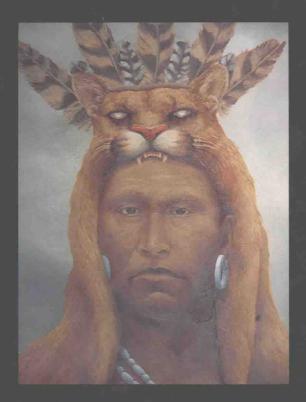
The Timucua

Jerald T. Milanich





The Timucua

Jerald T. Milanich



Copyright © Jerald T. Milanich 1996

The right of Jerald T. Milanich to be identified as author of this work has been asserted in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

First published 1996 Blackwell Publishers Ltd 108 Cowley Road Oxford OX4 1JF UK

Blackwell Publishers Inc. 238 Main Street Cambridge, Massachusetts 02142, USA

All rights reserved. Except for the quotation of short passages for the purposes of criticism and review, no part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior permission of the publisher.

Except in the United States of America, this book is sold subject to the condition that it shall not, by way of trade or otherwise, be lent, resold, hired out, or otherwise circulated without the publisher's prior consent in any form of binding or cover other than that in which it is published and without a similar condition including this condition being imposed on the subsequent purchaser.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data Milanich. Jerald T.

The Timucua/Jerald T. Milanich.
p. cm.—(The peoples of America)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 1-55786-488-8
1. Timucua Indians. I. Title. II. Series.
E99.T55M57 1996
975.9'01-dc20

95-40289 CIP

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A CIP catalogue record for this book is available from the
British Library.

Typeset in 11 on 12.5pt Sabon by Pure Tech India Ltd Pondicherry Printed and bound in Great Britain by Hartnolls Limited, Bodmin, Cornwall

This book is printed on acid-free paper

Preface

Name, nationality, and ethnic affiliation: Juan Alonso Cabale, Spanish, Timucua Indian.

Religious preference: Roman Catholic.

Date and place of birth: 1709, mission Nuestra Señora de la Leche, Florida.

Date and place of death: November 14, 1767, Guanabacoa, Cuba.

Wife's name, nationality, and ethnic affiliation: María Rosa Tuslipalea, Spanish, Yamasee Indian.

Children: Juan and Francisco, born about 1741 and 1742 in Florida.

Taken at face value, these biographical facts provide only a thumbnail sketch about a native American Indian who lived in Spanish Florida and died in Cuba more than two and a half centuries ago. But if we look behind these few particulars from one person's life, we will find an incredible story. Juan Alonzo Cabale, who died in a land far from his birthplace and the home of his ancestors, was the last of his people, the last survivor of perhaps as many as 200,000 Timucua-speaking Indians who once had lived in northern peninsula Florida and southern Georgia.

Almost nothing is known about the life of Juan Alonso Cabale beyond these facts derived from three historical documents: a census list in a Spanish archive; a parish registry from the church of Nuestra Señora Ascuncíon in Cuba; and the minutes of the cabildo, the town council, of Guanabacoa, Cuba. Even so, these

scanty details reflect the colonial period history of the Timucua Indians and the cultural changes which occurred after the conquest of Florida and Georgia by people from Europe.

For instance, Juan Alonso Cabale was born in a Spanish mission, not a native village, and he had a Spanish name, not a Timucuan one. He was married to a Yamasee Indian woman whose ancestry was from Georgia or South Carolina and whose native language was a Muskhogean dialect very different from the Timucua language; he did not marry a Timucuan woman. When he died, Juan Alonso Cabale was living in Cuba, not in Florida.

The reasons for these facts are found in the chapters that follow. We will learn that the ancestors of the Timucua had made their home in what is now northern Florida and southern Georgia for many generations. For thirteen millennia native American Indians had lived in what would become Timucuan territory, living off the land. The people fished, hunted, gathered wild plants, and cultivated crops.

Literally thousands of archaeological sites – village middens and sand mounds – still dot the landscape, offering mute testimony to the presence of these precolumbian people. Today names like Alachua, Arapaha, Aucilla, and Etoniah dot the landscape of Florida and southern Georgia, remnants of the world of the Timucua.

The Timucua were likely the first native American Indians living in what is now the southeastern United States to come in contact with people from the western hemisphere following Columbus's 1492 voyage. The first documented instance of such contact was with the expedition of the Spaniard Juan Ponce de Leon who landed on the Atlantic coast of northern Florida in 1513.

First Spain, then France, then Spain again sought to place the Timucua within their respective colonial empires. The history of the Timucua and the French and Spaniards in *La Florida*, as the southeastern United States was known, is so entwined that the story of the Timucuan people after 1513 cannot be told without also telling the story of the European explorers and colonists who invaded their land, bringing great changes to the Timucua's indigenous lifeways. Throughout the colonial period the Timucua sought to adjust to these changes and deal with the problems and challenges forced on them by the European

presence. To understand the Timucua is to understand the nature of European colonization and its impact. The very nature of Timucuan lifeways was in large part shaped by events of the colonial period.

Using the results of archaeological investigations at precolumbian villages and mounds we can reconstruct the culture of the ancestors of the Timucua prior to 1492, focusing on how they made a living, their material culture – tools and the like – and even aspects of social and political organization and their beliefs. And with both archaeological data and information gleaned from hundreds of Spanish and French documents and, to a lesser extent, English documents from the Carolinas, we can trace the history of the Timucua into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, providing insights into the impact of the European presence on native lifestyles.

In the early sixteenth century at the time of first contact with people from Europe native American Indians who spoke dialects of the Timucua language occupied most of the northern third of peninsular Florida, from the Aucilla River east to the Atlantic Ocean and south into the Lake District in Lake County west of Orlando. This large region includes the St Johns River north of Lake George and its tributary, the Ocklawaha. Timucuaspeakers also lived in a significant portion of south-central and southeastern Georgia.

The exact region in Georgia inhabited by Timucua-speakers is undergoing revision as more documents from the mission period are interpreted. The best evidence now at hand suggests the extent of the Timucua in Georgia is much greater than previously supposed. Timucua-speakers were living as far north as the forks of the Oconee and Ocmulgee River, which join to form the Altamaha River. The Altamaha River apparently forms the northern boundary of the Timucua.

This is a huge region which encompasses Suwannoochee Creek, the Satilla River, and the wetlands of the Okefenokee Swamp. Along the coast Timucua-speakers lived on Cumberland, Jekyll, and St Simons islands. This large tract of modernday Georgian Timucuan territory was nearly as extensive as the lands of the Timucua in northern Florida.

The many Timucua-speaking groups, or tribes, in northern Florida and southern Georgia were never united politically or ethnically. Indeed, some were at war with one another. It is their shared language that allows us to refer to these groups as Timucua Indians.

As we shall see in chapters 1 and 2, specific Timucuan groups can be correlated with several different archaeological assemblages. This is the result of their living in different environmental zones and having different histories, some of which can be traced back in time hundreds of years into the precolumbian period. Chapter 2 further describes who the Timucuan groups were and where they lived when they were first encountered by people from Europe.

In chapters 3 and 4 we will recount the colonial period history of the various Timucuan groups: the first invasions and attempts at settlement by Spaniards and Frenchmen, the subsequent successful colonization by the Spaniards, and the establishment of Franciscan missions among the Timucua.

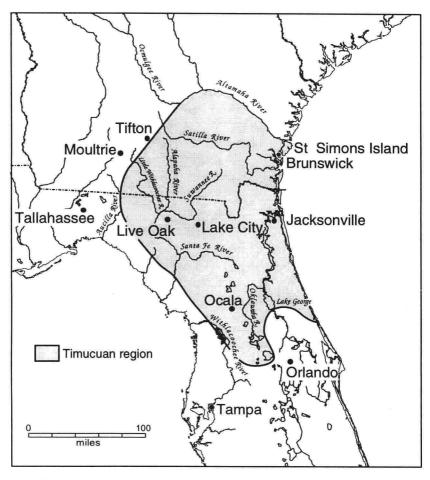
Chapters 5 to 7 describe aspects of Timucuan culture, such things as settlements, subsistence systems, social and political organization, and religion. Both information from archival sources and evidence from archaeology are used to show how these aspects of Timucuan societies changed as a result of Spanish conquest and colonization.

In the end the European conquest of La Florida proved catastrophic for the Timucua. Although they successfully adjusted to many aspects of the changes brought by the Spanish, the Timucua could not maintain their numbers in the face of diseases brought to North America from Europe and, perhaps, Africa. Epidemics and ill-health resulting from the stresses of colonization and the servitude it brought eventually overcame them. The final chapter traces the demise of the Timucua. Two hundred and fifty years after the landing of Juan Ponce de Leon, only one Timucua remained, Juan Alonso Cabale.

The Timucua were among the many American Indian groups who did not survive the European conquest of North and South America. The ancestors of Juan Alonso Cabale and the other Timucua Indians bore the brunt of colonial expansion, ultimately succumbing to it. Other groups in the eastern United States did survive the colonial era and their descendants today continue to live in that region and in Oklahoma.

It is my hope that learning about the Timucua will help all of us to better appreciate the histories of present-day native American Indian societies and the contributions those groups have made to our modern world. All our histories have been shaped by the incredible events set in motion five centuries ago when Juan Ponce de Leon first sailed to La Florida.

In writing this book I have relied heavily on the work of my colleagues, both archaeologists and historians. Many of their contributions to our present knowledge of the Timucua are alluded to in the text and referenced in the bibliography. I thank them all, especially John Hann and John Worth, whose respective archival research has provided quantities of new information on the Timucuan missions of seventeenth-century Spanish Florida. John Worth and Dean Snow both read this manuscript and made many comments which improved it immensely. They both have my thanks. I also owe a heavy debt of gratitude to Kathleen Deagan, whose own research on the Timucua was largely responsible for my undertaking this book.



Modern Florida and Georgia with the Timucuan region shaded

Contents

| Lı | st of Figures | X |
|---------|---|----------------|
| Li | st of Tables | xiii |
| Preface | | xv |
| 1 | The Beginning | 1 |
| | Paleoindians Archaic Period Cultures East Florida | 2 5 9 |
| | St Johns I Culture, 500 BC to AD 750 St Johns II Culture, AD 750–1565 | 12 15 |
| | Southeast Georgia and Northeast Florida North Peninsular Florida and Southern Georgia | 21 25 |
| | Alachua Culture, AD 600–1539 Suwannee Valley Culture, AD 750–1539 | 29 34 |
| 2 | Who Were the Timucua? | 38 |
| | Dialect Distributions Timucuan Groups | 41 44 |
| | What to Call Them Groups in East Florida and Southeast Georgia Groups in Northern Peninsular Florida and Southern Georgia | 45 47 53 |

| V111 | Contents |
|------|----------|
| | |

| | Appearance and Number of the People | 56 |
|---|---|-----|
| | Native Neighbors of the Timucua | 61 |
| | Linguistic Relationships of the Timucua Language | 63 |
| 3 | The Invasion | 67 |
| | Voyages to the Southeast United States The Expeditions of Pánfilo de Narváez and Hernando de | 68 |
| | Soto | 72 |
| | Fort Caroline and the French | 82 |
| | Pedro Menéndez de Avilés and the Conquest of Florida | 88 |
| 4 | Spanish Missions | 93 |
| | Early Missions | 95 |
| | Growth of the Timucuan Missions | 99 |
| | Early Mission Period Population Movements | 104 |
| | The Western Timucuan Rebellion and Mission | |
| | Reorganization | 107 |
| | Haciendas | 113 |
| | Agents of Change | 116 |
| 5 | Mission Settlements and Subsistence | 119 |
| | The Missions | 119 |
| | Interring the Dead | 125 |
| | Native Villages | 130 |
| | Native Buildings | 132 |
| | Making a Living | 137 |
| | Trade | 147 |
| 6 | The Organization of Societies | 150 |
| | The Sixteenth Century and Before | 150 |
| | Chiefdoms and Chieftaincy | 163 |
| | Effects of Seventeenth-Century Colonization | 166 |
| 7 | Beliefs and Behavior | 171 |
| | Traditions in an Old World | 173 |
| | Living "Under the Bell" | 185 |
| | Serving New Masters | 190 |

| Contents | ix |
|--|--------------------------|
| 8 The End | 196 |
| The Beginning of the End Epidemics during the Mission Period The Destruction of the Missions, 1680–1707 A People No More | 196 200 204 212 |
| Bibliography | 217 |
| Index | 227 |

List of Figures

| Frontispiec | e Timucuan region | |
|-------------|------------------------------------|----|
| Figure 1.1 | Paleoindian shoreline | 3 |
| Figure 1.2 | Archaeological sites and locations | 4 |
| Figure 1.3 | Cultures ancestral to the Timucua | 11 |
| Figure 1.4 | St Johns pottery | 13 |
| Figure 1.5 | Grant Mound | 18 |
| Figure 1.6 | Copper plate | 19 |
| Figure 1.7 | Alachua culture pottery | 33 |
| Figure 1.8 | Suwannee culture pottery | 35 |
| Figure 2.1 | Timucuan dialects | 42 |
| Figure 2.2 | Timucuan groups | 49 |
| Figure 2.3 | Chief Saturiwa | 5(|
| Figure 2.4 | A Timucuan woman | 57 |
| Figure 2.5 | A Timucuan man | 58 |

| | List of Figures | xi |
|------------|---|-----|
| Figure 2.6 | Shell earpins | 59 |
| Figure 2.7 | Neighboring groups | 62 |
| Figure 3.1 | Locations of Spanish explorations and settlements | 68 |
| Figure 3.2 | Route of Narváez expedition | 74 |
| Figure 3.3 | Route of the de Soto expedition | 78 |
| Figure 3.4 | Ribault's 1562 expedition lands on the St Johns River | 83 |
| Figure 3.5 | Fort Caroline | 84 |
| Figure 3.6 | Chief Utina and his warriors | 86 |
| Figure 3.7 | Spanish outposts | 90 |
| Figure 4.1 | Mission provinces | 97 |
| Figure 4.2 | Inland mission locations prior to 1633 | 102 |
| Figure 4.3 | Leon-Jefferson pottery | 105 |
| Figure 4.4 | Missions along the camino real | 108 |
| Figure 5.1 | Santa Catalina on Amelia Island, Florida | 121 |
| Figure 5.2 | Wattle and daub | 122 |
| Figure 5.3 | Christian burials | 127 |
| Figure 5.4 | Grieving widows | 130 |
| Figure 5.5 | Council house at San Luís | 135 |
| Figure 5.6 | Timucuan hunters in deer disguises | 141 |
| Figure 5.7 | Fish weirs on the St Marys River | 142 |

| U | f Figures |
|---|-----------|
| | · |

| Figure 5.8 | Ceramic dipper | 146 |
|------------|--|-----|
| Figure 6.1 | Chief Athore and Laudonnière | 152 |
| Figure 6.2 | A Timucuan chief and his principal men | 153 |
| Figure 6.3 | The wife-to-be of a chief | 154 |
| Figure 6.4 | Greenstone celt | 155 |
| Figure 6.5 | Chiefly officials | 159 |
| Figure 7.1 | Chief Utina's jarva | 179 |
| Figure 7.2 | Biconical pipe | 181 |
| Figure 7.3 | Copper panpipe cover | 182 |
| Figure 7.4 | Sporting contests | 184 |
| Figure 7.5 | Glass beads | 192 |
| Figure 8.1 | Curing the sick | 199 |
| Figure 8.2 | Santa Catalina ossuary | 206 |
| Figure 8.3 | Yamasee Indian pottery vessel | 207 |
| Figure 8.4 | Use of fire arrows | 210 |
| Figure 9 5 | Brass seal from Santa Catalina | 211 |

List of Tables

| Table 1.1 | Post-500 BC regional cultures | 8 |
|-----------|--|-----|
| Table 5.1 | Furnishings and ornaments for a typical doctrina | 124 |

The Beginning

American Indians lived in the region occupied by the Timucua Indians for at least 13,000 years prior to the sixteenth century and the appearance of soldiers, friars, and colonists from Europe. Throughout those thirteen millennia changes in the native cultures occurred as people adjusted to alterations in climate, increasing populations, new ideas and innovations, and, perhaps, the immigration of new groups.

Numerous archaeological sites, remnants of places where precolumbian people once lived or carried out other activities, have been excavated. Artifacts and other evidence left by early native people at those sites have been used by archaeologists to chart the nature and development of native American cultures through time.

Because there is no written record for these earliest people, names taken from modern geographical landmarks or from other sources have been assigned to the various precolumbian cultures. We do not know what names the people used to refer to themselves. It is only in the colonial period when the Spaniards, French, and other Europeans, as well as some native individuals themselves, provided written accounts containing references to the indigenous societies that the names of native groups were recorded.

Even though we may not know what names the precolumbian groups used to refer to themselves or to one another, we can use archaeological evidence to trace colonial period native groups back into the precolumbian period. In some portions of the large region once inhabited by Timucua Indians we can confidently