee coalescence as well.

Yamasees emerged as an ethnicity in the seventeenth century as they fled Westo attacks. Browne (2009), Meyers (2009), and Gallay (2009) demonstrated that Westos (also known as Chichimecos and Richahecians) mediated the British trade in Indian

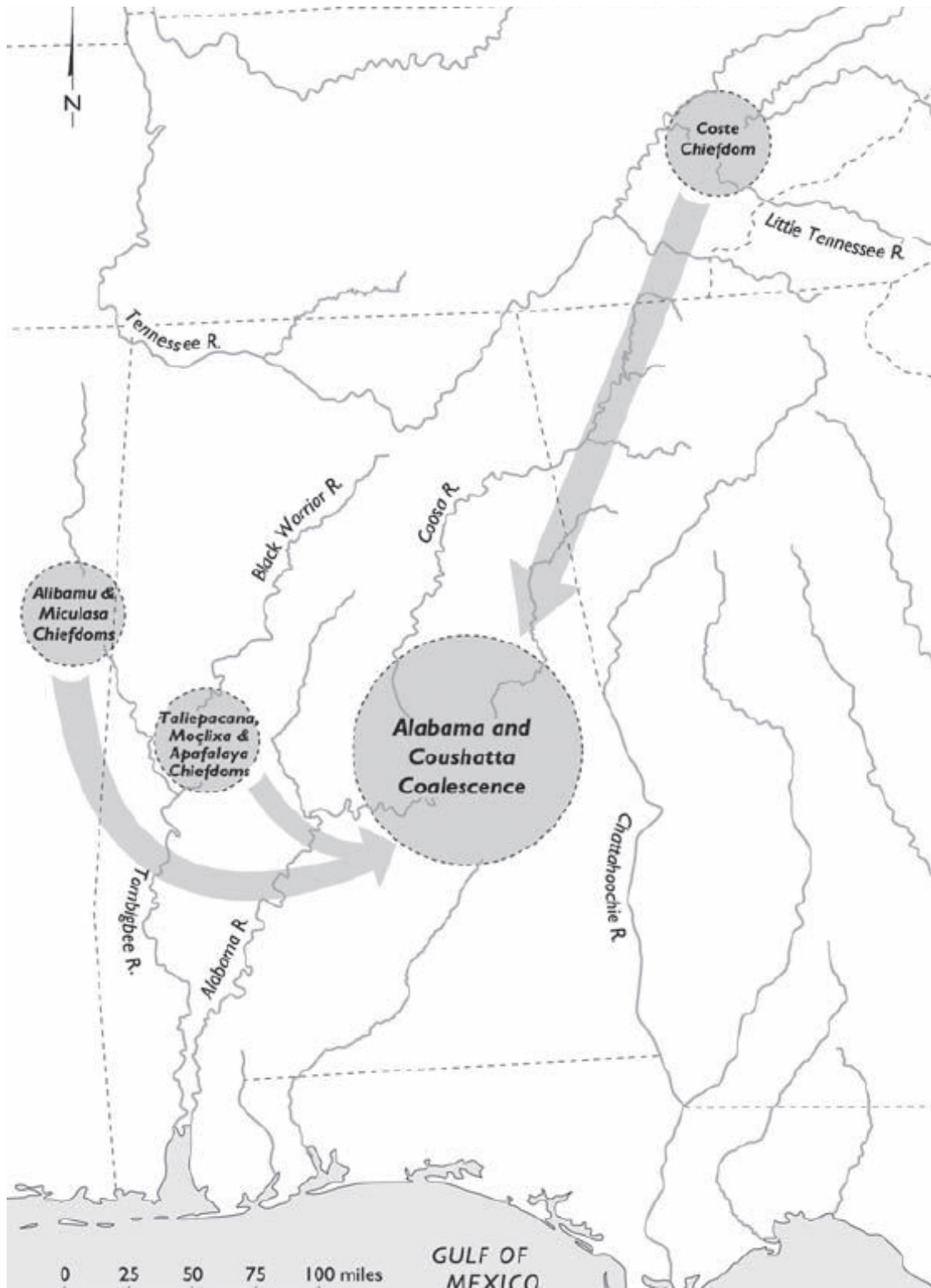


Figure 7: Alabama-Coushatta Genesis (Adapted From Shuck-Hall 2009:253)

slaves by devastating Yamasees and others in the Southeast. These attacks began in 1656 after an agreement with Virginia traders and ended when those colonists armed Savannahs to destroy the Westos in 1682. Worth (1999) stated that on June 20, 1661 Westos destroyed the southernmost Guale mission of Santo Domingo de Talaje. The mission's inhabitants fled to the interior provinces of Tama and Catufa, the latter likely referring to Ocute, which was noted during the Soto expedition to be affiliated with nearby chiefs named Cofaqui and Patofa. Spaniards noted the term "Yamasee" for the first time in 1663, referring to six or more Indian towns "across the mainland" within the Escamacu province from Colon to Huyache Eslaçu, likely along the Savannah River (Worth 1999). Travel distances from Guale—from two to eight days by road—may indicate they were widely dispersed. Yamasees appeared in Spanish documents as potential new allies against British-sponsored raids. Such an alliance led Yamasees to join the mission provinces of Guale and Mocama and led them to adopt the ceramic practices shared in common by both groups by this time.

Yamasees navigated a complex cultural environment as their distinct ethnic identity emerged. Within Guale Province they rejected Catholicism, maintained ancestral beliefs and practices, and lived in their own towns. However, they also changed their ceramics to match those of their neighbors. By 1666 Yamasees lived fully in the northern Mocama Province of Spanish Florida; by 1675 the Yamasees outnumbered the neighboring Guale and Mocama and had also formed a mission community in the heart of the Apalachee Province in northwestern Florida. In 1675, Lieutenant Pedro de Arcos listed six Yamasee towns among the Atlantic coastal mission provinces: Ocotonico and

San Simon on St. Simons Island as well as Ocotoque, La Tama, Santa Maria, and an unnamed town on Amelia Island (Worth 1999:14; Table 3).

Table 3: 1675 Census of Guale-Mocama Province (Adapted from Bushnell 1994:144-145 and Worth 1995:200)

Town	Population (adults and children)	Location
Santa Catalina	140	Northern limit of Spanish, 2 leagues from Sapala
San Joseph de Sapala	50, including non-Christians	6 leagues from Asao
Santo Domingo de Asao	30	2 leagues from San Simon
San Simon (Yamasee)	30 non-Christians	1 league from Ocotonico
Ocotonico (Yamasee)	120 non-Christians	1.5 leagues from Guadalquini
Guadalquini	40	6 leagues from San Felipe
San Felipe	36 non-Christians	Cumberland Island, 3 leagues from unnamed town
Unnamed Yamasee town	60 non-Christians	Amelia Island, 1 league from Ocotoque
Ocotoque's Yamasee town	40 non-Christians	Amelia Island, 2 leagues from La Tama
La Tama (Yamasee)	50 non-Christians	Amelia Island, 3 leagues from San Juan del Puerto
San Juan del Puerto	30	

John Worth (1995:29) used this census to create Figure 8, a map of the 1675 the Georgia coast. Of these, Santa Maria has been located archaeologically by Rebecca Saunders (2000:136-140) though this site had an earlier Mocama community as well (see also Worth 2009:187-189). Given the ceramic similarities between the Mocama and Yamasee communities, identification of particular assemblages is impossible. Critically, in 1675 350 non-Christian Yamasees outnumbered 326 Christian Guales and Mocamans.

Yamasees continued to outnumber Guales and Mocamans even as they paid tribute to chiefs of those provinces. This numerical dominance continued until Yamasees left the Georgia coast. The 1681 census of Florida's missions included 322 non-Christian

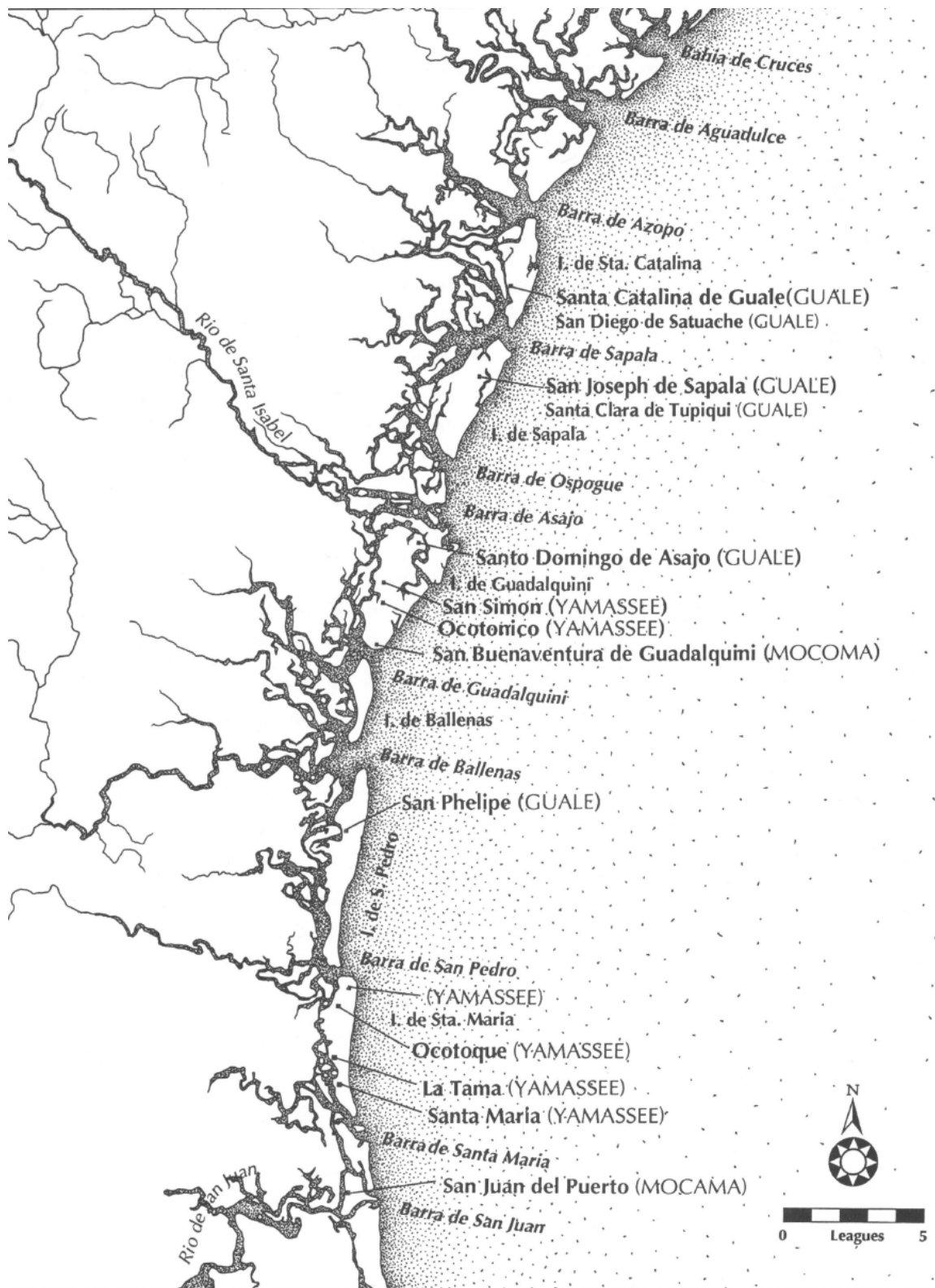


Figure 8: 1675 Georgia Coast (Adapted from Worth 1995: 29)

Yamasees in Guale and Mocama Provinces, 184 Christians in the Tama town of Apalachee Province, and 21 non-Christians in the Tama town on Amelia Island (Worth 1995:34, 1998 vol. 2: 136-137, 1999:16). Yamasees in Guale and Mocama paid tribute to those chiefs and contributed to the Spanish labor draft (Bushnell 1994:145). Worth (1999) described brief Spanish references to later Yamasee missions that existed on the upper St. Johns River of central Florida, closer to Florida's capital St. Augustine. Unfortunately, none of these missions have been distinguished archaeologically, even though their locations may have already been explored archaeologically. As discussed in the subsequent section, later Yamasee ceramics were indistinguishable from those of neighboring Guale and Mocama. Georgia coast Yamasees, while not yet convincingly discriminated archaeologically, in part as a result of multiple overlapping mission-era occupations, thus likely reflect a shared Yamasee-Guale-Mocama ceramic practice even as the three groups maintained separate towns, ethnicities, and religions.

Altamaha Ceramics: Continuity with Ancestral Landscapes and Change Due to Mobility

Even as Yamasees migrated from Georgia's interior to the coast and emerged as a distinct ethnicity, they adopted Guale and Mocama ceramic traditions. After the 1660s arrival of Yamasees to the Georgia coast, that tradition, termed Altamaha, reflects a landscape of ceramic practice of Guale, Mocama, and Yamasee potters. However, the Altamaha tradition developed from earlier Irene pottery by the sixteenth century, so predated Yamasee migration to the coast by at least a century. Saunders (2000) and DePratter (2009) detailed Irene ceramics, made by Guales, Mocamans, Oristas, Escamacus and others along the Atlantic coast and as far west as Tennessee. As discussed

earlier, these ceramics may have influenced Altamaha and Ocute individuals before their Yamasee coalescence along the Georgia coast.

Altamaha designs included mostly complicated stamping, typically of fylfot cross motifs, though line block and other motifs existed as well. Over-stamping is uncommon and rim treatments are common, including punctations, applique strips, lugs, and nodes (Saunders 2000). Figures 9-10 depict Irene sherds and Figures 10-13 offer examples of Altamaha sherds. Archaeologists have demonstrated that the shift from Irene to Altamaha, as well as shifts in North Carolina ceramics, involved a transition from mostly curvilinear to mostly rectilinear designs (Poplin and Marcoux 2015; Riggs and Rodning 2002; Saunders 2000).

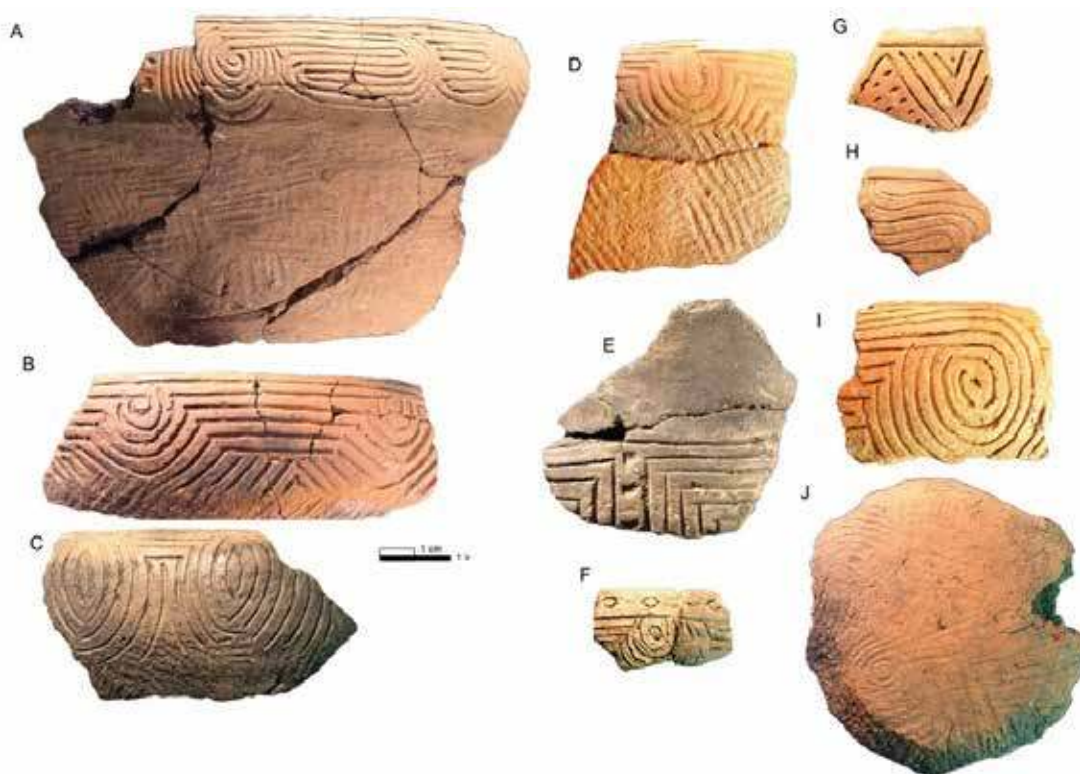


Figure 9: Irene Designs. A-D Incised and Stamped, E-G Incised and Punctated, I Incised, J Complicated Stamped (Adapted from DePratter 2009:24, 33-34)

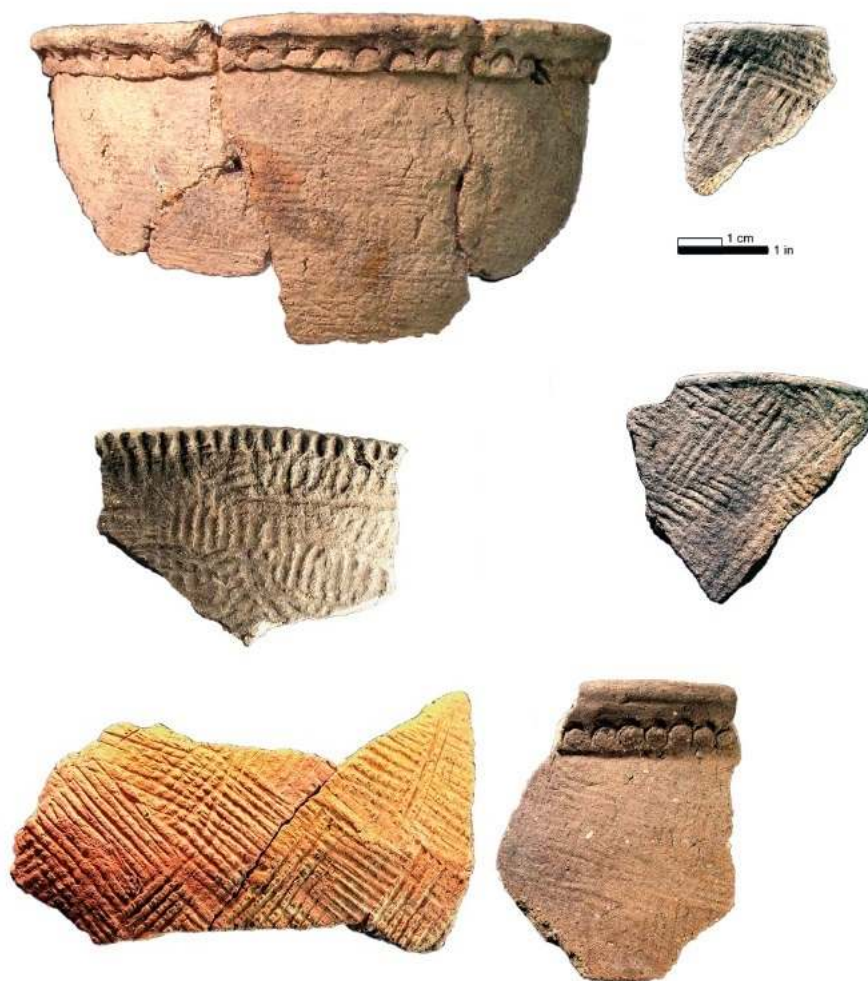


Figure 10: Altamaha Stamped Sherds (Adapted from DePratter 2009:24-25)

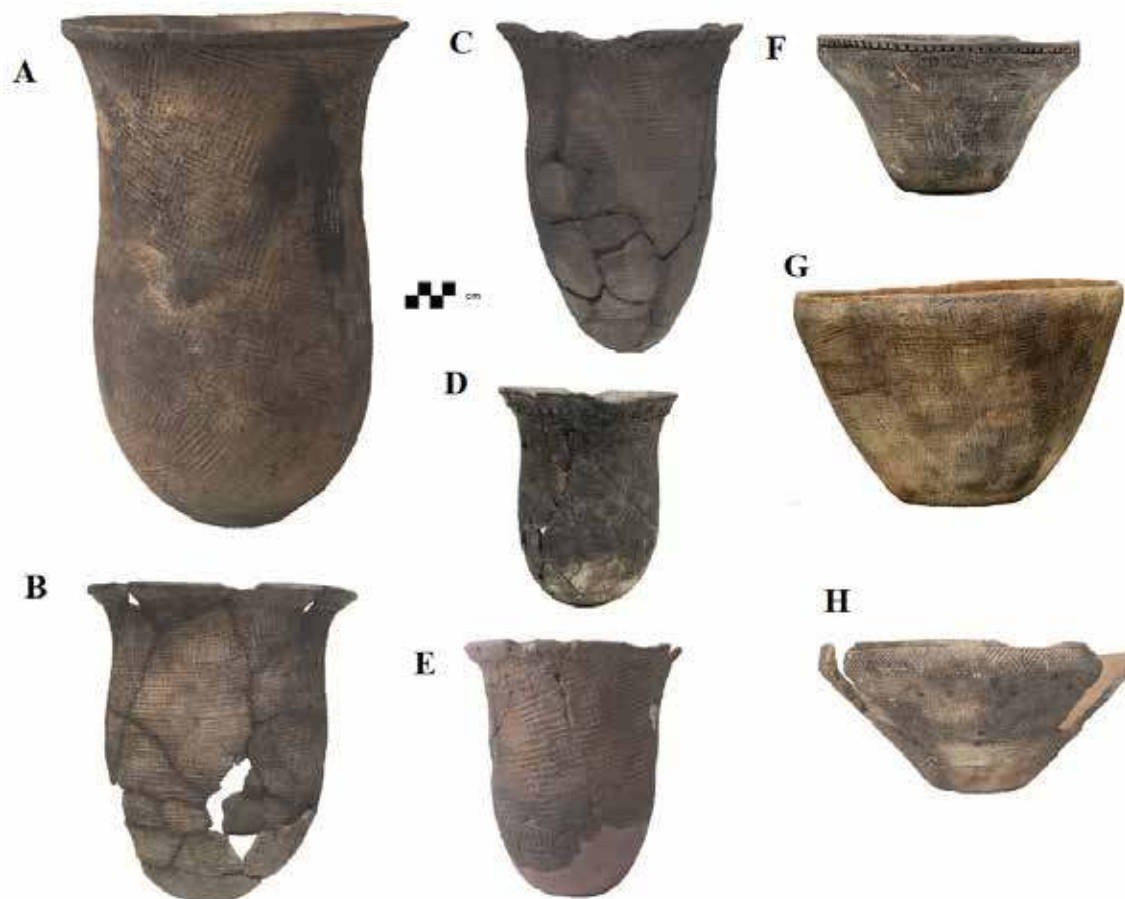


Figure 11: Altamaha Jars, A-F, and Bowls, G-I (Adapted from Thomas 2009:72-73)

During the mid-seventeenth century, Yamasees began to demographically dominate the Guale Province, pay tribute to Guale leaders, and make pottery identical to that of Guales. Changes in ceramic practice thus reflect both social and political realities. In less than 20 years Yamasees entirely shifted to make Altamaha pottery. Archaeologist Marvin Smith (1992:31-32) maintained that the Bell phase ended by 1640, before Yamasee coalescence in the 1660s. Perhaps Altamaha and Ocute potters were exceptions and continued making Bell Phase pottery for decades, or perhaps they began adopting Altamaha stamped ceramics while they lived in central Georgia. In either case, Yamasee potters quickly and completely adopted these new practices and continued to make

Altamaha pottery when they moved roughly 50 miles north from Guale Province to southern South Carolina. Guales and Yamasees also lived in separate towns, often separated by distances that restricted direct instruction by Guale potters. As such, a seventeenth-century Guale/Yamasee landscape of practice represents not direct learning but instead indirect social connections and tacit knowledge structured through Spanish and Guale/Mocama political control over the Georgia coast. In Apalachee Province of northwest Florida, Yamasees likely similarly made the pottery of their neighbors, but lived closer to them while maintaining a degree of political autonomy from them.

Yamasees in Apalachee Province of Central Florida

Within Apalachee Province, Yamasees lived largely in a separate town and maintained their own ethnicity and language but likely adopted Apalachee ceramic traditions. Historian John Hann (1988:35-37) stated that as a result of Westo attacks, a total of 300 Yamasees founded two villages 1-1.5 leagues away from San Luis de Talimali. By February 2, 1675 a mission for these two villages was named Candelaria de la Tama and also known as Purification de la Tama. Table 4 provides a census of Apalachee Province and Figure 12 offers a depiction. Though not yet identified archaeologically, the town name Tama existed at the same time as Altamaha Town in South Carolina and Tama on Amelia Island but before the Tamatles towns in northwest Florida. These town names not only likely refer to each other but also demonstrate a shared connection to the Tama and Altamaha of sixteenth-century Georgia. In addition to these towns with a distinctly Yamasee name, Hann (1988:42, 173) described Yamasees in the Chine mission and Mission San Luis. Though this cannot yet be examined directly, it

seems likely that Yamasees in either their own town or in Apalachee towns produced material culture akin to Apalachees.



Figure 12: 1683 Sketch of Apalachee Province, with Yamasee Town “Pueblo de Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria de la Tama” Highlighted in Red (Adapted from Solana 1683)

Table 4: Missions in Apalachee Province (Adapted from Hann 1988:35, 50)

Name	Location	Individuals in 1675	Families in 1689
San Luis	1 league to Escambe	1400	300
San Damián de Acpayca/Escambe	2 leagues to Bacuqua	900	400
San Antonio de Bacuqua	2 leagues to Patale	120	50
San Pedro de Patale	4 leagues to Ocuya	500	120
San Joseph de Ocuya	1.5 leagues to Aspalaga	900	200
San Juan de Aspalaga	1 league to Oconi	800	N/A
San Francisco de Oconi	.5 leagues to Ayubale	200	80
Concepcion de Ayubale	1.5 leagues to Ibitachuco	800	250
San Lorenzo de Ibitachuco (capital)	1.5 leagues to Asile	1200	200
Candelaria (Yamasee)	1.5 leagues from San Luis, 2 leagues to	300	80
San Martin de Tomole	2+ leagues to	700	130
Santa Cruz de Ytuchafun/Hichutafun	N/A	60	30
Assumption of Our Lady	On path to sea from San Luis	300	N/A
Nativity of Our Lady	2 leagues from San Luis, on route to Apalachicola	40	N/A
San Nicolas de Tolentino	10 leagues from river, 4 leagues to	100 Chacato	70
San Carlos		300 Chacato	30
Apalachee Town on the River of Santa Cruz	No information		
San Pedro de los Chines	Only noted in 1689. Some Yamasees		30

By the time Spaniards established missions in Apalachee province in the 1630s, largely stamped Leon-Jefferson ceramics dominated and largely replaced earlier Fort Walton ceramics that were mostly incised (Scarry 1985:207). These Leon-Jefferson ceramics, largely grog-tempered, otherwise appear similar to Lamar series pottery throughout Georgia (Worth 1992: 192-193). John Hann (1988:34) mapped Apalachee

Province and marked sites with a triangle if they had been identified archaeologically; this map is presented as Figure 13.

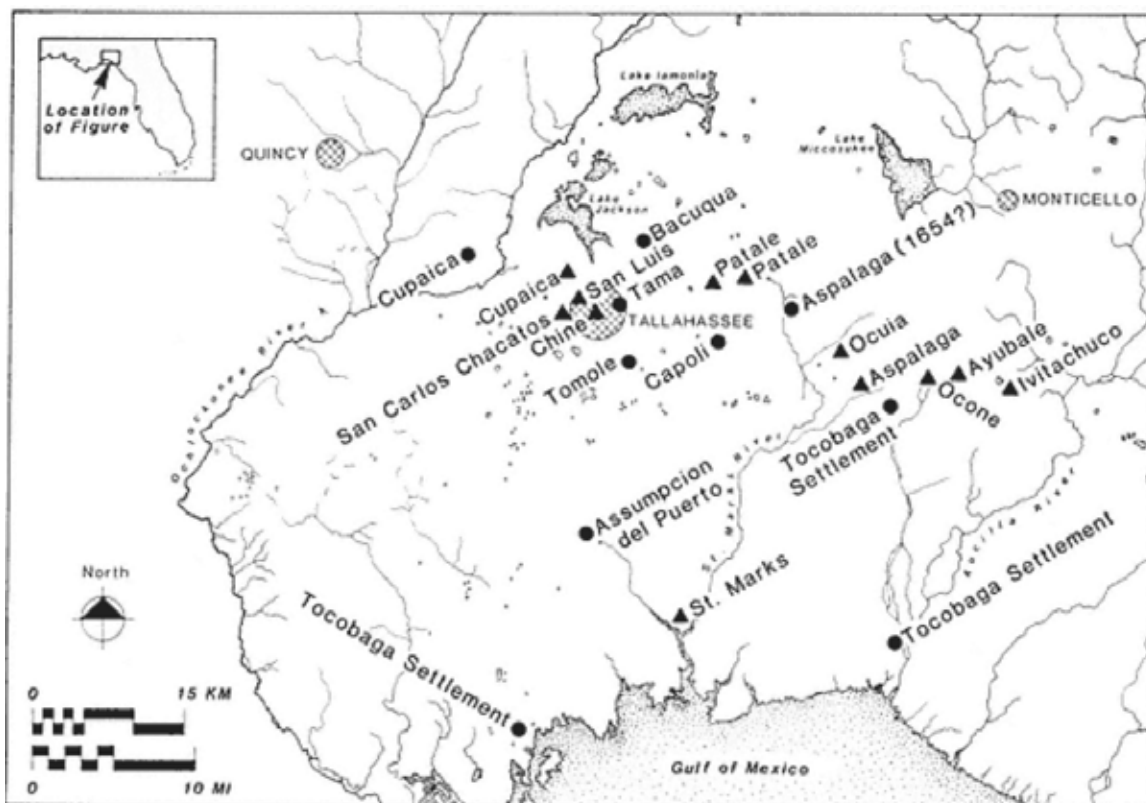


Figure 13: Apalachee Province. Triangles Indicate Sites Identified Archaeologically. (Adapted from Hann 1988:34)

Apalachee sites are distinguished from each other by identifications and descriptions based on historical documents rather than based on any observed differences in material culture. While the small size and similar ceramics have since restricted archaeological identification of the towns, historical documents draw clear distinctions between towns. For example, the Spanish considered Yamasee town and leaders in San Luis autonomous from the Apalachee in that they gave them separate treatments during visitations. Spanish friars had difficulty with the town in part due to the language barrier.

Yamasees spoke a different language than Apalachees, which posed a problem for friars, who other Spaniards blamed for Yamasee desertions. Fray Juan Angel, who capably spoke Yamasee among other Native American languages but was transferred to Rome. His replacement never learned the language and was reported to have whipped Yamasees so often that they fled to the woods. Some never returned though Fray Domingo Santos caught and whipped the Tama leader and his family (Quiroga y Losada 1690b, 1691). However, the English-sponsored raids on Apalachee Province led the Tama leader to desert the Spanish and join the English in 1699. In addition to feeling the mission was unsafe, the Tama chief seemed dissatisfied in the mission as a recent and perhaps reluctant convert to Christianity who was never paid for his work tanning skins (Hinachuba 1699:24-26; Hann 1988:243). Those Yamasees that remained at Tama or in the Apalachee town of San Luis surrendered when the British destroyed Apalachee Province in 1704 (Zuniga y Zerda 1705; Hann 1988:61, 274).

Yamasee Retaliation Against Spanish Abuses

While seventeenth-century Yamasees lived in Spanish Florida, Spanish abuse and British diplomacy drove many to leave. In an upcoming publication, historian Amy Bushnell ([2019]) outlines how Governor Juan Márquez Cabrera extended the labor draft to non-Christians in 1681 and imprisoned a leader that did not cooperate. Similarly, historians John Hann (1988) and Steve Hahn (2004) described the increasingly unreasonable demands on Apalachee resources and insults to their leaders by Apalachee Deputy Governor Lieutenant Antonio Matheos. His actions led a few Apalachees to move to Apalachicola Lower Creeks, particularly because new financial restrictions

frustrated and irritated several Apalachee leaders by prohibiting trade with the Apalachicola (Aranda y Avellaneda 1687; Royal Officials of Florida 1687). Matheos (1686) also commissioned two Yamasees from the Tama mission to visit all the Lower Creek towns on the Chattahoochee River. They described their warm welcome in each town except Casita and Caveta, whose leaders had explicitly courted the English.

Spanish Lieutenant Matheos attempted to expel the British and burned the northernmost Lower Creek towns at the advice of Apalachicola leader Pentecolo. At the same time, British agent Woodward married one of his nieces to a Lower Creek man in the town of Caveta and distributed gifts to the Lower Creeks, offering materials and family connections rather than demands. Woodward's more diplomatic actions, coupled with growing connections to the English in general and the failure of Matheos and other Spaniards, convinced many Lower Creeks to leave the Chattahoochee River area entirely to move closer to the British. To paraphrase Hann, (1988:187-190, 227; 2006:107), a few experienced Floridians described the initial actions of Coweta as cultivating options and potential neutrality while others admitted that Spanish over-reach in Apalachee Province proved disastrous for their alliances.

Spain proved unwilling or unable to expand or even provide for its Native allies along the Georgia coast as well. The British offered better options and Yamasees pursued them. Yamasee leader Altamaha led the Georgia coast mission Yamasees out of Spanish territory (Worth 1999:16; Bushnell 1994: 165-67; Worth 1995: 43, 45, 167, 168). As Yamasees left Spanish Florida they moved either to join the Creeks or establish a town at Escamacu near Santa Elena. A 1683 Spanish map shows a "town of pagans" at Escamacu

and in 1684 Scottish settlers established Stuart's Town nearby (Worth 1995:38, 1999:16; Bushnell [2019]). In 1685 an English trader at St. Helena noted "a 1000 or more Yamasees who had been living among the Cowetas and Kasitas" on the Chattahoochee River arrived with ten leaders and more were expected daily (Westbrooke 1685). Chief Altamaha sent forty warriors to erect beacons and moved from the Savannah River to the area, followed by Yamasees from Guale, and the northernmost Guales (Bushnell [2019]). Devastating pirate attacks on Guales and Mocamans led many of their residents to flee to the Yamasees at Stuart's Town in 1684 (Worth 1999:17). These groups and the 1,000 Yamasees from the Chattahoochee River united at Santa Elena under Yamasee leader Niquisalla (Bushnell [2019]). The same Altamaha leader who left Spanish Florida later led slave-raids for the Scottish against the Timucuan in 1685. Spanish reprisals destroyed the Scottish and Yamasee towns, and Yamasees moved to the upper reaches of the Ashepoo River (Worth 1999:17). As discussed below, archaeologists at cultural resource management firm Brockington and Associates have identified and investigated these towns, where Yamasees maintained ceramic traditions from the Georgia coast while raiding that area and others in Spanish Florida for the British slave trade.

Archaeology of South Carolina Yamasees

Larger Yamasee capital towns spoke for smaller ones to the British, and archaeological assemblages had somewhat different ceramic ratios yet were part of a very similar landscape of ceramic practice. Tamatle and Altamaha names persisted as did pre-colonial architectural and burial styles. Altamaha Town had authority over other Lower Yamasee towns of Okatee, Chechessee, and Euhaw south of Port Royal Sound while

Pocotaligo held similar authority over Upper Yamasee towns of Pocosabo, Huspah, Tomatley as well as Guale towns Sadketché and Tulafina north of Port Royal Sound (Green et al. 2002: 13-17). These Yamasee towns maintained ancestral architecture and recent ceramic techniques from the Georgia coast.

Six circular buildings were recovered at Altamaha Town that reflected the practices of their ancestors rather than European influence. Four houses contained a single human burial, and another house contained two burials (Sweeney 2015). Alex Sweeney compared these houses to earlier ones from the Oconee River Valley reported by Hatch (1995). Mississippian-era houses in the Oconee River Valley also contained burials, usually only one buried in a flexed or semi-flexed position, just as at Yamasee towns in South Carolina several hundred years later. While Green et al. (2002) speculated about potential Spanish mission influence on Yamasee architectural patterns, this seems unlikely as Scarry and McEwan (1995) found no evidence of Spanish influence on the architecture of seventeenth-century Apalachee homes and council houses. Archaeologists Greg Waselkov (1990) and Chris Rodning (2011) have demonstrated that European demands for furs and slaves affected Creek and Cherokee architecture and settlement patterns, though representing largely indigenous adaptations to new circumstances within the European colonial landscape. However, Yamasee architectural traditions instead demonstrate a continuity with their ancestral Mississippian-era past. Rather than representing influence of Europeans, Yamasee pottery also represents a landscape of practice that combined new techniques with earlier traditions they produced in the Mocama and Guale mission provinces.

South Carolina Yamasees maintained their traditions from Guale Province and also incorporated new practices. Southerlin et al. (2001:121) noted the emergence of brimmed bowls and strap-handled forms at Chechesy Town, which may have emerged from interacting with either the Spanish or the British. Poplin and Marcoux (2015:11-12) described Altamaha Town as having much higher frequencies of simple/linear stamped motifs and over-stamped parallel lines than Guale assemblages, which had more complex paddle designs. They interpreted the smaller Huspah Town as a combination of sorts between Altamaha Town and Guale Province assemblages. When compared to earlier Irene ceramics, Saunders (2000) and Nyman (2011) showed that Altamaha ceramics have wider lands and more grooves in stamped decorations. From this distinction, Poplin and Marcoux (2015:12) speculated that the more visible decoration motifs identified individuals more readily than in the Mississippian era and did so deliberately given a higher diversity of people. I feel instead that such a design change would be more subconscious rather than reflect such a message from the owner or producer of a pot. Other archaeologists have viewed such changes as a decline from the beauty of the Mississippian era, though Nyman (2011) among others stated that production attributes remained constant and thus the amount of time and effort in pottery manufacture remained roughly the same. European influence was limited to a few new ceramic forms; architectural and other ceramic negotiations instead represent Native American social and ancestral connections. Europeans focused their influence on Native American movements, trade, and war, though Yamasees in particular demonstrate their agency in those realms as well.

Carolina-Yamasee Raids and Trading

Yamasees moved to South Carolina to raid against Florida rather than suffer as a target of those raids, but as targets disappeared, they started the 1715 Yamasee War. Initially, Carolina officials demonstrated their pleasure with Yamasees as slave-raiders into Spanish Florida by inviting them to move closer to Charleston and offering linguistic and religious instruction. Historian Denise Bossy (2014:370) outlined the efforts of schoolmaster Ross Reynolds of St. Bartholomew's Parish in modern-day Colleton County to provide linguistic and religious instruction to Yamasee children. His short-lived and unsuccessful school was an inconvenient distance from Yamasee towns, but the son of one Euhaw leader was sent to England to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (Bossy 2014: 370). South Carolina officials were more interested in the slave trade than in offering Enlightenment and Yamasees proved their closest and most capable ally.

As detailed by John Worth (2009), Yamasees among other Native Americans raided Spanish Florida for decades. Hann (1991:154) described their raids into Apalachee and Timucua Provinces, particularly the Apalachee town of Patale. Oatis (2004:47-48) detailed raids in East Florida. Yamasees joined South Carolina Governor Moore's attacks on Spanish Florida in August of 1702. 500 British colonists and 370 Indians, mostly Yamasees, left Port Royal in 14 boats and conducted large-scale versions of previous slave raids. Meanwhile, Deputy Governor Robert Daniel, other British colonists, and several Indians destroyed coastal missions and incorporated Guales that surrendered into the Port Royal Yamasee towns. From this success, 33 Yamasees and Thomas Nairne

attacked Timucuans on the St. Johns River and soon the entire force attacked St. Augustine. A Yamasee spy was sent into town to incite rebellion, but was quickly turned over to the Spanish (Oatis 2004: 47-48). While St. Augustine itself could withstand almost any attack, Native American towns were incredibly vulnerable. Soon, these towns became so small that attacks offered diminishing returns and the collapse of the slave trade led British colonists to threaten and mistreat Yamasees.

British traders manipulated and mistreated Yamasees from 1706-1715 despite preventative efforts by the leadership of Charleston. John Musgrove was briefly imprisoned in 1706 for demanding slaves from Yamasee leader Tomolla/Tumella King in exchange for his wife who he alleged Tomolla lured away (Hahn 2012: 58-59; McDowell 1955:5, 24; Salley 1934:36, 1939:22). In 1706, the Commons House of Assembly took action against the unscrupulous behavior of James Lucas, trader at the Lower Creek town of Kasita. John Pight, trader at Lower Creek town of Ocmulgee; and Anthony Probat, accused of acting in concert with Indians to enslave 20 Yamasees from Illcombee, even after being ordered not to (Salley 1939: 24; McDowell 1955:26). 1711 and 1713 orders, in an effort to stem abuses, stated traders could only engage and trade with those approved by Pocotaligo and Altamaha leaders, but also made the two leaders fiscally accountable for multiple communities (McDowell 1955:18, 33-34). However, as early as 1712, English traders began asking for more slaves, and when Yamasees described the lack of suitable targets, Carolinians threatened to seize the women and children of Yamasees to satisfy the debts (Corcoles y Martinez 1715). Such demands, worse than what led to Musgrove's 1706 imprisonment, led King Lewis of Pocotaligo in 1714 to

complain of unreasonable debts (McDowell 1955:58). Tensions rose between Yamasees and Carolina traders for nearly a decade before the 1715 Yamasee War.

As Yamasee debts to Charleston traders rose, some traders abused the Yamasees, other traders treated them well as an example, and officials hoped for stability with these critical allies. One trader in 1713 hoped Yamasees would tempt other groups into migrating closer to Charleston—“the Cheehawes [Chiajas or Chiahas] who were formerly belonging to the Yamasees and now settled at the [Lower] Creek might return” (McDowell 1955:42). Koasati-speaking Lower Creek towns of Tuskegee and Chiahas lived among pre-1715 Yamasee near Port Royal Sound and were noted as maintaining these connections among post-1715 Yamasees along the Chattahoochee River (Peña 1716, 1717, Green 1991:24; Worth 2004: 248). Johnson’s 1719 census of Charleston’s allies, which included information from 1715 and earlier from traders Thomas Nairne, John Wright, and John Barnwell, indicated the importance of the Yamasee (Hann 2006:138; Table 5). They were not only closest to Charleston, but their number of villages and people was roughly equal to all other Native Americans within 240 miles of Charleston. As such they proved valuable allies for the British for decades, before becoming destructive enemies in 1715.

Table 5: Charleston’s Native Allies in 1715 (Adapted from Johnson 1719)

People (distance from Charleston)	Villages	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total
Yamasees (90 miles southwest)	10	413	345	214	228	1200
Apalachicolas (130 miles southwest)	2	64	71	42	37	214
Apalachees (140 miles west)	4	275	248	65	55	638
Savanas (150 miles west northwest)	3	67	116	20	30	283
Eucheas (180 miles northwest)	2	130	270	0	0	400
Ocheesees or Creek (250 miles northwest)	10	731	837	417	421	2406
Abikans (440 miles west)	15	302	578	366	327	1773

Tallapoosas (390 miles west southwest)	13	636	710	511	486	2343
Alabamas (430 miles west)	4	214	276	161	119	770
Total		3032	1816	1816	1698	9992

The Yamasee War

The 1715 Yamasee War—a response by Yamasees echoed by others in the Southeast—deliberately targeted Charleston’s traders in Indian slaves. Yamasees began this conflict by murdering those traders who came to Pocotaligo in April to collect debts Yamasees felt were insultingly unreasonable. Historian Max Edelson (2013) described this conflict as one not of extermination but of a deliberate targeting of Charleston’s frontier to transform the Indian trade. William Ramsey (2008) described warriors from nearly every Southeastern Indian group, connected through interlocking alliance networks rather than a united front, as destroying most of South Carolina’s plantations to within a few miles of Charleston. Figure 14 depicts these alliances, orchestrated by Yamasees after they killed about 90 traders, which changed not only the landscape of the Southeast but the nature of British trade.

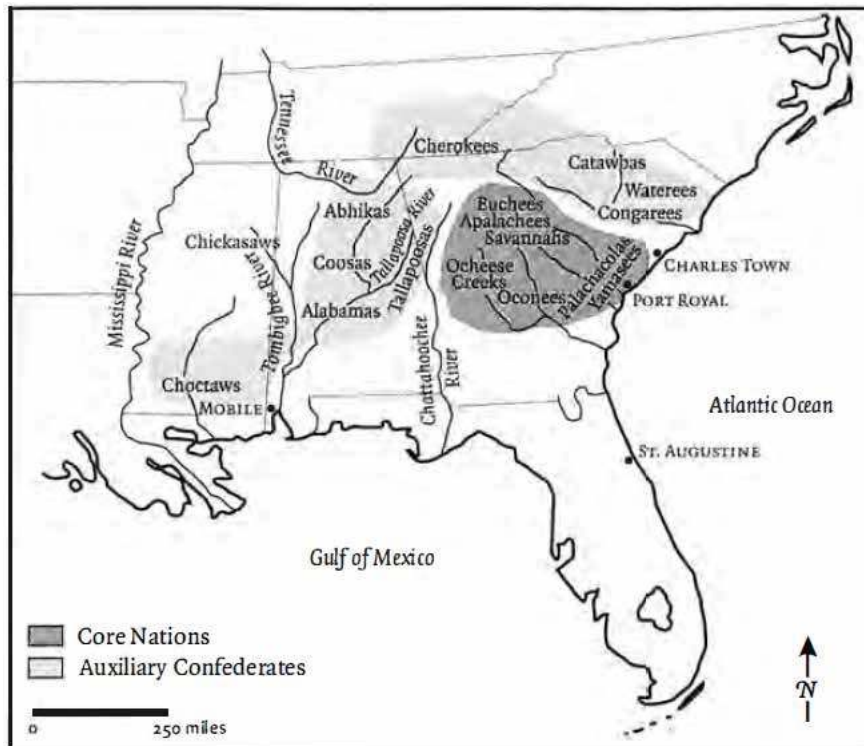


Figure 14: Southeastern Indians in the Yamasee War of 1715 (Adapted from Ramsey 2008:11)

The war began on April 14 when Yamasees at Pocotaligo murdered a group of Carolina traders visiting the town. On May 27, seeking assistance, protection, and refuge, five leaders—Altamaha, the cacique of Aligua, Nicunapa leaders Istopoyoloe and Yfallaquisca or Brave Dog, and Nicunapa war captain of Satiquicha—officially spoke of the Yamasee War to St. Augustine’s Governor (Hann 2006:140; Hahn 2000:239). They said they went to war because Carolinians wanted to enslave their women and children. William Ramsey (2008:103-104) interpreted the alliance they offered of 161 towns, represented by knotted strands of deerskin, as roughly equal to the 160 towns noted in the 1715 English census.

In early May, Catawbas, Upper Creeks, and Cherokees killed traders in their towns and attacked the Charleston area more directly in June, two months after Yamasees

began attacking (Ramsey 2008:126). Catawbas lost 60 men in June and another 80 in July, and in September faced attacks from Mohawks and Senecas, so soon sued Governor Spotswood of Virginia for peace and from there made peace with South Carolina (Ramsey 2008:149). In December, Colonel Maurice Moore made a show of force in Cherokee as Lower Creeks sent a delegation at the same time and both soon argued against the other. In January, Cherokees massacred the Creek delegation and Catawbas formalized their peace with South Carolina (Ramsey 2008:151-152). Interlocking alliances broke down within a year, but the Yamasee War had dramatic consequences for everyone involved.

Ramsey (2008) focused on large-scale effects of the Yamasee War. In the war's aftermath, the British focused on African rather than Native American slaves, and the Creeks worked toward a confederacy-level neutrality between European powers. Creeks and others insisted on price agreements as part of trade agreements to prevent trader abuses or demands. Creeks also vowed to remain enemies with the Cherokees due to Cherokees' murder of the Creek delegation (Ramsey 2008). In addition to these critical changes to the colonial Southeast, Yamasee communities themselves changed—they moved from near Charleston, largely to Spanish Florida.

While Yamasees demonstrated their agency across the Southeast in 1715, after the war their agency persisted, as did their conflicts and connections with other Native Americans. Steven Hahn ([2019]) focused on a continuation of a "Long Yamasee War" between Creeks and Tama Yamasees in St. Augustine. At the same time, Tobias Fitch (1726:182) complained to Lower Creek Emperor Brims about the difficulty in having

“Yamasees Killed, for as Shure as we Kill A Yamasee, he has a Relation or friend amonge The Creeks” [sic]. In February 1728, British agents recognized Creek connections to the Spanish through Yamasees and halted trade with Creek towns to pressure them to cease Spanish trade. In March, Colonel James Palmer and other Carolinians attacked the town of Nombre de Dios in St. Augustine, killing 30 Yamasees and burning the town (Ramsey 2008: 215-216). Yamasees had only existed for about sixty-five years at the outbreak of the war after coalescing in the 1660s. However, they demonstrated an additional century of shared ancestry and practices, maintaining political authority yet changing ceramic techniques as a result of their physical movements.

Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Yamasee Genesis, Authority, Mobility, and Daily Life

Seventeenth-century Yamasees in different regions allied politically with their neighbors and adopted their ceramic traditions while maintaining ancestral town names, titles, and diplomatic protocols. As discussed by Worth (2017) for other case studies, Yamasee ceramics largely made by women do not connect to political alliances largely negotiated by men. Yamasees initially lived along the Georgia coast before moving to join Guales in that area, Creeks along the Chattahoochee River, and Apalachees in central Florida. In each of these areas, ceramics made by Yamasees are indistinguishable from those of their neighbors. Yamasees participated in Guale, Creek, and Apalachee landscapes of ceramic practice and made political decisions based on those of their neighbors rather than those of other Yamasees.

Altamaha, Ocute, and Ichisi chiefdoms noted by Hernando de Soto in 1540 formed a new identity in the 1660s to better respond to British-sponsored slave raids.

Yamasee ethnogenesis involved a variety of factors: the role of movement as emphasized by Shuck-Hall (2009) for Alabama-Coushattas, the role of non-local political alliances as described by Galloway (2008:74) for Choctaws, and the result of changing ceramic practices as interpreted by Ginn (2009) for colonial Californian Native Americans.

Yamasees who remained in the Georgia coast area for decades outnumbered Guales but paid their leaders tribute and adopted Guale and Mocama ceramic traditions. Other Yamasees quickly left the area to join the Creeks along the Chattahoochee River or the Apalachees in northwestern Florida.

Yamasees lived in Apalachee Province at least from 1675 until 1704. While a few lived in other towns, most of these Yamasees largely lived in a town called Tama, and thus maintained a traditional time name as well as their language. This town has not yet been identified archaeologically, likely indicating an adoption of Apalachee ceramic traditions, making the site virtually indistinguishable from contemporaneous Apalachee sites.

Yamasees lived among Creek Indians along the Chattahoochee River before moving to join a larger community of Yamasees near Port Royal Sound in South Carolina who also included Yamasees and some Guales who left the Guale Province. Leaders of Yamasee capital towns Altamaha and Pocotaligo spoke for other towns to South Carolina traders. Potters in this area largely produced the same Altamaha pottery as found earlier in Guale and Mocama Provinces. Traditions retained from Mississippian ancestors also included burial practices and architectural styles. These Yamasees raided their old allies as well as other Yamasees for the British slave trade and contributed to the 1704

destruction of Apalachee Province. Soon Florida targets for slave raids dissolved, and threats and abuse from Charleston traders led Yamasees to kill many and unite much of the Southeast against the British for the brief 1715 Yamasee War. After this conflict, Creeks returned to the Chattahoochee River and Yamasees either joined them or moved to St. Augustine.

Each Yamasee community had a distinct landscape of ceramic practice that reflected traditions of their neighbors rather than of other Yamasees. While new locations led Yamasees to adopt the ceramic traditions of their neighbors, they also maintained ancestral traditions, particularly in town names and titles. While individuals in each of these communities referred to themselves as Yamasees, each community reinvented daily and political practices. Such reinventions are associated with discussions of ethnogenesis (e.g. Voss 2008). Yamasees after the 1660s did not articulate new distinct group identities and often identified themselves based on their town name instead. Due to such a local focus by colonial Yamasees and other Native Americans (e.g. Piker 2004 for Okfuskee Creeks), throughout this dissertation I distinguish between daily and political life in distinct Yamasee communities while considering factors such as language that united Yamasees as a broader ethnicity. Within a Yamasee identity, I focus on individual actions and rhetoric as well as communal ceramic practices to distinguish between Yamasee leaders and groups through time and space.

Further chapters discuss how Yamasees in different areas made diplomatic and martial decisions, as well as ceramics, more similar to their neighbors than to each other. Chapter 3 contrasts eighteenth-century Yamasee communities in Eastern and Western

Florida who either lived in the Spanish capital of St. Augustine, in a Tamatle town near Creek towns, or in a Tamatle town near a Spanish trading post. I distinguish between these groups in term of Spanish alliances and their roles in Seminole ethnogenesis and demonstrate that Tamatle Yamasees in northwest Florida likely made Creek pottery. I also show that Timucuans began adopting the Altamaha ceramics made by Guale, Mocama, and Yamasee potters after those groups—particularly Yamasees—outnumbered Timucuans in St. Augustine.

Chapter 3: Yamasees After 1715: St. Augustine, Central Florida, and the Apalachicola River

This chapter uses other scholars' published and unpublished data to examine the political significance as well as changes in material practices of post-Yamasee War communities in St. Augustine, central Florida, and along the Chattahoochee River of Georgia and Alabama. I demonstrate that, as in other communities, these Yamasees maintained their systems of authority and select other traditions while often changing their ceramic practices in new locations. In St. Augustine, they maintained seventeenth-century titles of Huspah/Jospo as well as the ceramic traditions they shared with Mocamans and Guales. This Yamasee, Guale, and Mocama landscape of ceramic practice—of stamped designs with sand or grog temper—gradually replaced Timucuan ceramics of sponge temper. In western Florida, they maintained the Tamatle title and town name in locations near a Spanish fort as well as to the north in between Creek towns along the Apalachicola/Chattahoochee River. In both of these Tamatle locations, mapped in Figure 15, they likely produced pottery indistinguishable from neighboring Creek towns. Old Tamatle Yamasees coalesced with their neighbors into a Seminole group in the early nineteenth century, while other Seminoles southwest of St. Augustine pursued an alliance with the British by arguing their conquest of Yamasees justified their possession of land. Worth (2012) argued that Florida Seminoles pursued alliances with the British near St. Augustine, while Native Americans along the Gulf Coast pursued alliances with the Spanish. Such alliances may have been structured through Yamasees—Gulf Coast Creeks included Yamasees while Eastern Florida Seminoles raided other Yamasees. Eastern and Western Florida Yamasees either lived near a Spanish capital,



Figure 15: Eighteenth-century Yamasee Sites in Western and Eastern Florida

traded near a Spanish garrison, or lived among other Native Americans yet their ceramic assemblages reflect the social relationships with their immediate Native neighbors rather than any European influences. Instead, Yamasee potters were influenced by their interactions at a social level rather than creating a pan-Yamasee ceramic tradition.

Yamasee communities thus chose from a range of connections to the Spanish. They moved across long distances and outnumbered other Native Americans at an existing Spanish capital, established a new town near a Spanish store and worked as middlemen between the Spanish and Lower Creeks, or lived in a town near those Lower Creeks. These options at times led to dramatically changing material practices, yet maintenance of traditions associated with politics, war, and hunting. Yamasees adopted local ceramic traditions while maintaining their town names and titles. In other words, certain traditions—often tied to names—reflected their ethnicity though such traditions have no archaeological signature. The subsequent section focuses on Yamasees in post-

1715 St. Augustine, where Yamasee titles and hunting traditions persisted and their ceramic traditions dominated the area.

Yamasees and Other Native Americans in St. Augustine

After the 1715 Yamasee War, many Yamasees moved to Spanish Florida and soon became largest Native American group in the St. Augustine area. They maintained their own traditions of hunting and war in addition to the Altamaha/San Marcos ceramic tradition they shared with Guale and Mocama potters. This ceramic assemblage dominated or co-dominated even Timucuan towns, whose potters had initially made pottery tempered with sponge rather than sand or grog.

Spaniards recognized the value of Yamasees yet their funding of their new allies ran out as attacks, disease, and other factors killed Yamasees or drove them out of the city. Historian Amy Bushnell (1994:195) pointed out St. Augustine officials spent an average of 9,516 pesos per year from 1717-1721 to secure Yamasee loyalty. The Yamasee arrival in St. Augustine marked an increase from 1,500 to 6,000 pesos as authorized annual amounts as well as a shift in Spanish policy. Rather than providing food for the Spanish, missionized Indians after the Yamasee War directly received rations of clothing and food (Pacheco 1737; Worth 2017). Despite this initial interest, historian John Hann (1988:289, 2006:165) stated the populations decreased throughout the eighteenth century as a result of disease outbreaks as well as attacks, including Creek attacks in the 1720s and the 1739-1748 War of Jenkin's Ear. Censuses of Native American towns in 1717, 1738, 1752, and 1759 noted by John Worth (1998b:150) and

John Hann (1996:308-311) and summarized in Table 6 demonstrate these demographic declines in the mission towns of St. Augustine mapped in Figure 16.

Table 6: St. Augustine Mission Towns and Native American Populations (Adapted from Hann 1996:308-311 and Worth 1998b:150)

Town	Group	1717 Pop.	1738 Pop.	1752 Pop.	1759 pop.
Our Lady of the Rosary of Jabosaya	Apalachee	34	0	0	0
Santa Catharina de Guale	Guale	125	0	0	0
Tolomato	Guale	64	64	26	18
Nombre de Dios	Timucua (1717: 3 Apalachee; 1759: Yamasee & others)	50	49	No data	57
Our Lady of Sorrows	Timucua (& 2 Apalachee in 1717)	74	0	0	0
San Buena Bentura de Palica	Timucua (& 1 Yamasee in 1717)	132	61	29	0
Nuestra Señora de Candelaria de la Tamaja	Yamasee	162	0	0	0
Pocosapa	Yamasee & Apalachee	172	0	0	0
Pocotalaca	Yamasee & some Guales	96	62	33	0
San Joseph de Jororo	Timucua or Yamasee	33	0	0	0
Nombre de Dios Chiquito	Guale & Yamasee	0	56	0	0
San Nicolas	Unknown	0	11	0	0
Nuestra Señora del Rosario de la Punta	Yamasee and Apalachee	0	41	59	0
Total		942	350	155	95

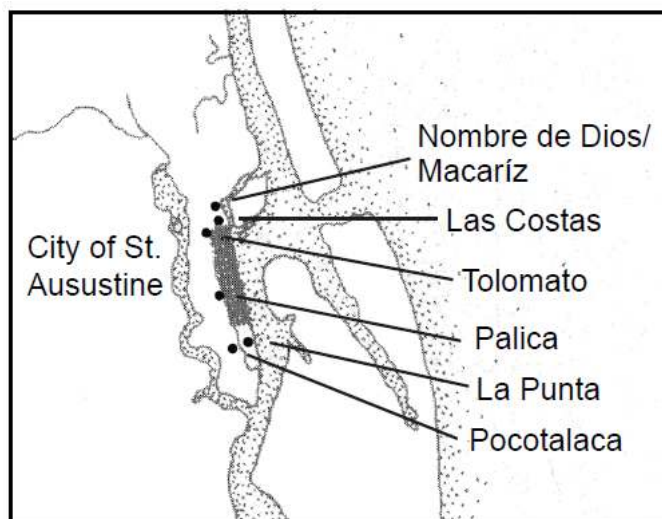


Figure 16: Map of Eighteenth-Century Mission Towns Recovered Archaeologically in the City of St. Augustine (Adapted from Waters 2009:170)

The first census in 1717 represents the height of St. Augustine's Native American population due to migrations after the Yamasee War, including several towns which soon ceased to exist. Pocosapa, a non-Christian Yamasee settlement, had 34 Apalachee or Timucua warriors and 3 Christian Yamasees or Apalachees, in addition to Cosapuyas who Hann (1998:387, 2006:145) noted had previously lived just north of the Savannah River in South Carolina in the sixteenth century. Acting Florida Governor Juan de Ayala y Escobar (1717) described Nuestra Señora de Candelaria de la Tamaja as having 28 Christians, including Antonio Ayala its leader, as well as other non-Christians. The similarities in names between the Yamasee and Spanish leaders may indicate Ayala y Escobar served as godfather to Antonio Ayala. Antonio Ayala's community in particular continued conflict with Lower Creeks after the Yamasee War.

Historians Hann (2006:169) and Hahn ([2019]) stated that such Yamasees maintained the hostilities of the Yamasee War by killing Ouletta, son and heir of Lower

Creek Emperor Brims, for speaking in favor of a stronger alliance with Charleston. In response, Lower Creeks killed many Yamasees in 1725, destroyed Jororos, Timucua, and Tama towns, and carried Christian Indians into Creek territory. By 1728, only 436 Native Americans lived in 8 towns (Hann 1996:315) though 6 others lived within the city walls of St. Augustine in 1738 and 20 did so in 1759 (Parker 1993, 1999:60). Historical records offer only glimpses into how these individuals contributed to the social fabric of the city and impacted the landscape of ceramic practice, though descriptions of religion, hunting, and war exist.

Despite Spanish reliance on Yamasees and other Native Americans for trade and military protections, descriptions are dismissive yet do shed light on daily practices. Native Americans maintained their traditions of hunting and war and converted to Christianity only in name. Amy Bushnell (1994:205) described Spaniards blaming the friars for the latter; in 1737 friars were noted as not treating the town that housed them any differently from those they visited and only rarely having Native American attendees for Mass. Further, Nombre de Dios was the only mission with images and vestments or to have any services in poor weather (Bushnell 1994:205). Such complaints, as well as conflict between friars and the military, characterized Spanish Florida missions (i.e. Grady 2015:66-67). Other observations are largely limited to those of Pedro Sánchez Griñán who went on patrol with locals and Native American men in 1756. He described Yamasees and other interior Indians as tall and dark skinned, dressed in skins, drunken, cruel, and with painted faces and bodies who fought from ambush and neglected agriculture to hunt and make war. Their hunters and warriors ate dried corn, deer, buffalo,

and bear along with roots and heart-of-palm (Griñán 1756 trans. Scardaville and Belmonte). While exaggerated to dismiss Yamasees and other Native Americans as non-Spaniards, these first-hand descriptions depict Yamasees as maintaining war and hunting practices of using paint and skins. The archaeological record sheds light on other daily practices, particularly ceramic production.

Archaeology of St. Augustine's Native Americans

Archaeological evidence recovered under the direction of City Archaeologist Carl Halbirt and University of Florida archaeologist Kathleen Deagan show changing ceramic practices among St. Augustine's Native Americans. Several of St. Augustine's Native American missions have been excavated, and pottery made by Yamasees and other Native Americans is also common in the city itself. These ceramics may reflect Native American households, Native-European unions, or trade with Native Americans. Changes through time demonstrate an extension of changes that occurred along the Georgia and Florida coast—Altamaha/San Marcos pottery made by Guales, Mocamans, and Yamasees during the late seventeenth century replaced the St. Johns pottery made by local Timucua-speakers and many central and south Florida groups. I interpret these assemblages as demonstrating a shared landscape of practice across St. Augustine that reflects eighteenth-century Yamasee demographic dominance of the St. Augustine city landscape as well as the ceramic practices they shared with Guales, Mocamans, and later Timucians.

Timucians, Yamasees, Guales, Mocamans, and other Native Americans intermarried throughout eighteenth-century St. Augustine though particular towns in

censuses (i.e. Table 6) and other documents were often associated with one or two ethnicities. Timucuans outnumbered Yamasees at Missions Nombre de Dios/Macariz from at least 1717-1738 though from at least 1759-1763, if not earlier as well, Yamasees outnumbered Timucuans. Yamasees outnumbered Apalachees at Nuestra Señora del Rosario de la Punta (though some Guales were consistently listed from 1717-1752) and Guales at San Antonio de Pocotalaca (also known as Nuestra Señora de la Concepción de Pocotalaca). In each of these missions, San Marcos pottery, associated with Yamasees, Guales, and Mocama, dominates or co-dominates the assemblage though types associated with coastal Timucuans both before and during the eighteenth century (St. John's, Figures 17-18) and others associated with interior Timucuans and Apalachees also exist in towns without those groups. Table 5 summarizes the pottery associated with Native Americans in the St. Augustine area. Eighteenth-century St. Augustine assemblages, even in towns with no Yamasee inhabitants, reflect the demographic dominance of Guales, Mocamans, and Yamasees who made Altamaha/San Marcos pottery. The dominance of pottery they, Guales, and Mocamans made reflects the number of those groups in the St. Augustine area, which after 1715 was largely Yamasee.

Table 7: Ceramic Types Associated with Native Americans in and North of St. Augustine

Native American Group	Ceramic Series	Distinctive Ceramic Characteristics
Mocamans	San Pedro (until ca. 1650)	Mostly grog temper
Southern Timucuans	St. Johns	Sponge temper
Guales/Mocamans/Yamasees	San Marcos/Altamaha	Largely stamped designs & sand/grit temper, some grog
Apalachees and non-coastal Potanos, Timucuans, and Yustagas	Leon-Jefferson and Lamar	Stamped or incised designs. Apalachees largely used grog temper.



Figure 17: St. Johns' Check Stamped (Adapted from Florida Museum of Natural History Ceramic Technology Lab Website)



Figure 18: St. Johns' Check Stamped (Adapted from DePratter 2009: 28)

Fig. 1.7. St. Johns Check Stamped. 38BU16:2D-22B.

Multiple Native American ceramics, languages, ethnicities, and political units existed in the Georgia and Florida coast. Before the mid-seventeenth-century, Guales in the northern Georgia coast made the same Altamaha/San Marcos pottery as Yamasees would after their arrival in the missions during the 1660s, northern Timucuan

(Mocamans) along the southern Georgia and northeastern Florida coastal islands typically made San Pedro pottery, while southern Timucuan from the St. Johns River southward typically made St. Johns ceramics. St. Johns pottery contains sponge spicules and has a chalky texture with plain, incised, red filmed, check stamped, simple stamped, and other decorations. Seventeenth-century movements by Guales and Mocamans, however, led to the spread of their mutual Altamaha/San Marcos ceramic tradition from the north to the south, gradually dominating the traditions of their new neighbors. Movements of Yamasees from South Carolina to St. Augustine after 1715 accelerated this process of replacing local ceramic traditions.

Guales and, Mocamans moved south down the Georgia coast through the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, gradually replacing the local St. Johns wares made by southern Timucuan. A map made by John Worth (Figure 16) shows this process—each Native American group is color-coded and each dot represents a town in Spanish censuses, maps, and descriptions. Years mark movements noted by Spaniards farther south. As discussed in the previous chapter, rather than join in the latter of these seventeenth-century movements, Yamasees moved instead to the Chattahoochee River of Georgia and Alabama or to Apalachee Province in central Florida. For this reason, the Yamasee movements are not marked. From there, most Yamasees (excluding the group

that remained in Apalachee) moved to the Escamacu region labeled on Figure 19, near

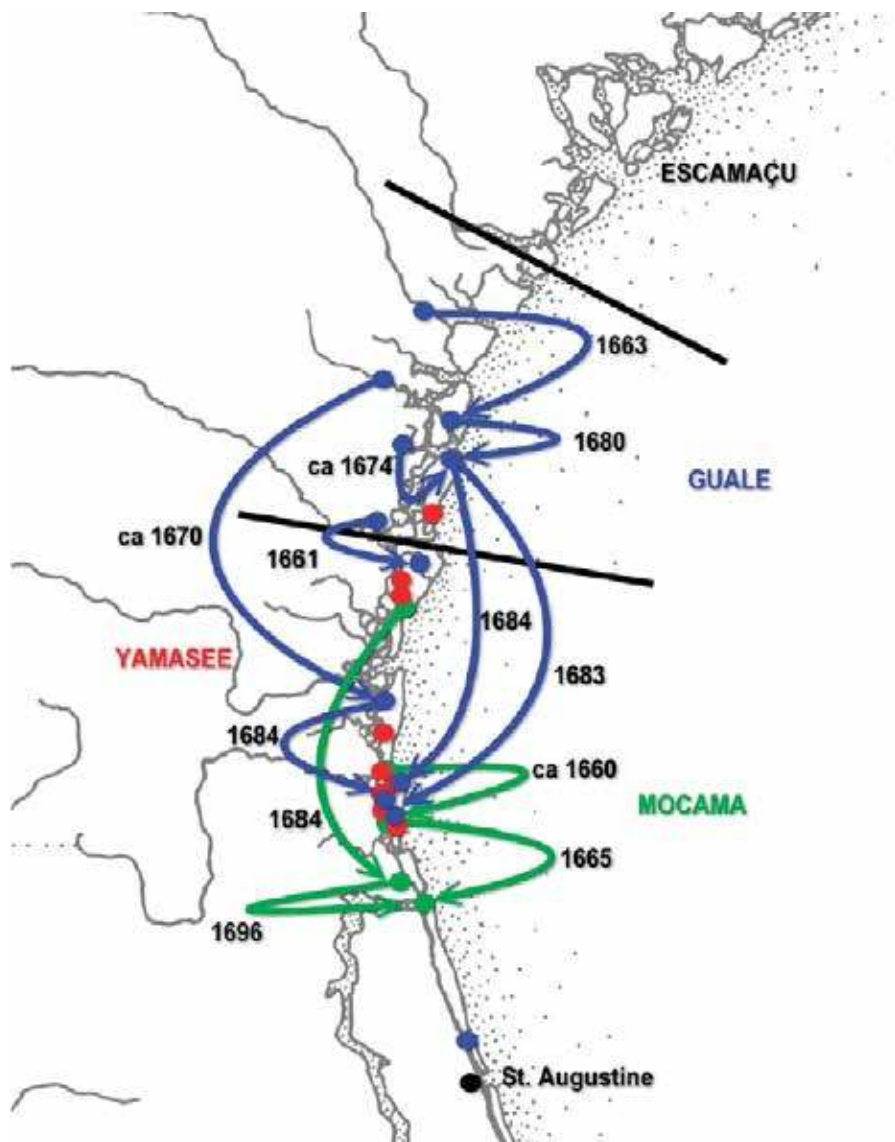


Figure 19: Seventeenth-Century Migrations along the Georgia Coast. Dots Mark Towns and Dates Refer to When Migrations Occurred (From Worth 2009: 186)

Port Royal Sound, and after 1715 many moved from there to St. Augustine. As a result of these migrations, Altamaha/San Marcos ceramics—largely complicated stamped designs—spread south during the eighteenth century as Guales, Mocamans, and Yamasees moved to St. Augustine. These ceramics replaced or co-existed with St. Johns

ceramics, made by Timucuans and others in and south of St. Augustine (Worth 2009: 192-193; Deagan 2009). Subsequent paragraphs discuss specific eighteenth-century mission assemblages, beginning with Nombre de Dios.

Nombre de Dios was one of St. Augustine's longest-lasting missions, largely housed Timucuans, and has distinct sixteenth-century, seventeenth-century, and eighteenth-century archaeological assemblages. Yamasees joined this town in the eighteenth century and 556 of the sample of pottery sherds excavated at the site date from that era. Although the population was largely Timucuan, at Nombre de Dios the San Marcos pottery made by Yamasee, Guale, and Mocama co-dominated the assemblage during this period with the St. John's ceramics associated with Timucuans (41.84% St. John's to 36.81% San Marcos). Figure 20 demonstrates changes through time at the site and Figure 21 graphs the eighteenth-century ceramic assemblage. These co-dominant San Marcos wares are the same as Altamaha wares made by both Guales and Mocamans of the Georgia coast after 1650 as well as Yamasees of South Carolina, as depicted and discussed in the previous chapter (see also Table 5). As such, San Marcos wares do not definitively demonstrate a specifically Yamasee signature, and neither do the non-decorated grog-tempered or sand-tempered sherds, which could represent either the small-scale persistence of these traditions, or heirlooming or mixing of earlier ceramics in later archaeological contexts. However, the San Marcos co-dominance of the eighteenth century replaced the overwhelming dominance of St. John's wares in assemblages dating to the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries (Figure 21; Waters 2005:137-141), and clearly represents a significant increase in the proportion of San Marcos ceramics during

the late seventeenth century, doubtless attributable to the adoption of these ceramics by Timucua-speaking Mocama to the north prior to 1650. I maintain that this new co-dominance of Altamaha/San Marcos pottery of Guales, Mocamans, and Yamasees even in Timucuan towns occurred as a result of Yamasee demographic dominance of the St. Augustine area. Other mission assemblages discussed subsequently, those of Nuestra Señora del Rosario de la Punta and San Antonio de Pocotalaca, demonstrate such a dominance of Yamasee ceramics even more dramatically.

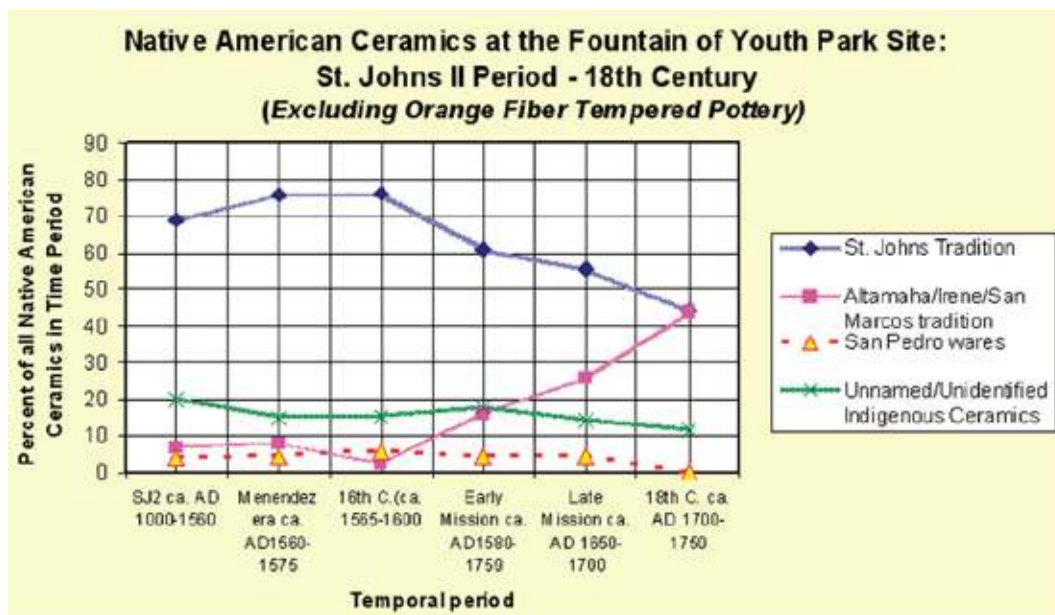


Fig. 6.3. Native American ceramics at the Fountain of Youth Park site, St. Johns II-18th century, excluding Orange Fiber Tempered pottery.

Figure 20: Replacement of St. John's Wares, Associated with Timucuans, by Altamaha/San Marcos Wares, Associated with Yamasees/Guales/Mocamans in Nombre de Dios, St. Augustine (Adapted from Deagan 2009:158)

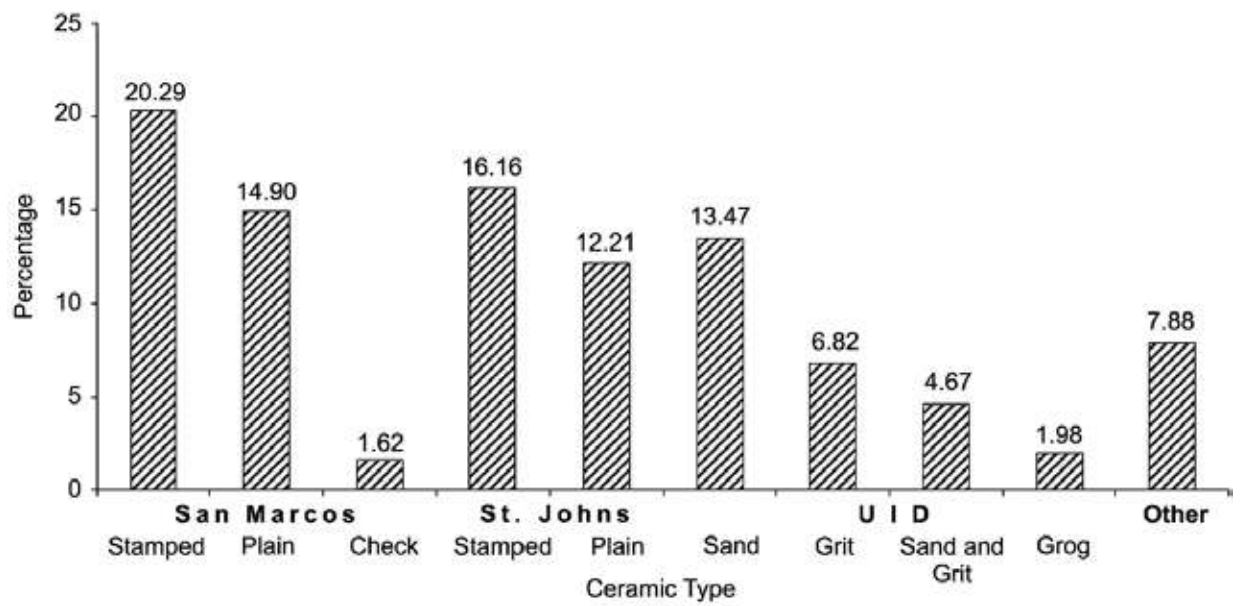


Figure 21: Ceramics at Eighteenth-Century Nombre de Dios Made by Timucuan and Yamasee (Adapted from Waters 2009: 171)

From 1720 to 1752, Mission Nuestra Señora del Rosario de la Punta in southern St. Augustine housed Yamasee migrants to the area in addition to a few Apalachees (Worth 1998b; White 2002; Boyer 2005; Waters 2009). Excavations by St. Augustine Archaeologist Carl Halbirt recovered 3670 sherds, many eroded, and analysis by Andrea White (2002) revealed that San Marcos sherds outnumbered St. John's at a ratio of 56:1 (61.32% to 1.09%, Figure 22). However, these were not distinguished from potentially Apalachee sherds which would have also been grog-tempered and stamped. Additionally, unidentified or plain sherds were the most common. Given that the historical censuses do not indicate any Timucuan residents, I maintain that the small presence of St. John's pottery commonly made by Timucuan and other Central and South Florida Indians indicates social connections that led either to the exchange of vessels or a larger overlap within a St. Augustine landscape of ceramic practice.

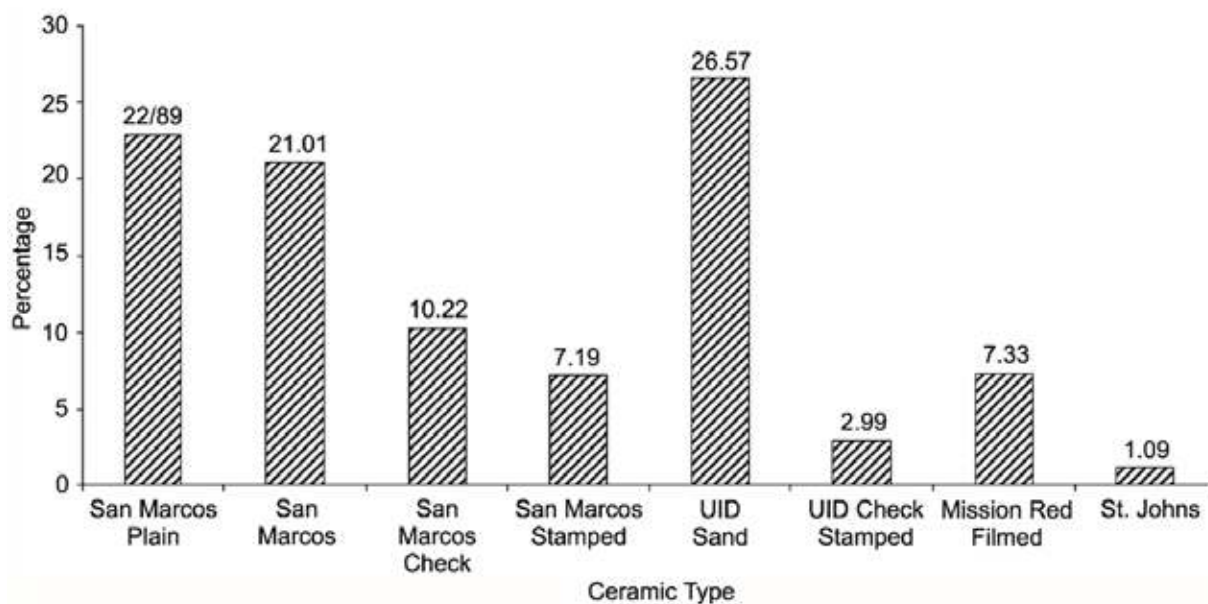


Figure 22: Ceramics at Nuestra Señora del Rosario de la Punta, a Mission Town in St. Augustine with Yamasees and Some Apalachees (Adapted from Waters 2009:172)

San Antonio de Pocotalaca, also known as Nuestra Señora de la Concepción de Pocotalaca, lies in southwestern St. Augustine just outside of the colonial walls. Ninety-six Guales and Yamasees lived there in 1717, and never more than 60 lived in the town after the attacks and diseases of the 1720s (Worth 1998b:152-153). Antonio Jospa led his Yamasee town Pocotaligo from Port Royal Sound—discussed in the previous chapter—south to St. Augustine after 1715, and incorporated the Guale town Euhaw to become the Pocotalaca mission (Montiano 1738). This small town contained a range of Native American ceramics. Native American sherds totaled 246 and included San Marcos wares, half-undecorated sand/grit sherds, 4 Lamar Complicated Stamped, and 3 Miller Plain sherds. Figure 23 graphs these data.

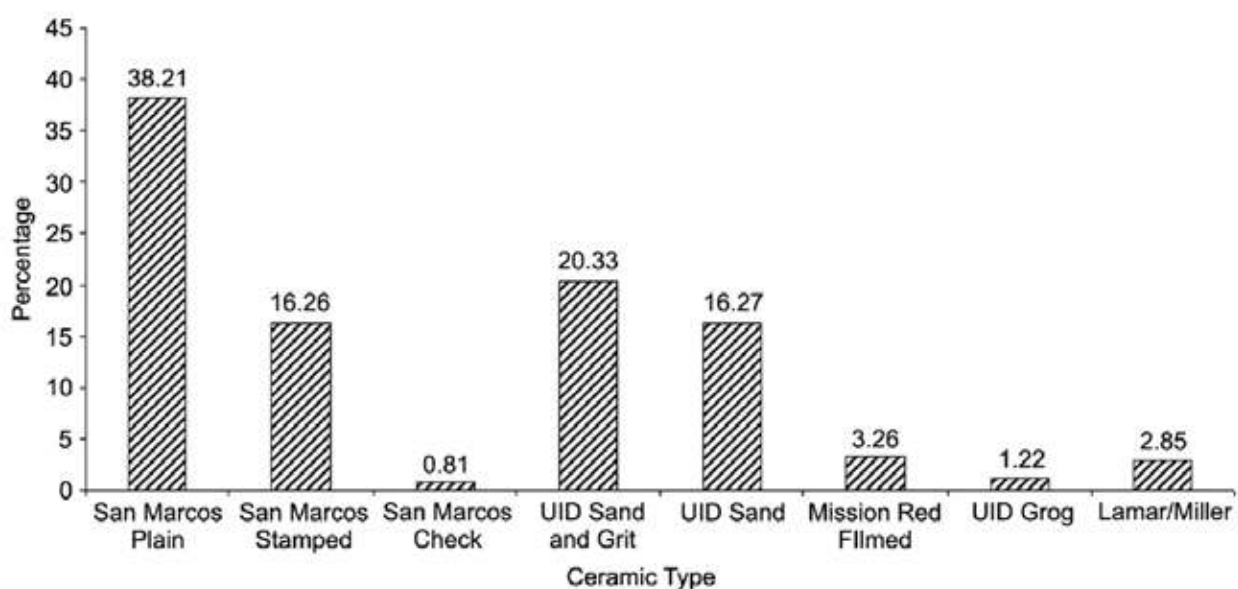


Figure 23: Ceramics at Pocotalaca, Yamasee/Guale Mission Site (Adapted from Waters 2009:173)

Waters (2009:172) associated the Lamar sherds with Apalachees, though Lamar Complicated Stamped as well as red filming were made by Yamasees in Pensacola (see

Chapter 6 for discussion). Red filming as well as Lamar types may represent Apalachee potters, though these are minority types and made by multiple groups. The Guale/Mocama/Yamasee ceramic tradition of San Marcos dominates the assemblage. This assemblage lacks any St. John's series pottery and the few Lamar and red filmed sherds offers limited evidence for the maintenance of Apalachee ceramic traditions within a larger Yamasee/Guale/Mocama community of ceramic practice.

The St. Augustine landscape of ceramic practice reflects the demographic makeup of its Native American citizens—the high numbers of certain groups shaped the formation of communities that created the ceramic assemblages. In general, the Altamaha/San Marcos series of ceramics dominated and co-dominated even St. Augustine mission towns with Timucuans rather than Yamasees, Guales, and Mocamans. St. John's pottery, made by Timucuans and others near and south of St. Augustine, also persisted as a minority type in largely Yamasee/Guale towns. While the number of sherds involved at each site is small, the exchange of vessels and practices across ethnic lines and between mission towns complicates an association between ethnicity and daily practice. Yamasee communities outside of St. Augustine also demonstrate a shared landscape of practice, though with different social relationships and ceramic assemblages. As demonstrated by the differing total number of Indians in 1717 (942 Indians) and 1738 censuses (350 Indians), raids against St. Augustine by British-sponsored Creek Indians in the 1720s and 1730s caused the majority of Yamasees and other Native Americans to leave St. Augustine to move to live among the Cherokee, Catawba, and Lower Creek in the Carolinas and western Georgia (Green et al 2002). Other Yamasees, discussed further

in Chapter 5, remained in St. Augustine until 1740, when they moved across Florida to Pensacola. Still other groups of Yamasees lived near present-day Tallahassee, Florida. The previous chapter discussed this same area in terms of the Apalachee Province that existed until 1704. In the next section, I describe 1720-1763 Yamasee-Spanish-Creek trade in Western Florida and discuss potential adoption of Creek techniques by Yamasee potters.

Yamasee near San Marcos de Apalachee, present-day Tallahassee, Florida

While Yamasees were not the ones to request a Spanish store at St. Mark's near Tallahassee, they did soon establish towns near it and became the only resident group in the area, ensuring its economic success. Despite this central role, their archaeology has been overshadowed by investigations into Creeks and Seminoles, perhaps because of similarities in ceramic assemblages. In this section, I build on John Worth's ([2019]) historical research into this community with further historical sources and analysis of archaeological data from site forms and reports. Based on locating an eighteenth-century Yamasee assemblage in Pensacola with more roughened and brushed designs associated with Creeks than stamped designs associated with Yamasees (discussed in Chapter 5), I discuss the possibility that such assemblages near Tallahassee also included Yamasees.

The Spanish garrison and later store of St. Marks or San Marcos de Apalachee began thanks to Lower Creek chief Chislacasliche, who left a town of his name at the Apalachicola and Flint Rivers to personally escort Spanish Lt. Diego Peña on his 1716 expedition northward to the Creeks. The following year, Peña escorted Upper and Lower Creeks to St. Augustine to treat with the Governor of Florida. Peña again ventured north

in 1717 up the Chattahoochee River to discuss how many Native Americans would move to and trade with the Spanish in accordance with Chislacasliche's plan. In addition to Chislacasliche, leaders of Apalachicola, Oconi, Achito, Yuchi, and Tasquique were willing to move south to support the Spanish garrison and store. However, when the garrison was established in 1718 only Apalachees led by Juan Marcos Isfani lived nearby and by 1723 Yamasees outnumbered these Apalachees (Worth n.d).

In 1723, Diego Peña reported new Yamasee towns near San Marcos, Tamatle and Guacara, which the leader of an older town of Tamatle on the Chattahoochee River described as vulnerable. The Chattahoochee River Tamatle chief's spy reported the 4 Carolinians with a large Upper Creek war party, including Tallapoosas and Apiscas, killed 2 Yamasees in Palachecolo and 2 women in Eufala and Ocone and were threatening these new Yamasee towns (Hann 2006:175; Worth [2019]). John Worth ([2019]) felt this aggression led not only to the first known reporting of those two Yamasee towns but perhaps their creation as well. A report only three years later lists two other towns: San Antonio Yamasees with 48 recent converts to Christianity and 98 non-Christians, and the Yamasee-Apalachee San Juan town with 45 Christians and one non-Christian (Benavides Vazan y Molina 1726:17; Worth 1998:151, [2019]). By 1736, a decade before the establishment of a profitable store near the garrison, only Yamasees lived in the area.

Franciscan Friar Ramos Escudero described these Yamasees

Of these Indians, seven or eight caciques, having less confidence in the Spaniards, remained about 150 leagues from the said [St. Augustine,] Florida, in the depopulated province of Apalachee, and having found out about the good

treatment that their companions had been given by the Spaniards, they asked the governor to send missionary priests to their pueblos, that they wished to be Christians and vassals of the King. A mission was requested from Spain, and now 13 years ago 12 of us missionaries went to that province, and having arrived in Florida, I was chosen with another two missionaries for that mission. And maintaining myself with them in those deserts for the space of three years, now all Christians, the Uchises [Lower Creeks] stirring themselves at the urging of the English against us, after some loss of people, I managed that my stated Indians should leave those woods, and we went to Florida to incorporate ourselves with the rest of the nation, so that together, so many enemies could be resisted. We formed our towns in Florida, but about seven or eight years ago now, the enemy seeking us out, they killed many Indians (Ramos Escudero 1734b; trans. John Worth 2016).

Interestingly, this missionary recognized both that these Yamasees did not have the desire to move completely to Spanish garrisons and that they wished to continue aggressions against their enemies in what Steve Hahn ([2019]) described as the Long Yamasee War between Yamasees in Spanish Florida and Creeks supplied with guns by the British. Further aggression in the 1740s led one Native American leader to suggest establishing a store at San Marcos de Apalachee.

Guale leader and interpreter Francisco Luís de Caracas, resident of the Pocotalaca mission in St. Augustine discussed earlier in this chapter, proposed that a store at San Marcos de Apalachee would benefit Yamasees, other Native Americans, and the Spanish

...Perhaps from the very store at Apalachee they could return once again to their hunts, without returning to their home, and because it would be distant, and they would become familiar with the Spaniards, they would gradually move next to the fort itself, cooling the friendship and inclination that they have to the English, especially in the case of the Yamasees, who live with the Uchises [Lower Creeks], and it is notorious that these [Uchises] took them away when they were attacked in the town of ["New"] Tamale, which is two leagues from Apalachee, because they found themselves unable to defend themselves for lack of munitions, and they were obligated to turn themselves over with their families, minus eighty men who did not consent to it, and took refuge in the said Apalachee, since the said Yamasees greatly abhor the English nation, and if they saw that in Apalachee there were weapons, munitions, and other things for sale, and that they had no need of the English to obtain them, it seems to this witness that they would come

to the Spanish, with the exception of some few who the force of interest would force them to their commerce. And if the aggregation of the said Yamasees happens, as he believes, the aggregation of a great part of the Uchises would follow, since in his judgment he is persuaded by the reason that the said Yamasees are very warlike, they are the captains of most of the troops of Uchises, and once the leaders join with us, it follows that many of the cited Uchises would come following them (Montiano 1745:25r-v).

This Gualé interpreter, whose words are summarized by Florida Governor Manuel de Montiano, started by describing life near the store as a balancing act for Yamasees. These Yamasees had ample opportunities for trade as well as their traditional hunting practices without “returning home.” He described “New” Tamatles as surrendering to Lower Creeks when they could not defend themselves and other Yamasees as leading warriors among the Lower Creeks. Selling weapons from the store would thus arm those “New” Tamatle Yamasees under the Crown’s protection, tempt other Yamasees to move from the “Old” Tamatle to the “New,” and from there tempt their neighboring Lower Creeks to trade with the Spanish rather than the English. While the store never sold guns, it quickly sold out of sugar, cloth, tobacco, shoes, soap, paper, salt, and liquor. Spaniards gained 1,200 skins and complained they could have gained another 2,000 selling rum, possibly implying a scheme to intoxicate Yamasee middlemen into accepting different prices (León 1746). Florida Governor Manuel de Montiano (1746, 1748) felt that maintaining this commerce would prevent Lower Creeks from allying with the British. In addition to working as trading partners, Yamasees provided the Spanish with military intelligence. León and Montiano (1746:225r-226r) described a man named Antonio as handling letters from Apalachicola leader Quilate and escorting soldiers to St. Augustine. Commandant Juan de Cotilla (1757) requested Yamasee chief Natumayche messengers send word to

St. Augustine of a 1757 attack by Creek Indians. Military and trade relationships were thus intertwined for both the Spaniards and Yamasees.

Yamasees in this location proved capable middlemen between Lower Creeks and the Spanish, and such diplomatic interactions largely between men likely led Yamasee women to adopt the ceramic traditions of those Lower Creeks. While archaeologists often investigate the role of European influence on Native American craft production and other traditions, I emphasize the role of social influences within Native American communities on those traditions. Yamasees lived among and traded with Creek Indians, and as discussed in the subsequent section, likely made similar ceramics.

Archaeological Evidence of Yamasees near San Marcos de Apalachee

I examined Geographic Information Systems data of the Florida Master Site File to map sites with colonial Native American pottery within 7 miles of San Marcos de Apalachee. Table 8 and Figure 24 depict these results. I selected a radius of 7 miles because of descriptions such as Caracas' that place the Yamasee town as within 2 leagues of the garrison. I identified ten sites within that boundary, though many are only isolated artifacts and not excavated more fully. While no one has yet interpreted such material as Yamasee, and tend to interpret it as either Creek or Seminole, I demonstrate in the Chapter 5 that Yamasees in the Pensacola area also produced brushed and roughened pottery characteristic of Creeks. Yamasees in the Tallahassee area likely similarly adopted Creek techniques and may have also adopted the Leon-Jefferson ceramics local to Apalachees.

At site 8WA46, Fairbanks (1964) offered Miller Plain and Aucilla Incised as examples of seventeenth-century sherds associated with the Apalachee, and brushed

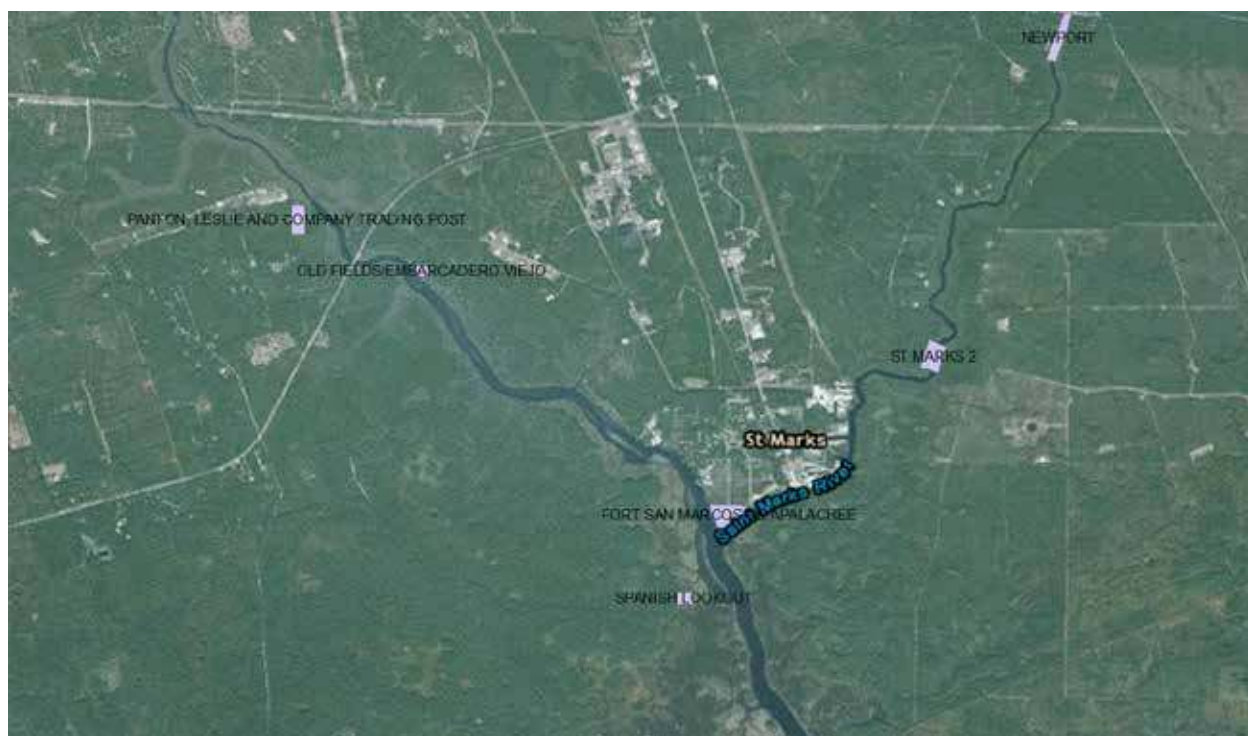
sherds as examples of eighteenth-century Seminole or Creek sherds. Williams (1827:23) and other sources describe a nineteenth-century Seminole settlement of Francis' Town as within a few leagues of San Marcos de Apalachee, as well. Stacy (1967a, 1967b) interpreted 8WA39 as a one of the stores of Panton, Leslie, and Company. However, British land plats described the land as “formerly cleared” before 1767, and thus perhaps by Yamasees—as discussed in the subsequent chapter, such descriptions allowed me to locate the Pensacola-area Yamasee town. Sites within Edward Ball Wakulla Springs State Park are within the two league boundary of San Marcos de Apalachee (Bryne 1988) but reveal only scattered artifacts (Figure 25). Such scattered artifacts may represent any number of Native Americans who lived in the area during the colonial era, though no archaeologists have considered a potential Yamasee role in producing or exchanging such materials.

Table 8: Sites Near San Marcos de Apalachee with Potentially Yamasee Artifacts

Site	Potentially 18 th -C Materials Recovered	Site Name / Interpretation	Source
8WA321	Lake Jackson Plain, Fort Walton Incised	Aute?	Bryne 1988
8WA322	Lamar Complicated Stamped, Cool Branch Incised		Bryne 1988
8WA330	1 Lake Jackson Plain		Bryne 1988
8WA357	1 Lake Jackson Plain		Bryne 1988
8WA312	2 Chattahoochee Brushed	Francis' Town	Bryne 1988
8WA39	Leon-Jefferson, Fort Walton, and Seminole Ceramics	Panton, Leslie, Co	Stacy 1967a, 1967b
8WA40	5 Seminole Brushed, 4 Olive jar, 16 plain	Spanish Lookout	Site File Form
8WA46	Miller Plain, Aucilla Incised, Chattahoochee/Seminole Brushed	Newport	Fairbanks 1964

8WA49	plain white majolica, whole globular middle period olive jar, elongated middle period olive jar; middle period jar rim with stamped mark. Miller Plain plate, questionable San Marcos Stamped, large brushed sherds, 2 bold incised sherds	St. Marks 2	Site File Form, University of Florida Survey
8WA82	80 grit/grog-tempered plain, 16 grit/grog-tempered rims, 5 sand-tempered plain, 5 sand/grit-tempered plain (Deptford-like?), 2 grit/grog-tempered check stamped, 1 grit/grog-tempered simple stamped, 1 sand/grit-tempered comp stamp, 1 sand/grit-tempered check stamp, 1 sand-tempered brushed	Old Fields	Site File Form

Figure 24: Potential Yamasee Sites Located near San Marcos de Apalachee



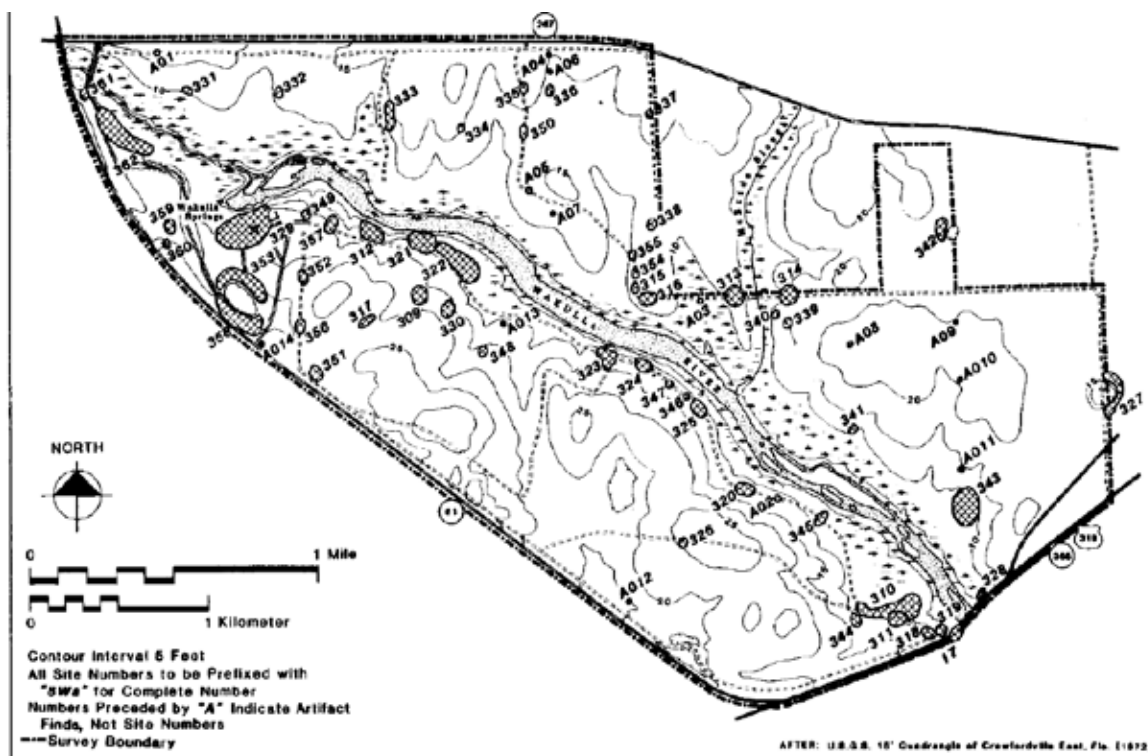


Figure 25: Sites Mapped in Edward Ball Wakulla Springs State Park Survey (Adapted from Byrne 1988:60)

The fort of San Marcos de Apalachee itself (8WA26) contained a variety of colonial Native American ceramics potentially made by Yamasees, though many Native Americans lived there during the colonial era and the artifacts are from mixed contexts. Pottery types reported include Chattahoochee Brushed, Ocmulgee Incised, Fort Walton Incised, Marsh Island Incised, Pensacola Plain, Lake Jackson Plain, and colonowares. Dredging operations alone recovered 12 varieties of decorations and 6 types of tempers, totaling 471 sherds interpreted as made by seventeenth-century Apalachees or eighteenth-century Creeks. 12 Gulf Check Stamped, 67 Fort Walton Plain, 1 Fort Walton Incised, 3 Pensacola Plain, 5 Pensacola 3-Line Incised, 4 Alachua Cob Marked, 6 Jefferson Complicated Stamped, 13 Jefferson Plain, 14 San Marcos Complicated Stamped, and 58

Chattahoochee Brushed as well as pottery not assigned to specific types or varieties: 1 incised, 3 punctate, 15 plain rims, 51 plain body, 36 quartz-tempered plain, 45 grit-tempered plain, 39 limestone-tempered plain, 2 mica-tempered plain, 95 sand-tempered plain, and 1 grog-tempered plain. While a mixed context and interpreted as made by Apalachees or Creeks, I maintain that anyone living in the area including Yamasees could have produced such a ceramic assemblage.

These ceramics demonstrate traditions local to the area before the eighteenth century as well as traditions of Creeks who maintained connections to the area before moving there in the mid-eighteenth century. Several ceramic types—particularly Marsh Island, Pensacola, Lake Jackson, Jefferson, and Fort Walton—are common to Apalachee Province during the mission period and earlier, and limestone was commonly used by Chatos within the province (Jones, Hann, Scarry 1991; Shapiro 1987: 115; Shapiro and McEwan 1992: 50; Shapiro and Vernon 1992: 266-267; Waselkov and Gums 2000:184-189). San Marcos is generally associated with Yamasees, and Chattahoochee and Ocmulgee types are often associated with Creek Indians (Bullen 1950; DeJarnette 1975; Worth 2000) though other Native American assemblages also include these types. Early nineteenth-century Seminoles also made pottery similar to eighteenth-century Creek Indians, largely with brushed and roughened surface treatments. This mixed assemblage, as well as the neighboring small assemblages, to some extent match the Yamasee pottery assemblage recovered near Pensacola discussed in the subsequent chapter. Because Yamasees who moved to Pensacola adopted local tempers and Creek designs, they likely did so at San Marcos de Apalachee as well, given that extensive social interactions would have occurred with Creeks in that location. Perhaps such interactions led Creek

techniques to dominate Altamaha/San Marcos pottery.

Small or mixed context Fort San Marcos assemblages could represent either Yamasees or Creeks, despite the fact that earlier archaeologists did not investigate the possibility of a Yamasee occupation. As Yamasee potters did throughout their history of movements, Yamasee potters in this area likely adopted local ceramic traditions as they maintained their town name Tamatle. Interpreting a potential Yamasee occupation near San Marcos de Apalachee remains difficult because eighteenth-century Creeks and nineteenth-century Seminoles made similar pottery, the area was occupied by more Native Americans before and after the Yamasee occupation, and recovered contexts are largely small and/or mixed. Yamasees at this “New” Tamatle town balanced between the Spanish and Creeks from the 1720s until the 1763 Treaty of Paris led Spain to trade Florida to Britain for Cuba. Most moved north to the “Old” Tamatle though two Yamasees requested permission to join Spaniards and St. Augustine-area Native Americans to move to Havana (Worth n.d). Both Tamatles shared a common name and shared ceramic practices with their Creek neighbors, yet historical documents do not offer as much detail about the older town.

“Old” Tamatles along the Chattahoochee/Apalachicola River

The “Old” Tamatle almost without exception appears in the historical record in association with its neighbors, all of whom are described as potential allies in war. Details of these communities largely include only the numbers of warriors through time and the gifts used to ally with those warriors. Table 9 lists these towns from south to north along the Chattahoochee River, with the newest Tamatle town listed out of place as last and south of the Chattahoochee/Flint River confluence. The “Old” Tamatle appears

Table 9: Tamatle and Other Towns along the Chattahoochee/Apalachicola River
(Adapted from Marques de Toro 1738)

Town	Warriors
Old Tamatle (near the Chattahoochee/Flint River confluence, second farthest south)	12
Chaschaue	10
Chalaquiliche	45
Yufala	111
Sabacola	30
Ocone	50
Aysichiti	60
Apalachicola	60
Ocmulque	Unknown
Osuche	Unknown
Chiaja	120
Casista	111
Cabeta (farthest north along the Chattahoochee)	132
New Tamatle (south of Old Tamatle)	26
[Total]	757
Women and children unknown	

before Chalaquiliche and its daughter town Chaschave founded by Chalaquiliche's nephew, while the newer Tamatle appears last, after the northernmost Lower Creek town and thus out of geographical order. While the newer town existed within a mile or two of San Marcos, the older existed on the Apalachicola River below the Flint River—where Tamatle's chief originally set up a town before 1718 (Worth [2019]). In 1738, a Spanish officer from Havana described two different Tamatle towns—the “new” one near San Marcos with 26 gun men led by Jupififi Ymagla or Yfamico and “Bigotes, war captain” and the “old” with 12 gun men represented by Juchufca. (Marqu ez del Toro 1738a:48r, 1738b:11v). Diego Pe a described “some fields or a little village governed by a Christian Indian named August n, of the Tama nation of Apalachee.” Worth ([2019]) connects this Tama to the Yamasee mission of Nuestra Se ora del Rosario de la Tama within the Apalachee province destroyed in 1704 by British-sponsored attacks. Either the same Tama Yamasees returned to Apalachee province, or another group borrowed the Tama

name from the “old” Tamatle on the Chattahoochee River, the South Carolina Altamaha Town, or the earlier Altamaha chiefdom.

Spanish and British agents courted Tamatle and neighboring Native Americans during the American Revolution. Joseph Purcell made several maps for John Stuart, then the Superintendent of Indian Affairs in the Southern District, and on a 1778 map described “Tomatly” as “situated on the west side of the Appalatchi Ocoola River, half mile from its bank, and about four miles below its Forks. Consisting of 11 Houses, a square, 6 families and 14 Gunmen, the head man’s name is Intalgee” (Boyd 1938:22). Connections existed with at least one neighboring town-- a “Tomatly warrior” led “Hyhappo or Savannah” 5 ½ miles downriver (Worth [2019]). Bernando de Galvez, as part of his effort to take Pensacola from the British, had agents visit Creek chiefs in 1779, including Tamatle.

One gift list from Galvez’s agents, Table 10, lists these towns roughly north to south—Tamatle’s position at second to last thus depicts it as nearly the closest to the coast. Such somewhat formulaic gifts—honey, rum, tobacco, corn, cassava (also called manioc and yuca), and salt in consistent amounts— helped court Native Americans to the Spanish side in re-taking Pensacola from the British during the American Revolution. A musket, as well as ground tobacco complete with containers to keep it from spoiling, proved more attractive gifts for the closest town and for the Emperor and his town of Caveta. The second largest and most important town, Casita, received the machete and musket (*escopeta*), while most other towns received the foodstuffs and a machete. Tamatle did not receive a machete, but the foodstuffs proved successful. Juan Miguel Calvo (1780) reported that a Tamatle Indian named Ynculaiche stated that Apiscas,

Choctaws, and Alabamas would ally with the Spanish against the Cherokees, Chickasaws, and Yufalas who would fight for the British.

Table 10: Gifts to Lower Creek Leaders and Towns (Adapted from Navarro 1779)

Emperor	barrel of white wine, carga of cassava, white shirt with ruffles, container with two pounds of ground tobacco, small box to carry it, musket, black hat
Town of Caveta	barrel of honey, barrel of rum, tercio (150 pounds) of tobacco, two fanegas (55 liters, about 100 pounds) of corn, two cargas (600 pounds) de cassava, machete, musket, bag of salt
Town of Casita	Barrel of honey, barrel of rum, tercio (150 pounds) of tobacco, 2 fanegas (55 liters, about 100 pounds) of corn, 2 cargas (600 pounds) of cassava, machete, musket, bag of salt
Town of Chabacli	barrel of honey, barrel of rum, tercio (150 pounds) of tobacco, 2 fanegas (55 liters, about 100 pounds) of corn, 2 cargas (600 pounds) of cassava, machete, bag of salt
Town of Yuchi	barrel of honey, barrel of rum, tercio (150 pounds) of tobacco, 2 fanegas (55 liters, about 100 pounds) of corn, 2 cargas (600 pounds) of cassava, machete, bag of salt
Town of Chija	barrel of honey, barrel of rum, tercio (150 pounds) of tobacco, 2 fanegas (55 liters, about 100 pounds) of corn, 2 cargas (600 pounds) of cassava, machete, bag of salt
Town of Osuche	barrel of honey, barrel of rum, tercio (150 pounds) of tobacco, 2 fanegas (55 liters, about 100 pounds) of corn, 2 cargas (600 pounds) of cassava, machete, bag of salt
Town of Ocmulque	barrel of honey, barrel of rum, tercio (150 pounds) of tobacco, 2 fanegas (55 liters, about 100 pounds) of corn, 2 cargas (600 pounds) of cassava, machete, bag of salt
Town of Ajachite	barrel of honey, barrel of rum, tercio (150 pounds) of tobacco, 2 fanegas (55 liters, about 100 pounds) of corn, 2 cargas (600 pounds) of cassava, machete, bag of salt
Town of Apalachicola	barrel of honey, barrel of rum, tercio (150 pounds) of tobacco, 2 fanegas (55 liters, about 100 pounds) of corn, 2 cargas (600 pounds) of cassava, machete, bag of salt
Town of Ocone	barrel of honey, barrel of rum, tercio (150 pounds) of tobacco, 2 fanegas (55 liters, about 100 pounds) of corn, 2 cargas (600 pounds) of cassava, machete, bag of salt
Town of Sabacola	barrel of honey, barrel of rum, tercio (150 pounds) of tobacco, 2 fanegas (55 liters, about 100 pounds) of corn, 2 cargas (600 pounds) of cassava, machete, bag of salt
Town of Sacoliche	barrel of honey, barrel of rum, tercio (150 pounds) of tobacco, 2 fanegas (55 liters, about 100 pounds) of corn, 2 cargas (600 pounds) of cassava, machete, bag of salt

Town of Ynfala	barrel of honey, barrel of rum, tercio (150 pounds) of tobacco, 2 fanegas (55 liters, about 100 pounds) of corn, 2 cargas (600 pounds) of cassava, machete, bag of salt
Town of Choalo	barrel of honey, barrel of rum, tercio (150 pounds) of tobacco, 2 fanegas (55 liters, about 100 pounds) of corn, 2 cargas (600 pounds) of cassava, machete, bag of salt
Town of Chicatalija	barrel of honey, barrel of rum, tercio (150 pounds) of tobacco, 2 fanegas (55 liters, about 100 pounds) of corn, 2 cargas (600 pounds) of cassava, machete, bag of salt
Town of Chalacaliche	barrel of honey, barrel of rum, tercio (150 pounds) of tobacco, 2 fanegas (55 liters, about 100 pounds) of corn, 2 cargas (600 pounds) of cassava, machete, bag of salt
Town of Boyape	barrel of honey, barrel of rum, tercio (150 pounds) of tobacco, 2 fanegas (55 liters, about 100 pounds) of corn, 2 cargas (600 pounds) of cassava, machete, bag of salt
Town of Lunaticoi	barrel of honey, barrel of rum, tercio (150 pounds) of tobacco, 2 fanegas (55 liters, about 100 pounds) of corn, 2 cargas (600 pounds) of cassava, machete, bag of salt
Town of Talajam	barrel of honey, barrel of rum, tercio (150 pounds) of tobacco, 2 fanegas (55 liters, about 100 pounds) of corn, 2 cargas (600 pounds) of cassava, machete, bag of salt
Town of Tamasle	barrel of honey, barrel of rum, tercio (150 pounds) of tobacco, 2 fanegas (55 liters, about 100 pounds) of corn, 2 cargas (600 pounds) of cassava, bag of salt
Town of San Francisco de Gracasa	barrel of honey, barrel of rum, tercio (150 pounds) of tobacco, 2 fanegas (55 liters, about 100 pounds) of corn, 2 cargas (600 pounds) of cassava, white shirt with ruffles, container with two pounds of ground tobacco, small box to carry it, musket, bag of salt

Aside from referring to payments of Tamatles and their neighbors for war, Spaniards described Tamatles as visiting Cuba for diplomatic and social connections, including baptizing children. Tamatle Yamasees received deathbed baptisms in Havana from 1807-1817 and leaders received gifts for their Havana visits—Chivichati in 1819 and Opoi Mico in 1820 (Worth [2019]). However, the most detailed picture is a list of individuals from Tamatle who arrived in Havana, as recorded by interpreter Joseph Bermudez (1786) in Table 11. Despite the detailed list, I can only speculate that “Paba la

Table 11: Yamasees Traveling from “Old” Tamatle to Havana, Cuba (Adapted from Bermudez 1786)

Men	Women	Youth
Sin cagachi	Mas ni	Fi jichi
Mun michi	Ma Ju lli	Y Juis ti
Chais chicho	Belasqui	Pu pa lle
Sabanusqui	Sata lli	ti nulle
Ti luste	Ma llarti	
Sumais Si	Ta la co	
Silichas chi	Sa tu Cu	
Sa balus qui	Pu jis chi	
A Sal qui	Lasi qui	
Ai chi	Saca buiqui	
Cha Ju llani		
Yju lani		
Si Jaique (sick)		
paba la pique (sick)		

“pique” may be a Spanish phrase meaning something like Biting Turkey (from the Spanish words pavo and picar meaning turkey and biting).

References to Tamatle only continue for another generation. Worth ([2019]) described this Old Tamatle as persisting until 1817 and coalescing with others to form Seminoles. Creek Agent Benjamin Hawkins (1848:25-26) listed seven Seminole towns in 1799 Florida made from towns including “Tum-mault-law.” In 1814, British Lt. George Woodbine included “Tamathea or Tamathla and Ocheese, 150” as among those that would fight Americans (Sugden 1982:282). American Captain Hugh Young in 1818 described Tamatles as “settled on some good river land seven miles above the Ocheeses numbers 25 warrior-chiefs Yellowhair and the Black King” (Boyd and Ponton 1934b:86). 1817 maps by Vincente Sebastian Pintado show Tomathly and Ocheeses in this position. These are the last known references to a distinct Tamatle town identity.

By 1833, Tamatle and other towns became known as the Apalachicola band to the Florida Governor. Yellow Hair was head chief of all the towns before John Blount succeeded him and led the entire group to Texas in 1834 (Westcott 1833b; Boyd

1958:228-229). This coalescence ended the longest-lasting Tamatle identity, which spoke to nearly 300 years of history, including nearly a century in that location as well as earlier Yamasee towns elsewhere and the pre-Yamasee Altamaha chiefdom in sixteenth-century Georgia. Despite such a rich heritage for the town specifically, I can only offer archaeological interpretation of the area more broadly.

Only five archaeological sites with colonial-era Native American sherds have been recovered from the confluence of the Flint, Chattahoochee, and Apalachicola Rivers confluence to up to three miles to the south (Table 12, Figure 26). While these may potentially represent Yamasee towns, three only have a few sherds and two have been interpreted by archaeologist Nancy White (personal communication April 12, 2017) as the 1686-1694 San Carlos village of the Chacatos. However, such sites that were burned in the early eighteenth century were described by Europeans as being re-used by Yamasees and Creeks during the eighteenth century and Seminoles during the nineteenth century. The Old Tamatle Town has not yet been positively identified archaeologically. If Yamasees indeed made ceramics similar to their neighbors, distinguishing this town from others may be impossible. Yamasees here and elsewhere in late eighteenth-century Florida maintained connections to their ancestral towns but in other locations made pottery and otherwise lived daily lives in ways similar if not identical to their neighbors.

Table 12: Potential Yamasee Sites near the Confluence of Flint, Chattahoochee, and Apalachicola Rivers. Adapted from Florida Site File Forms

Site	Potentially Eighteenth-Century Materials	Interpretation
8GD4	2 Fort Walton Stamped, 1 incised, 2 punctate, 4 Linear Check Stamped, 1 St. John's incised with parallel lines, 1 St. Johns Stamped, 1 Chattahoochee Brushed, 2 Leon-Jefferson	
8GD280	Chattahoochee Brushed, Fort Walton Incised, Lake Jackson Plain, complicated stamped, check-stamped, cob marked, Keith Incised	

8JA4	1 Ocmulgee Fields Incised, 1 Jefferson rim, 3 Miller Plain, 13 Fort Walton plain, 4 shell-tempered plain	1686-1694 Chacato village of San Carlos? (Nancy White personal communication 2017)
8JA60	8 San Marcos, 22 Chattahoochee Brushed, 3 Spanish sherds, 4 Alachua Cob Marked, 1 Cob Marked/Brushed, 6 Mission Red Filmed, 19 Ocmulgee Fields Incised, 9 Jefferson Ware rims, 1 Aucilla Incised, 31 Miller Plain, 8 Lamar Complicated Stamped, 2 Lake Jackson Plain, 157 Fort Walton plain, 6 Fort Walton interior, 15 roughened, 10 incised, 6 stamped, 4 smoothed over pitted surface, 2 scored shell-tempered, 21 plain shell-tempered, 9 plain limestone-tempered, 193 plain sand-tempered	
8JA409	1 Ocmulgee Fields Incised sherd, 1 incised sherd, plain grit/grog tempered, grit-tempered, and sand-tempered sherds	



Figure 26: Site Numbers and Locations of Potentially Yamasee Sites near the Flint/Chattahoochee/Apalachicola River Confluence

Yamasees among Eastern Florida Seminoles: Interpreting William Bartram

While Tamatlé Yamasees participated in Seminole ethnogenesis along the Chattahoochee/Apalachicola Rivers, I maintain that Yamasees served an entirely different role for Seminole ethnogenesis in Eastern Florida. I interpret Bartram's negative descriptions of Yamasees as reflecting the perspective of Seminole leader Cowkeeper and

others who used the defeat of Yamasees to demonstrate their martial ability and justify possessing Florida territory.

William Bartram's observations of Florida describe rumors of Yamasees, noting them as enslaved by Seminoles, killed by Creeks, or seeking refuge from both. The least credible of his references may be pure fiction. Bartram (1791:139) described a mound on the St. Johns River between Lake Dexter and Lake Beresford as containing massacred Yamasees. He talks in great detail about bodies filling an ancient Yamasee burial ground, yet Waselkov and Braund (1995:241) describe archaeological investigation of the shell mound as recovering no burials. Bartram extended similar rumors about Yamasees to Lake Ouaquaphenogaw, between the Flint and Ocmulgee Rivers and the source of the St. Mary River. One story described Yamasees who "escaped massacre after a bloody and decisive conflict between them and the Creek nation (who, it is certain, conquered, and nearly exterminated, that once powerful people) and here found an asylum, remote and secure from the fury of their proud conquerors" (Bartram 1791: 26). Waselkov and Braund (1995: 231) interpret such descriptions of Yamasee deaths as mangled retellings of the 1715 Yamasee War. However, such rumors likely tie more closely to post-1715 Yamasees in Florida as well as a Creek and Seminole sense of justice in destroying an enemy and taking possession of their land. Bartram (1791:392) explained that "the first object...was the destruction of the Yamasees, who held the possession of Florida and were in close alliance with the Spaniards, their declared and most inveterate enemy...by this conquest they gained a vast and invaluable territory." This close alliance of the Spanish and Yamasee only took place after 1715, and Seminoles describe conquering this area of Florida that was previously tied to the Yamasee and Spanish to justify their

control over the area to the British.

Bartram (1791:477-478) also interpreted the balance of Muscogeas as magnanimous in their mercy yet perpetually at war and explicitly mentions their extermination of Yamasees

...When considered in a political view, exhibits a portraiture of a great or illustrious heroe. A proud, haughty and arrogant race of men; they are however, brave and valiant in war, ambitious of conquest, restless and perpetually exercising their arms, yet magnanimous and merciful to a vanquished enemy, when he submits and seeks their friendship and protection: always uniting the vanquished tribes in confederacy with them; when they immediately enjoy, unexceptionably, every right of free citizens, and are from that moment united in one common band of brotherhood: they were never known to exterminate a tribe, except the Yamasees, who would never submit on any terms, but fought it out to the last, only about forty or fifty of them escaping at the last decisive battle, who threw themselves under the protection of the Spaniards at St. Augustine (underlining my own for emphasis).

40 or 50 Yamasees in St. Augustine may refer to those remaining after the War of Jenkin's Ear, or may simply be an exaggeration. Bartram also interpreted mercy only to surrendered enemies, who in this description received "every right of free citizens." However, another encounter described enslaved warriors with no such rights. When meeting Seminole leader Cowkeeper, a cheerful man about sixty years old, Bartram (1791:185-186) described his slaves as

Yamasee captives, taken by himself when young. They were dressed better than he, served and waited upon him with signs of the most abject fear... There are several Christians among them, many of whom wear little silver crucifixes, affixed to a wampum collar round their necks, or suspended by a small chain upon their breast. These are said to be baptized, and notwithstanding most of them speak and understand Spanish, yet they have been the most bitter and formidable Indian enemies the Spaniards ever had. The slaves, both male and female, are permitted to marry amongst them: their children are free, and considered in every respect equal to themselves, but the parents continue in a state of slavery as long as they live (underlining my own for emphasis).

These Yamasees were repeatedly described as Christian and only their children had rights in Seminole society. Bartram does not clarify as to how a defeated foe could become a slave or a free citizen, and also does not clarify exactly when and where Cowkeeper took Yamasee slaves. Clearly, however, this is after 1715—Cowkeeper was born only a few years earlier. The most likely time seems to be 1740, at which point Cowkeeper would have been about 30 years of age according to historian John Lanning (1954:55, 155) who described Cowkeeper as attacking St. Augustine that year. Chronologically, Bartram may be the last first-hand account of Yamasees as broadcasting a distinct identity in Florida and he consistently presented them as a group whose conquest and enslavement by the Seminoles justified Seminole control over Florida. As discussed earlier, despite this Yamasee role as a justification for ethnogenesis and territory expansion for Seminoles in Eastern Florida, Western Florida Tamatlé Yamasees coalesced with their neighbors and formed the Apalachicola band Seminoles.

Summary: Eighteenth-Century Yamasees

Despite dismissal by Bartram's narratives, eighteenth-century Yamasees dominated Spanish Florida before coalescing into Seminole groups or moving with the Spanish to Cuba or Mexico. From 1715-1763, St. Augustine Yamasees continued conflict with Creek leaders that encouraged others to trade with Charleston, who Yamasees attempted to destroy in 1715. However, those who chose to live closer to the Creeks in present-day Tallahassee likely did so in part because they wanted to avoid what Steve Hahn ([2019]) termed the Long Yamasee War, largely restricted to Yamasees in St. Augustine. Other Yamasees left St. Augustine in response to the War of Jenkin's Ear between the British and the Spanish to pursue diplomatic opportunities in Pensacola

rather than join Creek Indians. This chapter demonstrates that Yamasees near St. Augustine, San Marcos de Apalachee, the Apalachicola River, and Pensacola each maintained their identity and balanced their traditions with new opportunities in different ways. Yamasees were either strong Spanish allies in St. Augustine and later Pensacola, traded directly with the Spanish and Lower Creeks, or lived among the Lower Creeks and engaged with the Spanish more indirectly.

I also show that each of these Yamasee communities created distinct ceramic assemblages. None of the ceramic types often associated with Native American groups directly represent those groups in eighteenth-century Florida and instead spread between groups as a result of social interactions. Altamaha/San Marcos pottery—made by Yamasees, Mocamans, and Guales—soon spread to Timucua towns. At the same time, types associated with Timucians and perhaps Apalachees persisted. This hybridized assemblage was uniquely eighteenth-century St. Augustine—Yamasees, Apalachees, Timucians, Guales, Mocamans, and other distinct ethnic and linguistic groups can only be identified in historical documents. Altamaha/San Marcos pottery also existed at select Western Florida sites, though Creek-style brushing and roughening dominate these admittedly small assemblages. While such assemblages have been variously interpreted as made by Creeks, Seminoles, or Chacatos the Pensacola-area Yamasee assemblage discussed in Chapter 5 indicates that Yamasees made similarly roughened and brushed ceramics. As such, Western and Eastern Florida Yamasees had both dramatically different ceramic practices as well as distinct relationships within the emergent Seminole Nation.

The subsequent chapter discusses rhetoric by Cesar Augustus, a Yamasee-

Cherokee who attacked St. Augustine in 1740, and Andres Escudero, a Yamasee leader who left St. Augustine in response to those attacks. The authority demonstrated by these individuals shows Yamasee participation in regional ritual and political traditions that extended beyond their landscapes of ceramic practice. Yamasee mobility, which led to changing ceramic practices, allowed for the maintenance of other traditions, including those directly related to their persistent authority in the Southeast discussed in the subsequent chapter.

Chapter 4: Yamasee Authority: Justifying Retribution through Ritual Speech

I, Caesar Augustus, Yamasee Cherokee, King of the Indians, to the Governor of St. Augustine

1. You know I have notice that you have Indian Prisoners.
2. You cannot possibly resist the valor of my Warriors; we have imprisoned a Spaniard
3. My mercy is as great as the valor of my Warriors.
4. I have granted life to a Spaniard, named Francisco Garcia, cavalry soldier of Don Pedro [commandant of Fort Mose]
5. If Your Lordship burns any Indian, I will also burn all of the men I've imprisoned from you.
6. If Your Lordship burns any Indian, I will burn Francisco Garcia, cavalry soldier of Don Pedro.
7. If Your Lordship burns any Indian, I will not spare even a sergeant, until I burn everyone, except the women.

These are my Arms, or the painting I carry on my skin, by which your Indians will recognize me; and I and the thousands of my nation will take vengeance against you" (Caesar Augustus 1740: 29-29v).

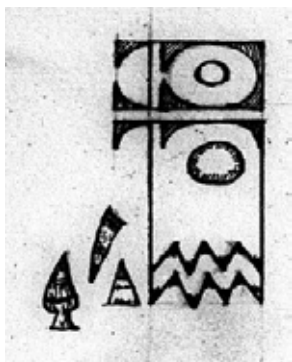


Figure 27: Caesar Augustus' Tattoo, the Painting He Carried on His Skin (Adapted from Caesar Augustus 1740: 29v)

In 1740, a Yamasee-Cherokee titled Caesar Augustus wrote this letter to Florida Governor Manuel de Montiano after taking possession of Fort Mose as James Oglethorpe seized St. Augustine during the War of Jenkin's Ear between Britain and Spain. I found Caesar Augustus' letter in microfilm at the University of Florida's PK Yonge Library copied from Archive of the Indies bundle Santo Domingo 845, which contained his letter as well as other documents exchanged between Oglethorpe and Montiano. The letter and the tattoo referenced in it shows that Caesar Augustus justified his authority—to destroy

St. Augustine if his merciful treatment of prisoners was not reciprocated— by navigating a spiritual continuum of ritual speech and symbols, using titles and concepts that Europeans could translate and additional symbols (Figure 27) only their Native allies could comprehend.

Caesar Augustus' and Oglethorpe's attacks led another Yamasee, Andres Escudero, to leave St. Augustine as a boy of 11 before becoming a leader of Mission San Antonio de Punta Rasa near Pensacola, Florida. From this local authority over the mission, Escudero negotiated a treaty between the Spanish and Upper Creeks, gained authority in both those communities, and used that authority to burn a town he felt betrayed that treaty. Caesar Augustus was a warrior who requested reciprocal mercy by demonstrating martial ability, Yamasee-Cherokee social connections, and access to supernatural power. His name may have also demonstrated his understanding of Roman titles. On the other hand, Andres Escudero used his Spanish baptismal name, linguistic abilities in both Spanish and Creek, as well as diplomatic ability to gain authority in multiple communities and retaliate against enemies. The actions and rhetoric of these two leaders—a warrior who requested humane treatment and a diplomat who burned a town—offers a chance to understand Yamasee processes of authority within ideological and institutional systems in their own words. Rather than a division between war and peace offices of authority, or even a moiety-level division between towns, leaders and other individuals felt the need for balance between vengeance and mercy and used metaphors within rhetoric or color schemes to address and signal that balance. Understanding such rhetoric in light of the terms used by indigenous leaders offers a case

study for understanding authority as a process not only in eighteenth-century Florida but throughout the colonial era.

The exact interplay between Yamasee titles and ceremonies was merely glossed over by a Spanish observer as “with all those circumstances and ceremonies most acceptable among them” (Román 1758a:308v). However, other case studies help interpret such mechanisms of authority. Researchers around the world have described authority as a process involving social and consanguinal connections, material culture, rhetoric, titles, ceremonies, and esoteric knowledge. Historians and archaeologists have interpreted Apalachee Indians as maintaining their elite control through family dynasties (Hann 1988:79; Scarry 1992:168-174). Some archaeologists (e.g. Cobb 2003:74) have described elite control of esoteric knowledge as essential for their continued positions of authority while others such as Saitta (1994) have urged consideration of communalism and consent in processes of claiming authority. Other archaeologists have interpreted those processes as involving successful claims to ancestors and deities in Polynesia (Kahn and Kirch 2011:94) and Peru (Goldstein 2000:184-186).

Ethnohistorians of New England have demonstrated the role of consent, both in terms of a community’s encouragement or tolerance as well as establishing precedent (Goddard and Bragdon 1988:2-3; Salisbury 1982:43). Such community consent was also demonstrated in the Southeast. The *huskanaw* rite of passage for Virginia Indian teenage men involved isolation and fasting, resulting in the community recognizing a new body and title for individuals who became adults (Beverly 1705:39-41; Gallivan 2003:24). Cherokee war dances offered a chance for warriors to articulate their case for a raid

against an enemy (Timberlake 1765:36). George Lankford (2017) interpreted a Natchez legend about losing control of sacred fire as a demonstration of what makes specialists who manage the fire so important. Such examples among others (see Colson 1977:275-277; Foucault 1983:217-219; Mann 1986: 1-7; Adams 1977:359) show access to power was demonstrate through the organization and influence ideological, economic, military, and political relationships.

Escudero and Caesar Augustus successfully broadcast their authority, or their ability to govern and structure actions, one of many practices Foucault (1970, 1973, 1984:428; Foucault et al 1988) and Bourdieu (1991) described as embedded in social interaction and institutions. Following Bauman's (2004:151-2) analysis of routines that enact the authorization of discourse by manifesting authority in overtly perceptible ways, I interpret how rhetoric became authoritative. This interpretation builds upon research into ideological and institutional aspects of Southeastern Native American societies. These two leaders and those with whom they dealt connected materials to places, used metaphors and other signs, and otherwise used socially-constructed meanings to support their legitimacy (akin to processes described in Foucault 1983:217-218; Sharp 1995:48; Merritt 1998:62; Wolf 1990:592-593).

Caesar Augustus' tattoo used ancestral designs while his letter used a logical sequence. The 1758 peace treaty negotiated by Andres Escudero and Upper Creek leader Acmucaiche (Appendix A) begins with a list of those present and Acmucaiche's speech referring to the ancestral landscape and material culture. Such use of material culture and ancestral forces, along with specific rhetorical strategies, for the advancement of political

ends is termed ritual speech (Kuipers 1990; Keane 1997, 2007; Jackson 2013). Analysis of such speech demonstrates how these leaders established and used their authority, and how authority functioned as a larger process within their society.

Select genres of speech are more authoritative than others (Silverstein 1976; Silverstein and Urban 1996; Bakhtin et al 1986:65; Briggs and Bauman 1992; Caton 2006). Ritual speech in particular is rhetoric that involves detachment from an individual context and speaker by repeating structures, names, and references; using euphemism, metaphor, parallelism, and reported speech; and avoiding personal pronouns (Du Bois 1986:317-320; Kuipers 1990, 1992; Keane 2006). Ritual speakers embody their ancestors in both utterance and text using materials to represent political economies and personal spirituality to lead to new ways of objectification (Keane 2007: 182, 265-269). Ancestral words and concepts consciously, or at times unconsciously, index acclaim and authority via a speaker's links to those very ancestral powers. Such indices may include general allusions to the past or specific references to particular past individuals or events.

Discourse, landscape, and materials offered multiple genres for an individual to claim authority over the future using the past and connect their political power to their personal spirituality. In other words, a truly legitimate speaker would lay "claim to a form of agency that transcends the spatial and temporal limits of the individual, mortal body" (Keane 2007:182) through the use of "repeatable, relatively stable, and intertextually rich" (Keane 2003:420) signs and speech. This rich, repeatable form of logic appears in Caesar Augustus' letter, Andres Escudero's writings, and the works of other leaders. By understanding the logic of the rhetoric, ethnohistorians in the Southeast and elsewhere

can connect changes in settlement and sociopolitical organization of towns to their diplomatic and martial relations (Wolf 1990:594).

Neither Caesar Augustus nor Andres Escudero gained or maintained authority through use of typical Creek and Cherokee titles such as warrior or headman but instead Caesar Augustus chose a Roman title and Escudero signed his baptized name to his letters and treaties. In his 1740 letter, Caesar Augustus threatened to massacre male residents of Spanish Florida and included a depiction of a tattoo to support his ability to carry out that threat, stating that Indians living in St. Augustine would recognize him through his tattoo. Such Indians, including Yamasees, must have understood Caesar Augustus' titles and tattooed designs, but their interpretations were not written. Florida Governor Montiano trusted individual Native American leaders and translators based on their loyalty (Dubcovsky 2016:200-205), and quickly wrote a letter to Caesar Augustus to assure him his demands would be met. The rhetoric of warrior Caesar Augustus worked—while conflict continued between the Spanish and British, his demands about fair treatment of Indian prisoners were honored.

Both Caesar Augustus and Andres Escudero demonstrate the roles of individual balance and particular signs in communicating that balance. Caesar Augustus' explicit use of a tattoo to make those demands offers a rare opportunity to understand the role of embodiment in the authority he and other Native Americans commanded in the region. At the same time, Escudero's position as a leader and translator trusted by Creek and Spanish leaders alike allowed him to dictate terms to Spanish officials and destroy a Creek town according to his sense of balance. His treaties with Upper Creek leaders

Acmucaiche and Tamatlemingo demonstrate the roles of material culture in reinforcing messages of peace and friendship. Augustus and Escudero opposed each other during the eighteenth century and balanced ancestral cosmologies, neighboring Native American leaders, and European languages and material culture in different ways to gain and use their authority.

Caesar Augustus, Yamasee-Cherokee Warrior and Ritual Speaker

“Caesar Augustus, Yamasee Cherokee, King of the Indians” are not typical Southeastern Indian titles such as warrior (*ayastigi* for Cherokee and *tastanaki* for Creeks). Instead they represent unique titles, although the precise circumstances that led Caesar Augustus to gain those titles remain unknown. While leaders were often called “kings” by Europeans, and “King of the Indians” may be an error in translation of “a leader of Indians,” Caesar Augustus is certainly unique. Another tattooed colonial warrior also took a Roman Emperor’s name—an Iroquois man was called Nero in conjunction with his cruelty and the number of kills marked on his thigh (Krutak 2013a:112). The exact meaning associated with “Caesar Augustus” is less clear—perhaps a similar connection between cruelty, kills, and authority existed or perhaps someone made another association between him and the title of Caesar.

Yamasee-Cherokee is an intriguing title as well, reflecting a literal mixed heritage of Yamasee and Cherokee parents, an ability to speak for both Yamasee and Cherokee individuals, or other social connections between these two groups. Such eighteenth-century connections between the Yamasees and Cherokees were not unusual. Other documented connections include a Cherokee leader, Long Warrior of Tunisee, who called

the Yamasee his “ancient people” and who once relayed that Cherokees continued to speak Yamasee (Long Warrior 1727; Boulware 2011:22). In addition, Yamasee-Cherokee-Creek connections were briefly noted by a Spaniard in 1747 who did not elaborate further (León 1747). By broadcasting both Yamasee and Cherokee heritage, Caesar Augustus indexed his ability to unite Native Americans of multiple groups into a regional war against Spanish Florida. He used his titles and an image of his tattoo to call for an end to Spanish burning of Indian prisoners. In threatening to burn St. Augustine’s male inhabitants, he threatened the way of life of most other Yamasees at the time who lived under Florida Governor Montiano’s protection. Montiano’s burning of “any Indian prisoner” was unacceptable and called for complete annihilation in retaliation.

The specific design elements of Caesar Augustus’ tattoo—such as scalp tallies in a circle and three weapons—demonstrate martial ability and his Yamasee-Cherokee title demonstrates social if not consanguinal connections. His letter provides an example of ritual speech based on its “repeatable, relatively stable, and intertextually rich” (Keane 2003: 420) character. The explicit connection of his threat to his tattoo, whose message could only be understood by other Indians at the time, demonstrates the interplay between rhetoric and symbol inherent in ritual speeches.

Bloch (1975:22) defined a formal speech’s propositional force as its ability to connect perception of the past and future and, in so doing, “corner reality.” While potentially a tool for enforcing will, formal language is structured by various limitations (Bloch 1975). The form of Caesar Augustus’ letter offers such a formal argument by using the structure of parallelism, a persuasive argument using repetition of concepts as a

form of logic used by many other Native American leaders (e.g., Urban 1986; Yannakakis and Schrader-Kniffki 2016:522-540). In this letter, Caesar Augustus used concise, short sentences to construct a logical argument that equates his body, actions, and requests for humane treatment with mercy and valor. Unfortunately, no information exists as to whether Caesar Augustus wrote the letter himself in Spanish or whether he dictated it in Yamasee, Cherokee, English, or Spanish to a scribe or translator. He stated he has control of information, the capacity for valor, the capacity for mercy, the ability to grant life, the ability to respond in kind, and regional recognition via a tattoo. He logically proved to his own satisfaction, as well as to that of Montiano and perhaps Florida's Indian allies, his ability to "take vengeance."

In response to Caesar Augustus' formal speech, Florida Governor Montiano (1740) responded quickly and that reassured this King of the Indians that his people would be treated well. As such, Caesar Augustus successfully demonstrated his authority using rhetoric and a tattoo. I interpret the tattoo as a personal totem—perhaps even an adaptation of a clan or community spirit—though he did not use such terms. "My Arms, or the painting I carry on my skin, by which your Indians will recognize me" does indicate a regional level of recognition of the designs, described as akin to European coats of arms, while "and I and the thousands of my nation will take vengeance against you" connects the sign to the threat. In other words, Caesar Augustus used titles and concepts that Europeans could translate, if not understand directly, in addition to symbols they could not comprehend. In doing so, he seems to have associated his personal tattoo to a regional set of iconographic expressions, and used that regional affiliation to support

his ability to dictate the terms of a political and social conflict. This explicit connection between a regional recognition of a tattoo and a demand by a Native American warrior is unique in the Southeast, though other colonial Native American designs in the area served political roles.

At times, specific graphic signs served as clan totems, individual representations, or even marked a title. Bernard Romans (1775:102) described a painting of a successful attack of the Deer clan of the Creeks against Choctaws—“the scalp in the stag’s foot implies the honor of the action to the whole family.” In 1762 a Tuscarora war chief gained the name Water-Lizard and had the figure of a water-lizard tattooed on his face (Heckewelder 1876 [1818]: 206). The existence of the hereditary war title of “Tattooed Serpent” among the Natchez may indicate a similar practice of tying a unique title to a unique tattoo (Le Page du Pratz 1774). Creek, Seminole, and other leaders demonstrated personal if not clan totems in a 1783 treaty to Southern District Superintendent Colonel Thomas Browne (Figure 28). Iconic representations include snakes, waterfowl, crocodiles and other animals as well as a bow and arrow. Other geometric elements such as the cross or circle within a circle have a more arbitrary, symbolic relationship to a concept rather than representing an object or animal. These totems, combined with the titles, identified and legitimated the individuals listed in the land grant.



Figure 28: Land Grant with Names and Marks of Southeastern Native American Leaders (Adapted from Browne 1783)

This treaty demonstrates the regional prevalence, power, and embodiment of common titles but also the role of distinct marks. Similar to these leaders, Caesar Augustus offered his unique titles to his letter and signed it with his tattoo. Several other scholars (i.e. Bragdon 1996:198; Krutak 2013a; Reilly 2013:180) have shown that tattoos and other personal representations demonstrated information about an individual's experiences, social connections and obligations, as well as spiritual power. Eighteenth-century observers of Southeastern Native Americans Bossu (1768:65-66) and Bartram (1791:534) detailed such representations. Observers of Native Americans in Europe did so as well. Dresden's Augustus II the Strong, the elected King of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, hosted Creek warriors Savase Oke Charinge and Tusskee Stannagee whose "hieroglyphs indicate the distinctions in their royal families and the victories their ancestors achieved in war" (Sullivan 2012: 40 quoting Crell 1723). Fogelson and Brightman (2002:311) similarly interpreted some Native Americans as adopting totems of their clan and/or a personal guardian spirit as a tattoo for their own protection. James Adair (1775: 93, 377) described Creek Indian guardian spirits or *Nana Ishtohollo*,

though Fogelson (1977) stated Cherokees accepted spiritual protection without using personal guardians.

Ethnohistorical and archaeological analysis of Creeks and Cherokees, neighbors to Yamasees, also demonstrate the political roles of cosmological knowledge and the persistence of that cosmology from the precolonial to colonial eras and to the present day. Archaeologist Christopher Rodning (2012:50) charted broad connections from precolonial to present-day imagery, concluding that imagery on sixteenth-century shell gorgets and masks found in North Carolina were ancestral to Cherokee beliefs later noted by James Mooney (1966 [1900]) in the late nineteenth century. These beliefs—including a large serpent or Uktena with a diamond horn, the role of Thunderers and mythical hawks and other birds, and the earth as an island suspended at four corners by cords hanging from the sky—persist to the present day. Such motifs linked non-human beings, who granted life and possessed dangerous power, to human individuals. Animals, plants, and things that did not fit into categories—such as carnivorous plants and water-fowl—were powerful, dangerous anomalies for Creeks and others (Ethridge 2003:229). Such anomalies, as well as thunder for the Apalachees and Cherokees (Keyes 1994; Fogelson 1977), offered sources of power for individuals. Some Cherokees today in North Carolina acquire *ulanigvgv*—energy from lightning, running water, spiritual beings, and/or ritually-charged plants or materials— through diligent attention to ritual knowledge and maintenance of morality (Fogelson 1977:186; Kilpatrick 1997:99-120). Whether a communal dance or a political or medicinal practice, potential for the misuse of ritual and connected power meant that power was balanced rather than permanently possessed by

any one individual (Fogelson 1977:187). Present-day Creek, Cherokee, Yuchi and other Southeastern Native American leaders continue to make connections between the past, present, and future using ritual speech and objects that signify the supernatural.

Caesar Augustus's tattoo also serves as an example of indexing authority through supernatural forces via designs and ritual speech. I interpret the signs as icons of war leadership via three weapons, community via circles within a shaded square, thunder/lighting via a zigzag line, and scalp tallies inside of a circle, all likely marked on Caesar Augustus' face. I propose that the renderings by Jaclyn Kuizon (Figure 29) represent a close approximation of Caesar Augustus' face. The square with looped corners indexed the Earth and connections to the Sky World as well as an individual and communal life cycle with neither a beginning nor an end (Rodning 2012:50; Teuton 2012:18). Aaron Deter-Wolf (personal communication, 2013) interpreted the design elements of the lower-right of Caesar Augustus' tattoo as representing arrowheads and a stone knife. His interpretation stems from that of the Osage Honor Pack of War (Figure 30) that included signs below the throat representing knives (Krutak 2013a: 157-159; Duncan 2013: 202; Dye 2013: 237; Fletcher and La Flesche 1911: 219-221; La Flesche 1921:208).



Figure 29: Depiction of Caesar Augustus' Tattoo, by Jaclyn Kuizon 2013

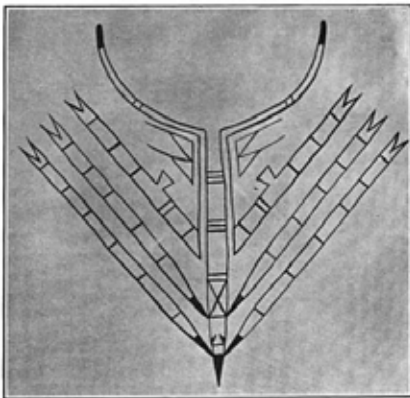


Figure 30: Osage Honor Packs of War (Adapted from Fletcher and La Flesche 1911: 220)

This set of tattoos was done on the torso, similar to the tattoo of the Yamacraw leader Tomochichi (Figure 31).



Figure 31: Tomo Chachi Mico or King of Yamacraw, by John Faber the Younger (1739)

Tomochichi, exiled from the town of Apalachicola, led a group called Yamacraws—largely of his clan or otherwise connected to him through kinship from Apalachicola, Osuchi, and Hitchiti—to the Savannah River near the trading post of the Musgrove family in 1732. Mary Musgrove likely convinced Tomochichi to allow Oglethorpe to settle on Yamacraw Bluff, and Tomochichi convinced more distant Lower Creeks to travel to Savannah to treat with Oglethorpe in 1733 (Hahn 2012: 79, 87-101). Tomochichi consciously tied his own success to that of the Georgia colony, particularly during those meetings (Hahn 2004: 149-160). While Tomochichi died before the War of Jenkin’s Ear, his heir and nephew Toonahowi as well as Caesar Augustus and other

Native Americans joined Oglethorpe's effort in attacking and threatening Spanish Florida. The tattoos of Caesar Augustus and Tomochichi demonstrated their authority in this endeavor, though Caesar Augustus seems to have more facial tattoos.

Facial tattoos, as in the case of Water-Lizard and others, may have had an increased effect due to the increased visibility. For Kipahalgwa, the "supreme commander of the Yuchi Indian Nation," a tattooed wavy line on the forehead may have marked the separation between the red and black colors when war paint was applied (Figure 32; Hvidt 1980:120-121; Krutak 2013a:119). Painting the face black and red indicated that eighteenth-century Yuchis committed injuries or wanted to do so (Hvidt 1980:45-46). Other facial tattoos existed, indexing martial ability through tallies, depicting icons of animals, and included more arbitrary symbols as well.

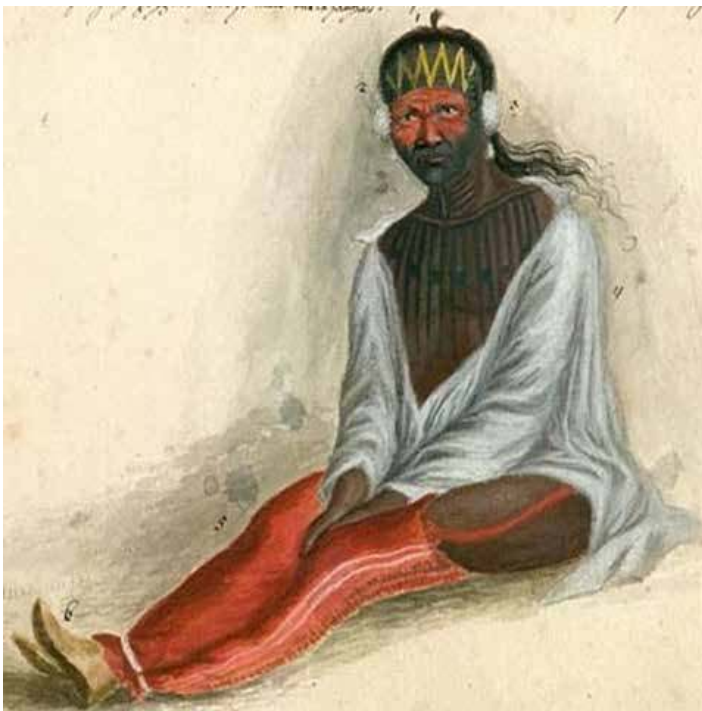


Figure 32: 1736 painting of "Kipahalgwa, Yuchi leader" (Adapted from Hvidt 1980)

Other eighteenth-century facial tattoos were described but not depicted. One Southeastern Native American man named Will was “marked with a bird flying on his left cheek & with letter k on his forehead & five stripes & marked on right arm with a man & a gun over his arm Y on ye[the] left arm with a snake and a bird flying” (Keys 1715); he was sold into slavery in Jamaica. An Iroquois man named Michael also demonstrated eighteenth-century tattoos on either side of his cheek with scalp tallies near the eyes: “upon the right cheek and temple, a large snake; from the ornamented at every quarter of an inch with round marks, representing scalps; upon the left cheek, two lances crossing each other; and upon the lower jaw the head of a wild boar” (Loskiel (1794 [1789] Chapter 13: 189).

Mississippian-era effigies also depict a division of the body into left and right sides as in the case of tattoos of Will, Michael, Kipahalgwa, and perhaps Caesar Augustus. One effigy from the Davies Collection of the Walls Site has a line dividing the scalp, which also divides circles within circles—the right side has a circle within a circle while the left a half within a half (Figures 33 and 34). These elements are associated with the head and the line between the elements splits the head in half—a similar line may have similarly divided Caesar Augustus’ face and the circular design elements on it.



Figure 33: Plan view of effigy vessel from Walls Site, Northwest Mississippi, Davies Collection, University of Mississippi. Photograph taken by the author.



Figure 34: Facial effigy vessel from Walls Site, Northwest Mississippi, Davies Collection, University of Mississippi. Photograph taken by the author.

Given such examples, Caesar Augustus' design elements were likely located on his face to be most personal and visible. The line down the middle of Caesar Augustus'

tattoo may have been a drawing or visualization aid to divide the face for depiction in the historical document, but given its existence in various other tattoos it may represent a power line or carry other meaning as demonstrated by reflective symmetry from the Walls Site effigy and the Calusa pendant. Cherokee facial tattoos may have included circular scalp-tally marks (Krutak 2013a:119) which may have been around the eye for Caesar Augustus.

Zigzags are difficult to interpret. Various scholars have described them as representing Upper and Lower World supernatural beings, clan membership, and martial ability. Hall (1977: 501) interpreted zigzags under eyes as weeping eye motifs, stylized markings of certain birds of prey, in a “translation into art of the belief that lightning was produced when Thunderers blinked their eyes.” Reilly (2011: 130) calls this motif a “forked-eye surround” and identifies a three-pronged zigzag like Caesar Augustus’ as representing Lower World beings such as an Uktena serpent or other water-related animal. As an alternative symbol, the totem for the Cherokee Aniwodi or the Paint Clan—those responsible for medicine and ceremony—includes a zigzag (Figure 35).



Figure 35: Aniwodi Clan, Photographed at Museum of the Cherokee Indian by the author, from label “The Paint Clan (A-ni-wo-di). Many sorcerers and medicine people came from this clan. They made the red paint used to decorate faces and bodies.”

Finally, the zigzag may have served another symbolic function as denoting martial status. Deter-Wolf (personal communication 2013) pointed to tattooed Mohawk and Iroquois leaders (Krutak 2013a: 106-107) as other examples of facial tattooing of personal manitou and martial honors. Eighteenth-century Yuchi (Figures 32 and 36) and Chickamauga-Buffalo (Figure 37) warriors had zigzags on their face to demonstrate ability in war. A seventeenth-century Iroquois war club (Figure 38) also has a zigzag along a face associated with a warrior. The prevalence of zigzags confounds identification of a single meaning. Given that Caesar Augustus demonstrated martial ability in his letter, his tattoo likely conveyed a similar meaning. This could be in tandem with connoting a source of power from a supernatural being. Clan membership seems less likely an explanation, given that Caesar Augustus focused on his ability as a warrior rather than his social connections. While only one historical document exists to interpret Caesar Augustus, the connections he explicitly made between his written intention and embodied signification will aid further interpretation of embodied authority in the colonial Southeast.



Figure 36: Yuchi leader Senkai-tshi, 1736 (Adapted from Krutak 2012:75)



Figure 37: Modern Depiction of Weeping Eye Mask, Chickamauga-Buffalo style, ca. 1700-1800 (Adapted from Smith and Strickland 2010: 177)



Figure 38: 1675-1676 Iroquois War Club (Adapted from Krutak 2012: 76)

Andres Escudero, Yamasee Diplomat and Translator

Andres Escudero led Pensacola-area Yamasee Mission San Antonio de Punta Rasa during the late 1750s and early 1760s, and negotiated peace between Upper Creeks and the Spanish. Because of these negotiations, he earned an official store as well as an Upper Creek leadership position. He demonstrates the role of ancestors and material culture during negotiations of peace as well as the justice he dispensed through retaliation after that peace agreement fell apart. A variety of material culture played a central role in the maintenance of a 1758 treaty he negotiated with Upper Creeks. Upper Creeks broke unknown weapons, gave gifts of a red pipe and white fan to commemorate a treaty, and expected gifts for each diplomat and supplies of food for their journey in return.

Between 1758 and 1761, Upper Creek leaders warned the Spanish of their unhappiness using ritual speech and metaphors before young individuals burned the

Spanish missions and ranches. These young men may have hoped to gain recognition as warriors, and this mechanism allowed other leaders to distance themselves from their youthful actions. In his words, Escudero took “natural vengeance” on towns that moved near his in 1758 yet sheltered those in 1761 who destroyed his town. His role as a diplomat thus demonstrates the role of gifts, ritual speech, metaphor, and vengeance in colonial Yamasee and Creek negotiations.

Escudero negotiated a treaty (Appendix A) between Spanish Pensacola and Upper Creeks in 1758. Tallapoosa leader Acmucaiche led about 150 Upper and Lower Creeks to visit Pensacola to discuss a peace treaty. This group included 13 other leaders of Tallapoosas and Apiscas, including two Shawnee towns, and heirs or seconds-in-command for each of these thirteen. Apalachicola and Caveta Lower Creeks were also represented and 126 other leaders and warriors made up the rest of the delegation. Table 13 lists those recognized by Governor Román (1758b:294v-295r).

Table 13: Upper Creek and Other Native American Leaders Who Negotiated with the Spanish in 1758 (Adapted from Appendix A)

Individual	Leadership Position, with my interpretation of town names in brackets
Acmucaiche	head of all the Tallapoosa nation
Ymbinaqui	cacique of the pueblo of Atasi
Chatapi	cacique of Tuslibaxle [Tukabachee/Tukabatchi]
Ysimibitaque	cacique of Fushiache [Fusihatchee]
Tibaxilaiche	cacique of Thalci
Nitaxiche	cacique of Colome [Kulumi]
Falchilla	cacique of Sabanuque [Sawanógi/Sháwano?, A Shawnee/Yuchi town]
Ytimupanalla	cacique of Calayche [Kailidshi? Another Shawnee town]
Ysinsunque	cacique of Tilape [Talatigi/Talladega]
Afulufi	cacique of Tasqui [Taskigi]
Ymufi	cacique of Cayamxiqui
Titaafique	cacique of Tulapuche
Annatiche	cacique of Talacaiche [Moved 30 leagues east of Pensacola in 1759]

Quilate	captain of Auquipaxche [Apalachicola]
Ylxeaniqui	principal Indian of the said town
Ufulqui	son of the field master General don Baltasar Balero, great cacique who was of Cabeta
Thirteen principal Indians who accompanied the thirteen casiques	
Casiques and principals of Punta Rasa & Escambe	

During verbal negotiations between Upper Creeks and the Spanish, Andres

Escudero translated the talk of Upper Creek leader Acmucaiche in 1758, who spoke of early conflicts with the Spanish and French that concluded with a peace treaty. After that earlier treaty, because Creeks did not have a written language but wanted to preserve peace, they concluded “ceremonies of breaking weapons and burying them below the table where the Spaniards were writing the propositions with which they wanted to establish it [peace]” (Román 1758a:306v). This burial offered a permanence Acmucaiche connected to that of writing and “below the table” explicitly marked the place where peace was negotiated. Spanish and Creek peace traditions overlapped in a sense in this space as a Spanish governor’s house stood over broken Creek weapons. The explicit connection between ritual breaking of weapons to show peace as negotiated at a particular place may help interpret archaeological caches of broken weapons.

In addition to broken weapons, Acmucaiche connected peace and friendship through the exchange of other material culture. He noted the peace treaty was not maintained with appropriate gifts, including “liquor, corn, sugar, shawls, shirts, gunpowder, bullets, guns, paint that appears like an orange-like pigment, small mirrors, razors, combs, glass beads, scissors, tobacco, gun flints, and other trinkets of this type” (Román 1758b: 297r). Liquor, corn, and sugar among other foodstuffs served as a per diem of sorts for travel. Shawls, shirts, razors, combs, and beads were worn and scissors

were used to cut cloth to create their own shawls. Tobacco symbolized peaceful discussion while guns, flints, bullets, powder, and orange/red paint were used for war. While Acmucaiche stated such useful gifts were rarely offered by the Spanish-- despite regular distribution of such gifts in St. Augustine-- he stated Spaniards never threatened or took advantage of them, and as memories passed from generations of leaders to children that fact was forgotten. In other words, while the Spanish did not follow diplomatic protocols of offering gifts, they otherwise appreciated Creeks. Young Creek men wanted to make war with the Spanish, but Andres Escudero persuaded leadership not to forget past negotiations and to create new ones with the Spanish.

The Treaty of 1758 offers details of a large-scale formal treaty between the Spanish and the Creeks. The contents required that warriors would stop attacking Spanish towns, which would establish a general peace in which the Creeks would not take up future arms against the Spanish and the Spanish would not take up arms against them. Further, these leaders agreed to defend and aid the three Spanish Florida garrisons and “notify them about anything new that any other nations or vagabonds might attempt in harm of the Spaniards” (Román 1758a:307v).

As a solemn demonstration of the Creeks’ firm sincerity, they gave the governor “a pipe of red stone, and two fans of white feathers, so that these three tokens might be guarded in the archive of this government, and serve for all time as instruments that vouch for this firm reconciliation, and that obligate them to fulfill it” (Román 1758a:308r). Such objects, perhaps more visible than the broken weapons of decades past, could more readily communicate peace. While the buried materials indexed the

possible permanence of peace, pipes and fans offered a way to perform such peace. These leaders also invited missionaries, who had rarely made inroads among seventeenth-century Creeks and who did not succeed in the eighteenth century either. In addition to giving ceremonial gifts, asking for the exchange of appropriate gifts, and inviting missionaries, Acmucaiche and others encouraged free commerce.

Pensacola Governor Román recognized Acmucaiche's list of gifts—such as foodstuffs, clothing, and weapons—as reasonable, rewarded Acmucaiche's efforts, and recognized the authority of Creek leaders. While he later took advantage of their trade, his initial response was to give each leader a patent as war captain and give Acmucaiche a patent of captain-commandant and a staff and other insignia of his office so that “all would obey him in the affairs of war” (Román 1758a:308v). These gifts explicitly recognized Upper Creek peace leaders as also leading warriors. Customary gifts were given as much as possible, though supply shortages prevented meeting Acmucaiche's requests. Governor Román encouraged Upper Creeks to visit the Viceroy of New Spain in Mexico City to request a steadier stream of gifts and commerce. Such an offer likely pleased them; Juan Marcos, Apalachee leader, made such a visit, and Creeks and Cherokees were visiting Europe at this time for the purpose of negotiations (see Vaughan 2006: 137-164 for discussion).

Because of this treaty, Andres Escudero gained status and titles from both Upper Creeks and Spaniards, including a store to exchange between the two groups. Escudero, previously a leader of a small town, became known as a cacique or leader in Upper Creek towns. Becoming a cacique of those towns may be a translation error, but had precedent

in the title *Fanni Mingo*, which for Chickasaws and Creeks served as a term for someone adopted into another community as a leading figure (Ethridge 2010: 228; Piker 2004:23; Galloway 2006:256, 271). Perhaps in response to receiving Spanish ranks as war captains, the leaders asked to name Andres Escudero as a governor general or cacique of Tallapoosa and Apisca “in recognition of having been the means of returning to revive this ancient agreement” (Román 1758a:308v). Unfortunately, the weapons ceremony was glossed over, as was Escudero’s Creek naming ceremony—“with all those circumstances and ceremonies most acceptable among them” (Román 1758a:308v). Escudero, like colonial Creek Indians discussed by Ethridge (2003:25), leveraged his connections for economic ties to Europeans that allowed him to gain political authority.

Some Upper Creeks soon established close economic and political ties to Pensacola by moving towns their towns near the Spanish. By the spring of 1759, Anatichi established Talacayche 30 leagues east of Pensacola, perhaps at the “Old Coosada Town in Ruins” noted along the Choctawatchee River by Purcell (Purcell 1778). Los Tobases was closer—merely four leagues north of Escambe (Worth n.d). While these reinforced connections would have developed Pensacola’s economy and influence, Governor Román’s greed soon proved catastrophic.

Pensacola Governor Román de Castilla y Lugo sent half of the new Havana cavalry company to Escambe. This was in part to pasture the horses in a better location and block the escape of Spanish fugitives from the garrison. However, it also allowed him to take control of the Upper Creek trade rather than let Apalachees and Yamasees profit as middlemen. The Spanish wanted to take these middlemen positions to increase

revenue to the governor. Escudero (1761b) complained he did not really have control over his store and the Spanish traded watered-down brandy for horses. By watering down the brandy, Román bought each horse for 6-7 pesos rather than the 20-22 originally allocated by the Viceroy (Ullate 1761:223-224). Acmucaiche outlined these and other complaints to Andres Escudero (1758, translated by Danielle Dadiago 2014). In the quote below, italics represent proper protocol, bold represents a demaning lack of protocol, and underlining represents direct violence, all of which are added by me.

When some of the captains go, which they did in the meeting, they are not *attended* to as they ought to be, but rather that they were **looked upon like some forced laborers**;
 when some become inebriated in that Garrison, they put them in the stocks and they thrash them; when they approach the principal [Indian], even more if they are caciques, they throw them out by pushing;
 [when] *the governor receives them when he wants, and when he does not want to, he pays no attention to them, nor does he let them approach his house*;
 when they are going through the street or because they are yelling, the guard falls upon them and thrashes them;
 when they arrive by land, the guard *receives* them with fixed bayonets, and **carries them away with all speed** without letting them unload their horses, taking them by pushing by order of Your Lordship;
 [when] as **soon as they arrive, Your Lordship receives them** with the purchase of the horses, and if they do not want to sell them Your Lordship gets angry with them, nor *does Your Lordship ask them about the caciques*;
 [when] if some [Indians] sell some horses, and they ask for two or three anclotes of brandy, Your Lordship gives them two little [*anclotes*] that do not make up one [*anclote*] for their horses.
 That is not *buying*, but rather taking them by force.

Using parallelism, Acmucaiche detailed how Pensacola Governor Román did not attend to leaders appropriately, punished them inappropriately, and paid far too low for horses.

The abuses he presents range from outright violence to being looked down upon and dealt with quickly rather than treating leaders with respect and conversing with them in his home. He offers eight related yet unique examples of abuses in a one-year period and

concludes by stating Upper Creeks are not purchasing as equals but are having their horses taken by force.

Rather than addressing the diplomatic issues, Román instead blamed Ensign Pedro Ximeno for the unequal trade deals. Andres Escudero wrote directly to the Viceroy of New Spain to report all of these complaints by Upper Creeks about the Spanish trade though Governor Román convinced him to edit those aspects out of the report (Escudero 1761b:354r). Acmucaiche described how to alleviate his concerns

the white fan and the pipe that the Señor Governor has should be requested and the statements of all the Captains that were made in the meeting should be delivered to him, because now the Spaniards were those who had to show attentions to them, and to call them to their friendship like new vassals, and they see the affection of the French and of the English; it seems to be that [these] nations were better friends than the Spaniards, because what the Spaniards do [to the Creeks] is a sign that they do not want their friendship... since Acmucaiche and his principal [men] in the determination would admit the peace, the fan should be washed, which was done on July 30 with this condition; that now the Governor should look after the well-being of that garrison, and they should look upon them [the Indians] as sons, because it is necessary to have a little patience to maintain the peace, and to tolerate from one another their impertinences by each against the other..." (Escudero 1758 trans. Dadiago 2014).

He reminded Governor Román that the French and British offer better rates and stated that the Spanish need to do better diplomatically to re-recruit them. To do so, the white fan was washed to represent a reset on diplomacy, allowing Spaniards to look after the well-being of the garrison and the Indians, including past impertinences. Such language shows the effort Acmucaiche put into peace, certainly far more than Governor Román did. Acmucaiche continued directly from there by claiming ownership over the land. Tellingly, he ties ownership of land to winning it through a force of blood and fire, as Cowkeeper did later for the Seminoles against the Spanish and Yamasee (discussed in Chapter 3). Acmucaiche stated

...since the Spaniards are in their land, because they cannot say that these lands are of the King, and because they eventually have to defend this point, they have more justification than the Spaniards, because for their land to be owned by the King, it would be necessary that the lands would have been won by a force of blood and fire, but they can say that the lands are theirs for having been from their birth Indian land” (Escudero 1758 trans. Dadiago 2014).

Fire and blood proved an Upper Creek promise for Pensacola. Initially, Upper Creek men attacked Spaniards at the Yamasee mission and burned that town, took provisions from another Creek town, then attacked the Spanish at the Apalachee mission and burned that town. This conflict began with a disagreement over free commerce. Ullate (1761:246r-v) reported that two men and a youth brought several hundred pounds of meat to trade at the Pensacola garrison on February 11, 1761, but Governor Román offered less than half of their asking price and his *majordomo* Pedro de Goyochea abused them verbally and physically. These Upper Creeks vowed to take vengeance on his soldiers since they could not on Governor Román, and attacked the Spaniards at the Yamasee mission of Punta Rasa the next day. While Yamasee men were away hunting, Creeks burned the town and murdered Corporal Juan Joseph Gutierrez, his pregnant wife Rosalia Milan, their 5-year-old daughter, and soldiers Juan Nicolas Castillo and Simon Abellafuerte.

Other reprisals occurred. The same three Upper Creeks also robbed the inhabitants of a town the Spanish translated as Mouth of the River. The chief of that town, Tafisa, anticipated further escalation against the Spanish and warned the wife of Apalachee chief Juan Marcos of the potential for further Upper Creek attacks. On April 9, a warrior named Mestizo led 28 other Alabama Upper Creeks in burning the Apalachee mission, murdering two soldiers, scalping a third, capturing four others, and stealing

materials equipment (Worth [2019]). The Spanish scrambled to shelter Apalachees and Yamasees in the Pensacola garrison as Yamasees in particular called for retaliation.

Members of the Tallapoosa community Talacayche, the town that moved closer to Spanish territory some 30 leagues east of Pensacola only a few years earlier, aided the three Upper Creek warriors. In retaliation, Yamasees attacked and burned their town.

Escudero (1761c:120v, trans. Worth) explained not only his motivation but the political necessity of the attack. Below, with violence underlined and allegiances to Spain italicized by me, he stated that those at Talacayche

...should have gathered themselves to this garrison in order to *defend it as vassals of His Majesty* in the present disturbance, as the *declarant [Escudero] and his [Indians] did*, but not only did they not do this, but instead, together with the enemies they attacked his town, burned his houses, and robbed his livestock, and killed one of his relatives. And these undeserved wrongs in his naturally vengeful nation obligated all its war chiefs to take some satisfaction, both from these *insults and from their treason committed against His Majesty*, and knowing that for this purpose his lordship would not permit them license if they asked for it under the decisions that were made in this particular case, it was impossible not to indulge his war chiefs, and even more considering that according to the liberty of their tempers, if they were obstructed they could abandon this garrison, going to Florida [St. Augustine] or [San Marcos] Apalachee, or to the jurisdiction of the French, which they did not do, having permitted them this satisfaction.

Escudero began by reminding Governor Román and other Spaniards that his Yamasees were loyal to the King of Spain. Talacayche Creeks had also committed to such loyalty but betrayed it in Escudero's mind by supporting those who killed Spaniards and burned Apalachee and Yamasee towns. Talacayches supported violent actions of fire, blood, theft, and attack—all “undeserved wrongs” that “naturally” required vengeance. Next Escudero restates the betrayal to the Crown to justify the action using European concepts. In Spanish diplomatic structure, he used a double negative and passive voice to move the decision to his warrior leaders, whose tempers he ties to liberty. Like Upper Creek

diplomat Acmucaiche, Escudero also reminds the Spanish that they have other options— if Yamasees could not take such natural vengeance they could move away from Pensacola either to another Spanish garrison or to join the French at Mobile.

Like Caesar Augustus, Escudero described the need for vengeance to right insults and other wrongs. While Caesar Augustus threatened in response to rumors of burning prisoners alive, Andres Escudero approved warriors' actions in burning a town who betrayed an alliance and aided those that burned his town. Because in his words this revenge was permitted, natural, and socially sanctioned, his warriors remained within his town and under his leadership, rather than joining another Yamasee town or starting a new one. Escudero fought fire with fire and this response led to the withdrawal of the Upper Creek towns back to the Tallapoosa area. While Caesar Augustus leveraged his martial authority to negotiate terms, Escudero leveraged his authority gained through diplomacy to take vengeance.

Governor Román requested troops and munitions from Havana to increase fortifications and began negotiations for peace. He reached out to Louisiana Governor Kerlerec to communicate to the Upper Creeks through Monsieur de la Nove, Commander of Fort Toulouse in the Alabama town of Taskigi. French officer Baudin and two soldiers arrived with Tamatlemingo “great medal chief of the Alibamas, authorized according to their custom with verbal power that was given him by the provinces contained in this war” (Román 1761d) as well as Acmucaiche and 32 other Indian leaders and war chiefs. In a letter to the French, translated for the Spanish with underlining added for emphasis by me, these leaders stated

Until today we have been deaf and our young men a little crazy... We ask peace of the Spaniards, notwithstanding the offenses and poor treatments they have

done to us, and we desire to reconcile ourselves, although there has been blood spilled on one side and the other, now it should end, because in continuing the said war, the roads will close up, and traveling so much in the forests will make the straight paths forgotten, and since it has been a long time that we are lacking this communication, we now have desires to extend our hand to the Spaniards, and we hope that they will do the same... The chiefs of the Cagetos and Cachetas [Cavetas and Kasitas] say that they have not forgotten the ancient words of the Spanish, and they pray that they should be peaceful (Román 1761d, trans. John Worth).

Three chiefs of the Upper and Lower Creek sent this letter via principal warrior Tamatlemingo. The first was Kouktiabestonaque, also known as Escuchape, the uncle of the Emperor of Caveta. The second was Acmucaiche who had earlier negotiated with Governor Román and Andres Escudero, and the third was the leader of Tukabatchee. They described Upper Creeks in negative terms—deaf and a little crazy—but also the Spanish as offensive and offering poor treatment. Blood spilled on both sides but they wanted to keep roads and paths open, cleared, and remembered. Tamatlemingo arrived with fifteen other leaders, including Ysitibaique representing the Lower Creek leader of Caveta as well as leaders and warriors of Upper Creek towns. He explained that he and his travel companions were all hoping to reconcile with the Spanish and Yamasees. To end the wars and murders on both sides, he offered symbols that demonstrated the role of white materials in ending war, with underlining added for emphasis by me:

...a long string of white beads that he tied together with a knot, leaving the ends free, and he delivered it to the governor in proof that the two roads of the Tallapoosas and Alibamas, which the war had turned red, and bloody, he wished to leave them white, and in peace, so that from now on the Indians of all the continent, and the Spaniards, could walk on them without any danger, and treat each other like brothers and friends. And in order better to assure their intentions, he likewise delivered to the said governor a fan of white feathers with which he had swept the roads of the color of blood, and he had left them white, and likewise a stone pipe for smoking tobacco, so that whenever they come to this post, they will receive them with the clear smoke that comes forth from it, in demonstration of the good faith with which they admit them. The cacique of the

town of Fusihatchee placed another white fan in the hands of the said señor governor in the name of its principal chief, who on account of being very elderly did not come with them, and it represented his own hand as a friend, and that not even in these present wars did he wish to include himself, by being loyal to the Spaniards, and the same was expressed by the pueblo of Atasi (Román 1761d).

White beads symbolized white roads, those without danger, rather than red, bloody ones ill-suited for trade. Knots symbolized alliances (see Dubcovsky 2012 for discussion) and tying the knot performed such peace. A fan of white feathers swept the red blood away from those roads and a stone pipe offered clear smoke and negotiations similar to those of Hernando de Soto's sixteenth-century negotiations with Altamaha's leader Zamuno discussed in Chapter 3. These performances and symbols demonstrated friendship, peace, and loyalty in a variety of ways.

Such diplomatic actions by noted warrior Tamatlemingo demonstrate not only regional metaphors of peace but individual balances between war and peace, or in Caesar Augustus' words, vengeance and mercy. His title may also demonstrate indirect connections to Yamasees through "Tamatle" and Choctaws through "mingo." Despite Alabama-Coushatta connections to the Choctaw, they used the Muscogee Creek term micco rather than the Choctaw term mingo to denote a headman. Tamatlemingo however did speak some level of Choctaw--his son was Choctaw and the nephew of the red shoe or warrior leader of the Yanabe village (see Galloway 2008:88 for discussion). Beauchamp (1746: 287-295) noted that Tamatlemingo's discussion with Choctaws was explicitly mediated through these connections. Tamatle may represent a shared connection to the sixteenth-century Altamaha chiefdom discussed in Chapter 2, towns with the same name discussed in other chapters, or an unknown meaning that the names

reference. Whatever the meaning of Tamatlemingo's name, the treaty he and Escudero brokered in 1761 only lasted until the British gained Florida in 1763 yet demonstrates the role of balance and metaphor at an individual level, as well as the persistence of particular titles, in the colonial Southeast. The subsequent section further discusses the role of balance and titles.

Southeastern Native American Titles and Offices of Authority

My interpretation focuses on the balances—between war and peace as well as mercy and vengeance—that individuals used to justify their actions to their communities. This focus adds new dimensions of understanding to the common, long-standing interpretation of Southeastern Native American leaders and warriors divided by static opinions of war or peace. According to that division, warriors served as red advocates for war and other leaders as white advocates for peace in larger councils (e.g. Saunt 1999:22; Piker 2004). Balance existed within individuals between these two colors and forces of mercy and vengeance; Coweta Creeks, for example, never “leave their red Hearts which though they are white on the one side are red on the other” (Swanton 1928:156-166) or in other words are always half white and red or inclined to both war and diplomacy.

Andres Escudero and Caesar Augustus offer a rare level of detail by explicitly describing their personal motivations and their sense of balance. Leaders like Escudero recognized for their advocacy of peace also took vengeance, and warriors like Caesar Augustus offered mercy in their rhetoric. Rather than a division between war and peace offices of authority, or even a moiety-level division between towns, leaders and other

individuals felt the need for balance between vengeance and mercy and used metaphors within rhetoric or color schemes to address and signal that balance.

Individuals used their rhetoric as well as their wisdom, age, martial ability, and social connections to gain and maintain offices of authority. Historian Claudio Saunt (1999:24) stated that violence could be attributed to the folly of youth; Creeks and other Native Americans could maintain tension or dissolve it depending on which action offered the best position. European colonists recognized distinctions between youth and adults, describing rites of passage that offered recognition to men for war and diplomacy. For example, sons of sisters of Tallapoosa Creek headmen “are taken into their Cabins when young, hear their consultations, and are instructed in their customs that when it comes their turn they may know how to rule the town” (Nairne 1708:33).

Titles and tattoos permanently marked those individuals who gained recognition through their martial exploits, affording “a certain degree of Respect and Influence, which with the number of his Followers and Adherents increase in proportion to the Eloquence and other abilities of the Bearer” (John Stuart quoted in Boulware 2011:23). Jean-Bernard Bossu (1768:65-66) described tattoos as signifying martial success as well as social belonging. Warriors used such tattoos, as well as persuasion and performance in war dances as noted by Lieutenant Timberlake (1765:36) among the Cherokee, to convince other warriors to follow them. Such observations demonstrate that authority over life and death—demonstrated through tattoos, dances, and rhetoric—lasted for the duration of a particular conflict but could be leveraged later.

Caesar Augustus’ threat and letter successfully argued his ability to take life or

grant it, to dispense vengeance or offer mercy. Despite this impressive authority, he does not appear in other historical documents, meaning his capacity to make threats was limited to that 1740 exchange. Andres Escudero also maintained authority for a brief period of time. From the 1750s to 1763, he led his Yamasee community, operated a store to sell to both the Spanish and Creeks, and possessed a leadership role in Upper Creek society perhaps equivalent to a *fanni mingo*. While earned through diplomacy, his actions and titles also reflect martial ability. In addition to having at least honorary command over a few Spaniards, he burned a Creek town that betrayed him. Caesar Augustus and Andres Escudero demonstrated different strategies to gain and maintain authority, though both successfully balanced war and diplomacy or in their terms vengeance and mercy. Escudero's negotiations provide other insights into colonial Southeastern Native American processes of authority.

Andres Escudero (1759) did not explicitly outline the mechanics of Creek diplomacy, but emphasized that Creek leaders “do not have the authority of our [Spanish] governors.” He also provided a list of titles in the 1761 peace treaty (Table 1; Román 1761d). Andres Escudero's list demonstrates the persistence of titles throughout the colonial era by showing that certain titles were shared among Timucuan, Apalachee, and Creeks even as Escudero himself was known by his Spanish name. While the words themselves might differ across communities, common hierarchies existed, such as political heirs or warriors who have killed three enemies. Creeks, Cherokees, and others had titles that demonstrated a hierarchy in war or the ability to speak for a town, and individuals at times held both war and peace titles. Andres Escudero was adopted into

such a hierarchy though his title was not recorded in Spanish documents, and British colonists merely called him “Andres the Spaniard” (Stuart 1759). Table 14 demonstrates some of the common titles that denote both supernatural, martial, and diplomatic themes.

Table 14: Creek Towns, Leaders, and Warriors (Adapted from 1761 Treaty at Pensacola, translations by Jack Martin, personal communication, April 5, 2016)

Town	Leader	War Captain
Alibama Upper Creeks		
Quasate (Koosati)	Tamathli Mingo	Tastanaki Mikko (Warrior Chief)
Pakana	Hopoy-hithli (Good boy)	Tastanaki Hacho (Crazy Warrior)
Taskigi	Holahta Mikko	Hopayi Fiki Mikko (Far-away Heart Chief)
Uchaye [Okchai/Oakchoys]	Holahta Imathla	Tastanaki Imathla
Tallapoosa Upper Creeks		
Fusihatchee	Hiniha Imathla	Tastanaki Hacho (Crazy Warrior)
Atasi	Hopoy-hithli Mikko	Imathla Hacho
Imoklasa	Nathlki Hochi (Stomach Decorated)	Hopayi Imathla
Apihkochi (Little Abika)	Hiniha Thlakko (Big hiniha)	Imathla Mikko
Uchise/Lower Creeks		
Caveta	War Captain, Brother of Emperor Mikko Chati (Red Chief)	

Martin and Mauldin (2004:46-7, 212) translate *haco/hacho* as “a title, often added after a clan name, appearing in war names and usually translated as ‘Crazy’ and *mekko/mikko* simply as “chief.” *Holahta* was an equivalent to *miko* for Timucuan and Apalachees though this title also appears in a similar context for Choctaws and Guales (Hann 1994:96-98; Gatschet 1878:492). Guales, Chacatos, Timucuas, Apalachees, Yuchis, and Creeks used the term *inija* or *ynihae* for spokesperson and order-giver in charge of public works and ceremonies (Hann 1994). *Hopayi* literally means “far away,” in the sense of a prophet (Jack Martin personal communication). Such a prophet could have been either an *owalv* who offered prophecies or *kerrv* who offered advice through

experience and learning, though Muscogee healer David Lewis (Lewis and Jordan 2002:140) maintained only owalv are true prophets. As a whole, this treaty demonstrates that certain shared titles reflected a shared diplomatic language while other more unique titles demonstrated connections to other communities.

Tamatlemingo and Hopoy-hithli are associated with the Alabama-Coushatta; the first title may have only referred to one individual while at least a few individuals possessed the title Hopoy-hithli. Hopoy-hithli Mikko or Hoboi-Hili-Miko, was the title of Alexander McGillivray, born in 1750 in the Coushatta town of Little Tallasee (Wright 2007: 182-183) and thus too young to have this title in 1761. Further, the treaty has two Hopoy-hithlis, a Pakana individual and an Atasi individual who was Hopoy-hithli Mikko, demonstrating the presence of the title in both Alabama and Tallapoosa regions later considered together as Upper Creeks when McGillivray possessed the title.

Discussion: Balance as Authority

Escudero, Caesar Augustus, and other Native American testimony demonstrate that decisions of war and diplomacy involved a balance between vengeance and mercy with red and white respectively symbolizing those concepts. Ethnohistorians interpret the sociopolitical organization of Creeks as demonstrating a balance between young warriors and experienced elders, between red representing war and white representing peace, and between European powers in calculated neutrality (e.g. Saunt 1999:24). Balance was critical for decision-making—men could not usually do the tasks of women and vice versa. Rituals involving fasting, sacred purification, and appropriate reciprocity aimed to maintain or fix balance. Reciprocity extended to gifts, alliances, other support, and also

injury, death, and other offenses at a personal and regional level. Reciprocity and balance extended not only to social concerns of keeping other individuals satisfied, but extended to the supernatural.

Creek leaders faced a “cosmological duty to reinstate balance through a like injury or death” (Ethridge 2003:230). Caesar Augustus faced this cosmological duty by demonstrating his disdain for burning captives alive and his ability to enforce threats to prevent such actions. He used his martial ability, and ability to respond in kind and even escalate, to convince the Spanish to obey Creek war customs in that regard. Escudero similarly obeyed war customs, and while Caesar Augustus eloquently threatened vengeance, Escudero simply took it and described it as natural. Such retaliation served as a method for warriors to enforce conceptions of law and order and to gain prestige by gaining kills or captives in service to their society (Ethridge 2003:231; Bushnell [2019]).

While mediated through European language, the rhetoric of Caesar Augustus, Andres Escudero, and others offer a chance to understand the processes of authority within their ideological and institutional systems using their own words rather than European understandings of those systems. These leaders personalized and publicized their ritual speech through a variety of symbols and materials—including tattoos and other powerful sources of symbolic currency. Caesar Augustus used ancestral designs with broad regional interpretations to justify threats delivered in a logical sequence with parallelism and repeated full nouns rather than pronouns. While other Indians at the time had their own conceptions of his tattooed signs, they undoubtedly recognized their potency. Both Acmucaiche and Andres Escudero spoke of ancestral practices, breaking

weapons to signify peace, and red and white paint as symbolizing escalating and diminishing conflicts respectively.

Yamasee rhetoric demonstrates that they communicated symbols and related practices across the Southeast, which allowed them to enforce their own interests upon other Native Americans as well as the Spanish, creating what historian Kathleen DuVal (2006) termed a “Native Ground” in the Southeast. This term serves to correct Richard White’s (1991) Middle Ground of mutual accommodation between Native Americans and Europeans by demonstrating that at times Native Americans maintained influence and control over territory for centuries. Yamasee ritual speech thus serves as a case study for interpreting the process of authority as well as the geopolitical results of that authority during colonial and later eras.

Historical documents written, dictated, and translated by Yamasees demonstrates how their mobility led to new economic and political opportunities and influence. Rather than becoming refugees, they proved essential intermediaries and warriors for different European colonies while maintaining a level of independence. They and other Native Americans demonstrated and exercised power (akin to processes described in Foucault 1980:98) through ancestral or kinship ties, ability in war, and access to foreign or European goods to demonstrate their ability to balance mercy and vengeance as well as supernatural and geopolitical forces. Such successful claims and balances—embodied through tattoos and material culture and articulated through titles and rhetoric—led to increased authority within a community and a broader region. In this sense, individual

claims to authority related directly to the ideational systems and political institutions of their community.

Men negotiated political relationships between towns, though consanguinal connections traced through matrilineages frequently played a role in these negotiations. Such negotiations indirectly shaped the ceramic practices of women. As discussed in earlier chapters, Yamasees moved hundreds of miles for new opportunities and often adopted the ceramic tempers and decorations of their new neighbors. Female potters in Escudero's Yamasee town of Punta Rasa, for example, utilized both Yamasee stamped designs as well as Creek decorations of brushing and roughening. The subsequent chapter focuses on my identification of that site and interpretation of its assemblage and Chapter 6 quantifies changes in Yamasee ceramic practices throughout two hundred years of settlements separated by up to 400 miles.

Chapter 5: San Antonio de Punta Rasa and Yamasee Influence in Pensacola

This chapter describes Yamasees at Pensacola, including their arrival to the area and resultant trade and diplomatic connections. I also describe my archaeological identification of the community, interpretation of their ceramic assemblage, and relation of that assemblage to those of the neighboring Spanish garrison and Apalachee mission. Yamasees moved from St. Augustine to Pensacola in the aftermath of the English siege, and ultimately situated themselves in a geographic location to gain political influence in the region. I demonstrate that they gained such influence due to linguistic and other connections to Muscogee and Koasati-speaking Upper Creeks in central Alabama. Most of the Apalachees who lived in the Pensacola area when Yamasees arrived in 1740 had moved there after living among Lower Creeks in eastern Alabama and western Georgia. As a result of having previously lived among Lower Creeks, and subsequently having lived directly between Pensacola and the Upper Creeks of central Alabama, Pensacola-area Apalachee potters largely adopted Creek styles of brushing and roughening. Furthermore, as a result of their own political connections to Upper Creeks and physical proximity to Apalachees who made Creek-like pottery, the Pensacola-area Yamasees in turn made ceramics similar to those of Creeks more often than they maintained their ceramic traditions. The Pensacola-area community of ceramic practice that included both the Yamasee and Apalachee thus demonstrates the role of Native American social and political relationships, rather than European influences, on material culture.

Yamasees and the Pensacola Landscape

Devastating attacks on Spanish St. Augustine by the British during the War of

Jenkin's Ear in 1740 cut the number of Indian mission towns in half and led many Yamasees to leave that city to pursue opportunities in Pensacola. Yamasees initially settled two leagues, a little over five miles, from the warehouse established in 1740 in present-day downtown Pensacola (Yarza y Ascona 1750). From there, Apalachees and Yamasees alike communicated and traded with the English, and the Spanish Governor's ability to influence this trade was limited due to his reliance on those communities as well as their distance from the garrison on Santa Rosa Island.

Very few documents offer insight into the creation of this Yamasee mission. In 1741, Franciscans at the Pensacola garrison requested supplies for a "New Town of the Chiscas" on the Escambia River, including a set of rations for 30 Indian residents of the town, and "120 Indians coming and going" from Pensacola itself—"143 days of a pound and half of corn, 4 ounces of beans, and an ounce and a half of chile" (Urueña 1743:125r). These 120 residents, or comers and goers, represented a standard annual number, while the 30 residents were either for new Yamasees, despite referring to the Apalachee mission, or represented a delayed reimbursement of sorts for Apalachees who had lived in the area since 1718. Materials listed in Table 15 are perhaps double those needed for one town (Worth [2019]) and describe two churches. Unfortunately, further details about this Yamasee mission, such as the name of the mission or its leaders or distinctions between it and the Apalachee mission, have not been recovered.

Table 15: Supplies for “Chiscas Mission” (Adapted from Urueña 1743: 125v)

16 [arrobas?] of olive oil	8 pounds of incense for both towns
150 pounds of wax for church candles	3 pounds of wicks for lamps
1 barrel of white wine to celebrate mass in the garrison	3 pounds of starch for clothes of both churches
a jug (<i>frasca</i>) of the same wine for the town	40 pesos worth of soap for the same and for the hospital

In 1747, more Yamasees relocated to Pensacola from “Old” Tamatle town along the Chattahoochee/Apalachicola River, discussed in the previous chapter. San Marcos de Apalachee Commandant Juan Isidoro de León reported

On May 2, Pancho the Yamas arrived here with the news that the Uchizes [Lower Creeks] were at war with the Chalaques [Cherokees] and Talapuzes [Upper Creeks], and that an Indian had passed on horseback notifying the pueblos to go forth to engage with the Chalaques, and that to the few Yamases that there are, they had threatened them if they did not come forth to join with the Uchises, and that he was coming to report that the Yamases had their canoes ready so that if they found themselves pressured, they would come by the river with their families to this fort, and that I should write to Your Lordship if this case occurred, if the King would have to keep them up in this fort, or if they had to pass with their families to St. Augustine. I communicate this same to Your Lordship so that if the case occurs you can order what should be done with these families. Afterward I have found out from other Yamases that the greater part of the families of the father-in-law of Mestizo went away to Panzacola” (León 1747; trans. John Worth).

A Yamasee man named Pancho offered this news of regional conflict among other Native Americans and Lower Creek pressure to join that conflict on their side. Other Yamasees later informed León that the families of the father-in-law of an Alabama warrior called Mestizo went away to Pensacola. These families may have been Alabamas, other Upper Creeks, or Yamasees. As such, Pensacola-area Yamasees included an unknown proportion of Creek-area Yamasees with those who moved from St. Augustine.

New Yamasees in the Pensacola area led to the establishment of a new town at a

better location for trade with the Creeks, and through them with the British. By 1750, these Yamasees established a new town at Garcon Point. Andres Escudero, leader of this town, described its location as “one of the closest to this post [Pensacola’s garrison San Miguel], and they are in the location that serves as an outguard between the Lower Creek Indians [termed Uchises by the Spanish] and the provinces of the English” (Escudero 1758b). He later described it as both a necessary thoroughfare and convenient overnight stop for Creeks visiting the Spanish (Escudero 1761a). Success at this central location led Pensacola Governor Roman to install a small military presence at the Yamasee mission.

In an attempt to restrain illicit trade with the British, or more likely profit from it, Governor Roman installed a small garrisons of three soldiers and a corporal at both the Yamasee Mission of San Antonio de Punta Rasa and the Apalachee Mission of San Joseph de Escambe (Román 1757a:341v). The hurricanes in 1751-1752 devastated the Pensacola garrison on Santa Rosa Island and led to a new larger settlement on the mainland, closer to the two Indian towns. Figure 39 maps the Spanish garrisons and Native American towns in the Pensacola area.



Figure 39: Map of Pensacola's Settlements. Spanish Garrisons in Yellow and Native American Towns in Red (From Worth 2008)

As discussed in the preceding chapter, Punta Rasa leader Andres Escudero proved a capable diplomat between the Spanish and Upper Creeks. Conflict between these two groups reached a peak in 1757, leading to Escudero's 1758 treaty, and Spanish trade abuses of Creek Indians after the treaty led to 1761 attacks by Upper Creeks and in turn to another treaty negotiated by Escudero in that year. These attacks on the Apalachee and Yamasee missions led them to move closer to the Pensacola garrison which by then had moved to present-day downtown. After the treaty negotiations, these 184 Christian Indians (listed in Table 16) established "Indian Town" east of the garrison (Ytuarte 1761).

Table 16: Yamasee and Apalachee Men and Households in Pensacola (Adapted from Escudero et al 1763)

List of Men	List of Families/Households
Andrés Escudero Thomas Micon Juan Joseph Micon Nicolas Micon Francisco Micon Luis Anacaliche Baptista Juan Mistisico Luis de los Reyes Antonio Lopez Pedro Escudero Juan Casimiro Pablo Perez Pedro Tolentino Francisco Vixia Manuel Jospe Pedro de la Cruz Juan Tolentino Manuel Sinjulo Alonso Sinjulo Marcos Sinjulo Francisco Acaspali Juan Sanchez Pedro Manuel Balthasar de los Reyes Juan Yngles Diego Luis Antonio Thadeo Juan Marcos [who led the Apalachee town] Pedro el Negro Nolasco de Jesus Juan Andres Eusebio Joseph Juan Asensio Dionisio de la Cruz Antonio de Jesus Juan de San Luis Asensio de San Luis	<p>Family of Andres Escudero: his wife Elena Maria Asensio, their children: Maria Francisca Escudero and Lino Liscodero. Maria de la Encarnazion, wife of Pedro Escudero [another son of Andres and Elena?] Maria de los Angeles</p> <p>Family of Juan Micon: his wife Maria Monserrate, their children Maria Micon and Mariana Micon</p> <p>Family of Thomas Micon: his wife Magdalena. Juana Simona Micon, Maria Guadalupe Micon, Diego Antonio Micon, Josepha Maria Micon, Maria Josepha de la Luz Micon their children Their mother-in-law Maria Pasquala</p> <p>Family of Nicolas: his wife Candelaria Micon. their children Maria Josepha and Maria Gertrudis</p> <p>Family of Marcos Sinjulo: his mother Maria Josepha, his aunt Maria de la Cruz, his cousin Mariana</p> <p>Family of Manuel Sinjulo: his wife Maria Lorenza, their daughter Michaela Josepha</p> <p>Family of Baptista: his wife Maria Josepha. Their children Juan Francisco and Maria de la Cruz his sister in law, Michaela de los Santos, Miguel Roman [named for and possibly godson of Pensacola's governor], Nafqui, Ficfanqui, Maria de la Cruz</p> <p>Family of Juan Casimiro: his wife Maria de la Concepcion</p> <p>Family of Francisco Vixia: his wife Maria Candelaria, their son Agustin Gutierrez, his goddaughter Clara</p> <p>Family of Pedro Tolentino: his wife Maria de la Cruz. Their children Lucas de Alcantara, Joseph Tolentino, Cipriano Tolentino, Gertrudis Tolentino, Ygnacia Tolentino, Ursula Tolentino, Maria Josepha Tolention. His sister Cathalina Tolentino, her daughter Maria Sanchez</p> <p>Family of Luis Ancaliche: His wife Mariana, their children Sebastian Emitherio and Juana Amacaliche</p> <p>Family of Juan Sanchez: his wife Mariana Sinjulo. Their children Maria Antonia Sanchez, Maria Sanchez, Elena Sanchez</p> <p>Family of Francisco Acaspasle: his wife Maria Luisa, their children Maria Acaspasle, Miguel Acaspasle. His aunt Victoria.</p> <p>Familia de Pedro Manuel: His wife Ana de Jesus.</p> <p>Family of Juan Mistosico: His wife Maria de los Angeles</p>
	[Subsequent families are likely Apalachee]

	Family of Juan Marcos, Apalachee leader: his children Maria Josepha and Juan Asensio, Eusebio Joseph and Manuel his nephews. Rosa his niece. Another Maria Antonia with his son Juan Joseph.
	Family of Pedro the Negro [An African?]: his wife Maria, their daughter Candelaria, his cousin Maria Cra. The widow of Lorenzo: Angela de Siles. His cousin Maria de los Santos and her son Francisco. The widow of Micon [second leader of Yamasee mission]: Ana de los Angeles.
	Another family: Rosalia y Petrona

This census does not explicitly distinguish between Yamasees and Apalachees though twenty-eight presumably Yamasee men are listed above Juan Marcos, Apalachee leader, followed by nine other men who are presumably Apalachees. Spanish names likely reflect either godfathers or other connections—a Ramos Escudero was a friar in St. Augustine and Miguel Roman is a clear reference to Pensacola's governor. Sinjulo, Anacaliche, Nafqui, and Ficfanqui are presumably Yamasee names. Most men and women had children, and some had matrilineal connections through aunts, mothers-in-law, sisters-in-law, and goddaughters. Nephews, nieces, and cousins may also reflect matrilineal connections. The Yamasee Micon family seems the most well-connected—they had two of their own households, a Micon woman married into another, and a widow lived with Pedro the Negro. With the exception of Juan Marcos and Pedro el Negro—possibly either dark-skinned or of African ancestry to some degree—other likely Apalachee names are either Spanish such as Asensio or refer to missionization such as Jesús and San Luis. By the time of this census, Yamasees and Apalachees lived together for two years and connections between the two communities may have resulted from that close but brief shared residency or may have existed during the twenty-one years they lived in the same general area. Such connections include the widow of a Yamasee leader

living with Pedro the Negro, listed below the Apalachee leader. These Apalachee and Yamasee leaders proved essential for Spanish Pensacola.

Andres Escudero's diplomacy contributed to the economic growth of Spanish Pensacola as well as the expansion of its network of Native American allies. The profitable trade between Spaniards, Yamasees and Apalachees, and Upper Creek towns included at least Spanish materials, Yamasee livestock, Apalachee hides, and British horses. Such profit contributed to a brief economic success of Spanish Pensacola, though the Governor's greed and abusive treatment led Upper Creeks to burn both missions and several haciendas associated with the town. Spanish maps depict these garrisons as well as the Native American settlements, and though many were made using secondhand or more distant observations they helped me locate Mission San Antonio de Punta Rasa for excavation.

Locating Yamasee Mission San Antonio de Punta Rasa

Several maps and documents depict Yamasee Mission San Antonio de Punta Rasa (1749-1761) though the site was not recovered archaeologically until I began surveying in 2015 based on the maps discussed below. Many of these maps have been copied into the Karpinski photostat collection in the Newberry Library in Chicago, Illinois, and most are viewable on websites of their archives of origin as well as through the University of North Carolina's Research Laboratories of Archaeology *Early Maps of the American South* website (<http://rla.unc.edu/emas/>). In addition to helping locate the Yamasee mission, these maps demonstrate the economic and diplomatic role of Yamasees in the Pensacola area.

Augustin Lopez de Cámara Alta (1756, Figure 40), marked “San Antonio” as short hand for San Antonio de Punta Rasa northeast and across the bay from the Pensacola garrison marked “San Miguel.” Although Cámara Alta’s coastline does not precisely match that of the modern-day Pensacola area and he sketched in settlements using second-hand descriptions, his “San Antonio” north of present-day Garcon Point proved accurate for locating the site I refer here as Punta Rasa.

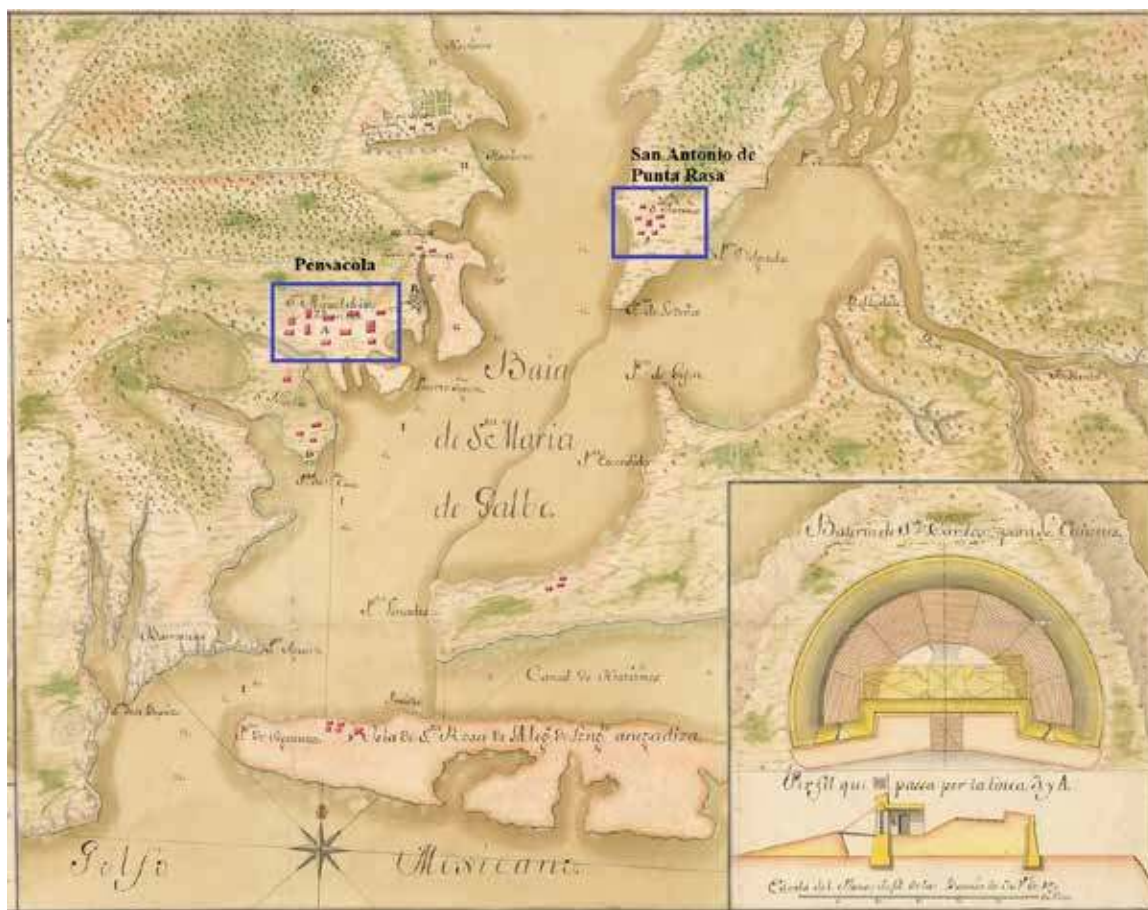


Figure 40: Augustin Lopez de Cámara Alta 1756 Map, With Pensacola and San Antonio de Punta Rasa Marked

Similarly, Juan Joseph Eligio de la Puente made two maps (Figures 41-42) that marked Punta Rasa in roughly that geographical location, east and across the bay from

Pensacola. The first of these maps also depicts Native American trade as passing through Punta Rasa. Eligio de la Puente, born in St. Augustine, served as the Spanish Florida land agent after the 1763 Treaty of Paris for selling land to British individuals. His connections to Lower and Upper Creeks proved useful not only in those depictions, but also in negotiations during the American Revolution to take Florida back from the British, in negotiations with Creeks that visited Cuba, and in other policy decisions. The description alongside his 1765 map (Figure 41) states

The Chacato River [present-day Apalachicola] is navigable with small ferry boats or canoes and the 15 towns of Lower Creek and Yamasee Indians, of the Province of Caveta, is situated at the bank of the river, composed of 1500 or 1600 strong men; and those of the 22 towns of the Province of Tallapoosas, who always live like brothers with those [the Lower Creeks], there are 2200 (Puente 1765).

This description connects the Yamasees with the Caveta or the Lower Creeks. He may be referring to the “Old” Tamatle town along the Apalachicola River described in Chapter 3. He also states that he used other peoples’ data and coastal descriptions, which perhaps explains small inaccuracies. For example, the present-day Escambia River, where the San Joseph de Escambe mission existed, is marked as “Rio de San Antonio” for the Yamasee Mission San Antonio de Punta Rasa. Both the 1765 map and 1768 map also contain a somewhat haphazard sketch of Pensacola Bay, and each looks different.

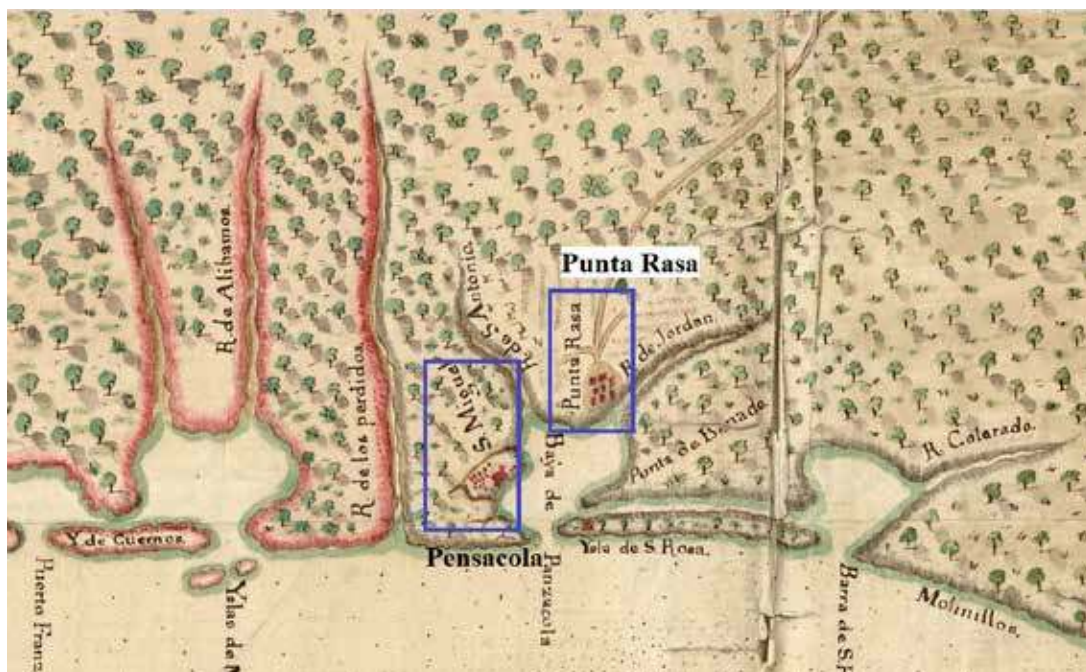


Figure 41: The Gulf Coast, with Blue Territory for Spain and Red for France (Adapted from Juan Joseph Eligio de la Puente 1765)

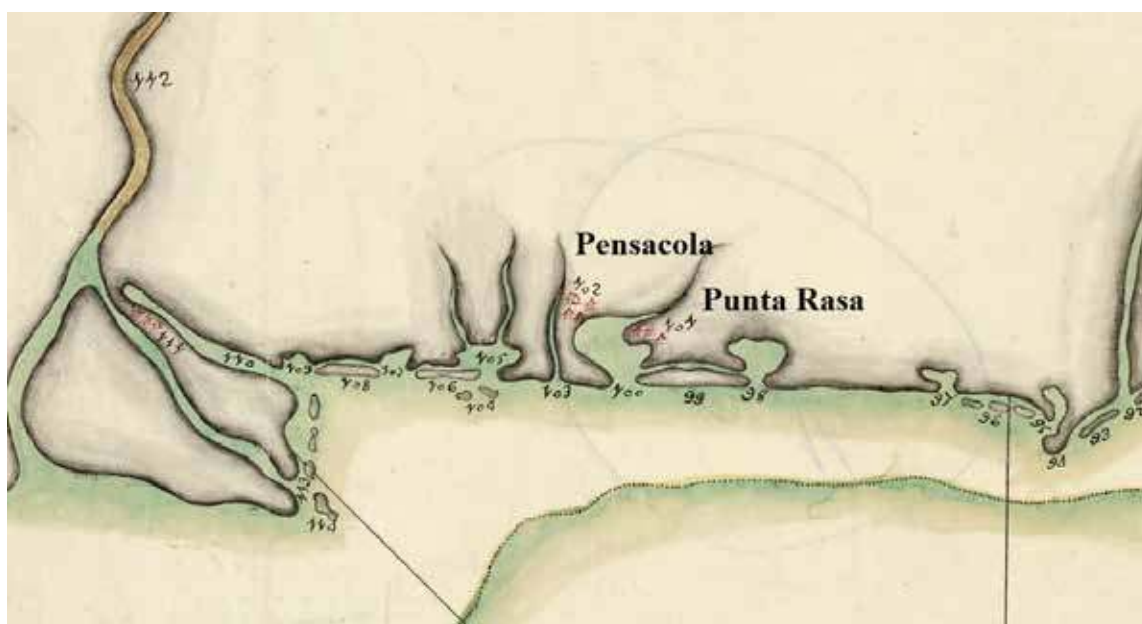


Figure 42: The Gulf Coast of the Province of Florida (Adapted from Juan Joseph Eligio de la Puente 1768)

Despite these inaccuracies, he consistently depicted the Punta Rasa Mission as just east of Pensacola Bay. This consistency in location, echoed by later more precise British maps, suggests this Punta Rasa indeed existed there.

Among these mapmakers, Joseph Frederick Wallet Des Barres in 1780 published a map of Pensacola Bay (Figure 43) noting “Yamasee Point.” His map also depicted the town of Pensacola, “River Scambia” where Apalachees lived from 1718-1761 and “Indian Point” where Yamasees and Apalachees lived together from 1761-1763. He also mapped select rectangular land plats near Yamasee Point, present-day Garcon Point, as well as present-day Mulat Bayou. Similar land plats by Elias Durnford (1767) offered more precise details for my excavations in those two areas which I discuss subsequently, beginning with Mulat Bayou.

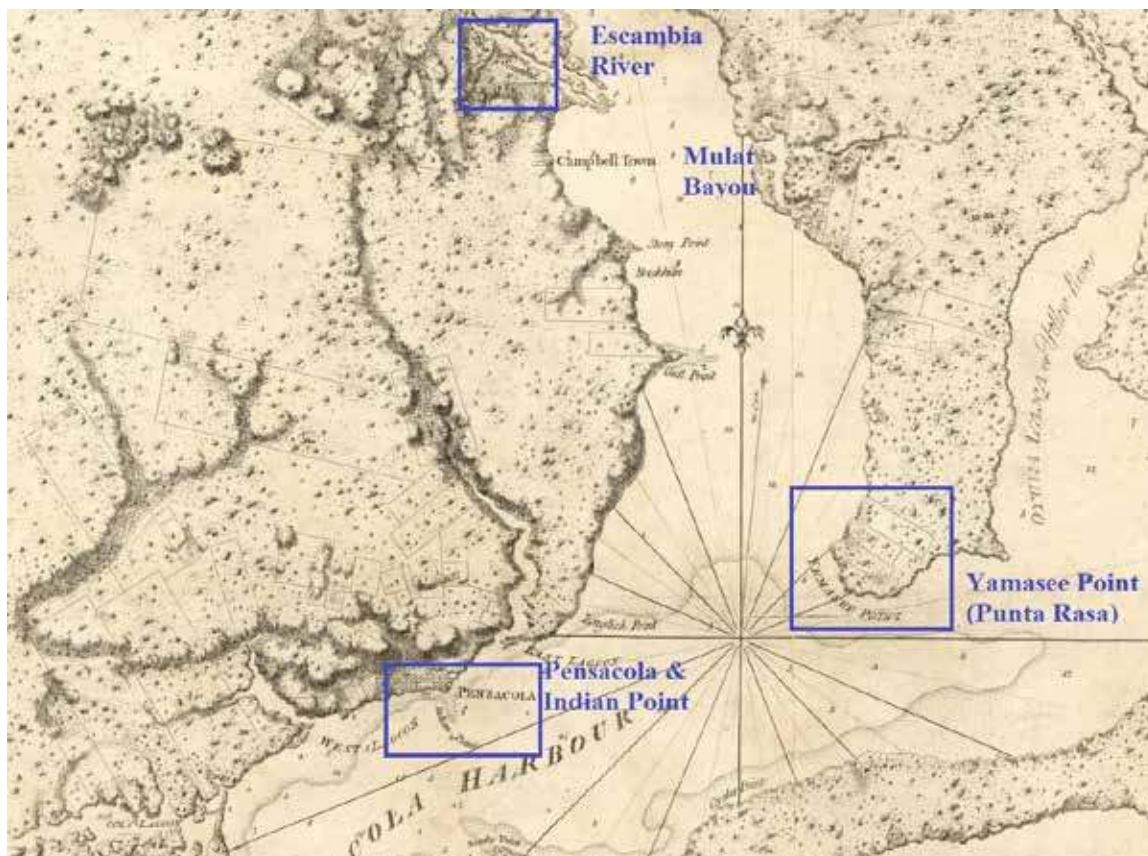


Figure 43: A Chart of the Bay and Harbor of Pensacola in the Province of West Florida (Adapted from Des Barres 1780)

Mulat Bayou

Many colonial maps rely on secondhand information and thus offer vague or imprecise details, yet British documents and land plats demonstrate that both the Mulat and Garcon areas were occupied before the British arrival in 1764. The 1765 British Treaty in Pensacola with Creek Indians about territory discusses plantations—perhaps more precisely commercial ranches or farms—of Yamasee Indians

We do hereby agree that for the future the Boundary be at the dividing paths going to the Nation and Mobile where is a Creek, that it shall run along the Side of that Creek until its Confluence with the River which falls into the Bay, then to run round the Bay & take in all the Plantations which formerly belonged to the Yamasee Indians, that no Notice is to be taken of such Cattle or Horses as shall pass the Line (June 12, 1765 Pensacola Treaty with Creek Indians, Article V)

Because the British gained Spanish territory, calling the area Yamasee seems a conscious British acknowledgement that the Yamasees profited financially from cultivating the area. On the other hand, this acknowledgement may be a Creek attempt to claim the area for themselves as other Native Americans, rather than concede it to the British. In either case, these enterprises were not described in detail by the Spanish. Governor Román, however, did describe the brief success of the Spanish ranches:

Three haciendas that had been fomented, given out by me, found themselves so advanced that in two or three years they would provide sufficient meat to sustain this garrison without it being necessary to bring it from outside, since those that they maintained exceeded fifteen hundred head of cattle. As a result, other fruits that were beginning to be produced, and all this advancement and much more, we have lost in an instant on account of these pagans having shattered the peace, since they have destroyed the haciendas, their houses burned, their livestock wounded and dead, the [new] pueblos abandoned, and the ancient [towns] of Punta Rasa and Escambe, of Christian Indians of our jurisdiction, their churches and houses equally burned, their livestock dead, and the Indians with their families gathered at this castillo, in such a manner that at the present, it could be said that we only have the terrain that this compound occupies (Román de Castilla y Lugo 1761a:338, trans. Worth).

In addition to these three Spanish haciendas, Ullate (1761) noted the Yamasees at Punta Rasa had another hacienda. In addition to the Yamasee mission, these four haciendas would have been attractive places for the British to settle after 1763. Durnford (1767) plotted individual land grants, two of which in particular offer details for the pre-1763 Spanish Florida habitations, potentially of the Yamasees. The Robert Carkett plot (georeferenced in Figure 44), with north at the bottom of the map, depicts area south of Mulat Bayou, then named the Rio Gobernador. An “old house” existed near the western corner of the bayou, and to the east in succession “lands formerly cultivated,” “new

house,” and a “garden.” To the south of all of these existed “some oaks” and an “old fence.” Perhaps due to construction as a result of Interstate 10, the southern end of the

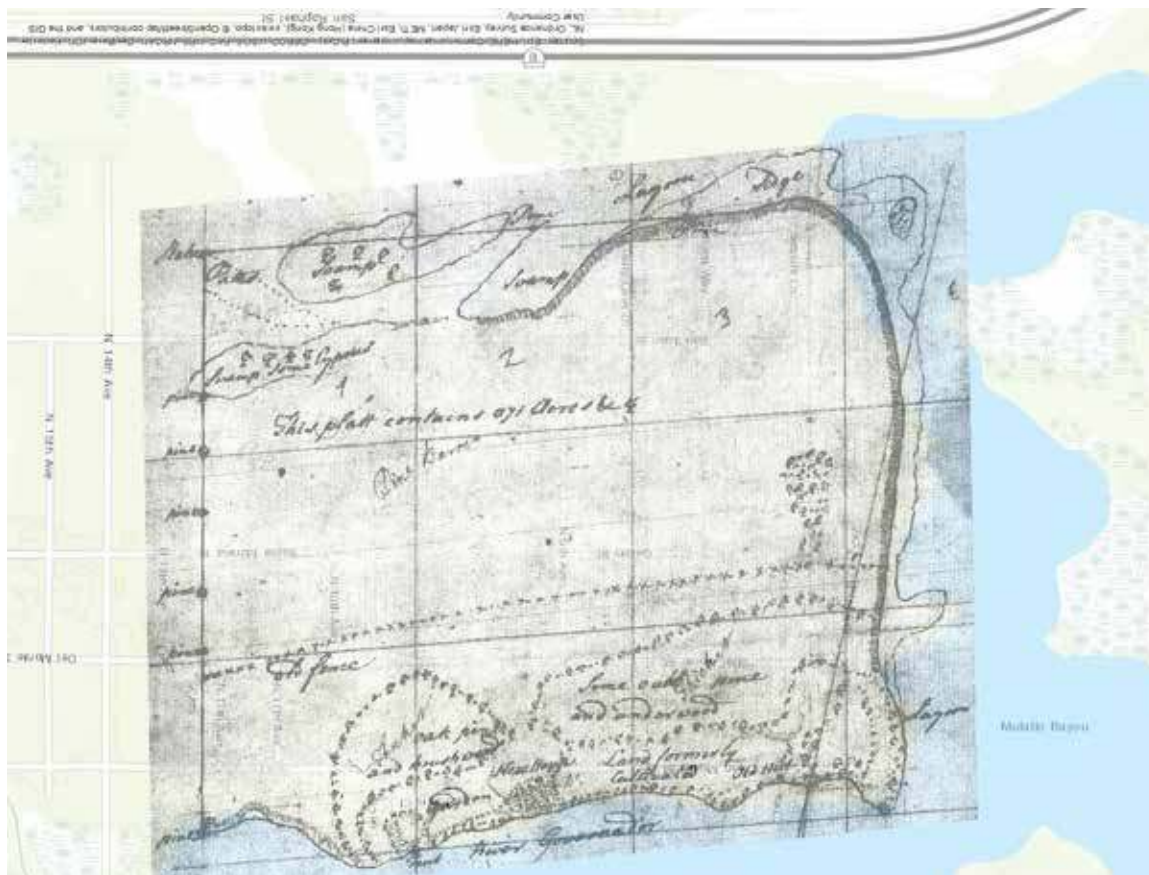


Figure 44: Georeferenced Robert Carkett Land Grant

land plat seems to fit less precisely to the modern landscape. My survey work was the first to investigate these precise descriptions archaeologically, though archaeology was conducted previously in the area.

Judith Bense of the University of West Florida conducted fieldwork in the Mulat Bayou area during the 1980s. Her Escambia Bay Drainage Project resulted in the discovery and excavation of dozens of sites in the area. While none of her sites or notes described definitive eighteenth-century material, her public outreach led one landowner

to show her Spanish majolica and Native American pottery.

Due to Bense's extensive work in the Mulatto Bayou area and the recording of this pottery, I initially focused on Mulat rather than Garcon Point. After consulting Bense's notes, I spoke with people owning any property she did not survey and handed out a flier (Figure 45). Most of the landowners were exceptionally helpful and supportive. Several landowners described materials filled in by construction as well as how their property survived the devastating Hurricane Ivan in 2004. My discussions of archaeology with people in the area led many to describe Judith Bense's radio programming, *Unearthing Pensacola*, which aired from 1998 to 2012 and led to the Unearthing Florida program in cooperation with the Florida Public Archaeology Network.

Community members near Mulat Bayou were excited to hear about potential excavations, shared their knowledge of construction projects in the area, and soon directed me to Bill Bass, who collected artifacts on his property and in the neighborhood. Material he has accumulated (Figure 46) includes a smoking pipe, colonial glass, and a wealth of pottery, but nothing that is diagnostic of eighteenth-century Spanish, Yamasee, or other Native Americans. Still, this material and his encouragement—combined with the fact that he lived where “old house” existed by 1767—convinced me to start excavating 50 x 50 centimeter test units there.

Locating 1749-1761 Spanish Mission San Antonio de Punta Rasa of Yamasee Indians
 Patrick Johnson, patrickj86@gmail.com <http://anthrograd.blogs.wm.edu>
 MA from University of West Florida, PhD Candidate at College of William & Mary



- Use of a total station and transit to map areas, marked by a piece of metal and flagging tape, for excavating 50 by 50 cm square shovel tests every 20 meters.
- Excavate around “positive” shovel tests containing pottery (from Santa Rosa, above) or soil changes that may indicate posts for buildings or trash middens.
- Any material found will be analyzed at UWF and William and Mary, curated at UWF, and incorporated into presentations, publications, and museum exhibits.

Figure 45: Flier for Landowners



Figure 46: Portion of Personal Archaeological Collection of Bill Bass

In 2015 I led a small crew in excavating 50 x 50 centimeter shovel tests in arbitrary ten centimeter levels to understand changes in soil color, texture, and stratigraphy to investigate the “old house,” “new house,” and area in between. These test units were placed approximately where the houses would have stood, with twenty meters separating each shovel test. Unfortunately, the only potential eighteenth-century material recovered from the “old house” area was one blue glass bead (Figure 47). Native American pottery recovered from that area, when identifiable by type, dated to the Mississippian-era Pensacola culture (ca. 1100-1550) rather than the eighteenth century. 50 x 50 test units in areas unmarked on the British plat revealed no artifacts. Other 50 x 50s located closer to a “New house” marked on the 1767 plat included undecorated Native American sherds from a single 50 x 50 shovel test.

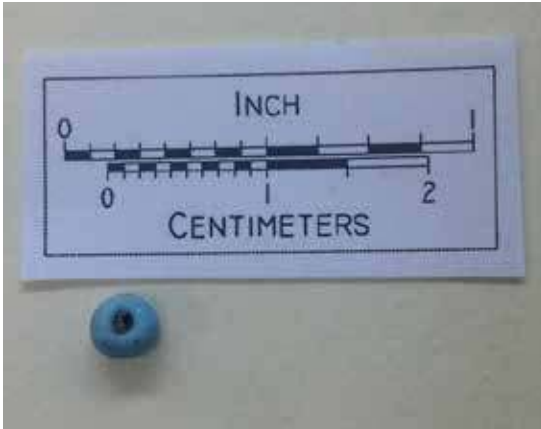


Figure 47: Blue Glass Bead Found in Mulat Shovel Test near 1767 “Old House”

The “old house” on the Bass property designated on the Carkett plat could represent either a Spanish ranch or the Yamasee plantations described by the Creeks and British. In either case it likely served as a stopping point for Upper Creeks trading from the north southward to Garcon Point. Limited recovery in this area suggests any such material has been erased by construction. Garcon Point proved more promising.

Archaeology at Garcon Point

Colonial maps described Garcon Point as Yamasee, Daniel Bush’s 1767 land plat, Figure 48, depicts several pre-1767 features that likely belonged to Yamasees. An “old house” exists in the center of the plotted area at the bottom, flush with the bay with “land formerly cleared, gardens” to the north and an “old fence” to the east. The gardens and fence likely served the Yamasees for their crops and livestock. Of these features, I focused on the “old house.” No other plats along the Pensacola Bay depict such houses.

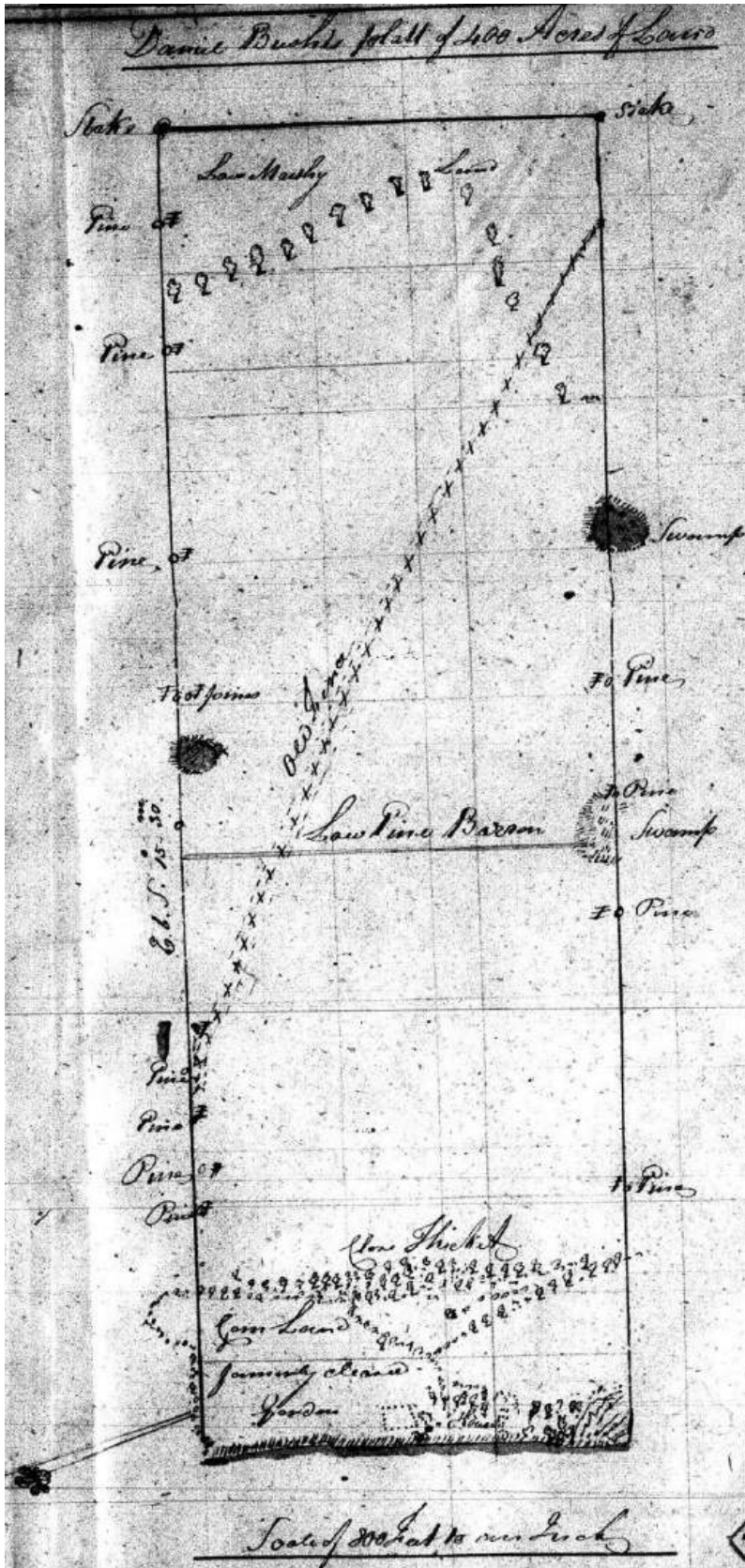


Figure 48: Daniel Bush Land Grant (Adapted from Durnford 1767)

My excavations were the first to look for San Antonio de Punta Rasa mission, though artifacts were noted in the area after the 2010 Deepwater Horizon oil spill. As a result of a seawall collapse, Archaeology Services Company and Consultants (SEARCH) noted a low density artifact scatter of “historic and prehistoric artifacts including Chattahoochee Brushed, sand-tempered plain, possible complicated stamped, whiteware, and herty cup.” These artifacts from a mixed-context were observed but not collected, and no other sites in the broader Garcon area revealed any potentially eighteenth-century materials. This isolated find, mapped in Figure 51 along with my positive shovel tests, as well as Daniel Bush’s plantation plat just north of Garcon Point, led me to excavate in the area.

As with Mulat Bayou, I consulted with local community members whose modern property lines overlapped with the Bush plat. Landowners were similarly generous and interested in archaeology; neighbors visited us nearly every day. Initial 50 x 50s proved lucky—each of the four first ones recovered colonial material, though in mixed contexts. In total, one hundred and twenty-five 50 x 50 tests covered roughly X square meters, though the first yard we surveyed ended up containing the most archaeological material. Figure 49 maps these shovel tests and the materials noted by SEARCH just north of the northwestern-most positive shovel test.



Figure 49: Shovel Tests Containing Eighteenth-Century Artifacts Mapped with Materials Noted by Archaeology Services Company and Consultants (SEARCH)

Figures 50 and 51 offer examples of these shovel tests. In addition to plain sand-tempered and shell-tempered sherds, recovery included a few Altamaha/San Marcos Complicated Stamped sherds. While these suggest a Yamasee presence at the site, a larger number of sherds were brushed or roughened, decorations typically associated with Creek Indians. Shovel tests also suggested mixed context—for example, Shovel Test 12 (Figure 53) contained 30 sherds as well as a large glass carboy (a 5 gallon jug) dated to 1961.



Figure 50: Shovel Test on Garcon Point Figure 51: Shovel Test 12 and Glass Carboy

Shovel-testing continued to bound the site from initial recovery as well as investigate the initially rich shovel tests. 20 meter intervals explored larger properties near material recovered by SEARCH and along a small bayou to the north of that area and largely offered only negative shovel tests. In between this negative area and the area initially discovered, shovel-testing at a 20 meter interval bound the site. In the front yard initially excavated, test units spaced 5 to 10 meters apart depending on power lines and other disturbances looked for rich and ideally undisturbed areas for potentially larger excavations. Given constraints of time, four 1 x 1 meter units were excavated in between the shovel tests with the highest density of artifacts—ST 42, 45, and 46. These units demonstrated the nature of the mixed contexts—plow scars occurred at about 40 centimeters below surface. Due to such plowing, no features or other forms of structural

evidence were recovered aside from nails and other material culture. While we recovered a range of Euro-American materials from British creamware to nineteenth-century shotgun shells, the Native American assemblage, excluding earlier fiber-temper, matches that of the Pensacola garrison at Santa Rosa. Based on this similarity to the garrison assemblage—a mix of shell, grog, and sand temper as well as incised, brushed/roughened, and stamped designs (Harris and Eschbach 2006)—as well as extensive descriptions of Yamasees in the area rather than any other Native Americans, I interpret Yamasees as the only post-Archaic period Native American occupants in this particular site.

Unfortunately, our excavations recovered no features relating to the Yamasee occupation. Instead, the plow zone revealed entirely mixed contexts. However, Florida's occupation by the British from 1763-1783 and Spanish from 1783-1810s can essentially be dated by the 1762 appearance of creamware, the 1785 adoption of pearlware, and the late eighteenth-century adoption of particular majolicas. Artifacts included Late Archaic era fiber-tempered ceramics, post-1762 British creamwares, post-1785 British pearlwares, late eighteenth-century Spanish majolicas, nineteenth- to twentieth- century whitewares, late nineteenth-century shotgun shells, and twentieth- or twenty-first century glass and other materials. European-made materials potentially dating to the Yamasee era include hand-made nails, olive-green or amber glass, beads, and pipe-stems, though any of these could easily date from the later British or Spanish occupation of the area. Spanish majolicas recovered at the site include Abo Polychrome and Puebla Blue on White that represent use by either the 1750-1761 Yamasees or the few Spaniards

stationed there. Occupations thus include the earliest Archaic-era potters in Florida, Yamasees, later British and Spanish occupants, as well as postbellum Americans. Despite these mixed contexts, pottery recovered from the mission allows for comparison to other Pensacola-area assemblages of the same time period as well as to other Yamasee assemblages to demonstrate the role of Yamasee pottery in Pensacola and changes in that pottery resulting from migration to the area.

Yamasee and Other Eighteenth-Century Native American Pottery in Pensacola

Yamasee potters used local, neighboring, and ancestral techniques and seem to have supplied much of the pottery used by the Spanish in their garrison. This section focuses on temper and decorations of Yamasee mission San Antonio de Punta Rasa (1749-1761) and Apalachee Mission San Joseph de Escambe (ca 1741-1761), both of which supplied the Spanish garrison Santa Rosa (1722-1756) with Native American pottery. Subsequent paragraphs discuss each site in terms of temper and surface treatment before comparing and contrasting each.

Table 17 shows the count, weight, and percentages of each for tempers recovered by my excavations at the site of San Antonio de Punta Rasa. Norwood fiber-tempered sherds date to the Archaic period. Shell-tempered sherds may date to the Mississippian period, but eighteenth-century Pensacola assemblages at the Santa Rosa garrison (Harris and Eschbach 2006) and Apalachee mission (Worth and Melcher 2001) have a similar percentage of shell-tempering. Grit and sand are the most common tempering agents, together totaling about 60% of the assemblage. Grog tempering at 8% is the least common of the main tempering agents, and grog/shell at 5% represents the most common

combined temper. While the fiber-tempered sherds and post-1763 Euro-American materials demonstrate mixed contexts, the Native American assemblage as a whole appears largely similar to the Santa Rosa garrison assemblage, indicating Yamasees were likely the only post-Archaic period Native Americans at this site near Garcon Point.

Table 17. Garcon Point Native American Ceramic Tempers (Excluding sherdlets, weight in grams)

Temper	Count	Count Percentage	Weight	Weight Percentage
Fiber	40	4.9%	83.7	4.9%
Grit	169	20.8%	359.7	21.1%
Grit Grog	19	2.3%	35.6	2.1%
Grit Grog Shell	3	0.4%	1.9	0.1%
Grit Mica	1	0.1%	4.1	0.2%
Grit Shell	6	0.7%	15.1	0.9%
Grog	64	7.9%	143.4	8.4%
Grog Mica	6	0.7%	29.8	1.7%
Grog shell	41	5.0%	101.9	6.0%
Mica Shell	24	3.0%	18.1	1.1%
Sand	314	38.6%	565.8	33.1%
Shell	126	15.5%	345.9	20.3%
Total	813	100%	1705	100%

Table 18 shows the count, weight, and percentages of decorations and surface treatments at the site of San Antonio de Punta Rasa. Plain sherds dominate the assemblage. Brushing is the most common form of decoration, followed by complicated stamping and incising that occur at the same frequency. This ratio differs drastically from South Carolina and St. Augustine Yamasee sites, where complicated stamping dominated assemblages while incisions and brushing existed as only minority types, if at all. A dominance of brushing/roughening demonstrates a social relationship with either Creek Indians, for whom the brushing and roughening was a key characteristic of their ceramic style, or nearby Apalachee Indians, whose ceramics also possessed many Creek-derived characteristics as a result of their long association with both Lower and Upper Creeks.

Table 18: Punta Rasa Native American Ceramic Decorations and Surface Treatments (Excluding sherdllets, weight in grams)

Decorations	Count	Count Percentage	Weight	Weight Percentage
Burnished	19	2.3%	41.2	2.4%
Check Stamped	10	1.2%	22.8	1.3%
Complicated Stamped	43	5.3%	126.1	7.4%
Fabric Impressed	1	0.1%	4.2	0.2%
Incised	39	4.9%	127.0	7.5%
Incised/Punctated	1	0.1%	4.0	0.2%
Plain	581	71.6%	1125.3	66.3%
Punctated	3	0.4%	7.6	0.4%
Brushed	69	8.5%	124.5	7.3%
Cob Marked	14	1.8%	45.5	2.7%
Slipped	27	3.3%	36.2	2.1%
Stamped, Indeterminate	5	0.6%	33.9	2.0%
Total	812	100%	1698.3	100%

A variety of such social relationships are possible, and both direct and indirect interactions have affected ceramic styles. Andres Escudero and other Yamasees in Punta Rasa moved from St. Augustine though they may have stayed at or traded with “Old” or “New” Tamatles in central Florida long enough to gain new community members or trade for pottery. Direct exchange of vessels between Pensacola and Upper Creek towns is also possible: materials traded from Creeks to Yamasees to the Spanish may have been traded in ceramic containers, for example. However, direct exchange of people or things seems unlikely to explain the extent of the ceramic change. More likely, brushing/roughening was largely done by Yamasees who never lived among the Creeks. Creek decorations did become local to Pensacola via the Apalachee—I and others have interpreted these Apalachee assemblages as reflecting the time those potters spent living among Creek towns (Johnson 2013; Pigott 2015; Worth 2014). However, broadly, the

Yamasee ceramic assemblage is distinct from the Apalachees—they maintained a higher ratio of their ancestral stamping than did Apalachees, who had more local shell temper and Creek-style decorations. I interpret the Yamasee assemblage as demonstrating similarities to Creek pottery, mediated through interactions largely with Apalachee potters.

Relationships exist between tempers, surface treatments, and rim treatments at Punta Rasa. Table 19 offers data about rim treatments and Appendix C has data for each sherd. Most rim treatments are on sherds with surface treatments and combined tempers disproportionately have rim treatments. Rim treatments are most commonly found on sherds either with surface treatments or combined tempers. Sherds of the most common temper—sand—have the largest variety of rim forms and treatments. Burnishing occurs nonrandomly relative to the frequency of its temper—sand/grit has the most burnishing followed by less common tempers. Check stamping occurs only on grog or sand tempers and complicated stamping occurs only on grit temper. Unlike Mississippian-era Florida assemblages, incisions appear on grit and sand tempers more often than shell tempers. An incised sherd with a ticked rim is often interpreted as belonging to the pre-contact Mississippian era. However, other ticked rims have stamped designs as well as shell-grog tempering, demonstrating that ticking on rims either persisted continually from the fifteenth to eighteenth-centuries, or were reintroduced. Apalachees in Mobile also maintained this form of decoration (Cordell 2002). To help explain connections to the Apalachees, the rest of this chapter compares the Yamasee and Apalachee mission

assemblages (Punta Rasa and Escambe, respectively) to the Spanish garrison assemblage (Santa Rosa).

Table 19: Punta Rasa Native American Ceramic Tempers, Surface Treatment, and Rim Details (Excluding Sherdlets, Weight in Grams)

Surface and Rim Treatments, Rim Form	Temper	Count	Count %	Weight	Weight %
Burnished	Grit	3	0.4%	6.7	0.5%
Burnished	Grog	3	0.4%	4.3	0.3%
Burnished	Grog/Shell	1	0.1%	5.6	0.4%
Burnished	Sand	11	1.4%	2.1	0.2%
Burnished	Shell	1	0.1%	28.3	2.2%
Check Stamped	Grog	3	0.4%	0.9	0.1%
Check Stamped	Sand	7	0.9%	4.7	0.4%
Complicated Stamped	Grit	43	5.3%	18.1	1.4%
Fabric Impressed	Sand	1	0.1%	126.1	9.8%
Incised	Grit	5	0.6%	4.2	0.3%
Incised	Grit/Mica	1	0.1%	4.7	0.4%
Incised	Grit/Shell	2	0.2%	4.1	0.3%
Incised	Grog	1	0.1%	2.4	0.2%
Incised, flat rim	Sand	1	0.1%	0.3	0.0%
Incised	Sand	17	2.1%	8.9	0.7%
Incised, ticked rim	Shell	1	0.1%	23.8	1.8%
Incised	Shell	11	1.3%	7.1	0.6%
Incised/punctated	Grog/Shell	1	0.1%	75.7	5.9%
Plain	Fiber	40	4.9%	83.7	0.3%
Plain, straight/flared rim	Grit	2	0.2%	0.7	6.5%
Plain, excurve rim	Grit	1	0.1%	1.7	0.1%
Plain, flat rim	Grit	4	0.5%	6.2	0.1%
Plain, folded/pinched rim	Grit	1	0.1%	1.5	0.5%
Plain, ticked rim	Grit	1	0.1%	4.2	0.1%
Plain	Grit	87	10.7%	177.8	0.3%
Plain, folded/pinched rim	Grit/Grog	1	0.1%	1.6	13.8%
Plain	Grit/Grog	17	2.1%	32.3	0.1%
Plain	Shell	3	0.4%	1.9	2.5%
Plain, flat rim	Grit/Shell	1	0.1%	1.4	0.1%
Plain	Grit/Shell	3	0.4%	11.3	0.1%
Plain, straight rim	Grog	2	0.2%	1.6	0.9%
Plain	Grog	43	5.3%	95.2	0.1%
Plain	Grog/Mica	6	0.7%	29.8	7.4%
Plain, straight rim	Grog/Shell	1	0.1%	3.0	2.3%

Plain, flat rim	Grog/Shell	1	0.1%	0.5	0.2%
Plain	Grog/Shell	30	3.7%	55.2	0.0%
Plain	Mica/Shell	24	3.0%	18.1	4.3%
Plain, straight rim	Sand	18	2.2%	17.6	1.4%
Plain, flared/excurvate rim	Sand	3	0.4%	4.4	1.4%
Plain, incurvate rim	Sand	1	0.1%	5.3	0.3%
Plain, flat rim	Sand	4	0.5%	17.3	0.4%
Plain, rolled over rim	Sand	2	0.2%	4.6	1.3%
Plain, ticked rim	Sand	1	0.1%	2.9	0.4%
Plain, pinched rim	Sand	1	0.1%	1.5	0.2%
Plain, applique/pinched rim	Sand	1	0.1%	0.9	0.1%
Plain	Sand	175	21.6%	290.7	0.1%
Plain, straight rim	Shell	3	0.4%	1.3	22.5%
Plain, flared/excurvate rim	Shell	2	0.2%	5.1	0.1%
Plain, flat rim	Shell	2	0.2%	1	0.4%
Plain, folded/pinched rim	Shell	1	0.1%	9.4	0.1%
Plain, ticked rim	Shell	1	0.1%	11.9	0.7%
Plain	Shell	98	12.1%	223.7	0.9%
Punctated	Grog	1	0.1%	3.1	17.4%
Punctated	Sand	2	0.2%	4.5	0.2%
Brushed	Grog	5	0.6%	6.1	0.3%
Brushed	Grog/Shell	6	0.7%	13.8	0.5%
Brushed	Sand	53	6.5%	95.7	1.1%
Brushed	Shell	5	0.6%	8.9	7.4%
Cob Marked	Sand	9	1.1%	25.4	0.7%
Cob Marked, incurvate rim	Grog	1	0.1%	7	2.0%
Cob Marked	Grog	3	0.4%	12.2	0.5%
Cob Marked	Shell	1	0.1%	0.9	0.9%
Slipped, straight rim	Grit	2	0.2%	2.7	0.1%
Slipped	Grit	19	2.3%	27.3	0.2%
Slipped	Grit/Grog	1	0.1%	1.7	2.1%
Slipped	Grog	1	0.1%	0.9	0.1%
Slipped	Sand	4	0.5%	3.6	0.1%
Stamped, indeterminate	Grit	1	0.1%	2.5	0.3%
Stamped, indeterminate, ticked rim	Grog/Shell	1	0.1%	23.3	0.2%
Stamped, indeterminate	Sand	3	0.4%	8.1	1.8%

Native American Ceramics at Pensacola Garrison Santa Rosa

The Spanish garrison Santa Rosa (1722-1752) has a Native American pottery

assemblage that differs from that of the earlier Spanish garrison, Santa Maria de Galve (1698-1719) (Harris and Eschbach 2006; Harris 2003). Apalachees began moving to this area in 1705. Ceramic changes between these garrisons resulted from re-establishment of trade and interactions with Creek Indians after the 1715 Yamasee War as well as the 1740 arrival of Yamasees. This arrival of Yamasees, who lived closer to the Santa Rosa garrison than Apalachees, added stamped Altamaha/San Marcos ceramic practices to the Pensacola area. Table 20 shows the count, weight, and percentages of tempers at Santa Rosa. By count, sand tempers occur more often than grog and shell combined, though by weight shell temper dominates. By weight and count, grog is the third most common temper. Grit, sponge, limestone, and combined tempers are all incredibly rare. Sponge-tempered vessels may have been carried from St. Augustine where they are more common as might limestone-tempered vessels from present-day Tallahassee.

Table 20: Native American Tempers at Santa Rosa (Excluding Sherdlets, Weight in Grams)

Temper Type	Count	Percent	Weight	Percent
Charcoal/Grog	2	0.0%	12.00	0.0%
Grit	32	0.5%	117.83	0.4%
Grit/Grog	77	1.1%	296.90	1.0%
Grit/Grog/Shell	2	0.0%	23.00	0.1%
Grit/Shell	17	0.3%	59.90	0.2%
Grog	1326	19.6%	7493.50	26.4%
Limestone	2	0.0%	2.60	0.0%
Micaceous Sand	1	0.0%	11.80	0.0%
Micaceous Sand/Grit	6	0.1%	46.80	0.2%
Micaceous Sand/Shell	18	0.3%	83.70	0.3%
Sand	3463	51.1%	8919.14	31.4%
Sand/Grog	94	1.4%	382.00	1.3%
Shell	1507	22.3%	9843.45	34.6%
Shell/Grog	216	3.2%	1012.80	3.6%

Sponge	9	0.1%	115.00	0.4%
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Creek-derived techniques of brushing/roughening dominate at Punta Rasa as well as at Santa Rosa, just as was the case among the Apalachee who had been living north of Santa Rosa for 18 years upon the arrival of the Yamasee. At both Punta Rasa and Santa Rosa, brushing/roughening occurs at roughly double the rates of stamping, incising, or slipping. Plain sherds overwhelmingly dominate at about 75% both in count and weight. Among named types, the most common are those typically associated with Creek Indians, even though the Pensacola Apalachee are also known to have made the same types: Chattahoochee Roughed variety Chattahoochee (24%) and Walnut Roughened variety McKee Island (12%). San Marcos Stamped, the Yamasee type most typical in Carolina and St. Augustine Yamasee sites, is at 12%, roughly equal in frequency to Mission Red (Harris and Eschbach 2006; Figure 52; Appendix D).

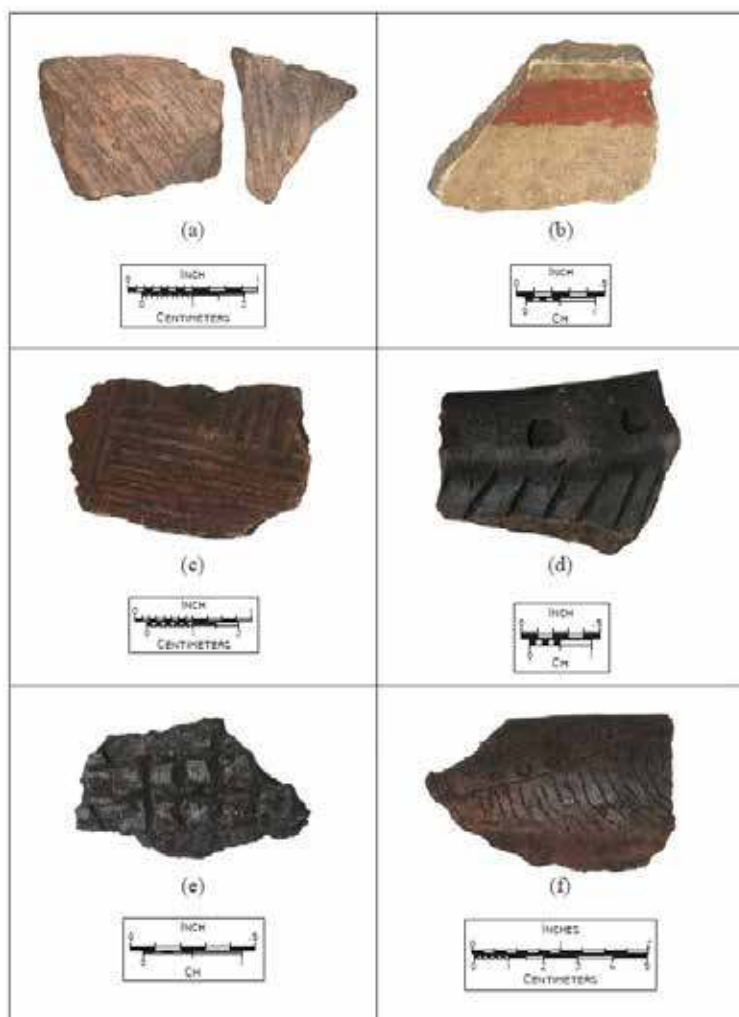


Figure 52: Santa Rosa Garrison Native American sherds (a) Chattahoochee Brushed; (b) Mission Red; (c) San Marcos Stamped; (d) Shell Tempered Incised/Punctated; (e) Sand Tempered Net Impressed; (f) Jefferson Incised *var. Ocmulgee Fields* (From Harris and Eschbach 2006:98)

Due to the dominance of sand temper, decorations occur most often on sand-tempered sherds though certain decorations occur more commonly on grog-tempered sherds rather than shell or vice versa. Incising and complicated stamping occur more often on grog than shell-tempered sherds, while check stamping is more common on shell rather than grog-tempered sherds (see Appendix E for this data). Ticked rims, while only represented by five sherds, are shell/grog or sand tempered more frequently than just with shell. Applique rims, while only represented by three sherds, are otherwise undecorated

and one sherd exists for each sand, grog, and shell tempers. The only rolled rim is on a plain shell-tempered sherd, which—as with ticked rims on shell-tempered sherds—could represent a Mississippian-era vessel though Apalachees in Mobile west of Pensacola (Cordell 2002) also continued these rim treatments. Surface treatments do not correlate with tempers and neither rim treatments nor rim forms correlate with either temper or surface treatment. This assemblage portrayed in Table 21, potentially made largely by Yamasees, in short does not demonstrate any uniform patterns.

Table 21: Surface Treatments of Native American Sherds at Santa Rosa Garrison (Excluding Sherdlets, Weight in Grams)

Surface Treatment	Count	Count %	Weight	Weight %
Plain	5256	77.6%	20957.8	73.8%
Brushed/Roughened	392	5.8%	2082.2	7.3%
Burnished	94	1.4%	439.2	1.5%
Burnished incised	1	0.0%	0.6	0.0%
Burnished slipped	3	0.0%	11.8	0.0%
Check Stamped	87	1.3%	762.9	2.7%
Complicated Stamped	50	0.7%	285.5	1.0%
Stamped, simple/indeterminate	131	1.9%	757.13	2.7%
Cob marked	167	2.5%	866.3	3.0%
Fabric Impressed	3	0.0%	29.2	0.1%
Incised	212	3.1%	821.9	2.9%
Incised/Punctated	5	0.1%	19.4	0.1%
Slipped	200	3.0%	661.3	2.3%
Painted/Incised	34	0.5%	94.9	0.3%
Punctated	17	0.3%	59.8	0.2%
Net impressed	7	0.1%	23.1	0.1%
Painted	115	1.7%	537.2	1.9%

Apalachees near Pensacola

From 1704-1740, Apalachees and Chacatos (also known as Chatos, based on colonial French usage) were Pensacola's main Native American allies though limited Spanish financial support for these groups until the 1715 Yamasee War restricted their

contributions to the garrison. After the 1704 destruction of Apalachee province in central Florida by British-sponsored raids, about 800 Apalachees and Chacatos moved to Spanish Pensacola and 600 moved to Mobile. In 1705, about 200 Indians lived on the Perdido River and at least 100 Apalachees and 150 Chacatos left Pensacola for Mobile in 1707 due to the decreased food ration. At least 80 laborers still received rations in 1707 (Le Moyne 1704, 1726; Clune et al 2003; Harris 2003; Worth 2008). Apalachees moved to Pensacola after the 1715 Yamasee War and established a mission and named it Nuestra Señora de Soledad y San Luis, near where the Escambia River flows into Pensacola Bay, in 1718. While this site has not been firmly identified archaeologically, work by Lauren Walls and Ramie Gougeon (Walls and Gougeon 2015) is promising. In 1719, French-allied Apalachees attacked Pensacola, and Apalachees at that new mission provided lodging for the French and their French-allied kin (Barcia 1723: 384-386; Noyan 1719: 252). Taitt (1771) depicted a persistent trade path from this area that led to the Apalachee community on the eastern side of Mobile Bay who worked with the French at Mobile. From 1722 to 1740, 120 Indians worked at the Spanish garrison Santa Rosa in exchange for rations (Castro y Figueroa 1740:62v). The 1740 arrival of Yamasees changed Pensacola's social landscape.

In 1741, Apalachees moved from Nuestra Señora de Soledad y San Luis a few miles north along the Escambia River to establish Mission San Joseph de Escambe closer to Upper Creek trade opportunities (Roman 1759b, 1761c). By 1756, such trade and other economic success led the Viceroy of New Spain to invest considerable financial and personnel resources in Pensacola. Mission San Joseph de Escambe included Apalachees

who lived among Creek Indians for about fifteen years and in Pensacola for twenty years before Yamasees arrived. This northern Apalachee mission was occupied for almost exactly the same time period as Yamasee mission San Antonio de Punta Rasa. In the next section, I compare these two missions to each other and to the Santa Rosa garrison assemblage to demonstrate the extent to which Yamasees rather than Apalachees made more pottery for the Spanish.

Apalachee tempers at Mission San Joseph de Escambe (ca 1741-1761, depicted in Table 22) are similar to those of Yamasee mission San Antonio de Punta Rasa (1749-1761). Sand temper dominates the assemblage at about 40% followed by shell at about 25% and grog at about 20%. Limestone, while rare, more often existed with grog than on its own and shell-grog occurs about a third as often as grog alone. Two fiber-tempered sherds represent an Archaic-period occupation. Grit-tempered sherds at 5.5% are outnumbered by grog/shell-tempered sherds at 6-7% and a large variety of other combined tempers exist but at not much more than 0% frequencies. Temper alone does not distinguish Yamasee from Apalachee assemblages, though as a whole Apalachees used more shell and less sand than Yamasees, likely a reflection of the stay of the Apalachee among the Blackmon Phase Lower Creeks (see Johnson 2013 for discussion).

Table 22: Tempers at Mission San Joseph de Escambe (Excluding Sherdlets, Weight in Grams)

Temper	Count	Count %	Weight	Weight %
Charcoal	2	0.02	3	0.01
Charcoal Grit	1	0.01	5.4	0.03
Charcoal Grit Grog Shell	1	0.01	0.8	0.00
Charcoal Grit Shell	1	0.01	3.3	0.02
Charcoal Grog	9	0.09	22.3	0.11
Charcoal Grog Shell	4	0.04	13.9	0.07
Charcoal Shell	4	0.04	7.3	0.03
Fiber	2	0.02	2.8	0.01
Grit	609	5.82	1153.6	5.48
Grit Grog	73	0.70	214.1	1.02
Grit Grog Shell	4	0.04	7.3	0.03
Grit Mica	5	0.05	12.5	0.06
Grit Shell	20	0.19	28	0.13
Grog	1898	18.14	4891.4	23.21
Grog Limestone	9	0.09	51.9	0.25
Grog Mica	28	0.27	56	0.27
Grog Mica Shell	2	0.02	3.5	0.02
Grog shell	628	6.00	1553.5	7.37
Limestone	2	0.02	6.1	0.03
Mica	2	0.02	10	0.05
Mica Shell	29	0.28	36.3	0.17
Sand	4260	40.72	7982.3	37.88
Shell	2868	27.42	5004.74	23.75

About 75% of San Joseph de Escambe sherds have no surface treatments, a ratio similar to the Yamasee mission and Santa Rosa assemblage. Table 23 also shows that roughening/brushing at 5.8% or 7.3% and cob marking at 3% combine to outnumber stamped, incised, and slipping. Table 24 offers data for rim treatments, which were largely folded/pinched, though again these do not correlate with specific tempers or surface treatments.

Table 23: Surface Treatments of Native American Sherds at Mission San Joseph de Escambe (Excluding Sherdlets, Weight in Grams)

Surface Treatment	Count	Count %	Weight	Weight %
Brown slipped	57	0.8	177.0	0.6
Burnished	94	1.4	439.2	1.6
Burnished incised	1	0.0	0.6	0.0
Burnished slipped	2	0.0	7.7	0.0
Check stamped	87	1.3	762.9	2.7
Cob marked	162	2.4	866.3	3.1
Complicated stamped	50	0.7	285.5	1.0
Cord marked	2	0.0	8.4	0.0
Fabric impressed	4	0.1	31	0.1
Incised	212	3.1	821.9	2.9
Incised punctated	5	0.1	19.4	0.1
Net impressed	7	0.1	23.1	0.1
Painted	115	1.7	537.2	1.9
Plain	5199	76.8	20780.79	73.1
Punctated	17	0.3	59.8	0.2
Roughened/brushed	392	5.8	2082.2	7.3
Simple stamped	1	0.0	2.63	0.0
Slipped	200	3.0	661.3	2.3
Slipped burnished	1	0.0	4.1	0.0
Other Stamped	130	1.9	754.5	2.7
Zone painted incised	34	0.5	94.9	0.3

Table 24: Rim Treatments of Native American Sherds at Mission San Joseph de Escambe (Excluding Sherdlets, Weight in Grams)

Temper	Surface Treatment and Rim Details	Count	Count %	Weight	Weight %
Charcoal Grog	Plain, flared excurve rim	2	0.0%	2.4	0.0%
Charcoal Grog	Plain, flat rim	1	0.0%	2.3	0.0%
Grit	Incised, straight rim	1	0.0%	1.3	0.0%
Grit	Incised, incurvate rim	1	0.0%	3.5	0.0%
Grit	Plain, folded rim	1	0.0%	2	0.0%
Grit	Plain, straight rim	4	0.0%	8.4	0.0%
Grit	Plain, rounded rim	2	0.0%	6	0.0%
Grit	Plain, flat rim	2	0.0%	5.5	0.0%
Grit	Punctated, folded rim	1	0.0%	2.5	0.0%
Grit	Slipped, straight rim	3	0.0%	4.4	0.0%
Grit	Slipped, incurvate rim	3	0.0%	4.8	0.0%

Grit	Slipped, rounded rim	2	0.0%	2.3	0.0%
Grit	Slipped, flat rim	3	0.0%	5	0.0%
Grit	Slipped, ticked rim	1	0.0%	1.7	0.0%
Grit Grog	Plain, straight rim	2	0.0%	1.9	0.0%
Grit Mica	Incised, straight rim	1	0.0%	3.2	0.0%
Grog	Burnished, incurvate rim	2	0.0%	28.3	0.1%
Grog	Incised, folded rim	1	0.0%	3.1	0.0%
Grog	Incised, straight rim	2	0.0%	7.3	0.0%
Grog	Incised, flared excurvate rim	3	0.0%	9.3	0.0%
Grog	Incised, flat rim	2	0.0%	4.3	0.0%
Grog	Incised, rolled over rim	1	0.0%	4	0.0%
Grog	Plain, folded rim	3	0.0%	4.2	0.0%
Grog	Plain, straight rim	24	0.2%	43.9	0.2%
Grog	Plain, flared excurvate rim	20	0.2%	153.8	0.7%
Grog	Plain, rounded rim	3	0.0%	14.4	0.1%
Grog	Plain, flat rim	16	0.2%	29.3	0.1%
Grog	Plain, notched rim	1	0.0%	0.7	0.0%
Grog	Plain, relief molded rim	1	0.0%	4.2	0.0%
Grog	Plain, rolled over rim	5	0.0%	8.7	0.0%
Grog	Plain, folded/pinched rim	3	0.0%	13.6	0.1%
Grog	Plain, thickened rim	2	0.0%	7.7	0.0%
Grog	Roughened Brushed, folded rim	1	0.0%	3.9	0.0%
Grog	Roughened Brushed, flared excurvate rim	1	0.0%	2.5	0.0%
Grog	Roughened Brushed, flat rim	2	0.0%	4.1	0.0%
Grog	Slipped, straight rim	4	0.0%	11.9	0.1%
Grog	Slipped, flared excurvate rim	1	0.0%	3.1	0.0%
Grog	Stamped Complicated, straight rim	1	0.0%	1.8	0.0%
Grog Mica	Plain, straight rim	3	0.0%	10.2	0.0%
Grog Mica	Plain, flared excurvate	1	0.0%	0.9	0.0%
Grog Mica	Plain, flat rim	2	0.0%	2.1	0.0%
Grog Shell	Incised, flat rim	4	0.0%	24	0.1%
Grog Shell	Incised Punctated,	1	0.0%	1.2	0.0%

	straight rim				
Grog Shell	Plain, folded rim	2	0.0%	8.2	0.0%
Grog Shell	Plain, straight rim	11	0.1%	29.7	0.1%
Grog Shell	Plain, flared excurve rim	1	0.0%	6.4	0.0%
Grog Shell	Plain, rounded rim	3	0.0%	6.3	0.0%
Grog Shell	Plain, flat rim	6	0.1%	14	0.1%
Grog Shell	Plain, rolled over rim	3	0.0%	11.8	0.1%
Grog Shell	Plain, folded pinched rim	1	0.0%	1.4	0.0%
Grog Shell	Plain, ticked rim	1	0.0%	1.1	0.0%
Grog Shell	Roughened Brushed, straight rim	1	0.0%	8.1	0.0%
Grog Shell	Roughened Brushed, flared excurve rim	1	0.0%	6.2	0.0%
Grog Shell	Roughened Brushed, flat rim	1	0.0%	0.8	0.0%
Grog Shell	Roughened Cob Marked, folded rim	1	0.0%	5.2	0.0%
Grog Shell	Slipped, straight rim	1	0.0%	3.8	0.0%
Grog Shell	Stamped Complicated	1	0.0%	1.5	0.0%
Mica	Burnished, straight rim	1	0.0%	8	0.0%
Mica Shell	Plain, folded rim	1	0.0%	0.6	0.0%
Sand	Burnished, folded rim	1	0.0%	0.6	0.0%
Sand	Burnished, straight rim	1	0.0%	0.5	0.0%
Sand	Burnished, rounded rim	1	0.0%	1.3	0.0%
Sand	Burnished, flat rim	4	0.0%	16.9	0.1%
Sand	Check Stamped, straight rim	1	0.0%	10.6	0.1%
Sand	Check Stamped, rolled over rim	2	0.0%	14.5	0.1%
Sand	Incised, folded rim	2	0.0%	4.7	0.0%
Sand	Incised, straight rim	23	0.2%	69.4	0.3%
Sand	Incised, flared excurve rim	1	0.0%	3.8	0.0%
Sand	Incised, incurvate rim	2	0.0%	11.3	0.1%
Sand	Incised, flat rim	16	0.2%	59.6	0.3%
Sand	Incised, rolled over rim	1	0.0%	0.6	0.0%
Sand	Incised,	3	0.0%	12.4	0.1%

	folded/pinched rim				
Sand	Incised, ticked rim	5	0.0%	9.7	0.0%
Sand	Plain, folded rim	8	0.1%	19.1	0.1%
Sand	Plain, straight rim	106	1.0%	148.1	0.7%
Sand	Plain, flared excurve rim	27	0.3%	47.9	0.2%
Sand	Plain, incurvate rim	4	0.0%	8	0.0%
Sand	Plain, rounded rim	8	0.1%	11.1	0.1%
Sand	Plain, flat rim	54	0.5%	82.3	0.4%
Sand	Plain, rolled over rim	4	0.0%	20.2	0.1%
Sand	Plain, folded/pinched rim	13	0.1%	38	0.2%
Sand	Plain, applique rim	2	0.0%	5.4	0.0%
Sand	Plain, ticked rim	2	0.0%	9.3	0.0%
Sand	Plain, thickened rim	4	0.0%	17.7	0.1%
Sand	Punctated, folded rim	1	0.0%	5.6	0.0%
Sand	Punctated, straight rim	1	0.0%	0.7	0.0%
Sand	Punctated, flat rim	1	0.0%	5.4	0.0%
Sand	Punctated, scalloped rim	1	0.0%	5	0.0%
Sand	Roughened Brushed, folded rim	1	0.0%	1.9	0.0%
Sand	Roughened Brushed, straight rim	5	0.0%	12.5	0.1%
Sand	Roughened Brushed, flared excurve rim	34	0.3%	146.8	0.7%
Sand	Roughened Brushed, rounded rim	1	0.0%	1	0.0%
Sand	Roughened Brushed, flat rim	2	0.0%	3.6	0.0%
Sand	Roughened Brushed, folded/pinched rim	1	0.0%	13.6	0.1%
Sand	Roughened Brushed, thickened rim	1	0.0%	5	0.0%
Sand	Roughened Cob marked, straight rim	1	0.0%	0.4	0.0%
Sand	Simple Stamped, straight rim	1	0.0%	11.7	0.1%
Sand	Stamped Indeterminate, flared excurve rim	1	0.0%	1.6	0.0%
Shell	Burnished, straight rim	3	0.0%	26	0.1%

Shell	Burnished, flat rim	2	0.0%	7.6	0.0%
Shell	Incised, straight rim	8	0.1%	28	0.1%
Shell	Incised, flared excurvate rim	3	0.0%	15.1	0.1%
Shell	Incised, incurvate rim	1	0.0%	1	0.0%
Shell	Incised, rounded rim	2	0.0%	7.6	0.0%
Shell	Incised, flat rim	6	0.1%	32.4	0.2%
Shell	Incised, folded/pinched rim	1	0.0%	5.2	0.0%
Shell	Incised, ticked rim	2	0.0%	15.3	0.1%
Shell	Plain, folded rim	1	0.0%	1.6	0.0%
Shell	Plain, straight rim	60	0.6%	137.47	0.7%
Shell	Plain, flared excurvate rim	18	0.2%	75.77	0.4%
Shell	Plain, rounded rim	3	0.0%	6.7	0.0%
Shell	Plain, flat rim	29	0.3%	84.9	0.4%
Shell	Plain, pie crust rim	1	0.0%	5.3	0.0%
Shell	Plain, rolled over rim	5	0.0%	37.7	0.2%
Shell	Plain, folded/pinched rim	2	0.0%	5.6	0.0%
Shell	Roughened Brushed, folded rim	1	0.0%	1.3	0.0%
Shell	Roughened Brushed, flat rim	1	0.0%	4.8	0.0%

Yamasee or Apalachee Ceramics at the Pensacola Garrison?

To compare San Joseph de Escambe with San Antonio de Punta Rasa and the Santa Rosa garrison quantitatively, I counted each hybrid temper once per temper type though discarded types that totaled roughly 0% of the assemblage. For example, for a sherd tempered with charcoal, grit, grog, and shell, I added 1 to each of those categories aside from charcoal. I also combined sand with grit. Table 25 and Figure 53 demonstrate differences and similarities between the three eighteenth-century Pensacola assemblages.

Table 25: Percentage of Santa Rosa, San Joseph de Escambe, and Punta Rasa Tempers

Temper	Santa Rosa Garrison	San Antonio de Punta Rasa	San Joseph de Escambe
Sand/grit	51.6%	60.1%	40.8%
Grog	23.9%	15.9%	25.4%
Shell	24.5%	24.0%	33.8%

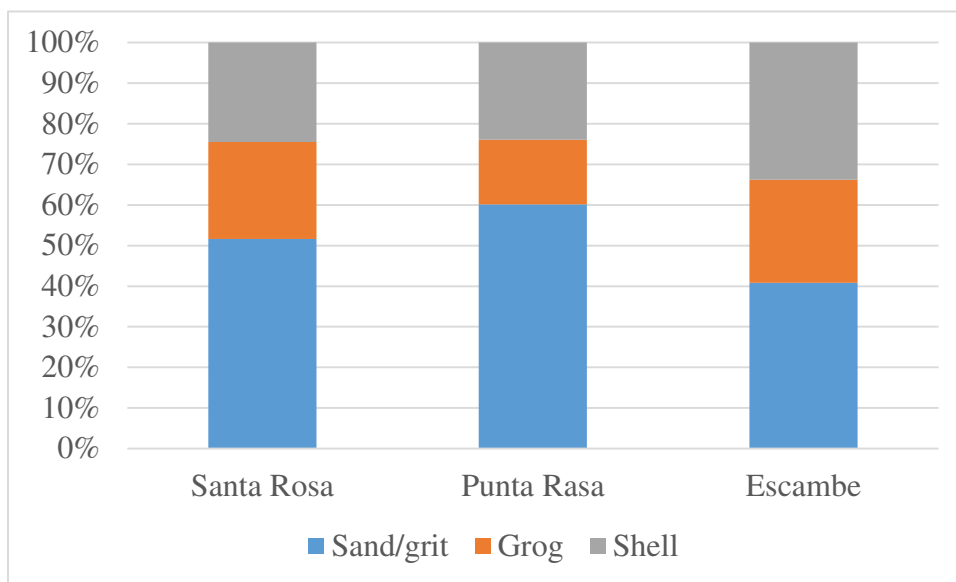


Figure 53: Percentage of Santa Rosa, San Joseph de Escambe, and Punta Rasa Tempers

As indicated in the above figure, the three sites are very similar to each other in terms of temper. Sand/grit values are lowest for Escambe (41% compared to 60% for Punta Rasa and 52% for the Santa Rosa garrison). Grog-tempered sherds occur at a similar frequency at Santa Rosa and Escambe (24% and 25%, respectively) while shell-tempered-sherds occur at a close frequency between Santa Rosa and Punta Rasa (25% and 24%, respectively). In terms of temper, the three sites are certainly related and a chi-square probability value of approximately 0 (5.55623E-66) demonstrates that the counts are significantly nonrandom. Temper similarities likely indicate similar local materials

were used by Punta Rasa and Apalachee potters, who lived about 25 miles apart, though less than ten miles separated their earlier missions in the Pensacola area.

Surface treatments of the three sites show a more dramatic difference—Santa Rosa’s assemblage is more similar to the Yamasee mission at Punta Rasa than the Apalachee mission at Escambe. Decorations at Santa Rosa, as displayed in Table 26, occur at roughly the same frequency as at Punta Rasa. For example, red filming is almost identical at Santa Rosa and Punta Rasa but nonexistent at the Apalachee site of Escambe despite being associated with Florida mission Indians. Apalachees, missionized in the seventeenth century, ceased filming ceramics while among the Creeks in the early eighteenth century before moving to Pensacola, while Yamasees who were not missionized in the seventeenth century started filming vessels in eighteenth-century St. Augustine before moving to Pensacola. Brushing, roughening, and cob marking are associated with Creeks while stamping is associated with either Apalachee or Yamasees. Figure 54 illustrates the similarities between decorations at the garrison and at the Yamasee mission. More rims are folded or pinched at Santa Rosa than Punta Rasa and Escambe combined. As a whole, these similarities suggest that Yamasees, including those who lived in the Pensacola area before the 1749 establishment of the Punta Rasa mission, may have supplied the garrison with more ceramics than did Apalachees.

Table 26: Surface Treatments at Santa Rosa, San Joseph de Escambe, and Punta Rasa by Count Percentages

Surface Treatment	Santa Rosa	Punta Rasa	Escambe
Brushed/Rough/Cob	44.6%	37.9%	63.1%
Stamped	21.4%	26.5%	8.9%
Red filmed	9.2%	9.6%	0.0%
Incised	17.7%	20.5%	25.1%
Punctated	1.8%	1.8%	1.2%
Folded/Pinched	4.6%	3.2%	1.2%
Impressed	0.8%	0.5%	0.2%
Cord-marked	0.0%	0.0%	0.2%

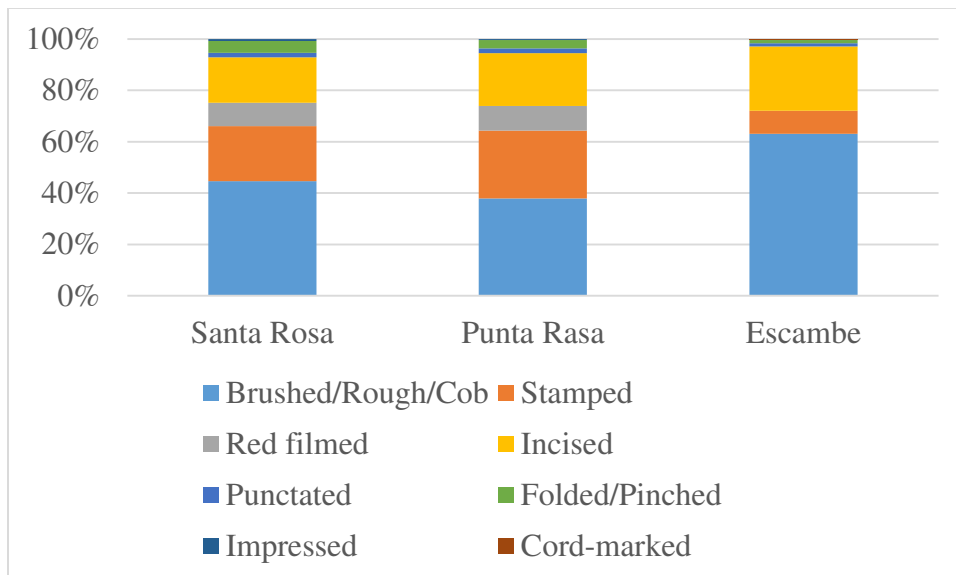


Figure 54: Surface Treatments at Santa Rosa, San Joseph de Escambe, and Punta Rasa by Count Percentages

Quantitative comparisons of the Apalachee mission San Joseph de Escambe, Yamasee Mission San Antonio de Punta Rasa, and Spanish garrison at Santa Rosa demonstrate the extent to which Yamasee potters distinguished themselves from Apalachees. Similarities in tempers demonstrate shared materials. Red filming occurred more often in Yamasee pottery. Apalachee pottery demonstrated higher ratios of roughening/brushing associated with the Creeks as well as more incisions than Yamasees,

who maintained stamped traditions to a higher extent than their Apalachee neighbors. Connections between the two groups likely increased after the 1761 destruction of both missions led to a shared “Indian Town” just east of Pensacola before both groups moved to Veracruz with the Spanish. However, distinctions between the two groups suggest Yamasees made more of the pottery used at the Spanish garrison, given that the Santa Rosa assemblage is more similar to that of Punta Rasa than Escambe.

The next chapter compares eighteenth-century Yamasee assemblages from St. Augustine and Pensacola to seventeenth-century ones in South Carolina to sites ancestral to the Yamasees in central Georgia. This quantification of ceramic practices demonstrates Yamasee adoption of new ceramic techniques even as they maintained their political authority. Andres Escudero of the Pensacola Yamasee did so perhaps more successfully than St. Augustine Yamasees, although the titles and names of ancestral towns there did not occur in Pensacola. As will be discussed further in the subsequent chapter, Yamasee communities of practice demonstrate distinct ceramic practices according to geographic location as well as social circumstances, including unequal authority.

Chapter 6: Ceramic Comparisons: Continuity and Change over Time and Space

In this chapter, I compare my ceramic data at Punta Rasa to published and unpublished data of other Yamasee sites to demonstrate the changes their mobility had on their ceramic practices, including tempers and surface treatments. In addition to interpreting surface treatment and temper data in ways comparable across sites using tables and graphs, I analyze diversity statistics for surface treatments. Ceramic practices changed dramatically according to time and space yet historical documents demonstrate that Yamasees demonstrated a strong ethnic identity and political influence in the Southeast. As such I distinguish Yamasee ceramic practices by region. I maintain that each assemblage demonstrates both new and ancestral ceramic practices as mediated through social and political relationships distinct to regions of Central Georgia, South Carolina, East Florida, West Florida, and Northwest Florida. Distinctions between Yamasee assemblages in different regions thus demonstrate the impact of indigenous peoples on the traditions of other indigenous groups rather than the effects of Europeans. In addition, the Yamasee landscape of ceramic practice differs from the landscape of their political and ethnic identity—political connections differed from connections made through production of material culture.

Yamasee ceramic assemblages demonstrate a variety of communities of ceramic practice depending on local and neighboring social relationships. Wenger (1998:118-119) described such communities as including individuals who learn practices from each other as well as from masters, leading to constant changes in material culture and tradition. Worth (2017) built on this idea by stating communities are more influenced by the

practices of their neighbors than the practices of their ancestors. Changes in Yamasee ceramics through time and space demonstrate this concept, which I build on by considering the role of unequal power relations between groups as affecting how practices are shared between them.

Yamasee ancestors in Central Georgia made pottery in ways more distinguishable by time than space; assemblages of both the Dyar Phase and subsequent Bell Phase included entirely sand/grit temper and largely incised designs. As a result of their seventeenth-century ethnogenesis, Yamasees on the Georgia and South Carolina coast began producing Altamaha/San Marcos ceramics, characterized by stamped rather than incised designs and made by their Guale and Mocama neighbors. These ceramics dominated the eighteenth-century Native American assemblage of St. Augustine and even co-dominated in towns with Timucuan rather than Yamasees, Guales, or Mocamans. The ceramic traditions of these northern Atlantic coastal Florida groups, which included the Yamasee after 1715, became part of a shared St. Augustine community of practice even beyond their small mission towns. In Pensacola, the Yamasee assemblage contained more brushed and roughened decorations than the stamped designs of San Marcos, either directly indexing their political and social connections to Creeks or indirectly doing so through their Apalachee neighbors, whose potters also adopted Creek ceramic traditions. After a brief summary of the Yamasee assemblages discussed in previous chapters, this chapter discusses tempers and surface treatments in more detail before contextualizing Yamasee practices within anthropological theory.

As discussed in Chapter 1, Yamasees emerged as a group in the seventeenth century as a coalescence of sixteenth-century chiefdoms. Archaeological ceramic assemblages hypothesized to represent those particular Altamaha and Ocuete chiefdoms directly are small. Instead, the Dyar Phase ceramics of the Dyar Site and Bell Phase ceramics of the Bell site were analyzed as representative assemblages of the era and area though they are not definitively associated with specific chiefdoms that coalesced into Yamasees. In the seventeenth century Yamasees had their own towns and a few missions among Guale, Mocama, and Apalachee Provinces, and along the upper St. Johns River, where they worked as part of the annual labor draft in St. Augustine. Later, many of these Yamasees lived along the Chattahoochee-Apalachicola Rivers with Lower Creeks before leading slave-raids for Charleston traders while living on either side of Port Royal Sound in Southern South Carolina. During this time some of them incorporated grog temper rather than having an assemblage of entirely sand/grit, and most transitioned from Mississippian-era predominantly incised designs to largely stamped ones. After the Indian slave trade bubble burst, Charleston traders threatened to call in Yamasee debts by enslaving them; Yamasees responded by starting the 1715 Yamasee War, killing traders, and moving again. These post-1715 movements led them to dominate Eastern Florida demographically, yet change their ceramic practices in Northwestern and Western Florida.

Chapter 3 described eighteenth-century Tamatle Yamasees in Northwest Florida on the Apalachicola River and near St. Marks, as well as contemporaneous Yamasees in Eastern Florida. Northwest and East Florida Yamasees had very different ceramic

practices—those in Northwest Florida likely adopted Creek brushing and roughening, while East Florida Yamasee were part of a broader traditions of stamping that persisted and even expanded among their refugee neighbors in St. Augustine. Which neighbors adopted new ceramic practices seems tied to which group had more people and political influence in the area.

Chapter 4 outlined Yamasees who left St. Augustine in 1740 who moved to Pensacola near an Apalachee town. Pensacola's Punta Rasa assemblage is the most diverse of Yamasee assemblages in terms of temper and decorations; while sand/grit still dominates, shell and grog exist frequently and roughening/brushing occurs more frequently than stamping. As discussed in the previous chapter, this assemblage, rather than that of the Apalachee mission, closely matches the Pensacola garrison's Native American assemblage. This result not only demonstrates that incoming Yamasees provided the majority of the Spaniards' ceramics, it shows that European demands had limited effects on Native American ceramic practices. Instead, Yamasees show that social relationships between Native American groups affected ceramic techniques. While the limited number of variables in tempers prohibits use of diversity tests, comparisons of tempers of Yamasee sites demonstrate distinct ratios associated with locations.

Yamasee Ceramic Tempers

With regard to ceramic temper, sand or grit dominates at all Yamasee sites, though in different ratios. Table 27 and Figure 55 provide this data, but do mask those few sherds with multiple tempers, which I counted as occurring in each temper type. Punta Rasa had the highest amount of combined tempers, such as shell and grog, shell

and grit, and all three combined. Sixteenth-century Dyar and Bell assemblages are consistently 100% sand/grit. Seventeenth-century South Carolina Yamasee assemblages retain this ancestral temper but also incorporate grog: 2% at Altamaha, 20% at Pocotaligo, and 29% at Huspah. The practice of grog tempering may have resulted either

Table 27: Tempers of Yamasee Sites

Site	Date/Location	Sand/Grit	Grog	Shell
Bell	ca 1580-1640 Central Georgia	100	0	0
Dyar	ca. 1520-1570 Central Georgia	100	0	0
Pocotaligo	1680s-1715 South Carolina	79.4	20.5	0.1
Altamaha	1680s-1715 South Carolina	97.7	2.2	0.2
Huspah	1680s-1715 South Carolina	70.7	29.3	0
Punta Rasa	1751-1761 Pensacola	60.1	15.9	24.0
Pocotalaca	1715-1763 St. Augustine	98.8	1.2	0
Nombre de Dios	1715-1763 context of St. Augustine	98.0	2.0	0
La Punta	1715-1763 St. Augustine	90.8	1.1	8.1

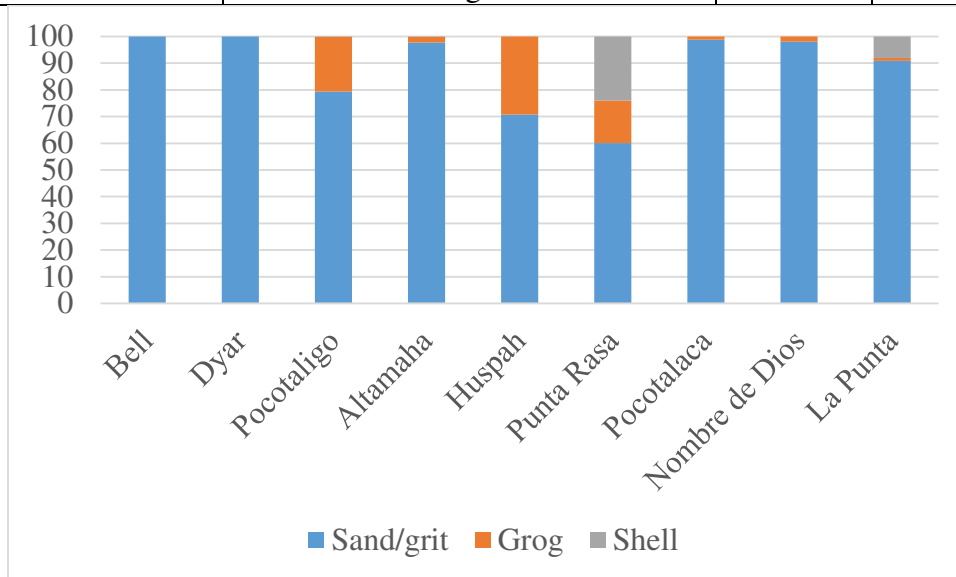


Figure 55: Tempers of Yamasee Sites

from Yamasees willingly moving from Apalachee Province to the South Carolina towns

or South Carolina Yamasees raiding Apalachees or Timucuan and bringing female potters. Altamaha's particularly low percentage of grog-temper is echoed two hundred miles away at eighteenth-century St. Augustine sites Pocotalaca, Nombre de Dios, and La Punta. Despite the fact that individuals moved from Pocotaligo (South Carolina) to Pocotalaca (St. Augustine) and maintained a similar town name, their use of sand/grit rather than grog more closely matches a different South Carolina town, Altamaha. Within St. Augustine, Nuestra Señora del Rosario de la Punta has 8% shell temper while Pocotalaca and Nombre de Dios have none. Those sites had only a few sponge-tempered St. John's sherds in eighteenth-century assemblages. The Pensacola-area site of Punta Rasa has the least amount of sand/grit temper at 60% and the highest amount of shell temper at 24% shell, due to the influence of Pensacola's landscape of ceramic practice and new techniques previously adopted by Apalachees in the area.

In contrast with the limited temper types listed above, there are a wider variety of decorations and surface treatments. The following section will outline the types of surface treatments and address their quantitative significance. For the sake of comparison roughening, brushing, and cob marking were lumped together as were folded and pinched rim treatments (though see Worth and Melcher 2011, Worth 2014, and Pigott 2015 for distinctions between these decorations).

Diversity of Yamasee Surface Treatments

Yamasee coalescence in the lower Atlantic coastal plain led to the predominance of stamped rather than incised designs, and Yamasee movements west and inland from the Atlantic Coast led to a dominance of brushing and roughening. Incised designs

dominate at the sixteenth-century Dyar and Bell sites in Georgia, at 80.5% and 85.9% respectively, with stamped designs making up the rest of the assemblage. Stamped designs dominate at the seventeenth-century South Carolina sites of Pocotaligo (84.5%), Altamaha (82.6%), and Huspah (70%) as well as the eighteenth-century St. Augustine sites of Pocotalaca (91.5%) and La Punta (76.5%). At Punta Rasa, however, brushed/roughened designs are more common than stamped (38% versus 26%). While the assemblages in Table 28 and Figure 56 represent Yamasee sites, they also represent the influence of locations and neighbors.

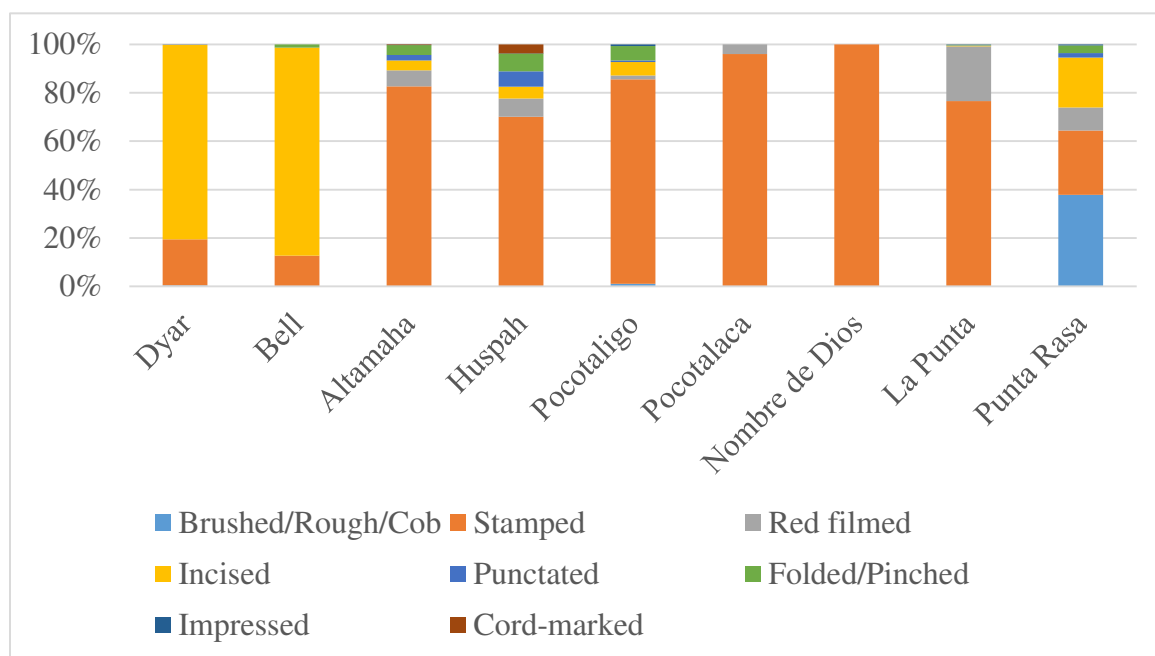


Figure 56: Surface Treatments of Yamasee Sites

Huspah, the smallest South Carolina town, demonstrates a high variety of surface treatments. Capital towns of Altamaha and Pocotaligo also have a higher variety—such as incisions, punctates, and pinched/folded rims—than most other Yamasee sites across the Southeast. Decorations at St. Augustine’s La Punta are largely only stamped or red filmed, with none of the brushed or roughened sherds that outnumber stamped sherds at

Pensacola's Punta Rasa. Changes in the transition from the South Carolina area to St.

Augustine reduced the variety of decorations, while the migration to Pensacola led to the

Table 28: Surface Treatments of Yamasee Sites, Described by Time Period and Location, Quantified by Sherd Count

Treatment	Dyar (16 th - C GA)	Bell (16 th - C GA)	Altamaha (17 th -C SC)	Huspah (17 th -C SC)	Pocotaligo (17 th -C SC)	Pocotalaca (18 th -C St. Aug.)	Nombre de Dios (18 th - C St. Aug.)	La Punta (18 th -C St. Aug.)	Punta Rasa (18 th -C Pensacola)
Brushed/ Roughened/ Cob Marked	2	0	1	0	5	0	0	0	83
Stamped	93	48	3199	1043	381	107	225	878	58
Red filmed	0	0	261	112	7	8	0	260	21
Incised	392	324	157	72	25	2	1	2	45
Punctated	1	0	88	94	3	0	7	2	4
Folded/ Pinched	0	5	155	110	27	0	0	4	7
Impressed	0	0	4	1	3	0	0	1	1
Cord- marked	0	0	9	55	0	0	0	0	0

most even distribution ratios between brushed, red filmed, incised, and stamped. This new dominance in Pensacola of brushed and roughened sherds likely demonstrates extensive social interactions between Apalachees and Yamasees in the Pensacola area rather than diplomatic and linguistic relationships between the Upper Creeks and Yamasees who were separated by over 150 miles. Apalachees in the Pensacola area moved there in 1718 after living among Lower Creeks since 1704 and adopting their ceramic techniques (see Johnson 2013 for discussion). Diversity tests quantify the differences between Yamasee assemblages.

To demonstrate the quantitative significance of these distinctions, I used Paleontological Statistics Software Package (PAST), a free paleontological statistics program (Hammer et al 2001) to calculate diversity statistics. The ease of use, range of multivariate tests, guides for each test, and lack of expense make this software more attractive than SPSS and other available software. While categorizing decorations by technique does mask diversity within that technique, quantifying these categories shows considerable change through time and space.

In a statistical sense the term “diversity” refers to the variability in a set of values, which refers to nominal scale (i.e., categorical) variables. In this case, the variable is ceramic decoration. Diversity may be measured in three ways: richness, evenness, and dominance. Richness is the number of categories present in an assemblage. Evenness is the extent to which a uniform count of objects is found in each category—a value of 1 means the variables are even while a value of 0 means at least one variable is dominant (McCartney and Glass 1990: 521– 536, 522). Dominance is the extent to which one variable outnumbers all others, a value of 1 means only variable dominates all others while a value of 0 means all variables are equal. For other diversity tests, high values mean more diversity while low values mean low diversity. These tests—described in detail in Appendix G—allow for consideration of more specific variation than, for example, correspondence analysis, which combines the total variation between multiple variables as measured by the chi squared test (VanPool and Leonard 2010: 303). I used PAST version 3.12 to calculate these values, shown in Table 29 and Figures 57-58, which prove that Punta Rasa is significantly more diverse than other Yamasee assemblages.

Table 29: Surface Treatment Diversity of Yamasee Assemblages

	Dyar (16th- C GA)	Bell (16th-C GA)	Altamaha (17th-C SC)	Huspah (17th-C SC)	Pocotaligo (17th-C SC)	Pocotalaca (18th-C St. Aug)	Nombre de Dios (18th-C St. Aug)	La Punta (18th-C St. Aug)	Punta Rasa (18th-C Pensacola)
Dominance Tests (Averaged in Figure 61)									
Berger- Parker	0.8033	0.8594	0.8258	0.7014	0.8448	0.9145	0.9657	0.7655	0.379
Dominance	0.6816	0.755	0.6902	0.5108	0.7208	0.8413	0.9334	0.6374	0.2666
Evenness Tests (Averaged in Figure 58)									
Evenness	0.4235	0.5227	0.2537	0.4224	0.2744	0.4658	0.3921	0.3004	0.6259
Equitability	0.3802	0.4096	0.3404	0.5572	0.3354	0.3047	0.1479	0.3288	0.7592
Diversity Tests (Box-plotted in Figure 57)									
Simpson	0.3184	0.245	0.3098	0.4892	0.2792	0.1587	0.06657	0.3626	0.7334
Shannon	0.5271	0.4499	0.7078	1.084	0.6527	0.3347	0.1624	0.589	1.477
Menhinick	0.1811	0.1545	0.1285	0.1815	0.3296	0.2774	0.1965	0.1772	0.473
Margalef	0.4846	0.3371	0.8472	0.8214	0.9818	0.42	0.3669	0.7097	1.113
Fisher alpha	0.5962	0.4449	0.964	0.9518	1.176	0.5613	0.4858	0.8296	1.38
Brillouin	0.5161	0.438	0.7031	1.073	0.6268	0.3071	0.1501	0.5814	1.421

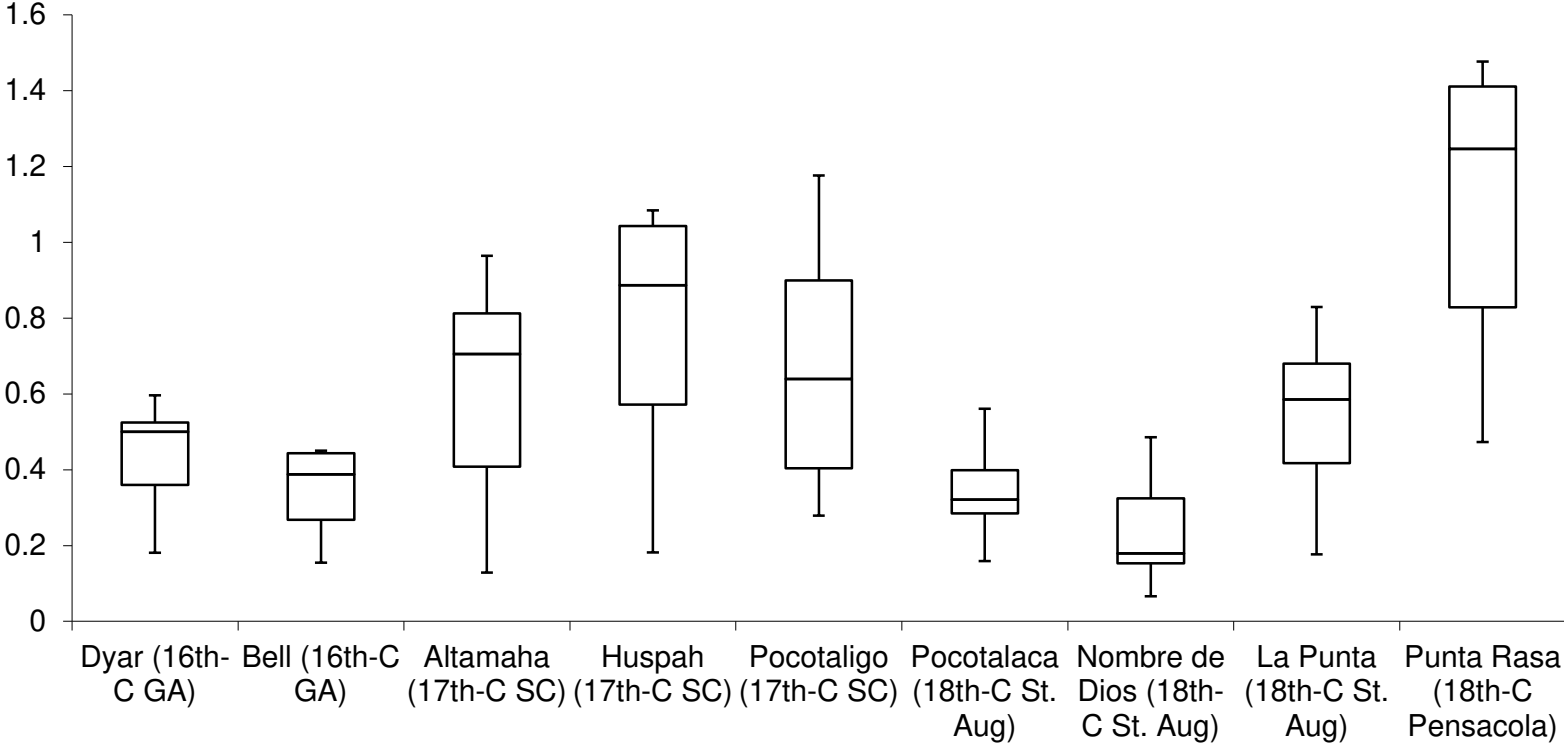


Figure 57: Box-Plot of Six Diversity Values for Yamasee Surface Treatments

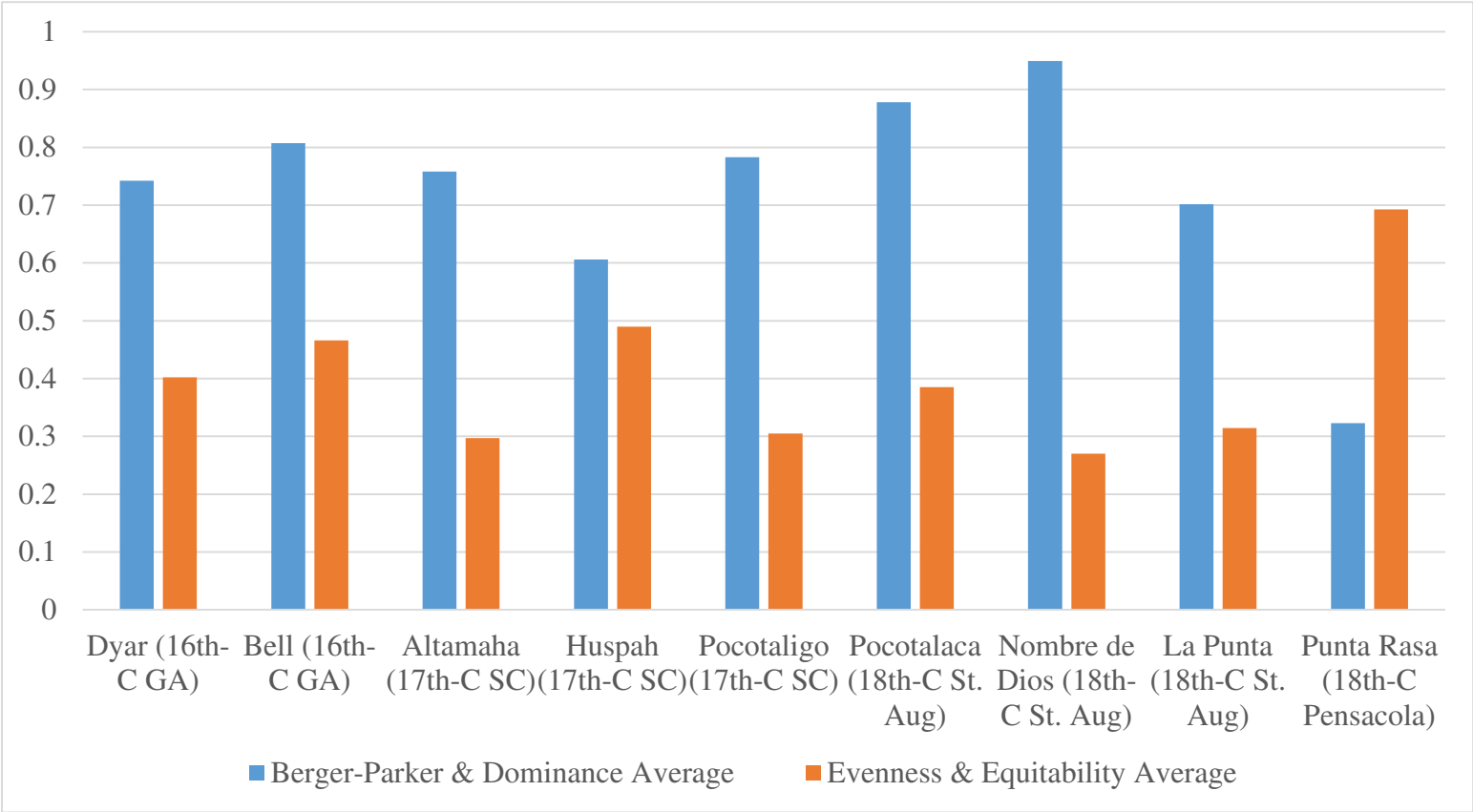


Figure 58: Averages of Dominance and Berger-Parker Values (Blue) as well as Evenness and Equitability Values (Orange) of Yamasee Surface Treatments

As discussed earlier in the chapter, key periods of transition existed. Yamasee ancestors such as those at the large Bell and Dyar sites made uniform pottery in terms of both temper and decoration. The temper was entirely sand/grit and the decoration was usually incised. Seventeenth-century potters at the smaller South Carolina sites had changed their practices dramatically by shifting to largely stamped designs with a small yet consistent presence of other surface treatments and decorations. In 1715, Yamasee potters in St. Augustine joined an existing community of practice and made stamped pottery more exclusively than they had in South Carolina. Lastly, eighteenth-century Punta Rasa potters adopted the most diverse suite of techniques, perhaps because their community of practice was among the smallest.

Dominance, evenness, and diversity tests all demonstrate that Pensacola-area Punta Rasa is the most diverse Yamasee assemblage. Most of the other tests designate Huspah, a South Carolina site, as the second most diverse. Higher diversity values in Figure 60, high evenness values (orange in Figure 61), and low dominance values (blue in Figure 61) reflect this data from Table 25. Each diversity, dominance, and evenness value also offers slightly different results, discussed in subsequent paragraphs.

Both dominance tests show that Pocotalaca and Nombre de Dios have the highest dominance values, represented by stamping. Significantly lower values occur for La Punta, Huspah, and Punta Rasa, which were more evenly distributed rather than being dominated by any single decoration. Almost exactly the inverse list occurs for Simpson, equitability, and evenness tests. Punta Rasa has by far the highest values, followed by Huspah. In addition to evenness and dominance, each of the six other diversity tests also

prove Punta Rasa's high diversity value, though each test has a slightly different ranking of which other sites are more diverse than others.

As previously mentioned, quantifying distinctions between assemblages and communities of practice in terms of decoration techniques. These diversity tests and my categories of decoration do mask variation within each technique, some examples of which will be discussed here. Within types of decoration, Altamaha Town's pottery has the highest diversity of designs as well as the highest amount of decoration combinations on one sherd. One folded rim was both stamped and finger-impressed, and another was curvilinear stamped, burnished, and punctated. Others included folded stamped rims and stamped red-filmed burnished punctated. Figure 59 shows a select variety of stamped and incised designs at Altamaha Town.



Figure 59: Variety of Stamped and Incised Designs at Altamaha Town (From Sweeney 2009)

Punta Rasa has sherds both incised and punctated—though these may also represent earlier occupations during the Mississippian era. La Punta also has sherds with

combined decorations, both stamped and red filmed. Such combinations of decorations decreased through time. Huspah also has a closer to equal ratio of rectilinear to curvilinear stamping, in 3:1, far different from La Punta's ratio of 12:1, which may reflect a return of sorts to the rectilinear stamping made by Guales, Yamasees, and Mocamans along the Georgia coast rather than the curvilinear stamping of Apalachees and Timucuans in the interior of Florida. Rectilinear stamping outnumbered other forms of stamping at Punta Rasa as well, representing a continuation of the practice across Florida from St. Augustine to Pensacola. Most importantly, Punta Rasa is the most diverse assemblage.

In general, assemblage diversity reflects a small population size rather than diverse set of ethnicities within that population. Punta Rasa, the smallest community in terms of size, represents the most diverse assemblage. Huspah, the smallest town in South Carolina, has the most diverse assemblage of those towns. Among the least diverse sites, the sixteenth-century sites of Dyar and Bell, may have had larger populations than seventeenth and eighteenth-century sites. Altamaha and Pocotaligo were also large towns with low diversity results. Eighteenth-century St. Augustine towns of Pocotalaca, La Punta, and Nombre de Dios were small and had low diversity results and thus do not fit the conclusion that low ceramic diversity values correlate to larger communities of practice. However, practices were likely shared between St. Augustine towns, perhaps demonstrating the same result. Diversity values at these sites demonstrates the effects of social interactions. The subsequent section discusses broader research into hybridity and ceramic practices to interpret connections between social relationships and diverse

assemblages.

Discussion: Diversity and Hybridity within a Yamasee Landscape of Practice

Comparing nine Yamasee and ancestral Yamasee ceramic assemblages, separated by over two centuries and five hundred miles, shows the effect of mobility on material culture. Such conscious and unconscious economic, social, and political practices relating to changes in space or time (Cresswell 2006:3; Lelievre 2017:9-11; Lelievre and Marshall 2015:440-442) included changes in ceramic tempers and decorations. As a result of their ethnogenesis and physical movements to the Georgia coast, Yamasees transformed the pottery of their sixteenth-century ancestral chiefdoms to new assemblages. Similar reinventions occurred as a result of their movements to West Florida, Apalachee Province, and the Chattahoochee/Apalachicola River.

Yamasee potters demonstrate Worth's (2017) landscape of practice in that neighbors affected Yamasee material culture more than distant Yamasee or ancestral traditions. Each region—north-central Georgia, Port Royal Sound in South Carolina, and St. Augustine and Pensacola in Florida—have sites more similar to each other than to Yamasee sites in other areas. Yamasee potters used both their ancestral techniques as well as those of their neighbors, and depending on differences in demographic size of those neighbors, either replaced or adopted their techniques and temper sources. Such results demonstrate the extent to which Native Americans influenced each other and created hybrid practices according to demographic or political dominance. Aside from the fact that Spanish and British partnerships led them to move, Europeans had little influence on these material transformations. Such transformations, influenced by the

Apalachees who adopted Creek ceramic techniques, led to a diverse and hybrid assemblage at Punta Rasa.

Diversity at the Yamasee site of Punta Rasa demonstrates use of ancestral, local, and neighboring ceramic practices. Other archaeologists have described diverse assemblages as indicating multiple ethnicities at particular areas (e.g. Hodder 1982; Marcoux 2010). Homogeneous or even assemblages may indicate standardized practices (e.g. MacEachern 1994; Ogundiran 2001) or an attempt by multiple groups to become standardized (e.g. Ginn 2009). Standardization certainly occurred among Yamasees who lived near Guale, Apalachee, and Creek communities. However, in addition to the diversity or homogeneity discussed by previous archaeologists, my comparisons demonstrate co-dominant assemblages. Co-dominance of so-called Yamasee/Guale/Mocama pottery at a largely Timucuan site in St. Augustine and of so-called Creek pottery at the Yamasee site of Punta Rasa demonstrate the role of unequal relations between indigenous groups in production of material culture. Such results of co-dominance or hybrid assemblages contribute to a small group of archaeologists (Sassaman 2005:356; Alt 2006:302; Meyers 2017) who examine practices hybridized among two or more Native American groups rather than between Europeans and Native Americans.

Yamasee assemblages demonstrate that material practices define communities differently than linguistic, ethnic, or other social boundaries. As discussed in previous chapters, Yamasees produced pottery like their Guale, Mocama, and Creek neighbors, lived with and spoke the language of Creeks and Cherokees, and even described their

ability to act like an Apalachicola Lower Creek Indian. Thanks to censuses and other historical documents, Yamasees offer an example of overlapping communities in St Augustine and overlapping practices in the purely Yamasee community in Pensacola. Without such historical documents, unconscious communities of practice that potentially overlap with other communities remain difficult to interpret. As such, correlations between distinct material patterns recognizable in the archaeological record and political or ethnic identity may exist but must thus be demonstrated through corroborating evidence rather than assumed.

Assemblages from sixteenth-century chiefdoms to seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Yamasee towns demonstrate how material changes through time and space relate to social circumstances. Yamasee ancestors at the Dyar and Bell Phase sites made entirely sand/grit-tempered pottery and largely incised designs. In contrast, early Yamasees produced stamped Altamaha/San Marcos ceramics, as did Guales and Mocamans along the Georgia and Florida coast, which dominated at eighteenth-century St. Augustine towns even without Guales, Mocamans, or Yamasees. The eighteenth-century Pensacola-area Punta Rasa assemblage had more Creek-like brushed and roughened decorations than the stamped San Marcos series. Apalachees, who lived among Creeks before moving to the Pensacola-area, adopted Creek ceramic traditions to an even higher degree. Yamasee adoption of Creek designs likely reflects interaction between both the Apalachees and Creeks. Apalachee potters earlier lived among Lower Creek towns and adopted their traditions. Yamasees may thus have subconsciously indexed political and social connections to Creeks or more likely did so indirectly by

adopting traditions similar to their Apalachee neighbors. I maintain that each eighteenth-century Florida Yamasee community of practice—in the regions of East, Northwest, and West Florida—demonstrate new practices as mediated through social and political relationships between Native Americans.

A synthesis of political, linguistic, and material practices demonstrates the range of negotiations made by Yamasees that allowed them to not only survive two centuries of colonialism but dictate terms to both the Spanish and British until the late eighteenth century. St. Augustine community of practice largely included Altamaha/San Marcos pottery, made by Guales, Mocamans, and Yamasees. After 1715, Yamasees outnumbered their neighbors and by this point, perhaps due to the high numbers of Yamasees, other Timucuan also began making Altamaha/San Marcos ceramics. Eighteenth-century Yamasees in Northwest Florida remain archaeologically invisible as they likely adopted Creek ceramic traditions. As discussed further in the subsequent chapter, Yamasee success due to mobility, multilingualism, and changing ceramic practices offers a valuable case study for examining indigenous responses to colonialism beyond the Southeast.

Chapter 7: Yamasee Contributions to Anthropology Theory and Method

For nearly a century after their emergence as an ethnicity, Yamasees largely lived in multiple communities separated by martial alliances and material practices yet connected through language and town names. Their landscape of ceramic practice does not directly reflect their political landscape. Their rhetoric demonstrates they maintained their diplomatic traditions, their self-identification in censuses and other historical documents shows they maintained ethnic distinctions from their neighbors, yet their ceramic assemblages demonstrate they entirely adopted certain traditions from those neighbors. In this case, material patterns recognizable in the archaeological record demonstrate a shared and local landscape of practice rather than ethnic distinctions. In addition to discussing Yamasee communities mapped in Figure 62, this dissertation contributes to anthropological understanding of ethnogenesis, authority, material practices, diversity, and hybridity.

Their ethnogenesis, initially involving moving to a new location and adopting new ceramic practices, led Yamasees to maintain ethnic distinctions as they adopted the political connections and material traditions of multiple other Native American groups. Self-identification by Yamasees in censuses, speeches, and letters for a century and archaeological evidence from multiple towns allows me to demonstrate aspects of their ethnogenesis that other scholars may not have had available. I demonstrate the agency inherent in Yamasee movements, which demands consideration of similar Native American movements as chosen rather than forced, and thus non-diasporic. These movements allowed Yamasees to dictate terms to Europeans and maintain town names,

signs, and rhetoric from the sixteenth century if not earlier to the late eighteenth century.



Figure 60: Yamasee and Neighboring Communities

These movements also led to changing material assemblages, whose tempers often reflected locations and whose decorations often reflect social interactions. At times such social interactions represent coalescence of multiple groups (i.e. Ginn 2009; Birch and Hart 2018) while at other times one group made pottery similar in style to multiple groups. Diversity in ceramic decorations at San Antonio de Punta Rasa reflects not potters of diverse ethnicities, but Yamasee use of their own stamped techniques as well as brushing and roughening of Creek Indians to the north. Yamasee potters likely adopted Creek decorations through interactions with Apalachees who lived among the Creeks before living closer to Yamasees. Rather than reflecting European influences, their hybrid

assemblage demonstrates the spread of Creek traditions through Apalachees to Yamasee potters.

Yamasee Ethnogenesis

As described in Chapter 2, Yamasees established a distinct group identity in the 1660s after coalescing from Altamaha, Ocute, and Ichisi chiefdoms and moving from the Georgia interior to Guale and Mocama Provinces along the Georgia coast. Yamasees outnumbered those populations and contributed the most to the Spanish labor draft in St. Augustine. They also adopted the ceramic techniques shared by Guale and Mocama potters and maintained these traditions when moving to South Carolina and Pensacola, but likely not when they moved to Creek settlements. A seventeenth-century Georgia coast landscape of ceramic practice—shared by Mocama, Guale, and Yamasee potters—was likely not learned directly via instruction of potters from those different ethnic groups. Given that distances between towns exceed movement ranges noted by ceramic ethnoarcheologists, ceramic similarities likely demonstrate less direct and more tacit or unconscious social connections between groups.

In 1683, attacks by pirates led Yamasees to leave Spanish Florida and move north to work for the Scottish at Stuart's Town and later the British of Charleston (Worth 1995:35-38). Yamasees from the Chattahoochee River moved to join them, and the resultant communities in Beaufort County, South Carolina existed until the 1715 Yamasee War. Yamasees in these communities made stamped Altamaha/San Marcos pottery akin to earlier Yamasees, Guales, and Mocamans along the Georgia coast rather than the brushed/roughened pottery of the Chattahoochee River. Yamasees from that

area, though, maintained their social connections with Chattahoochee River towns of Chiaha, Taskigi, Apalachicola and others among the Lower Creeks.

Other seventeenth-century Yamasees had a town in Apalachee Province near present-day Tallahassee, Florida. By 1675, 300 Yamasees lived in the Tama mission near San Luis, the Apalachee town with the largest Spanish presence. While invisible archaeologically in part due to Yamasee adoption of Apalachee ceramic traditions, the town name Tama existed at the same time as Altamaha Town, which existed in South Carolina, and the Tama on Amelia Island. These town names not only likely refer to each other but also demonstrate a shared connection to the Tama and Altamaha of sixteenth-century Georgia. Spaniards recognized political and linguistic distinctions between Yamasees and Apalachees but could not defend them in 1704, when South Carolina and their allied Native Americans destroyed Apalachee Province. Yamasees surrendered to join Creeks, perhaps taking advantage of linguistic and social connections noted by Spanish and British observers. Whether living near Apalachees or Creeks, Yamasees adopted neighboring ceramic traditions but maintained their distinct language.

Seventeenth-century Yamasees demonstrate distinctions between political, ethnic, and linguistic boundaries, none of which are directly reflected by ceramic or other practices. These connections, as well as the Tama town name, persisted after 1715 with Tamatlé towns in the recently-destroyed Apalachee Province as well as along the Apalachicola River. Yamasees demonstrate the agency inherent in movements—rather than forced, diasporic movements, theirs aimed to seize political opportunities. Coalescence in a new location led to the adoption of ceramic practices and political

alliances, often differing between Yamasees of different regions. My interpretation of Yamasee ethnogenesis describes their movement as agentive and their material practices as indicating local social landscapes. Such an interpretation develops anthropological, archaeological, and historical considerations of the interplay between movement, identity, and material culture.

Native American Agency, Diaspora, Ethnogenesis, and Landscapes of Practice

Scholars of colonial Native North America each focused on several different facets of ethnogenesis. For example, Jenkins (2009) and Shuck-Hall (2009) described the role of movement for Alabama-Coushattas, Ginn (2009) outlined changing ceramic practices of missionized Native Americans in California, and Galloway (2008:74) interpreted the role of neighboring social connections for conflicts within the Choctaw confederacy. Yamasees demonstrate each of these qualities. Rather than always maintaining one ceramic assemblage or diplomatic alliance, new locations led Yamasees to match the ceramic practices and diplomatic alliances of their neighbors.

Since the 1660s Yamasees were always in at least two communities separated by war and material practice and united by titles, names, and language that persisted for a century. European documents do not offer more detail on their unity or debates within a Yamasee ethnicity or confederacy. Archaeological and historical evidence in conjunction demonstrate distinctions between communities as interpreted through ethnicity, politics, language, and material culture. Ethnicities remained the same, but practices changed as a result of the social landscape. Yamasees maintained social and linguistic connections to their neighbors and created communities of practice with Mocamans, Guales, Creeks, and

Apalachees rather than a single seventeenth-century Yamasee ceramic assemblage.

Yamasees emerged as an ethnicity through movement, which led to new material practices even as they self-identified as Yamasees. However, scholars of ethnogenesis and coalescence rarely describe Native American material reinventions that resulted from those processes. For example, archaeologist Ned Jenkins (2009) and historian Sheri Shuck-Hall (2009) demonstrated that Alabama-Coushatta coalescence resulted from centuries of movements by multiple chiefdoms, but neither scholar described material changes as a result of those movements. Barbara Voss's examination of colonial California only very briefly discussed Native American material culture in terms of being conservative rather than innovative (Voss 2008:221). Sarah Ginn (2009:297) focused on those Native American communities and convincingly argued that California Native American potters of different ethnicities made undecorated ceramics to emphasize similarities rather than distinctions in a new community. Yamasees, when adopting the ceramic traditions of their neighbors, may have emphasized such similarities even as they continued to identify as a group different from those neighbors. Despite maintaining distinct identities in terms of language and town names among different neighbors, Yamasees occasionally allied with those neighbors to attack or threaten other Yamasees.

Ethnogenesis and coalescence did not mean that towns within a confederacy each agreed with each other. Piker (2004) among others has demonstrated that Creeks maintained loyalties more to their families and town than to their larger political system. Galloway (2008:74) stated that while Choctaws existed as a confederacy, the sheer size of their confederacy led Choctaws to ally more with their neighbors than more distant

Choctaws—Western Choctaws allied with Chakchiumas and Chickasaws, Eastern Choctaws allied with Alabama Upper Creeks, and six southern Choctaw towns allied with groups along the Mobile River. Yamasees similarly allied with their neighbors—in the seventeenth century some Yamasees fought with the British while others fought with the Spanish. In 1740, Yamasee Cesar Augustus attacked St. Augustine where other Yamasees lived. Despite larger unifiers such as language, Yamasees maintained alliances more at the local level. Approaches to ethnogenesis must keep in mind the role of movement, which led to new material practices and political alliances, as well as the agency inherent in such movement.

The agency in Yamasee movements demands reconsideration of similar movements as diasporic or involuntary. As a result of their movements, Yamasees were consistently powerful allies for both the Spanish and the British, while others mediated between Lower or Upper Creeks and Europeans. Many other Native Americans moved frequently in the colonial and pre-colonial Southeast by their own decision rather than via an external force. However, rather than explicitly describing such movements as agentive, historians often describe them as forced or diasporic.

Several historians have detailed colonial Native American pursuit of social and political connections but describe movements as forced rather than a tool for such connections. Warren (2014) described Shawnees as emerging from the Fort Ancient archaeological tradition in the Middle Ohio Valley and establishing settlements in Illinois, on the Savannah River, and on the Susquehanna River. He outlined their pursuit of diplomatic opportunities, their attempts to advocate for pan-Indian peace, as well as

other examples of their resiliency and agency, but described their movements as diasporic. Spero (2010: 7) similarly described Shawnees as “refugees scattered by inter-Indian wars in the mid-seventeenth century [who] quickly and creatively adapted to dispersal by creating distinct but inter-connected communities throughout eastern North America.” While describing their agency in creating such communities and pursuing economic and diplomatic connections with Europeans, terms such as “scattered refugees” who “adapted to dispersal” emphasize colonial structures at the expense of indigenous agency. As these and other historians (see also DuVal 2006) reveal the agency and authority Native Americans possessed, the extent of their social networks, and their influence on Europeans, they must also consider the agency within such movements. Ramsey (2008) demonstrated the extensive social networks that led to the 1715 Yamasee War, but neither described the role of movements in such networks nor Yamasee agency after 1715. However, Yamasee leaders made use of the social and political connections gained by moving to new areas to start the Yamasee War, threaten St. Augustine, and otherwise dictate terms to and take vengeance on Europeans.

Yamasees of Tallahassee and St. Augustine, Florida: Ceramics, Socio-economy, and Seminole Ethnogenesis

Chapter 3 discusses Yamasees in St. Augustine, Tamatle Yamasees along the Apalachicola River in between Lower Creek towns, and another “new” Tamatle community in Apalachee Province. These communities made distinct political decisions to live in Spanish missions in St. Augustine, near a Spanish store and garrison in Apalachee, or among the Creeks. Ceramic assemblages in each community include

ancestral, local, and neighboring ceramic traditions. While Spanish trade led some Yamasees to move to join them, Spaniards did not directly influence ceramic production. I build on Worth's ([2019]) examination of Yamasee Tamatle towns along the Apalachicola River and in Apalachee Province to demonstrate their ceramics likely reflected Creek designs and consider the diplomatic and economic influence of fifty years of Yamasee presence in the Tallahassee area. Archaeological and historical examination of St. Augustine Native Americans allowed me to discuss a Guale, Mocama, Yamasee, and Timucua landscape of ceramic practice as well as rhetoric Seminoles used in their conquest of Spanish St. Augustine.

Yamasees, Guales, Mocamans, Timucuan, and Apalachees lived in eighteenth-century St. Augustine. Towns dominated by Timucuan and towns dominated by Yamasees have similar ceramic assemblages. Timucuan assemblages possessed as much sand-tempered Guale/Yamasee/Mocaman Altamaha/San Marcos pottery as sponge-tempered St. John's pottery made by coastal Timucuan and others outside of St. Augustine. Yamasees outnumbered other groups in the area and Native American towns in the St. Augustine area were within walking distance of each other. This allowed the Altamaha/San Marcos ceramics to spread, either through direct shared learning between Yamasee, Guale, or Mocaman potters to Timucuan or less direct and more tacit transmission of knowledge.

Other Yamasee communities existed either directly among Creeks on the Apalachicola River or to the south in the recently-destroyed Apalachee Province, where Yamasees lived before Creeks and Seminoles moved to the area. However, archaeology

in the area has only attempted to identify Apalachee, Creek, or Seminole habitation and has looked past decades of Yamasee occupation in the area mentioned only in Spanish documents. “New Tamatle” in Apalachee Province likely adopted the ceramic traditions of their Lower Creek neighbors. Yamasees lived in this location for about fifty years and served as valuable middlemen for the Spanish trade, emptying the store more quickly than the Spanish could stock it.

A Yamasee man named Pacheco (1737) described such materials as including food, tobacco, sugar, rum, objects of adornment, clothing, cloth, scissors, weapons, red dye, and other objects. Yamasees served as middlemen for this trade, and the materials accommodated general Native American desires to receive food for a journey, conduct war, as well as wear, make, and distribute European-style clothing. However, given the fact that most archaeologists and historians of the Southeast speak English or use translations of French materials in the *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, neither this Spanish trade nor the Yamasee role within it has been analyzed extensively before.

After 1763, “New” Tamatles joined “Old” Tamatle Yamasees on the Apalachicola River who likely also adopted brushing and roughening techniques. This town maintained an identity for about a century, providing Spanish with valuable military intelligence from the mid-eighteenth century to Bernardo de Galvez’s efforts to take Pensacola from the British during the American Revolution. Neither community has been investigated archaeologically, and with the exception of Worth ([2019]), neither community has been examined using historical documents. These Tamatles coalesced into Apalachicola Seminoles in the early nineteenth century before the nineteenth-century

Indian Removal sent them to Oklahoma.

Yamasee political decisions in the early eighteenth century affected their fates for generations. Yamasees who lived near Creek Indians coalesced into Seminoles while Yamasees who allied with the Spanish were described as Seminole slaves. Alachua Seminoles in East Florida justified their possession of territory when speaking to the British by describing their attacks against the Spanish and the Yamasee. Seminole leader Cowkeeper began such attacks in 1740 with Georgia Governor Oglethorpe during the War of Jenkin's Ear between the British and the Spanish. These attacks, which also included Yamasee-Cherokee Cesar Augustus, targeted Andres Escudero among other Yamasees. Rhetoric from these and other leaders demonstrates Yamasee among other eighteenth-century Native American conceptions of authority.

Yamasee Authority: Community Consensus, Embodied Authority, and Material Signs

Chapter 4 uses the ritual speech of Upper Creek leader Acmucaiche as well as Yamasees Cesar Augustus and Andres Escudero to interpret authority. Yamasee-Cherokee Cesar Augustus threatened to burn St. Augustine in 1740 in a letter and used his tattoo to demonstrate his authority throughout the region. Multilingual Yamasee Andres Escudero negotiated peace between the Spanish and Upper Creeks before destroying an Upper Creek town allied to the Spanish after that peace was broken. Rhetoric and signs from these two Yamasees—one a warrior who threatened vengeance and another a diplomat who took it—demonstrate how Native Americans gained, enforced, and justified authority in the colonial Southeast, including over Europeans.

Yamasee leaders demonstrated and exercised authority over others through

ancestral or kinship ties, ability in war, and access to foreign or European goods. Their rhetoric defended this process by convincing a community they were striking the right balance between vengeance and mercy. Such claims—supported by tattoos and material culture and articulated through titles and rhetoric—represented ideational systems and political institutions leading to an individual’s authority within a community and a broader region. Cesar Augustus, for example, balanced European conceptions of authority with his name and Southeastern Indian conceptions of authority with his tattoo. This tattoo signified icons of war leadership via three weapons, community via circles within a shaded square, thunder/lighting via a zigzag line, and scalp tallies inside of a circle. The authority inherent in such designs was recognized by Yamasees and others in Florida. Signs, metaphors, and other references as well as emphasis of context and relevance beyond an individual speaker demonstrated ideological, economic, military and political relationships. Such references, emphases, and demonstrations led rhetoric to be considered authoritative. As addressed in the subsequent section, this understanding of authority as a result of community consensus articulated with specific signs and material culture contradicts many interpretations of Native Americans in the prehistoric Southeast and Midwest.

Connecting Prehistory to History, Coercion to Consensus, and Ascribed to Achieved Status

Historical documents demonstrate Southeastern Native American mechanisms for justifying authority. In contrast to the “ideological sanctions” described by Emerson (1997:13) as structuring distinctions between Cahokian elites and commoners through access of supernatural power, Yamasee and other colonial Native Americans

demonstrated community consensus in their rhetoric and adorned themselves according to community ideals. Other prehistorians often simply describe grave goods or other foreign material as demonstrating access to power without discussing the mechanisms of such access or the situations in which communities considered it acceptable. Bartram (1791) among other colonial Europeans had trouble distinguishing Native American leaders based on their clothing or material in their towns. Instead, leaders adorned themselves with distinction when explicitly representing their community to others in diplomatic or martial efforts. Considering archaeological evidence in terms of the communal contexts emphasized by Yamasees may allow archaeologists to move beyond considering “artifacts of power” (Emerson 1997:33) or “symbols of individual power” (Earle 1987, 1991) and examine the military, diplomatic, and other contexts of certain messages.

For example, like Catawbas (as discussed in Heath 2004), Yamasees at Altamaha Town modified locks and other metal gun parts to serve as objects of personal adornment, simultaneously demonstrating their ability in war and trade. Jesuit rings were also recovered at Altamaha and may reflect religious connotations, signify the capture of Christian slaves, or simply demonstrate access to different areas of Europe. A German reckoning counter, modified into a pendant, also demonstrates the access to European markets embodied by Yamasees at Altamaha. Access to Europe in general was also embodied through brass cut and rolled to make tinkler cones to attach to clothing (Poplin and Sweeney 2016). While the specific meanings or cultural contexts of these objects are lost, they undoubtedly reflect not only connections to distant areas but also the

individuals who gave them those materials. Yamasee writings and translations shed light upon other signs and metaphors.

Yamasee rituals and designs simultaneously echoed those of their ancestors and made statements in an increasingly-globalized colonial world. For example, the “Mississippian world-symbol” may be more precisely described as demonstrating an individual’s place in the community and larger world, in turn connected to the Sky World with cords, all of which have neither a beginning nor an end (Rodning 2012:50; Teuton 2012:18). This symbol appears on Yamasee-Cherokee Cesar Augustus as circles within circles within a square with looped corners and on Yamasee as well as other Native American pots. The pottery design may represent an unconscious replication or a conscious democratization of supernatural power (Saunders 2017). Present-day Creek, Cherokee, Yuchi and other Southeastern Native Americans continue to make connections between the past, present, and future using ritual speech and objects that signify the supernatural, echoing their ancestors (Fogelson 1977:186; Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1995; Kilpatrick 1997; Jackson 2013; Benitez-Galvez 1790; Keyes 1994; Ethridge 2003:229).

However, interpreters of prehistoric iconography and power rarely consult present-day or earlier writings by Native Americans or otherwise move beyond sources from early twentieth-century anthropology. Yamasee leaders, as well as Upper Creeks whose rhetoric was translated by those Yamasee leaders, describe the political metaphors and performances of material culture. I use Peirce’s (1868) distinction between icon, index, and symbol—icons resemble the reference, indices point to a place or person, and

symbols have more arbitrary meanings. Leaders, when speaking of themselves as town representatives, embodied themselves to become icons of those towns. White fans indexed locations as well as symbolized peace and friendship. Broken weapons indexed peace at the location they were buried. Foodstuffs indexed travel distance in a colonial equivalent to per diem rates. Objects of adornment from Europe indexed distance of access. European hoes indexed this distance as well as served as icons of agricultural production. Gifts in general indexed personal connections; free commerce did so as well in addition to symbolizing equality between groups.

When outside of their community, leaders were often icons of place. Warriors became icons by tying bodies and achievement to the landscape through their names and titles. They did so by wearing materials in diplomatic and martial interactions with outsiders, describing themselves as being of particular towns, and often becoming known as the leader or warrior of that town. Powhatan associated himself with his territory of the same name through religious rites at Werowocomoco (Gallivan 2007). Yamasee leaders Altamaha and Huspah/Jospo/a did not have a ritual place from which to demonstrate their access to supernatural power, but simultaneously embodied a town name and title in a similar way at a smaller scale.

White fans performed peace and indexed locations such as roads as well as symbolized emotions of peace and friendship while red symbolized conflict. For eighteenth-century Upper Creek leaders Acmucaiche and Tamatlemingo, washing red off of a fan symbolized a new beginning for peace and a fan of white feathers swept the red blood away from conflict-torn roads. Vermillion or a cheaper source of a red or orange

pigment was frequently gifted or sold to Indians, and used for such signification on objects as well as warriors' faces. White feathers in a cape recovered at the prehistoric site of Spiro could have simulated a falcon's wings (Brown 1996:623). Rogers et al (2002:246) analyzed similar material at Spiro and demonstrated feathers were turkey, goose, and swan, almost all dyed black or red. Feathered fabric at Etowah was also dyed red (Sibley and Jakes 1994). Red ochre also marked burials, perhaps signifying blood. Power (2004:165) also interpreted it in terms of antiseptic and deodorizing properties. Beads, often white, performed and symbolized a temporary peace. Tamatlemingo tying white beads together leaving the ends free in 1761 demonstrates a common metaphor of peace represented by a knot. Historian Alejandra Dubcovsky (2016) interpreted eight strips of deerskins with 161 knots as a powerful representation of alliances hidden from the British and offered to the Spanish during the 1715 Yamasee War. 161 yards of white fabric presented by Virginia Indian Don Luis Velasco to North Carolina Indians in 1566 (Menendez 1566) may have served a similar purpose in uniting groups against an early Spanish mission. Knots, white beads, and broken weapons all symbolized peace though in addition knots indexed alliances, white also symbolized friendship, and broken weapons indexed location.

For Acmucaiche in eighteenth-century Pensacola, tobacco smoke symbolized clear air before negotiations and individual pipes indexed particular connections between groups. Historians and archaeologists have long recognized the role of tobacco and pipes in negotiations, but individual pipes have been interpreted differently. Hall (1977:503) interpreted pipes that appear like atlatls as aiming to "disarm suspicion of evil design or

unfriendly intent.” French colonial observers (i.e. Bossu 1768: 188, 201, 254, 273) focus on the diplomatic roles of “clear smoke” to borrow Acmucaiche’s (1758) term. Other signs also represented diplomacy.

Buried, broken weapons indexed peace at the table where a peace treaty was signed. An explicit explanation of buried, broken weapons as demonstrating the preservation of peace demonstrates a concerted effort to match the longevity offered by the written record by adding material culture to the landscape. John Musgrove, Carolina trader, also recognized the message of broken weapons. He broke a knife to symbolize peace between Coweta and Charleston; Coweta leader Chipacasi broke an arrow in response (Hahn 2004:114). However, these weapons were not buried—buried ones indexed a treaty at a particular location. Other materials signified locations less directly.

Foodstuffs indexed travel distance in a colonial equivalent to per diem rates though earlier Spanish gift lists illustrate this more clearly than eighteenth-century ones. For example, in 1597, Spaniards in St. Augustine gave Cacique Antonico 60 pounds of wheat flour, describing it as 10 days each for his leaders. His heir Juan de Contreras received 378 pounds of corn, 7 days of travel for each of his Indians. Another entry that year simply stated food for the road for the cacique of Ybi and ten other Indians (Worth 1998 vol. 1:51). These entries demonstrate that Spaniards at times accommodated tastes of different Native Americans, calculated how much foodstuffs would satisfy visitors in terms of their travel time, and strove to meet those calculations. Sixteenth-century chroniclers of Hernando de Soto’s journeys, discussed in Chapter 2, described similar protocols. Zooarchaeologists and paleoethnobotanists may be able to use such gift lists to

trace social connections.

Objects of adornment and icons of production such as agricultural hoes were given to individuals who often redistributed those materials. Redistribution of such material indexes social connections; Wallis (2008:259) discussed such indices of social networks in prehistoric Florida. Hoes gifted to Timucuan in sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Worth 1995:51, 139-140) likely represented increased agricultural productivity and ability to provide for a family or community. Specific embodied, gifted objects signified authority. Historians Steven Peach (2013) and Bryan Rindfleisch (2016) among others have demonstrated that for eighteenth-century Creek leaders, wearing European materials indexed both the distance and number of foreign connections. Pensacola Governor Román (1758b:308v) gave leaders patents as Spanish war captains and Upper Creek leader Acmucaiche a patent of captain-commandant as well as a staff and other insignia of his office so that “all would obey him in the affairs of war” (1758b:308v). Similarly, Marquez del Toro gave 30 staffs of authority to Creek chiefs who met with him at San Marcos de Apalachee (Marquez del Toro 1738a). Such staffs were recognized by Spaniards in Mexico as well, these *tlachieloni* were often associated with atlatls (Nuttall 1891:29). Close comparisons to historical and anthropological descriptions will develop such interpretations of the prehistoric material record. Drooker (2017), for example, discussed Mississippian-era power and ritual by distinguishing between regalia that allowed individuals to embody ritual authority, objects that contained or wrapped ritual objects, and everyday objects that may have reflected the Mississippian worldview. Colonial use of embodied materials to signify authority will aid interpretations of such

pre-colonial materials.

In addition to gifts and tribute, materials were exchanged in free commerce as equals. As discussed in Chapter 4, Acmucaiche emphasized this desire in Pensacola during the 1750s. Many historians characterize Europeans as traders and Native Americans as gift-givers rather than consider free exchange between equals (see Stern 2012 for discussion). Such a stance “runs the risk of eroding the agency of Native Americans that scholars have labored to restore” (Stern 2012:26). Profit margins or unequal exchanges often reflect which of the interacting groups has more authority. While sixteenth-century exchange between polities occurred in terms of tribute and redistribution, by the eighteenth century free trade was explicitly discussed between leaders of different communities.

Colonial and later Native writings offer critical insights into processes of authority and sources of power that can serve as careful comparisons for pre-colonial societies. Wheeler and Carr (2014: 213), for example, utilize Hann’s (1991:224-225, 2003:198-199) historical insights about Calusa leadership—chiefs possessed esoteric knowledge and at times opposed religious leaders, whose use of rites and rituals could reinforce or threaten other sources of power. Religious leaders among Virginia Indians similarly used supernatural power in conflict with British colonists as well as to advise other leaders (Pargellis 1959; Gleach 1997:42). A few rare leaders such as Powhatan successfully united supernatural, martial, and diplomatic sources of power (Gallivan 2007) while others such as the Shawnee Prophet used supernatural authority to leverage pan-Indian movements (Martin 1991; Waselkov 2006:74). While less well known,

warrior Hopayi Fiki Mikko seems to have united these sources of authority as well—“Far-away heart” is a title for prophets, mikko a title for headmen, and he was noted as a warrior (Román 1761d). However, many prehistoric archaeologists assume unity between supernatural, diplomatic, and martial sources of power.

Prehistoric archaeologists use iconography and other lines of evidence to interpret leaders as having achieved their authority through war and use of supernatural power. Jacobi (2007) connected headhunting to not only conflict but also honoring ancestors, and also described that many isolated skulls or headless burials resulted from natural processes. Hally (2008:260-261, 431-432, 447-448) described war trophies at the King site of northwestern Georgia. Hall (1989:247-257) as well as Brown and Dye (2007) connected iconography of skulls and heads to mythical hero personages. Knight and Steponaitis (2011:213) describe similar motifs as either trophies from mythical combat or connections to the afterlife journey through the Milky Way interpreted by Lankford (2007) as the Path of Souls. Individuals buried at Etowah often possessed supernatural “symbols as part of their uniforms or regalia” (King 2004: 160) and rather than a single chief and immediate family, high ranking burials included multiple corporate groups (King 2004: 163). Dye (2006:110, 116-117) described such representations of war as depicting leaders, but this conclusion does not mean that all leaders gained authority through war. Evidence for war—including defensive structures, burned settlements, and severed heads—certainly exist in a variety of Mississippian contexts. However, such evidence also exists during the colonial era, during which leaders explicitly balanced between war and peace, or, in their terms, vengeance and mercy.

Archaeologists of Cahokia and other Mississippian centers have not quantified the frequency of war in part because mercy and peace are invisible archaeologically, but they have also not addressed disconnects between their interpretations and those of the colonial era. Considerations by Ethridge (2009) and others interpreting the sixteenth century as a shatter zone of regular conflict and slavery imply that war in fact increased in the colonial period, yet leaders and warriors still felt the need to justify conflict in speech and other performances. Symbols interpreted by prehistoric archaeologists as evidence of Mississippian elite control, such as the “world symbol,” in the colonial era served to justify achieved warrior status for Cesar Augustus and represented communities for twentieth-century Cherokees (Teuton 2012:18). Saunders (2017) addressed this disconnect by interpreting the increased frequency of the symbol through time as demonstrating increasingly democratized access to supernatural power. I instead suggest that Mississippian elites used the symbol to justify their authority to a community, exactly as Cesar Augustus did. While historical records from Soto’s chroniclers to later centuries demonstrate mechanisms for negotiation, interpretations of Mississippian iconography rarely consider diplomacy, community consensus, or other forms of authority aside from conflict and the supernatural.

Comparisons between pre-colonial and colonial conceptions of war, politics, and the supernatural remain difficult. For example, historian Julianna Barr (2017) detailed Caddoan sociopolitical structures and uses secondary literature about Cahokia to contrast between structures of violence and other forms of authority. Her work among others demonstrates community consensus and distinct but overlapping offices of authority

among Caddoans, but rather than using those systems as an opportunity to question interpretations of Cahokia, she uses Cahokia as a counter example. Yamasee signs in speech and tattoos offer a case study to investigate non-martial and non-supernatural forms of authority in pre-colonial Native America as well as divisions between colonial offices of authority often glossed as chief, warrior, and prophet.

Individual Balance and Community Consensus: Beyond “Red/War” or “White/Peace”

Yamasees among others demonstrate that titles, tattoos, embodiment, gifts, kinship connections, and other strategies created and maintained a leader’s ability to balance vengeance and mercy. Such a balance has often been interpreted at a social rather than individual level as an opposition between red/war and white/diplomacy. However, Yamasees and other Spanish-language authors do not describe this red/white divide at a social level, though Okfuskee Creeks and others speaking to British colonists do so (Piker 2004). This distinction may result from differing English versus Spanish political practices. English trading partners became increasing commercial deer and slave hunters, perhaps leading to increased emphasis on martial ability as a mechanism for gaining access to European connections.

Spanish colonists instead focused on offering such connections to existing leaders. Spanish demands on land and labor through leaders of Native Americans in Florida led those leaders to maintain Mississippian conceptions of authority through matrilineages and other connections to past leaders (Worth 2002). Apalachee leaders, for example, passed the position to the son of the eldest sister and of those named were most often of Osunaca and Hinachuba families. This ascribed status could be superseded,

however—other leaders made claims and most leaders' clan names remain unknown (Hann 1988:79; Scarry 1992:168-174).

Native Americans dealing with either the Spanish or the British offered more flexible forms of governance than either European power could easily deal with. Yamasee leaders and warriors represent a compromise of sorts between the ascribed status emphasized by missionized Florida Indians and the achieved status emphasized by their Creek and other neighbors. Centuries of Yamasee persistence demonstrates the range of alliance options held by Southeastern Indians, the mechanisms by which they negotiated those options, and the material correlates of physical movements that resulted from those negotiations.

Many researchers argue that towns represented themselves as red or white, representing war or peace respectively, in negotiations with other towns. Those towns that did refer to themselves as, for example, white towns of peace—such as Okfuskee Creeks (Piker 2004), may have been in flux as often as towns noted by anthropologist Mary Haas. She (Haas 1940) noted multiple people described the same town as either red or white and others explicitly described how it shifted through time. Such switches could emerge from success or loss during ball-games matches to enemy towns, or could emerge from political agreements or disagreements that led to the merging or splitting of towns. At times such shifts occurred more than once in a generation, and “the relative strength of the semi-divisions may have oscillated frequently in the course of the history of the confederacy” (Haas 1940: 381). Preferred friends and enemies influenced and were influenced by these conflicts. In addition, white, mother towns offered sanctuary while

newer daughter towns were often red. Communities were designated artificially and through the ball game as white or red, and representatives of towns worked with those of the same color to reach consensus at the confederacy level (Lankford 2008:85-87).

Whether or not these “red” versus “white” binaries influenced Yamasees, conflicts and connections structured their social lives. Conflicts led warriors such as Cesar Augustus make diplomatic actions and diplomats such as Andres Escudero to conduct war. As another example, so-called red or warrior leaders of the Choctaw—*taskanangouchis* and *itemongoulacha* of Chickasawhay—encouraged the “mature consideration of the moral dilemma created by killing 3 Frenchmen” (Galloway 2006: 217), the behavior expected of so-called white or peace chiefs. Warrior leaders, often prophets or *hopaii mingos* as well, advocated for just enough war for an appropriate level of revenge (Galloway 2006: 73-77).

Yamasees reflect distinct divisions—including making different pottery and participating in different sides of European conflicts—depending on physical location and social connections. Andres Escudero and other Yamasees, for example, moved to the Pensacola, Florida area to develop economic and diplomatic connections with Upper and Lower Creeks and in so doing contributed to the economic development of the Spanish garrison. His successful negotiations led him to go beyond leading his town but receive the title of Spanish infantry captain as well as Upper Creek leader in addition to a license to sell to both non-Yamasee groups. The ceramic assemblage of Escudero’s town also indicates these connections. The subsequent section discusses Yamasee producing more pottery for the Spanish than their Apalachee neighbors as well as connections to Creek

Indians via those Apalachee neighbors.

Analyzing Eighteenth-Century Yamasees of Pensacola

Chapter 5 describes my identification of Yamasee Mission San Antonio de Punta Rasa in Pensacola and my interpretation of its ceramic assemblage. Similarities between the Spanish garrison and Yamasee mission assemblages demonstrate that such economic development extended to dominating the Native American trade in pottery. These comparisons also show that Spaniards did not affect Yamasee ceramic techniques. Yamasee connections to local Apalachees and more distant and powerful Upper Creeks led potters to balance local, ancestral, and neighboring ceramic traditions.

I identified the Yamasee Mission San Antonio de Punta Rasa using several Spanish and British maps that consistently described Yamasees as across the bay from present-day downtown Pensacola and mentioned no other Native Americans living in the area. While a mixed context, comparisons of the Yamasee assemblage at Punta Rasa to the Apalachee assemblage at San Joseph de Escambe and the Spanish garrison assemblage at Santa Rosa demonstrate significant similarities in tempers and decorations. Tempers in particular are very similar at all three sites and demonstrate resources shared between Apalachees and Yamasees in the Pensacola area. Decorations and surface treatments overlap more closely with Yamasees and the Spanish garrison than between Apalachees and the Spanish garrison. The Yamasee assemblage reflects brushing and roughening decorations associated with Creeks, San Marcos stamped pottery associated with Yamasees, and incised designs that existed among Apalachees of Pensacola.

Creek influence on Yamasee pottery likely occurred through their Apalachee

neighbors. The Apalachee assemblage is more Creek-like with brushing and roughening decorations and also has more incised designs, while Yamasees maintained more of their ancestral stamped designs (a handful of which have also been discovered at the Apalachee mission). Such distinctions make sense given that these Apalachees had lived among the Lower Creeks, while most of this group of Yamasees moved directly from St. Augustine to Pensacola. Given these differences, and the similarity of the Yamasee assemblage to the Santa Rosa garrison, Punta Rasa demonstrates the influence of Native American social and political relationships on material culture.

This archaeological fieldwork offers local significance to Florida in demonstrating that Durnford's maps offer reliable information for archaeological investigations. Such investigations reveal an eighteenth-century Yamasee assemblage that in turn demonstrates their role in the Spanish garrison trade. Co-dominance of Creek ceramic traditions, given the distance between Creeks and Yamasees, demonstrates Yamasees in Creek territories were likely indistinguishable archaeologically. In this sense, I add explicit consideration of demographic numbers and political alliances to Worth's (2017) theory of a landscape of ceramic practice. Chapter 6 relates the Punta Rasa assemblage to other Yamasee assemblages and to other archaeological approaches to diversity and hybridity.

Yamasee Ceramics: Continuity, Change, and Diversity over Time and Space

Chapter 6 also demonstrates Native Americans, rather than Europeans, affected Yamasee ceramic practices. This chapter compares my ceramic data at Punta Rasa to published and unpublished data of other Yamasee sites to demonstrate distinct ceramic

practices within one ethnic group, whose towns were separated by hundreds of years and miles. Ceramic practices changed dramatically according to time and space yet historical documents show that Yamasees demonstrated a strong ethnic identity and political influence in the Southeast. Yamasees who lived in different regions had different social connections as well as ceramic practices. Ceramic assemblages, rather than indicating the ethnicity of potters, indicate their social interactions through decorations and physical locations through tempers. High diversity of ceramic decorations at Mission San Antonio de Punta Rasa, for example, indicates Creek influence on Yamasees. Such influence likely occurred via Apalachees who lived among Creeks and moved to Pensacola before Yamasees moved to the area as well. This hybrid assemblage reflects the influence, perhaps indirect, of one Native American group on another and joins only a few other examinations of hybridity between multiple Native Americans (i.e. Sassaman 2005:356; Alt 2006:302; King and Sawyer 2017; Meyers 2017).

Significant ceramic transformations occurred as a result of seventeenth-century Yamasee ethnogenesis and 1740 movement to Pensacola. As a whole, sixteenth-century assemblages demonstrate largely uniform use of sand/grit temper with incised designs while seventeenth-century assemblages in South Carolina shift almost completely to stamped designs. Such a shift marked their movements to the Georgia coast and their ethnogenesis as Yamasees. Eighteenth-century assemblages at St. Augustine continue such trends while the eighteenth-century assemblage at Pensacola's Punta Rasa demonstrates diverse techniques and tempers, indicating ancestral, neighboring, and local ceramic practices.

Unequal power relations contribute to assemblage diversity and hybridity. For example, co-dominance of so-called Yamasee pottery at a largely Timucuan site in eighteenth-century St. Augustine and of so-called Creek pottery at an eighteenth-century Yamasee site in Pensacola reflects the role of unequal relations between Yamasees and their neighbors. Yamasees took advantage of political opportunities and, in so doing, broke down social boundaries between communities using material and linguistic practices. My approach joins only a few others (Sassaman 2005:356; Alt 2006:302; King and Sawyer 2017; Meyers 2017) who have explicitly examined assemblages that reflected hybrid practices between multiple Native American groups rather than between Native Americans and Europeans. In addition, my analysis develops archaeological considerations of material diversity.

Yamasee mobility led them to adopt ceramic practices in new areas in ways differing according to social and physical circumstance. Material culture from archaeological sites near Charleston, South Carolina; in St. Augustine, Florida; and in Pensacola, Florida—separated by up to ninety years and over 500 miles—demonstrate continuity and change in material culture and thus the role of local landscapes in daily practice. Temper and decorations alike changed through time and space. While sites ancestral to Yamasees were entirely grit/sand, grog co-dominated with sand at the seventeenth-century South Carolina site of Huspah and shell co-dominated with sand at eighteenth-century Florida sites. Sherds with multiple types of decorations faded through time, while multiple tempers are most common at late eighteenth-century Punta Rasa. Increasing temper variety demonstrates increased time spent producing ceramics, echoing

Nyman (2011) who argued that the amount of effort in pottery manufacture remained roughly the same after European contact. Incised designs dominated sixteenth-century assemblages while stamped designs did so after Yamasee ethnogenesis and in Yamasee sites along the Atlantic Coast. Punta Rasa in Pensacola instead has a roughly equal number of brushed treatments as stamped designs, likely demonstrating the economic, social, and political relationships with neighboring Creek Indians in addition to the maintenance of their earlier traditions.

Meanings Broadcast by Ceramic Practices: Location, Diversity, and Hybridity

Rather than relate specific ceramic types and varieties to specific people, my approach demonstrates the utility of examining tempers and decorations as separate parts of operational sequences. Temper changes more quickly as groups begin producing pottery at a new location, while surface treatments represent social relationships. Such diversity has often been interpreted as directly reflecting diverse ethnicities of potters. However, in addition to being a border zone that maintained ancestral techniques, Punta Rasa demonstrates local, neighboring, and ancestral traditions. Thanks to detailed census data by the Spanish and rich archaeological investigations, Yamasees offer a rare opportunity to trace changes in assemblage diversity through time and space. Codominance of Creek and Yamasee ceramic techniques in the Punta Rasa assemblage and of Yamasee and Timucua ceramic techniques at St. Augustine towns quantify the hybridity of these assemblages. Such hybridity demonstrates the social influence of multiple Native Americans, rather than Europeans, on potters of one ethnicity. My approach to hybridity not only quantifies its extent but builds on a small body of

literature that examines effects of multiple Native American groups.

New identities as well as hybrid practices emerged in the prehistoric Southeast as well. King and Sawyer (2017) interpreted one context of Etowah, which included nonlocal shell gorget designs as well as earlier Etowah ones, as indicating a new community who maintained their ancestral designs and adopted those ancestral to Etowah. Such hybridity allowed this new community to demonstrate they were both new and revived. Saunders (2017) interpreted Irene-period (ca 1300-ca 1580 AD) peoples along the Georgia coast as creating a new communal social identity with egalitarian governance and access to the supernatural. Her evidence includes the construction of a council house and burial and reshaping of a platform mound, which may reflect more egalitarian governance. The frequency of the fylfot cross ceramic motif, which she among others associates with the supernatural, may demonstrate communal access to the supernatural. Further studies that trace the manufacture and movement of such materials—as well as use of historical documents, oral histories, and indigenous writings—will hopefully contribute to continued examination of hybrid practices and new identities before and after European Contact.

Landscapes of ceramics practice do not necessarily reflect political or social landscapes. Decorations and tempers themselves do not directly represent Yamasee authority and instead reflect social and physical locations. Tempers generally demonstrate the area where women made pottery while decorations are more likely to demonstrate social connections. Such social connections included ceramic instruction mediated by women, trade to Europeans mediated by both genders, and the movement

outside of a town's boundaries by both genders (see Gougeon 2017 for discussion of Southeastern ethnographic analogies and gendered practices). Social interactions were also structured by unequal authority throughout the region, at times reflected by population sizes and at other times demonstrated through access to resources, trade networks, or other sources of authority. Historical documents written by Native Americans themselves demonstrate processes of authority, particularly between rather than within communities. The long-term perspective offered by Yamasees demonstrates the need to utilize Native American rhetoric for description of their political and social systems as well as the need to recognize that ceramic continuity and change reflects female practices rather than the political systems dominated by men. In addition, Yamasees demonstrate that ancestral traditions were selectively maintained or changed, though such actions may not fit with anthropological conceptions of revitalization movements.

Ancestral Traditions: Revitalization without Revolt?

Eighteenth-century Yamasees and other Native Americans along the Gulf Coast made connections to their Mississippian-era ancestors. If Yamasees consciously adjusted their culture in each new location, they may be considered in terms of revitalization, though such work largely focuses on religious movements. Wallace (1956:265) described revitalization as a "deliberate, organized, conscious effort by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture" in response to cultural distortion caused by stress. Groups consciously reformulate cultural patterns before communicating, organizing, adjusting, transmitting, and routinizing them. His approach interpreted the religious

movement of Seneca Prophet Handsome Lake and has aided archaeological understanding of the Pueblo Revolt and 1813-1814 Creek War. Redstick Creeks in 1813 “were to destroy all their cattle, hogs, and chickens, throw their iron hoes and axes into the rivers, even abandon their cornfields” to comprehensively reject American pressures to adopt such practices (Waselkov 2006:84). Prophets who urged such a message aimed to remake their world and cleanse it from pollutants (Waselkov 2006:84). Archaeological interpretation of this revitalization movement has demonstrated extensive changes in settlement patterns, including the entire abandonment of certain sites (i.e. Waselkov et al 1982; Waselkov and Wood 1986).

The 1715 Yamasee War, while larger in scale than the Creek War of 1813-1814 and more successful in changing the British trade than Redsticks were at stopping American expansion, involved neither the spiritual urgings of a prophet nor the revival of tradition. That conflict thus does not qualify as a revitalization movement. However, Yamasees never stopped referencing their ancestral past through town names and titles. Such conscious retention of names, coupled with retention of architectural, hunting, and war traditions maintained their culture in response to what Wallace termed distortion. Many approaches to revitalization describe such distortion in terms of Euro-American pressures, though Yamasees instead reflect the influence of neighboring Native Americans.

Yamasees adopted and maintained ancestral traditions at a small scale and perhaps less consciously than during revitalization movements. Archaeologist Alex Sweeney (2015) demonstrated that Yamasees in seventeenth-century South Carolina

maintained Mississippian-era burial traditions. Yamasees in Pensacola ticked ceramic rims, a decoration often assumed to belong exclusively to the Mississippian period along the Gulf Coast. However, Apalachees in the Mobile area continued to use this decoration technique after their 1704 move from their province east of Pensacola to the Old Mobile site west of Pensacola (Cordell 2002). This rim treatment, as well as incised decorations and shell temper, may represent another practice Yamasees borrowed from their Apalachee neighbors.

At an assemblage level, Punta Rasa potters created a community of practice combining local tempers and ancestral designs with Creek brushing/roughening techniques also used by Apalachees. In this sense, their assemblage represents a hybrid one and one that closely matches those used in the Pensacola garrison, demonstrating that production was likely done at the household level with minimal influence by Europeans. This minimal influence seems limited to vessel forms while neighbors influenced both temper and surface treatments. Yamasee potters at Punta Rasa also continued to stamp ceramics, as their ancestors did 400 miles away across 200 miles of Atlantic Coast for nearly a century. Yamasee conceptions of balance between vengeance and mercy, and use of particular signs for war and peace, were also broadly maintained for centuries. Maintenance of select ceramic, diplomatic, and martial traditions do not fit Wallace's (1956:265) definition of revitalization, though this Yamasee case study may aid archaeologists who are continuing to investigate revitalization and other continuity of tradition before European contact (e.g. Waselkov and Dumas 2009; Saunders 2017).

Yamasee Communities and Ongoing Research

Yamasees were essential to Spanish and British colonial efforts and their political rhetoric and daily ceramic practices are significant for historical and anthropological research in the Southeastern United States and beyond. Yamasee ethnogenesis demonstrates the roles agentive movements and landscapes of practice played in the emergence of their identity. Yamasees worked as middlemen for the Spanish and were particularly essential to trade in San Marcos de Apalachee and diplomacy in Pensacola. Their rhetoric, signs, and material culture demonstrate the role of community consensus and the flexibility in offices of authority, both of which challenge several interpretations of prehistoric iconography. Their diverse and hybrid ceramic assemblages, particularly at Punta Rasa, show the influence of other Native Americans rather than Europeans. Neither this perhaps unconscious influence nor the pan-Indian Yamasee War reflects revitalization though both occurred due to extensive social connections between Yamasees and other Native Americans. Similar connections, often as a result of movement across the landscape, influenced martial, diplomatic, and ceramic practices of other Native Americans groups as well. Eighteenth-century Yamasees in Florida offer such insights for a variety of other case studies though Yamasee communities did not end with the 1763 Spanish abandonment of Florida.

After 1763, Spaniards withdrew to Mexico and Cuba. St. Augustine Spaniards and Native Americans retreated to Havana, Cuba while Yamasees among the Tamatles along the Apalachicola visited for trade and religious conversion (Worth [2019]). Of the 184 Yamasees and Apalachees in the Pensacola area, 111 joined Spaniards in moving to

Veracruz, Mexico. Many died quickly; only 47 in 1765 created San Carlos de Chachalacas with 30 heads of household including seven leaders, twelve other men, and eleven women. The seven leaders included Apalachee Mayor Juan Marcos Ysfani, Yamasee Mayor Juan Joseph Micon, Yamasee Councilmen (*Regidores*) Francisco Micon and Luis de los Reyes, and Apalachee Councilmen Manuel Singulo and Nolasco de Jesus (Worth n.d). Chachalacas survives to this day, though those from Pensacola persist only in social memory, such as in a lyric of a fandango song sung by African Caribs in Sotavento, Veracruz that makes a pun of the “tail” meaning of the “cola” suffix of Pensacola:

“-? *Que quieres que te traiga de Panzacola?*

What do you want to bring of Pensacola?

--*Una paloma blanca con todo y cola...*”

A white dove complete with tail

(Garcia de Leon 1996: 118).

Those Apalachicola River Tamatles coalesced into Apalachicola Seminoles and went through Indian Removal in the early nineteenth century, soon ending up with other Seminoles in Oklahoma.

Other Yamasees coalesced with Apalachicola Seminoles and went through Indian Removal, ending up in Oklahoma, while other Yamasees remained in the Southeast. These individuals intermarried with other Native Americans and non-Native Americans given racial pressures of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Gilbert (1948:422) described 100 or more Cherokees and Creeks just north of Augusta, Georgia at the

Savannah River, including families Clark, Woods, Shaffer, and Deal. Of these, some of the Shaffer family moved to Michigan and shared Altamaha-Cherokee oral histories and customs—including the Cherokee story of Ocasta or Stonecoat— with James Howard (Howard 1959). Such groups demonstrate connections to multiple Native American communities through kinship as well as oral history.

Today, two groups identify specifically as Yamasees. Choobee Mico Se'khu Hidden Eagle Gentle leads the Yamasee Indian Nation in Allendale, South Carolina near late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century Yamasee sites investigated archaeologically. The Oklevueha Band of Yamasee Seminoles in Orange Springs, Florida trace descent to nineteenth-century Seminoles, including Yamasees. Denise Bossy is currently researching these communities to describe their communities from the nineteenth through twenty-first centuries. Her work, as well as a project I am starting with Joanne Braxton to investigate Red-Black identity of Weyanokes and other groups will develop the conclusions and ideas I have presented here. In addition, I hope my dissertation not only demonstrates the agency of Yamasees but their potential for developing archaeological, historical, and anthropological approaches for studying similar groups.

Appendix A: 1758 Treaty at Pensacola, Translation by John Worth

Archivo General de la Nacion Marina 17, Expediente 19, f. 305r-309v

In this post and presidio of San Miguel de las Amarillas, on the fourteenth of April of this year of seventeen fifty-eight, the señor Don Miguel Roman de Castilla, y Lugo, Colonel of Infantry of the Royal Armies, Political and Military Governor of this aforementioned post and presidio and its jurisdiction, Lieutenant Captain General and Inspector of its troops, convened in General Junta formed this day in the house of his residence, in which there attended the Very Reverend Fathers fray Luis Quixano, Preachers fray Joseph Nodal, fray Juan de Goyeneche, and fray Juan Antonio Hernández, and the señores Lieutenant Colonel Second Engineer don Phelipe Feringan Cortés, extraordinary engineer, and Commandant of Apalache don Juan Joseph Cotilla, Captain don Santiago Benito Eraso, Paymaster don Juan Antonio Ytuarte, Adjutant Major don Carlos López, Lieutenants don Joseph Escobar and don Pedro Amoscotigui y Bermudo, and Ensign don Francisco Solano Garcia. The said Junta was executed with the motive of there having arrived at this post on the tenth of the present [month] Acmucaiche, principal Indian of the pueblo of Tequipaxche, capital of the Province of the Talapuses, chief and superior casique of the said nation, in the company of thirteen casiques from the rest of the pueblos comprising that Province, his seconds [in command], and one hundred twenty-six Indians between principal [Indians] and warriors. The aforementioned requested by means of Andrés Escudero, principal Indian of the pueblo of Punta Rasa, that the said Junta be formed in order to discuss in it the business that occasioned their arrival, in consequence of what they resolved in the aforementioned pueblo of Tuquipaxche on the twenty-fourth of September of this past year of [seventeen] fifty-seven, where at the request of the named Andrés de Escudero, sent by the said señor governor with seven more Indians of this faction in order to inform himself about the motive and circumstances that caused the movement of war that the said Indians were undertaking against this post, that of Florida, and Apalache. Peace was achieved for then, which they offered to revalidate afterwards in this post. There attended the Junta the aforementioned Acmucaiche as head of all the Talapusa nation; Ymbinaqui, casique of the pueblo of Athasi; Chatapi, casique of Tuslibaxle; Ysimibitague, casique of Tushiache; Tibaxilaiche, casique of Thalci; Nitaxiche, casique of Colome; Falchilla, casique of Sabanuque; Ytimupanalla, casique of Calayche; Ysinsunque casique of Tilape; Afulufi, casique of Tasqui; Ymufi, casique of [Cayamxiqui?]; Titaafique, casique of Tulapuche; Annatiche, casique of Talaxaiche; Quilate captain of Auquipaxche; Ylxeaniqui, principal Indian of the said pueblo; Ufulqui, son of the field master General don Baltasar Balero, great casique who was of Cabeta; thirteen principal Indians who accompanied the thirteen casiques; the casiques and principal [Indians] of the two pueblos of this jurisdiction, Punta Rasa and Escambe; Andrés Escudero, casique who has been of the [pueblo] of Punta Rasa, and Joseph Marin, who served as interpreters. By means of the aforementioned, the said Indian Acmucaiche made his first speech, requesting permission to speak, which was granted. He said that since the beginnings of the first settlement of this presidio, which was erected on this same mainland, called Old Panzacola, those of his nation had been enemies of the Spaniards and Frenchmen, and we of them, and that

after many damages that they did to us, they discussed making peace with us, and some of the principal [Indians] of his province having determined to come and propose it, as they did, celebrating a Junta with the Spanish officers in the castillo that they had, which was executed with the ceremonies of having broken the weapons and buried them below the table where the Spaniards were writing the propositions with which they wanted to establish it. And regardless of us having failed to attend to them with those gifts that they offered them, not the slightest extortion by his [people] has been experienced since that time by this presidio, whether on the island or on this mainland. But since among them they have neither books nor letters like the Spaniards in order to write so that those who succeed them know it always, they have recourse to their elders so that with their children they pass the memory from one to another, and it is maintained among the casiques and principal [Indians]. And as this normally also becomes confused with time, considering all this in the aforementioned meeting which they had in his pueblo on the said day of September twenty-fourth of the past year of [seventeen] fifty-seven in the presence of Andrés Escudero and the seven principal Indians from the pueblo of Punta Rasa, on the occasion that some young Indian men from those of his province had gathered to make war against Apalache, intending to do the same with this post, and desiring to re-establish that ancient peace, the aforementioned Andrés Escudero persuaded them in the name of the said señor governor that the casiques and principal [Indians] of this time should not forget their early establishments from now on, they all offered to come personally to this presidio in order to re-validate the same agreement that their ancient predecessors had established, determining from then, as they executed, to command that the squads of Indian warriors who were outside [the pueblo] should withdraw, and those who went forth to reinforce the siege of Apalache should retreat. And in this attention he came with all the casiques and principal [Indians] of his province who were present, each one in name of his pueblo, and he in the [name] of all, to establish a general peace, constituting themselves from this day as subjects of the King of Spain, without the said province of the Talapuces, up to that of the Apiscas, its confederates, being able to take up arms against this presidio, that of San Marcos de Apalache, nor that of San Augustin de la Florida, with the Spaniards having to execute the same with them. With this new alliance, all those of these two nations can communicate with the Spaniards from one place to another as friends, and vassals of one single king, obligating themselves to be prompt to the defense and aid of the aforementioned three presidios and their jurisdictions whenever they should need it, and notify them about anything new that any other nations or vagabonds might attempt in harm of the Spaniards. And in demonstration of the sincerity and firmness of this contract, and that they constitute themselves, with all those of his Talapusa nation and including the Apiscas, as subjects and vassals of the King of Spain, submitting themselves beneath the Royal Patronage, they left in the possession of the señor governor, as a most solemn ceremony of their fidelity, a pipe of red stone, and two fans of white feathers, so that these three tokens might be guarded in the archive of this government, and serve for all time as instruments that vouch for this firm reconciliation, and that obligate them to fulfill it. And likewise, they will not impede anyone of their nation who wishes to be Christian, including both those in their own lands, where they will be pleased to admit missionaries who want to go instruct them, and

also those who might wish to come and reside in the pueblos in this vicinity, without this prohibiting free commerce with their houses and relatives. Having made this speech, explained by the aforementioned interpreters, the señor governor responded to them everything he could convey to the intent of this act, expounding at length with expressions that left them satisfied, and in demonstration that in the name of the king he admitted them and recognized them as subjects and vassals of His Majesty, he gave to each one of the said casiques and other principal [Indians] a patent as war captain, of which they have such appreciation, and to Acmucaiche, as principal head of them, another of captain commandant, so that all would obey him in the affairs of war, giving him a staff and other ornaments as insignia of his office, which he received with thanks and submission, newly ratifying the offered peace and subordination to the king a second and third time, in the company of all, saluting his royal name according to their style, and celebrating with a salvo of artillery and other demonstrations of joy equally among all. Concluding this act with all possible solemnity, they asked the señor governor for permission to name the aforementioned Indian Andrés Escudero as governor general of the two provinces of the Talapuses and Apiscas, in recognition of having been the means of returning to revive this ancient agreement, and having conceded it, they elected him immediately with all those circumstances and ceremonies most acceptable among them, requesting afterwards that this election be confirmed by the said señor governor, as was executed. Finally, they reminded us of the obligation which we had set up since that ancient peace to attend to them with the gifts that are customary between other nations and their allies, requesting that they be given different things that they needed, but giving them to understand the shortages that this post was suffering in order not to indulge them in everything they asked, they were given as much as possible. They satisfied themselves with requesting that notice be given to the Most Excellent Señor Viceroy of New Spain so that in view of everything he might take the steps to attend to what they sought, and that in case His Excellency did not act as they hoped, the señor governor would from now on permit them license for two principal [Indians] of their nation to pass to the kingdom [of New Spain] and make the request, as was done by don Baltasar Valero in times past. And requesting [license] to return to their province after two days, the Junta was concluded, which was signed on the said day, month, and year by the aforementioned governor and the rest of the señores attending, and [signing] for Acmucaiche and the rest of the casiques who comprise all the province of the Talapuces and Apiscas, the aforementioned Andres Escudero and Joseph Marin as interpreters – Miguel Roman de Castilla y Lugo – fray Luis Quixano – fray Joseph Nodal – fray Juan Thomas Goyeneche – fray Juan Anttonio Hernandez – Phelipe Feringan Cortés – Juan Cottilla – don Santiago Benito Eraso – Juan Anttonio Ytuarte – Carlos Lopes – Joseph de Escobar – Pedro Amoscotegui y Bermudo – Francisco Solano Garcia – As interpreters for the Talapuses Indians – Andres Escudero – Joseph Marin – San Miguel, April fifteenth of seventeen fifty-eight. Copies will be made in order to give an account to the Most Excellent Señor Viceroy of New Spain, and to remit to the señores governor and commandant of St. Augustine, Florida, and Apalachee, this original remaining in the archive of this government for its safekeeping. Roman. This is a copy of the original Junta that remains in the archive of this government. And so that it is thus on record, I certify it in this post

and presidio of San Miguel de las Amarillas on the eighteenth of April of seventeen fifty eight.

Miguel Roman de Castilla y Lugo.

Appendix B: 1761 Treaty at Pensacola, Translation by John Worth

Archivo General de la Nacion, Indiferente de Guerra 260B, f. 67r-75v

San Miguel de Panzacola, October 8, 1761

Duplicate copy of the instrument in which peace was celebrated with the pagan Indians of this continent, and the Spaniards of this post and presidio of San Miguel de Panzacola on the fourteenth of September of seventeen sixty-one.

[f. 69r]

Since the pagan Indians of the Alibamos and Talapuces have declared war against us since the day of the twelfth of February of this year, when they unexpectedly murdered a corporal and other people of the detachment at Punta Rasa, when its resident Indians were absent hunting, and on the following ninth of April, surprising another detachment of light cavalry in the pueblo of Escambe, with the loss of seven soldiers, these extortions have continued with the greatest cruelty up to the vicinity of this post, and almost in view of it, killing many persons including soldiers, Indians of our faction, and residents who unwarily strayed away from the its cannon range, entirely destroying the pueblos of this jurisdiction, plantations, and livestock, with fire and death. All this notwithstanding our having placed ourselves with the greatest speed in a state of the best defense, especially with the aid that we had from Havana of troops and munitions, which was requested in the name of the King, and the works that were constructed in this post for its greater security. And the señor don Miguel Román de Castilla y Lugo, colonel of infantry of the royal armies, political and military governor of this post and presidio of San Miguel de Panzacola, lieutenant captain general and inspector of its troops, has not ceased practicing all the means considered necessary to achieve a reconciliation with these nations, and the ancient tranquility in which we lived, by means of the governor of Luisiana Monsieur de Kerlerrec, communicating with the principal chiefs of the pagans through the Monsieur de la Nove, commander of the [Fort of the] Alibamos. After having overcome various inconveniences that presented themselves, there has been achieved the favorable effect of there having arrived at this post on the twelfth of the present [month] Monsieur Baudin, an officer of the French garrison of the said Fort of the Alibamos, and two of its soldiers, conducting under the flag of His Most Christian Majesty and the security of a safe passage that was sent for this purpose by the said señor governor to the aforementioned commandant Monsieur de la Nove, Thamatlemengo, great medal chief and [chief] of the Alibamos, authorized according to their custom with verbal power that was given him by the provinces contained in this war, and Ac mucayche, chief and superior casique of the Talapuces, accompanied by thirty-two pagans, between principal [Indians], casiques, and war chiefs of the aforementioned provinces, having come to formalize and establish the peace that is being negotiated. The aforementioned pagans having gathered in a General Junta of War and Finance on this day by disposition of the said señor governor, with three interpreters, who are the cited Monsieur Baudin, a French soldier named Chalui, on their side, and for our side don Andrés Escudero, casique of the pueblo of Punta Rasa of this jurisdiction, with his war captains and principal [Indians]; and the señores don Juan Antonio de Ytuarte, commissioned paymaster of this royal presidio and commissary of war; Lieutenant Colonel and Second Engineer don Phelipe Feringan Cortés; don Vicente Manuel de Céspedes; captain of grenadiers of the regiment of Havana, and commandant

of the troops who came in aid of this post; don Joseph de Escovar, captain of infantry of its garrison, and don Luís Ullate, [captain] of light cavalry; don Francisco de Alcaras, lieutenant of grenadiers of the aforementioned regiment of Havana; don Pedro Amoscotigui y Bermudo and D.n Juan Viberos, lieutenants of infantry of this garrison, and don Thomás Sebastián, [lieutenant] of the said company of light cavalry; don Ignacio de la Vega, second lieutenant of grenadiers of the cited regiment of Havana; don Carlos López, adjutant major of this post; don Bernardo Alfonso Gallegos, ensign of its infantry, and don Pedro Ximeno, [ensign] of cavalry; and from the company of militias of the batallion of black grenadiers of Havana, Thomás Cavallero, Francisco Xavier, and Francisco Xavier Toval, captain, lieutenant, and ensign. In the presence of all, the said señor governor expressed the contents of a letter that the aforementioned Monsieur Baudin brought him from the commandant of the Alibamos, in which the chiefs of the pagans, now determined to celebrate peace with us, made an address to him, which is the following, translated in Spanish: The war chiefs of the Abekaes; the uncle of the emperor of Cabeta, Escuchape; Tuquipachemeco, named here Ac mucayche, of the Talapuces; and Tamatlemengo, of the Alibamos, ask peace of the Spaniards, after much time that the chief of the French had been sending his word in order to obligate us to do it, until today we have been deaf, and our young men a little crazy. Our father still speaks to us, and it is not good to reject his word, since he seeks nothing else than to have us live, and our children and women. What has made the greatest impact on us is the silence of the Spaniards, since we were believing that they wanted peace, after so much time that we were calling to make it. In the end, our father, you have us all together here, consenting to your word, which is the same as the great chief of New Orleans, which is very strong and of great value. We ask peace of the Spaniards, notwithstanding the offenses and poor treatments they have done to us, and we desire to reconcile ourselves, although there has been blood spilled on one side and the other, now it should end, because in continuing the said war, the roads will close up, and traveling so much in the forests will make the straight paths forgotten, and since it has been a long time that we are lacking this communication, we now have desires to extend our hand to the Spaniards, and we hope that they will do the same, and will receive our word. The French are the fathers of all the red men, and [we hope that] the Spaniards will be the same with us. We will be their friends from now onward, and no sorties will be made against them, and they will do the same with us, because in the contrary, they will have many more enemies than they think. They will not take up arms from now on, and we will be peaceful. It is necessary to forget all the wrongs that have been done, since this is the word of our father the great chief of New Orleans, who wishes to have all the men, women, and children live, and maintain the paths white. The chiefs of the Cagetos and Cachetas say that they have not forgotten the ancient words of the Spanish, and they pray that they should be peaceful, and that their [people] who went to St. Augustine, Florida, and San Marcos de Apalache have the hand of the Spaniards. The aforementioned Kouktiabestonaque (who is Escuchape, the uncle of the emperor of Caveta) and Tuquipachemeco (who is Ac mucayche) send these words to Your Lordship, those which they have entrusted to their principal warrior Tamatlemengo. This speech having been explained by the three aforementioned interpreters to the said great medal chief, and recognizing himself as the same one who

did so in partnership with the cited chiefs to the commandant of the Alibamos, he said that he had come to this post under the white flag of France with an officer from the garrison of the Fort of the Alibamos named Monsieur Baudin and two of its soldiers, and [under] a safe conduct that the señor governor who is present sent to Monsieur de la Nove, commandant of the said fort, for the security of his arrival, and that he was accompanied by the principal [Indians] and war captains that he has in his sight, among them Ysitibaique, for the emperor of Cabeta, and two pueblos of the Talapuces, named Fusache and Atasi, all very desirous of reconciling with the Spaniards of this presidio, and the Yamaces Indians of its jurisdiction, and that the wars and murders that have been executed on both sides should cease, and that he, even from his provinces, had the hand joined with that of the Spaniards, soliciting with the chiefs and their neighboring pueblos the peace that he comes to establish among everyone. And he was bringing a long string of white beads that he tied together with a knot, leaving the ends free, and he delivered it to the señor governor in proof that the two roads of the Talapuces and Alibamos, which the war had turned red, and bloody, he wished to leave them white, and in peace, so that from now on the Indians of all the continent, and the Spaniards, could walk on them without any danger, and treat each other like brothers and friends. And in order better to assure their intentions, he likewise delivered to the said señor governor a fan of white feathers with which he had swept the roads of the color of blood, and he had left them white, and likewise a stone pipe for smoking tobacco, so that whenever they come to this post, they will receive them with the clear smoke that comes forth from it, in demonstration of the good faith with which they admit them. The casique of the pueblo of Fusachi placed another white fan in the hands of the said señor governor in the name of its principal chief, who on account of being very elderly did not come with them, and it represented his own hand as a friend, and that not even in these present wars did he wish to include himself, by being loyal to the Spaniards, and the same was expressed by the pueblo of Atassi. The chiefs of all the neighboring provinces, and those who have fomented the war, have attended with him at the Juntas that have been formed in the [Fort of the] Alibamos by the mediation of their father the great chief of New Orleans, Monsieur Kerlrec, communicated to the Monsieur de la Nove, commandant of that fort, and after having overcome many inconveniences that occurred on particular [matters], they have given him all their faculties for the arrangement of this peace, and that Acmuayche, chief of the Talapuzes, did not come on account of finding himself sick. The complaints that the pagans had against the Spaniards, and these [Spaniards] against the pagans, should absolutely not be referred to by anyone, because now they should only negotiate peace and friendship, without remembering the past, whether serious or trifling. And in attention to the fact that once the peace is precisely made, some principal chiefs and war captains of these newly friendly provinces should come to this post as they came before, the Spaniards should be obligated to give them gifts of shirts, tobacco, brandy, cloth, and other things that the French sell to them, so that in this manner the peace is maintained with them, since this lack has been one of the motives of the present war, and it will be especially indispensable that the thirty-two principal chiefs and captains who find themselves present be given some gift, even if he is not given anything. And a pagan Indian of the same Talapusa nation who finds himself in prison in this presidio on

account of the said wars should be released freely, because since he and his [companions] had come to establish a general pacification among everyone, there should be no one who is punished for the previous excesses. And he offers for his part, and for all the aforementioned provinces, and those who have been in war, to maintain the peace with the Spaniards and the Yamaces Indians of their faction truly and without any exception, and to be friends forever, so that both one and the other side can walk without danger, and communicate like brothers, as they did before. To these eight propositions, the señor governor responded in succession, as they were referred to by means of the said interpreters, in the following manner. To the first, second, third, and fourth, he gave him to understand how his arrival at this post had been celebrated, where he would be attended with the rest of the casiques, war captains, and principal [Indians] who accompanied him, with the corresponding esteem, and he thanked him for the good efforts with which he has confirmed the desires to facilitate the peace that he comes to establish in this presidio, for the general tranquility of one and the other [side], and the said señor governor received the gifts that he placed in his hand, saying that he would conserve them for the memory of what they signify. To the fifth, he responded the he always desired to accredit the to all the provinces the sincerity with which was maintained the peace that the señor governor himself celebrated in this post on the fourteenth of April of the past year of seventeen fifty-eight with Acmucaiche, chief and superior casique of the Talapuzes and Apiscas, and one hundred thirty-nine pagans who accompanied him, between war captains, casiques, and principal [Indians], and the good correspondence with the rest of the provinces of this continent. In this practice, he had given the corresponding orders so that the chiefs and the rest of the pagans who had to come to this presidio should be treated with the greatest courtesy, without giving them reason for the least complaint, and there recently having reached his notice the [complaints] that they have given of the Spaniards, and the offenses that they said they had received from them, which he never managed to understand, desiring to investigate the truth of these complaints, he wrote on repeated occasions to the governor of Louisiana Monseñor de Kerlerec in order to make the said pagans understand that all those who said they had been offended by the Spaniards could come to this post so that, in the presence of the said señor governor, they could tell him where and from which subjects they received the bad treatments that they were expressing, and when recognized in view of the aggressors, with their punishment they would be given the corresponding satisfaction, or in case of not being justified, they would be uncovered by everything being false. And if they did not wish to come personally to this investigation, they could express it with equal clarity to the commandant of the [fort of the] Alibamos, so that with his instruction whatever corresponded could be executed here. But seeing that none of these has wished to come, nor have they expressed the least feeling in the aforementioned manner to the said commandant, there is no doubt that they give reason to believe the opposite of what they were saying there, or at least that they did not do as they should, complaining to the said señor governor when they were treated badly so that he might punish whoever injured them. But lacking one or the other circumstance, and taking vengeance themselves with the murders of those who had not done them the least harm is behavior more than barbarous, and this experience should serve them in the

future as a rule not to split too hastily, believing whichever individual who goes to their provinces with some complaints without first finding out if they are true or false. To these expressions, the aforementioned great medal chief responded with the acceptance of all his captains that it seemed very well to him, and that from now on before giving assent to whoever might express some injury, they would take the step of dispatching notice for its investigation, with the goal that he who was guilty might be punished. To the sixth [the governor] responded that he [the great medal chief] should have sufficient experience of the courtesy and benevolence with which all the chiefs, captains, and other pagans who have come to this post have been received, waiting upon the principal [Indians] with the greatest satisfaction, including at the table of the señor governor and the rest of the señores officers, giving each ones the gifts that were possible, with respect to not having funds in this post destined by His Majesty for such gifts. In this assumption, it is impossible to establish, nor should they expect of them, what the French do with them, on account of the practice and orders that we have about this matter being very different. The goal of peace should not be the interest of these gifts, but rather in the tranquility that is enjoyed with it, and the liberty of being able to come freely to these presidios to sell their meats and other goods that their country produces for them, in order to provide themselves of that which is necessary for their conservation. Notwithstanding this, they will not fail to be attended with what can be managed voluntarily in accordance with the shortages we have in recent times, and that for the future, the Most Excellent Señor Viceroy of New Spain will be informed so that his excellency might do so to His Majesty regarding this matter, understanding well that the limited gifts that will be made to the present [visitors] will not serve as a rule for others who might come, since they should all wait for the determination of the said most excellent señor. To this, the great chief responded that regardless, he hoped that their aspirations would not be neglected, so that with the greatest firmness a faithful, fraternal alliance would continue between the Spaniards and his provinces, which would endure without rupture. To the seventh, [the governor] responded that with the motive of the present war, a Talapuz [Indian] was captured, and that in consequence of the murders that these were inflicting on the Spaniards and Indians of our faction, we could have taken his life as an enemy, but not only was this not executed, nor was he placed in hard labor as a slave, but instead they have maintained him without any other discomfort than the prison. In this they can consider the difference that there is between the piety of the Spaniards with them and the cruelties that they execute with the Spaniards, since although vengeance was in our hand, they have made no sorties to kill those who might be captured in this vicinity, nor did they do so to he who was imprisoned. Notwithstanding this, he would be delivered freely, although it would not in ratio, since the ransom of the prisoners that they had taken from us in the present war cost us more than one hundred twenty pesos each one, and they would be taking away the one we had without the least cost, for which it was necessary to exchange him for another of ours. The aforementioned great chief responded that the Talapus should be given to him, and that as soon as he reached his provinces, and the peace that had been celebrated with the Spaniards was made public, a war captain would come to bring an artilleryman that they had imprisoned named Gerbacio Rodríguez. With this, the said señor governor gave orders to send [word] to the Island for the pagan, where

he was in prison, and that he would be delivered under the specified conditions. To the eight, and last, question, [the governor] responded with the same benevolence and acceptance of the first ones. And all being considered by the señores governors and officers who found themselves present, and the Indians of our faction, the said señor governor, in name of His Majesty, offered the aforementioned great chief and the rest of the pagans to maintain with them and the rest of the included provinces the peace that they solicited, under the stipulated conditions, and the faithfulness with which they should adhere to it. And the said great chief Tamatlemengo with his companions obligated them in their name and that of all the rest of the provinces in their environs to observe and maintain with the Spaniards the aforementioned peace, with the conditions already arranged, and in sign of the most sincere, faithful reconciliation, they all gave their hands to the said señores governor and officers, and the Yamaces Indians of our jurisdiction, as the most expressive ceremony of true alliance among them. The said señor governor added to the aforementioned chief that, finding himself so satisfied by his conduct and good intentions, with which he always presents himself by his good heart, to pacify everywhere the riots and wars that are normally caused without cause, or the deceit that can foment malice in the case of some motive of various individuals, if an occasion similar to the present presents itself, he may come to this post freely, alone or accompanied, in order to discuss what seems to him to be useful to the common tranquility. To this end, from now on, he offers him in the name of His Majesty the same safe conduct that has been given to him now, and that he will receive him as a true friend who seeks the tranquility of both sides, and he will treat him with the esteem corresponding to such good service. [The chief] accepted it with signs of gratitude, offering to do this whenever it was suitable. With this, the aforementioned señor governor and officers, Monsieur de Baudin and the said Chalui as interpreters on behalf of the aforementioned great chief, his provinces, and the rest of the principal [Indians] and war captains, and the casique of Punta Rasa don Andrés Escudero for the Yamaces, and as interpreter for one and the other [group], signed this public instrument of peace, which was celebrated with a triple salvo of artillery in this stated post and presidio of San Miguel de Panzacola on the fourteenth of September of this year of seventeen sixty-one. Miguel Roman de Castilla y Lugo. Vaudin. Juan Antonio de Ytuarte. Phelipe Feringan Cortez. Vicente Manuel de Céspedes. Joseph de Escovar. Luís Joseph de Ullate. Francisco Alcaraz. Pedro Amoscotigui y Bermudo. Juan de Viberos. Thomas Sebastián. Ignacio de la Vega. Carlos López. Bernardo Alfonso Gallegos. Pedro Ximeno. As casique and interpreter, Andrés Escudero. As interpreter, Juan Luis Fontenos. Thomas Cavallero. Francisco Xavier Carques. Francisco Xavier Toval. San Miguel de Panzacola, September fifteenth, seventeen sixty-one. Make the copy or copies of the preceding instrument as needed in order to give an account to the Most Excellent Señor Viceroy of New Spain, the originals remaining in the archive of this government. Román. Don Miguel Román de Castilla y Lugo, colonel of infantry of the royal armies, political and military governor of this post and presidio of San Miguel de Panzacola and its jurisdiction, lieutenant of captain general and inspector of its troops.

Appendix C: Punta Rasa Ceramic Tempers, Surface Treatment, and Rim Details

Surface and Rim Treatments, Rim Form	Temper	Count	Count %	Weight	Weight %
Burnished	Grit	3	0.4%	6.7	0.5%
Burnished	Grog	3	0.4%	4.3	0.3%
Burnished	Grog/Shell	1	0.1%	5.6	0.4%
Burnished	Sand	11	1.4%	2.1	0.2%
Burnished	Shell	1	0.1%	28.3	2.2%
Check Stamped	Grog	3	0.4%	0.9	0.1%
Check Stamped	Sand	7	0.9%	4.7	0.4%
Complicated Stamped	Grit	43	5.3%	18.1	1.4%
Fabric Impressed	Sand	1	0.1%	126.1	9.8%
Incised	Grit	5	0.6%	4.2	0.3%
Incised	Grit/Mica	1	0.1%	4.7	0.4%
Incised	Grit/Shell	2	0.2%	4.1	0.3%
Incised	Grog	1	0.1%	2.4	0.2%
Incised, flat rim	Sand	1	0.1%	0.3	0.0%
Incised	Sand	17	2.1%	8.9	0.7%
Incised, ticked rim	Shell	1	0.1%	23.8	1.8%
Incised	Shell	11	1.3%	7.1	0.6%
Incised/punctated	Grog/Shell	1	0.1%	75.7	5.9%
Plain	Fiber	40	4.9%	83.7	0.3%
Plain, straight/flared rim	Grit	2	0.2%	0.7	6.5%
Plain, excurvate rim	Grit	1	0.1%	1.7	0.1%
Plain, flat rim	Grit	4	0.5%	6.2	0.1%
Plain, folded/pinched rim	Grit	1	0.1%	1.5	0.5%
Plain, ticked rim	Grit	1	0.1%	4.2	0.1%
Plain	Grit	87	10.7%	177.8	0.3%
Plain, folded/pinched rim	Grit/Grog	1	0.1%	1.6	13.8%
Plain	Grit/Grog	17	2.1%	32.3	0.1%
Plain	Shell	3	0.4%	1.9	2.5%
Plain, flat rim	Grit/Shell	1	0.1%	1.4	0.1%
Plain	Grit/Shell	3	0.4%	11.3	0.1%
Plain, straight rim	Grog	2	0.2%	1.6	0.9%
Plain	Grog	43	5.3%	95.2	0.1%
Plain	Grog/Mica	6	0.7%	29.8	7.4%
Plain, straight rim	Grog/Shell	1	0.1%	3.0	2.3%
Plain, flat rim	Grog/Shell	1	0.1%	0.5	0.2%
Plain	Grog/Shell	30	3.7%	55.2	0.0%
Plain	Mica/Shell	24	3.0%	18.1	4.3%
Plain, straight rim	Sand	18	2.2%	17.6	1.4%

Plain, flared/excurvate rim	Sand	3	0.4%	4.4	1.4%
Plain, incurvate rim	Sand	1	0.1%	5.3	0.3%
Plain, flat rim	Sand	4	0.5%	17.3	0.4%
Plain, rolled over rim	Sand	2	0.2%	4.6	1.3%
Plain, ticked rim	Sand	1	0.1%	2.9	0.4%
Plain, pinched rim	Sand	1	0.1%	1.5	0.2%
Plain, applique/pinched rim	Sand	1	0.1%	0.9	0.1%
Plain	Sand	175	21.6%	290.7	0.1%
Plain, straight rim	Shell	3	0.4%	1.3	22.5%
Plain, flared/excurvate rim	Shell	2	0.2%	5.1	0.1%
Plain, flat rim	Shell	2	0.2%	1	0.4%
Plain, folded/pinched rim	Shell	1	0.1%	9.4	0.1%
Plain, ticked rim	Shell	1	0.1%	11.9	0.7%
Plain	Shell	98	12.1%	223.7	0.9%
Punctated	Grog	1	0.1%	3.1	17.4%
Punctated	Sand	2	0.2%	4.5	0.2%
Brushed	Grog	5	0.6%	6.1	0.3%
Brushed	Grog/Shell	6	0.7%	13.8	0.5%
Brushed	Sand	53	6.5%	95.7	1.1%
Brushed	Shell	5	0.6%	8.9	7.4%
Cob Marked	Sand	9	1.1%	25.4	0.7%
Cob Marked, incurvate rim	Grog	1	0.1%	7	2.0%
Cob Marked	Grog	3	0.4%	12.2	0.5%
Cob Marked	Shell	1	0.1%	0.9	0.9%
Slipped, straight rim	Grit	2	0.2%	2.7	0.1%
Slipped	Grit	19	2.3%	27.3	0.2%
Slipped	Grit/Grog	1	0.1%	1.7	2.1%
Slipped	Grog	1	0.1%	0.9	0.1%
Slipped	Sand	4	0.5%	3.6	0.1%
Stamped, indeterminate	Grit	1	0.1%	2.5	0.3%
Stamped, indeterminate, ticked rim	Grog/Shell	1	0.1%	23.3	0.2%
Stamped, indeterminate	Sand	3	0.4%	8.1	1.8%

Appendix D. Native American Sherd Varieties at Presidio Santa Rosa (Adapted from Harris and Eschbach 2006:111-112)

Type/Variety	Count	Percent
Bell Plain	20	2%
Chattahoochee Roughened variety Chattahoochee	261	24%
Chattahoochee Roughened variety Wedowee	80	7%
Doctor Lake Incised	7	1%
Englewood Incised	4	0%
Fort Walton Incised	3	0%
Goggin Incised	1	0%
Goggin Plain	7	1%
Jefferson Check Stamped variety Leon	49	4%
Jefferson Cob Marked	76	7%
Jefferson Complicated Stamped	11	1%
Jefferson Incised variety Ocmulgee Fields	19	2%
Jefferson Incised variety Unspecified	16	1%
Jefferson Plain	52	5%
Jefferson Roughened	106	10%
Kasita Red	59	5%
Lake Jackson Plain	2	0%
Lamar Check Stamped	22	2%
Lamar Complicated Stamped	29	3%
Lamar Incised	4	0%
Lamar Incised variety Ocmulgee Fields	11	1%
Lamar Plain	52	5%
Limestone Tempered Plain	2	0%
Marsh Island Incised variety Marsh Island	11	1%
Mission Red Filmed	38	3%
Mississippi Plain variety Unspecified	16	1%
Pensacola Incised variety Unspecified	1	0%
Pensacola Mission Red	121	11%
Pensacola Plain	5	0%
Pensacola Red	10	1%
Point Washington Incised	1	0%
Prairie Cord Marked	2	0%
Prairie Fabric Impressed	1	0%
San Marcos Stamped	132	12%
St. Johns Plain	6	1%
St. Johns Roughened	3	0%
Walnut Roughened variety McKee Island	128	12%
Walnut Roughened variety unspecified	18	2%
Total	1105	

Appendix E. Surface Treatments, Rim Details, and Tempers at the Santa Rosa Garrison

Surface Treatment & Rim Details	Temper	Count	Count %	Weight	Weight %
Plain	Charcoal grog	2	0.0%	12	0.0%
Burnished, incurvate rim	Grit	1	0.0%	6.2	0.0%
Burnished	Grit	4	0.1%	20.1	0.1%
Burnished slipped	Grit	1	0.0%	4.7	0.0%
Check stamped, Flared excurvate rim	Grit	1	0.0%	3	0.0%
Check stamped	Grit	2	0.0%	22	0.1%
Incised	Grit	15	0.2%	34.9	0.1%
Simple stamped	Grit	1	0.0%	2.63	0.0%
Slipped	Grit	4	0.1%	9.9	0.0%
Stamped	Grit	3	0.0%	14.4	0.1%
Plain, flared excurvate rim	Grit grog	1	0.0%	2	0.0%
Plain, straight rim	Grit grog	4	0.1%	0.2	0.0%
Plain	Grit grog	66	1.0%	285.5	1.0%
Slipped	Grit grog	6	0.1%	9.5	0.0%
Plain	Grit grog shell	2	0.0%	23	0.1%
Plain, Flat rim	Grit shell	2	0.0%	10.7	0.0%
Plain, straight rim	Grit shell	1	0.0%	0.7	0.0%
Plain	Grit shell	14	0.2%	48.5	0.2%
Burnished, flat rim	Grog	2	0.0%	16.5	0.1%
Burnished, straight rim	Grog	2	0.0%	5.2	0.0%
Burnished	Grog	15	0.2%	91.2	0.3%
Check stamped	Grog	1	0.0%	5.9	0.0%
Cob Marked, Flat rim	Grog	1	0.0%	1.5	0.0%
Cob Marked, Incurvate rim	Grog	1	0.0%	1.7	0.0%
Cob Marked	Grog	67	1.0%	338.1	1.2%
Complicated stamped	Grog	13	0.2%	117.9	0.4%
Fabric Impressed	Grog	1	0.0%	10.5	0.0%
Incised, Flared excurvate rim	Grog	1	0.0%	11.7	0.0%
Incised, flat rim	Grog	2	0.0%	1.1	0.0%
Incised, folded rim	Grog	1	0.0%	2.3	0.0%
Incised, incurvate rim	Grog	1	0.0%	1.6	0.0%
Incised, straight rim	Grog	3	0.0%	58.3	0.2%
Incised	Grog	51	0.8%	224.9	0.8%
Painted	Grog	2	0.0%	3.7	0.0%
Plain, Applique Rim	Grog	1	0.0%	4.3	0.0%
Plain, Flared excurvate rim	Grog	18	0.3%	142.2	0.5%

Plain, Folded Rim	Grog	2	0.0%	1.8	0.0%
Plain, Flat Rim	Grog	49	0.7%	183.8	0.6%
Plain, Folded/Pinched Rim	Grog	16	0.2%	79.1	0.3%
Plain, Incurvate Rim	Grog	5	0.1%	30.6	0.1%
Plain, Rounded Rim	Grog	1	0.0%	1	0.0%
Plain, Scalloped Rim	Grog	2	0.0%	4.1	0.0%
Plain, Straight Rim	Grog	61	0.9%	270.3	1.0%
Plain	Grog	794	11.7%	4927.1	17.3%
Punctated	Grog	8	0.1%	30.8	0.1%
Roughened, Flared excurvate rim	Grog	1	0.0%	9.5	0.0%
Roughened, Flat Rim	Grog	2	0.0%	23.1	0.1%
Roughened, Straight Rim	Grog	2	0.0%	34.1	0.1%
Roughened	Grog	84	1.2%	437.9	1.5%
Slipped, Flat Rim	Grog	3	0.0%	11.2	0.0%
Slipped, Straight Rim	Grog	2	0.0%	12.5	0.0%
Slipped	Grog	70	1.0%	275	1.0%
Slipped burnished	Grog	1	0.0%	4.1	0.0%
Stamped, straight rim	Grog	1	0.0%	5.1	0.0%
Stamped	Grog	5	0.1%	18.9	0.1%
Zone painted incised, Straight Rim	Grog	4	0.1%	14.1	0.0%
Zone painted incised	Grog	30	0.4%	80.8	0.3%
Plain	Limestone	2	0.0%	2.6	0.0%
Plain	Micaceous sand grit	7	0.1%	58.6	0.2%
Plain, Flat Rim	Micaceous sand shell	1	0.0%	7.9	0.0%
Plain, Straight Rim	Micaceous sand shell	1	0.0%	0.9	0.0%
Plain	Micaceous sand shell	18	0.3%	74.9	0.3%
Brown slipped, flat rim	Sand	2	0.0%	7.1	0.0%
Brown slipped, straight rim	Sand	3	0.0%	3.6	0.0%
Brown slipped	Sand	52	0.8%	166.2	0.6%
Brushed, Flat Rim	Sand	4	0.1%	14.5	0.1%
Brushed, Straight Rim	Sand	2	0.0%	8.6	0.0%
Brushed	Sand	175	2.6%	723.6	2.5%
Burnished incised	Sand	1	0.0%	0.6	0.0%
Burnished slipped	Sand	1	0.0%	3	0.0%
Check stamped, flared excurvate rim	Sand	1	0.0%	28.9	0.1%

Check stamped, straight rim	Sand	2	0.0%	30	0.1%
Check stamped	Sand	66	1.0%	496.9	1.7%
Cob marked	Sand	67	1.0%	326.2	1.1%
Complicated stamped, Flat Rim	Sand	3	0.0%	5.7	0.0%
Complicated stamped, Straight Rim	Sand	2	0.0%	9.5	0.0%
Complicated stamped	Sand	22	0.3%	85.5	0.3%
Cord marked	Sand	2	0.0%	8.4	0.0%
Fabric impressed	Sand	1	0.0%	1.8	0.0%
Fabric Impressed	Sand	2	0.0%	18.7	0.1%
Incised, Flared excurvate rim	Sand	2	0.0%	4.8	0.0%
Incised, Flat rim	Sand	2	0.0%	2.9	0.0%
Incised, Folded rim	Sand	1	0.0%	1	0.0%
Incised, Incurvate rim	Sand	2	0.0%	18.5	0.1%
Incised, Straight rim	Sand	8	0.1%	27	0.1%
Incised	Sand	80	1.2%	238.9	0.8%
Incised punctated, Flared excurvate rim	Sand	2	0.0%	6.4	0.0%
Incised punctated, straight rim	Sand	1	0.0%	0.7	0.0%
Incised punctated	Sand	4	0.1%	1.4	0.0%
Net impressed	Sand	6	0.1%	20.6	0.1%
Plain, Applique	Sand	5	0.1%	22	0.1%
Plain, Flared excurvate rim	Sand	40	0.6%	139.3	0.5%
Plain, Flat rim	Sand	88	1.3%	248.7	0.9%
Plain, Folded rim	Sand	10	0.1%	28.8	0.1%
Plain, Folded/pinched rim	Sand	8	0.1%	26.2	0.1%
Plain, Incurvate rim	Sand	13	0.2%	96.2	0.3%
Plain, Lake Jackson rim	Sand	1	0.0%	25.2	0.1%
Plain, notched rim	Sand	1	0.0%	2	0.0%
Plain, scalloped rim	Sand	1	0.0%	1.5	0.0%
Plain, straight rim	Sand	137	2.0%	354.3	1.2%
Plain, ticked rim	Sand	1	0.0%	3.5	0.0%
Plain, vertical rim	Sand	1	0.0%	0.5	0.0%
Plain	Sand	2422	35.7%	4712.2 4	16.6%
Punctated, Straight rim	Sand	1	0.0%	1.4	0.0%
Punctated	Sand	8	0.1%	27.6	0.1%
Slipped, Flared excurvate rim	Sand	2	0.0%	8.9	0.0%

Slipped, straight rim	Sand	3	0.0%	3.5	0.0%
Slipped	Sand	50	0.7%	89.5	0.3%
Stamped	Sand	6	0.1%	26.4	0.1%
Burnished, flat rim	Grit	1	0.0%	4.7	0.0%
Burnished	Grit	7	0.1%	18.1	0.1%
Burnished, Flat rim	Sand fine	1	0.0%	14.7	0.1%
Burnished, Folded/Pinched Rim	Sand fine	1	0.0%	2.8	0.0%
Burnished, Incurvate Rim	Sand fine	1	0.0%	9.3	0.0%
Burnished, Straight Rim	Sand fine	1	0.0%	0.5	0.0%
Burnished	Sand fine	30	0.4%	125.2	0.4%
Plain, Flat rim	Sand grog	4	0.1%	8.4	0.0%
Plain, folded rim	Sand grog	2	0.0%	3.9	0.0%
Plain, Rounded rim	Sand grog	1	0.0%	12.6	0.0%
Plain, straight rim	Sand grog	7	0.1%	34.9	0.1%
Plain	Sand grog	80	1.2%	322.2	1.1%
Stamped or crossed simple stamped, Flared excurvate rim	Grit	2	0.0%	7.4	0.0%
Stamped or crossed simple stamped, Straight rim	Grit	6	0.1%	57.8	0.2%
Stamped or crossed simple stamped	Grit	107	1.6%	624.5	2.2%
Brushed	Shell	2	0.0%	13.4	0.0%
Burnished, Flat rim	Shell	2	0.0%	29.3	0.1%
Burnished, Incurvate rim	Shell	1	0.0%	1.9	0.0%
Burnished, Straight rim	Shell	1	0.0%	4.8	0.0%
Burnished	Shell	20	0.3%	76.4	0.3%
Check Stamped, flared excurvate rim	Shell	1	0.0%	27.8	0.1%
Check stamped	Shell	13	0.2%	148.4	0.5%
Cob marked	Shell	26	0.4%	198.8	0.7%
Complicated stamped, flat rim	Shell	1	0.0%	37.3	0.1%
Complicated stamped, straight rim	Shell	2	0.0%	3.4	0.0%
Complicated stamped	Shell	7	0.1%	26.2	0.1%
Incised, flared excurvate rim	Shell	2	0.0%	13.1	0.0%
Incised, flat rim	Shell	2	0.0%	8.4	0.0%
Incised, folded rim	Shell	2	0.0%	4.6	0.0%
Incised, straight rim	Shell	1	0.0%	1.3	0.0%
Incised	Shell	13	0.2%	50.6	0.2%

Incised punctated, flat rim	Shell	1	0.0%	10.9	0.0%
Plain, Flared excurvate rim	Shell	26	0.4%	100.4	0.4%
Plain, Flat rim	Shell	44	0.6%	183.8	0.6%
Plain, Folded rim	Shell	5	0.1%	9.3	0.0%
Plain, Folded/pinched rim	Shell	1	0.0%	2.3	0.0%
Plain, Incurvate rim	Shell	5	0.1%	57.1	0.2%
Plain, scalloped rim	Shell	1	0.0%	6.2	0.0%
Plain, Straight rim	Shell	61	0.9%	188.3	0.7%
Plain, Ticked rim	Shell	2	0.0%	5.6	0.0%
Plain	Shell	966	14.2%	6901.0 5	24.3%
Painted, flared excurvate rim	Shell	1	0.0%	1.5	0.0%
Painted, flat rim	Shell	5	0.1%	25.3	0.1%
Painted, incurvate rim	Shell	1	0.0%	11.2	0.0%
Painted, straight rim	Shell	6	0.1%	47.9	0.2%
Painted	Shell	100	1.5%	447.6	1.6%
Plain, Applique rim	Shell	3	0.0%	68	0.2%
Plain, flared excurvate rim	Shell	4	0.1%	132.5	0.5%
Plain, folded/pinched rim	Shell	2	0.0%	22.3	0.1%
Plain, rolled over rim	Shell	1	0.0%	3.9	0.0%
Roughened/brushed, flat rim	Shell	4	0.1%	37.1	0.1%
Roughened/brushed, incurvate rim	Shell	1	0.0%	31.4	0.1%
Roughened/brushed, straight rim	Shell	2	0.0%	15.8	0.1%
Roughened/brushed	Shell	110	1.6%	674.3	2.4%
Slipped, flat rim	Shell	1	0.0%	3.5	0.0%
Slipped, straight rim	Shell	1	0.0%	3.4	0.0%
Slipped	Shell	57	0.8%	207.1	0.7%
Burnished, folded/pinched rim	Shell grog	1	0.0%	4.6	0.0%
Burnished	Shell grog	3	0.0%	12.4	0.0%
Incised, flat rim	Shell grog	2	0.0%	12	0.0%
Incised, straight rim	Shell grog	2	0.0%	10.6	0.0%
Incised	Shell grog	19	0.3%	93.4	0.3%
Net impressed	Shell grog	1	0.0%	2.5	0.0%
Plain, flared excurvate rim	Shell grog	5	0.1%	43.3	0.2%
Plain, flat rim	Shell grog	7	0.1%	22.6	0.1%
Plain, folded rim	Shell grog	1	0.0%	1.3	0.0%
Plain, folded/pinched rim	Shell grog	2	0.0%	11.1	0.0%
Plain, incurvate rim	Shell grog	1	0.0%	9.9	0.0%

Plain, straight rim	Shell grog	7	0.1%	22.5	0.1%
Plain, ticked rim	Shell grog	3	0.0%	19.2	0.1%
Plain	Shell grog	156	2.3%	720.1	2.5%
Slipped, flat rim	Shell grog	1	0.0%	7.5	0.0%
Slipped	Shell grog	5	0.1%	19.8	0.1%
Plain, flared excurvate rim	Sponge	1	0.0%	0.1	0.0%
Plain, incurvate rim	Sponge	1	0.0%	15.1	0.1%
Plain, straight rim	Sponge	3	0.0%	20.5	0.1%
Plain	Sponge	1	0.0%	0.4	0.0%
Roughened	Sponge	3	0.0%	78.9	0.3%

Appendix F: Rim Details, Surface Treatments, and Tempers at Mission San Joseph de Escambe

Temper	Surface Treatment and Rim Details	Count	Count %	Weight	Weight %
Charcoal	Plain	2	0.0%	3	0.0%
Charcoal Grit	Plain	1	0.0%	5.4	0.0%
Charcoal Grit Grog Shell	Burnished	1	0.0%	0.8	0.0%
Charcoal Grit Shell	Slipped	1	0.0%	3.3	0.0%
Charcoal Grog	Plain	4	0.0%	4.8	0.0%
Charcoal Grog	Plain, flared excurvate rim	2	0.0%	2.4	0.0%
Charcoal Grog	Plain, flat rim	1	0.0%	2.3	0.0%
Charcoal Grog	Roughened Brushed	2	0.0%	12.8	0.1%
Charcoal Grog Shell	Plain	4	0.0%	13.9	0.1%
Charcoal Shell	Plain	4	0.0%	7.3	0.0%
Fiber	Plain	2	0.0%	2.8	0.0%
Grit	Burnished	1	0.0%	3.3	0.0%
Grit	Check Stamped	15	0.1%	84.4	0.4%
Grit	Cord Marked	1	0.0%	4.6	0.0%
Grit	Cross Simple Stamped	6	0.1%	20.5	0.1%
Grit	Fabric Impressed	1	0.0%	1.5	0.0%
Grit	Incised	6	0.1%	22.1	0.1%
Grit	Incised, straight rim	1	0.0%	1.3	0.0%
Grit	Incised, incurvate rim	1	0.0%	3.5	0.0%
Grit	Plain	417	4.0%	807.2	3.8%
Grit	Plain, folded rim	1	0.0%	2	0.0%
Grit	Plain, straight rim	4	0.0%	8.4	0.0%
Grit	Plain, rounded rim	2	0.0%	6	0.0%
Grit	Plain, flat rim	2	0.0%	5.5	0.0%
Grit	Punctated	1	0.0%	2.6	0.0%
Grit	Punctated, folded rim	1	0.0%	2.5	0.0%
Grit	Slipped	135	1.3%	153.3	0.7%
Grit	Slipped, straight rim	3	0.0%	4.4	0.0%
Grit	Slipped, incurvate rim	3	0.0%	4.8	0.0%
Grit	Slipped, rounded rim	2	0.0%	2.3	0.0%
Grit	Slipped, flat rim	3	0.0%	5	0.0%
Grit	Slipped, ticked rim	1	0.0%	1.7	0.0%
Grit	Stamped Indeterminate	2	0.0%	6.7	0.0%
Grit Grog	Check Stamped	8	0.1%	56.9	0.3%

Grit Grog	Plain	62	0.6%	154	0.7%
Grit Grog	Plain, straight rim	2	0.0%	1.9	0.0%
Grit Grog	Slipped	1	0.0%	1.3	0.0%
Grit Grog Shell	Incised	2	0.0%	3.4	0.0%
Grit Grog Shell	Plain	2	0.0%	3.9	0.0%
Grit Mica	Incised	2	0.0%	2.3	0.0%
Grit Mica	Incised, straight rim	1	0.0%	3.2	0.0%
Grit Mica	Plain	2	0.0%	7	0.0%
Grit Shell	Incised	1	0.0%	0.7	0.0%
Grit Shell	Plain	19	0.2%	27.3	0.1%
Grog	Burnished	30	0.3%	114.4	0.5%
Grog	Burnished, incurvate rim	2	0.0%	28.3	0.1%
Grog	Burnished Slipped	1	0.0%	0.9	0.0%
Grog	Check Stamped	59	0.6%	220.3	1.0%
Grog	Complicated Stamped	2	0.0%	29	0.1%
Grog	Eroded	1	0.0%	8.6	0.0%
Grog	Fabric Impressed	1	0.0%	11.5	0.1%
Grog	Incised	59	0.6%	123	0.6%
Grog	Incised, folded rim	1	0.0%	3.1	0.0%
Grog	Incised, straight rim	2	0.0%	7.3	0.0%
Grog	Incised, flared excurvate rim	3	0.0%	9.3	0.0%
Grog	Incised, flat rim	2	0.0%	4.3	0.0%
Grog	Incised, rolled over rim	1	0.0%	4	0.0%
Grog	Plain	1328	12.7%	2901.7	13.7%
Grog	Plain, folded rim	3	0.0%	4.2	0.0%
Grog	Plain, straight rim	24	0.2%	43.9	0.2%
Grog	Plain, flared excurvate rim	20	0.2%	153.8	0.7%
Grog	Plain, rounded rim	3	0.0%	14.4	0.1%
Grog	Plain, flat rim	16	0.2%	29.3	0.1%
Grog	Plain, notched rim	1	0.0%	0.7	0.0%
Grog	Plain, relief molded rim	1	0.0%	4.2	0.0%
Grog	Plain, rolled over rim	5	0.0%	8.7	0.0%
Grog	Plain, folded/pinched rim	3	0.0%	13.6	0.1%
Grog	Plain, thickened rim	2	0.0%	7.7	0.0%
Grog	Punctated	1	0.0%	11	0.1%
Grog	Roughened Brushed	201	1.9%	727	3.4%

Grog	Roughened Brushed, folded rim	1	0.0%	3.9	0.0%
Grog	Roughened Brushed, flared excurvate rim	1	0.0%	2.5	0.0%
Grog	Roughened Brushed, flat rim	2	0.0%	4.1	0.0%
Grog	Roughened Cob Marked	61	0.6%	245.6	1.2%
Grog	Slipped	35	0.3%	70	0.3%
Grog	Slipped, straight rim	4	0.0%	11.9	0.1%
Grog	Slipped, flared excurvate rim	1	0.0%	3.1	0.0%
Grog	Stamped Complicated	14	0.1%	49.9	0.2%
Grog	Stamped Complicated, straight rim	1	0.0%	1.8	0.0%
Grog	Stamped Indeterminate	6	0.1%	14.4	0.1%
Grog Limestone	Plain	9	0.1%	51.9	0.2%
Grog Mica	Plain	16	0.2%	24.9	0.1%
Grog Mica	Plain, straight rim	3	0.0%	10.2	0.0%
Grog Mica	Plain, flared excurvate	1	0.0%	0.9	0.0%
Grog Mica	Plain, flat rim	2	0.0%	2.1	0.0%
Grog Mica	Slipped	6	0.1%	17.9	0.1%
Grog Mica Shell	Plain	2	0.0%	3.5	0.0%
Grog shell	Stamped Indeterminate	1	0.0%	1.9	0.0%
Grog Shell	Burnished	12	0.1%	24.4	0.1%
Grog Shell	Check Stamped	2	0.0%	6.3	0.0%
Grog Shell	Incised	33	0.3%	83.6	0.4%
Grog Shell	Incised, flat rim	4	0.0%	24	0.1%
Grog Shell	Incised Punctated	2	0.0%	10	0.0%
Grog Shell	Incised Punctated, straight rim	1	0.0%	1.2	0.0%
Grog Shell	Plain	491	4.7%	1126.7	5.3%
Grog Shell	Plain, folded rim	2	0.0%	8.2	0.0%
Grog Shell	Plain, straight rim	11	0.1%	29.7	0.1%
Grog Shell	Plain, flared excurvate rim	1	0.0%	6.4	0.0%
Grog Shell	Plain, rounded rim	3	0.0%	6.3	0.0%
Grog Shell	Plain, flat rim	6	0.1%	14	0.1%
Grog Shell	Plain, rolled over rim	3	0.0%	11.8	0.1%
Grog Shell	Plain, folded pinched rim	1	0.0%	1.4	0.0%

Grog Shell	Plain, ticked rim	1	0.0%	1.1	0.0%
Grog Shell	Roughened Brushed	26	0.2%	94.1	0.4%
Grog Shell	Roughened Brushed, straight rim	1	0.0%	8.1	0.0%
Grog Shell	Roughened Brushed, flared excurve rim	1	0.0%	6.2	0.0%
Grog Shell	Roughened Brushed, flat rim	1	0.0%	0.8	0.0%
Grog Shell	Roughened Cob Marked	11	0.1%	40.4	0.2%
Grog Shell	Roughened Cob Marked, folded rim	1	0.0%	5.2	0.0%
Grog Shell	Slipped	11	0.1%	36.5	0.2%
Grog Shell	Slipped, straight rim	1	0.0%	3.8	0.0%
Grog Shell	Stamped Complicated	1	0.0%	1.5	0.0%
Limestone	Plain	2	0.0%	6.1	0.0%
Mica	Burnished	1	0.0%	2	0.0%
Mica	Burnished, straight rim	1	0.0%	8	0.0%
Mica Shell	Plain	28	0.3%	35.7	0.2%
Mica Shell	Plain, folded rim	1	0.0%	0.6	0.0%
Sand	Burnished	64	0.6%	174.2	0.8%
Sand	Burnished, folded rim	1	0.0%	0.6	0.0%
Sand	Burnished, straight rim	1	0.0%	0.5	0.0%
Sand	Burnished, rounded rim	1	0.0%	1.3	0.0%
Sand	Burnished, flat rim	4	0.0%	16.9	0.1%
Sand	Check Stamped	52	0.5%	285.1	1.3%
Sand	Check Stamped, straight rim	1	0.0%	10.6	0.1%
Sand	Check Stamped, rolled over rim	2	0.0%	14.5	0.1%
Sand	Cord Marked	4	0.0%	6.5	0.0%
Sand	Fabric Impressed	2	0.0%	9.2	0.0%
Sand	Incised	172	1.6%	302	1.4%
Sand	Incised, folded rim	2	0.0%	4.7	0.0%
Sand	Incised, straight rim	23	0.2%	69.4	0.3%
Sand	Incised, flared excursive rim	1	0.0%	3.8	0.0%
Sand	Incised, incurvate rim	2	0.0%	11.3	0.1%
Sand	Incised, flat rim	16	0.2%	59.6	0.3%

Sand	Incised, rolled over rim	1	0.0%	0.6	0.0%
Sand	Incised, folded/pinched rim	3	0.0%	12.4	0.1%
Sand	Incised, ticked rim	5	0.0%	9.7	0.0%
Sand	Incised Punctated	1	0.0%	2.7	0.0%
Sand	Plain	2672	25.5%	4190.8	19.8%
Sand	Plain, folded rim	8	0.1%	19.1	0.1%
Sand	Plain, straight rim	106	1.0%	148.1	0.7%
Sand	Plain, flared excurvate rim	27	0.3%	47.9	0.2%
Sand	Plain, incurvate rim	4	0.0%	8	0.0%
Sand	Plain, rounded rim	8	0.1%	11.1	0.1%
Sand	Plain, flat rim	54	0.5%	82.3	0.4%
Sand	Plain, rolled over rim	4	0.0%	20.2	0.1%
Sand	Plain, folded/pinched rim	13	0.1%	38	0.2%
Sand	Plain, applique rim	2	0.0%	5.4	0.0%
Sand	Plain, ticked rim	2	0.0%	9.3	0.0%
Sand	Plain, thickened rim	4	0.0%	17.7	0.1%
Sand	Punctated	15	0.1%	24.4	0.1%
Sand	Punctated, folded rim	1	0.0%	5.6	0.0%
Sand	Punctated, straight rim	1	0.0%	0.7	0.0%
Sand	Punctated, flat rim	1	0.0%	5.4	0.0%
Sand	Punctated, scalloped rim	1	0.0%	5	0.0%
Sand	Roughened Brushed	791	7.5%	1849.8	8.7%
Sand	Roughened Brushed, folded rim	1	0.0%	1.9	0.0%
Sand	Roughened Brushed, straight rim	5	0.0%	12.5	0.1%
Sand	Roughened Brushed, flared excurvate rim	34	0.3%	146.8	0.7%
Sand	Roughened Brushed, rounded rim	1	0.0%	1	0.0%
Sand	Roughened Brushed, flat rim	2	0.0%	3.6	0.0%
Sand	Roughened Brushed, folded/pinched rim	1	0.0%	13.6	0.1%
Sand	Roughened Brushed, thickened rim	1	0.0%	5	0.0%
Sand	Roughened Cob marked	21	0.2%	49.3	0.2%

Sand	Roughened Cob marked, straight rim	1	0.0%	0.4	0.0%
Sand	Roughened Stippled	4	0.0%	3.4	0.0%
Sand	Simple Stamped, straight rim	1	0.0%	11.7	0.1%
Sand	Slipped	104	1.0%	208.3	1.0%
Sand	Stamped Complicated	8	0.1%	33.8	0.2%
Sand	Stamped Indeterminate	3	0.0%	5	0.0%
Sand	Stamped Indeterminate, flared excurve rim	1	0.0%	1.6	0.0%
Shell	Burnished	19	0.2%	42.5	0.2%
Shell	Burnished, straight rim	3	0.0%	26	0.1%
Shell	Burnished, flat rim	2	0.0%	7.6	0.0%
Shell	Incised	149	1.4%	375.8	1.8%
Shell	Incised, straight rim	8	0.1%	28	0.1%
Shell	Incised, flared excurve rim	3	0.0%	15.1	0.1%
Shell	Incised, incurvate rim	1	0.0%	1	0.0%
Shell	Incised, rounded rim	2	0.0%	7.6	0.0%
Shell	Incised, flat rim	6	0.1%	32.4	0.2%
Shell	Incised, folded/pinched rim	1	0.0%	5.2	0.0%
Shell	Incised, ticked rim	2	0.0%	15.3	0.1%
Shell	Incised Punctated	8	0.1%	30.7	0.1%
Shell	Indeterminate	2	0.0%	10.5	0.0%
Shell	Plain	2358	22.5%	3653.9	17.3%
Shell	Plain, folded rim	1	0.0%	1.6	0.0%
Shell	Plain, straight rim	60	0.6%	137.47	0.7%
Shell	Plain, flared excurve rim	18	0.2%	75.77	0.4%
Shell	Plain, rounded rim	3	0.0%	6.7	0.0%
Shell	Plain, flat rim	29	0.3%	84.9	0.4%
Shell	Plain, pie crust rim	1	0.0%	5.3	0.0%
Shell	Plain, rolled over rim	5	0.0%	37.7	0.2%
Shell	Plain, folded/pinched rim	2	0.0%	5.6	0.0%
Shell	Roughened Brushed	127	1.2%	305.1	1.4%
Shell	Roughened Brushed, folded rim	1	0.0%	1.3	0.0%

Shell	Roughened Brushed, flat rim	1	0.0%	4.8	0.0%
Shell	Roughened Cob Marked	26	0.2%	50.7	0.2%
Shell	Slipped	27	0.3%	27.8	0.1%
Shell	Stamped Complicated	3	0.0%	8.4	0.0%

Appendix G: Diversity Tests

Berger-Parker dominance divides the number of object in the dominant category by the total number of objects. Dominance, where n_i is the number (n) of individuals of category i , is one minus the Simpson index. Dominance ranges from a value of zero in which all category occur in equal amounts to one in which a single category occurs:

$$\text{Dominance} = \frac{1}{\sum (n_i/n)^2}$$

The Simpson index, one minus dominance, measures the evenness of individuals within the category from zero to one. As the sample size increases, Simpson lends an increasing bias toward the more rare classes (Rhode 1988:711). Buzas and Gibson's evenness measures the degree to which individuals are evenly distributed among categories. Equitability, a similar measure, divides Shannon diversity by the logarithm of the number of categories. The Shannon index assumes a random sample and measures entropy, ranging from zero, which indicates a community with a single category to high values for communities with many categories possessing a few individuals.

$$\text{Shannon} = -\sum (n_i/n) \ln (n_i/n)$$

Menhinick's richness index divides the number of categories by the square root of sample size. Margalef's richness index is the number of categories minus 1 divided by the natural logarithm of the number of individuals. Fisher's alpha and Brillouin also analyze the prevalence of individuals in a category via the natural logarithm series. Fisher's alpha is defined through the formula below in which S is number of taxa, n is number of individuals, and a is the Fisher's alpha.

$$\text{Fisher's alpha formula: } S = a \ln(1 + n/a)$$

Brillouin equals the natural log of the factorial of the total number of individuals (N) minus the sum of each natural log of the total number of individuals for each category (n_i), all divided by the total number of individuals.

$$\text{Brillouin} = (\ln N! - \sum (\ln n_i!)) / N$$

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