

# PRELUDE TO ABANDONMENT: THE INTERIOR PROVINCES OF EARLY 17TH-CENTURY GEORGIA

John E. Worth  
Fernbank Museum of Natural History

## INTRODUCTION: INTERIOR GEORGIA AFTER DE SOTO

The first penetration of interior Georgia by Spanish explorers under the leadership of Hernando de Soto has in recent years been the subject of scholarly research and popular attention, resulting in large part from the efforts of Charles Hudson and his students and colleagues in re-evaluating the route that the expedition took. As a result of this ethnohistoric and archaeological research, including efforts to provide alternatives to Hudson's route, a much clearer picture has emerged of the late prehistoric chiefdoms of Georgia and the Southeast at the moment of first European contact in the 16th century. Furthermore, the recent Columbian Quincentenary marked the culmination of many years of stepped-up research into the early colonial era, and in the case of the southeastern United States, this has manifested itself in an explosion of new information regarding the Spanish colonial system, including the late 16th and 17th-century Franciscan mission provinces of Florida and Georgia. As a result of this recent surge of research, investigators now have a much better grasp of the transformations that followed and resulted from European contact and colonization in the Southeast.

Much of this research has concentrated either on the transformations experienced by aboriginal provinces of the deep northern and western interior visited by the expeditions of Soto (1539-43), Luna (1559-61), or Pardo (1566-68), or on the missionized provinces of northern Florida and coastal Georgia during the late 16th and early 17th centuries (e.g. Smith 1987; Blakely 1988; Hann 1988; Hudson et al. 1984; Hudson 1989; Thomas 1987, 1990; McEwan 1991; Weisman 1992; Larsen 1990). Partly as a consequence of this, much of the immediate

frontier of the Spanish mission system, including a large part of present-day Georgia, has had comparatively little investigation and synthesis (with some notable exceptions, including a volume edited by Hudson and Tesser, in press). This is particularly true for the period following the early exploratory expeditions, when even the Spaniards possessed only limited knowledge about the interior.

Nevertheless, for many aboriginal societies in Georgia, this era was precisely the most important one for understanding the transformations that in most cases led to abandonment and relocation. During the late 16th and early 17th centuries, these Indian provinces remained largely beyond the realm of consistent historical documentation, but were nonetheless subject to considerable stresses as immediate neighbors of Spanish Florida. One by one, almost all of the indigenous societies of southern and eastern interior Georgia fell apart, their members either being drawn into the mission system or relocating among other groups on the frontier. What had been a substantially aboriginal social geography in these areas in 1600 gave way to a broad abandoned zone by the third quarter of the 17th century, ushering in a new landscape for the emerging Creek and Cherokee tribes.

Excluding Georgia's coastal zone, which was the scene of considerable activity during the first years of Pedro Menéndez's colony of *La Florida*, Georgia's interior coastal plain and piedmont regions remained effectively untouched for more than half a century following the initial visit of Hernando de Soto. During this time (1540-1600), there is good evidence for large scale migration in the core area of the prehistoric Coosa chiefdom, leaving the ridge and valley region of northwest Georgia vacant by the turn of the century (Smith 1987, 1989, 1992). A similar process may have taken place in northeast Georgia, where 16th-century settlements along the headwaters of the Savannah River seem to have been abandoned by the start of the 17th century (see Williams and Shapiro 1990; Anderson and Joseph 1988; Smith 1992). At the same time, the central and southwest Georgia provinces of Toa and probably Capachequi, along the Flint River, seem to have been abandoned as well (Worth 1988, 1989), and this fate may have been shared by the Ocmulgee River province of Ichisi (Hally and Rudolph 1986; Smith 1992). The remnants of these chiefdoms probably relocated to one or more of several aggregation points that emerged during the late 16th century (see Smith 1989), including the Coosa River of northeast Alabama, the lower Chattahoochee River, the middle



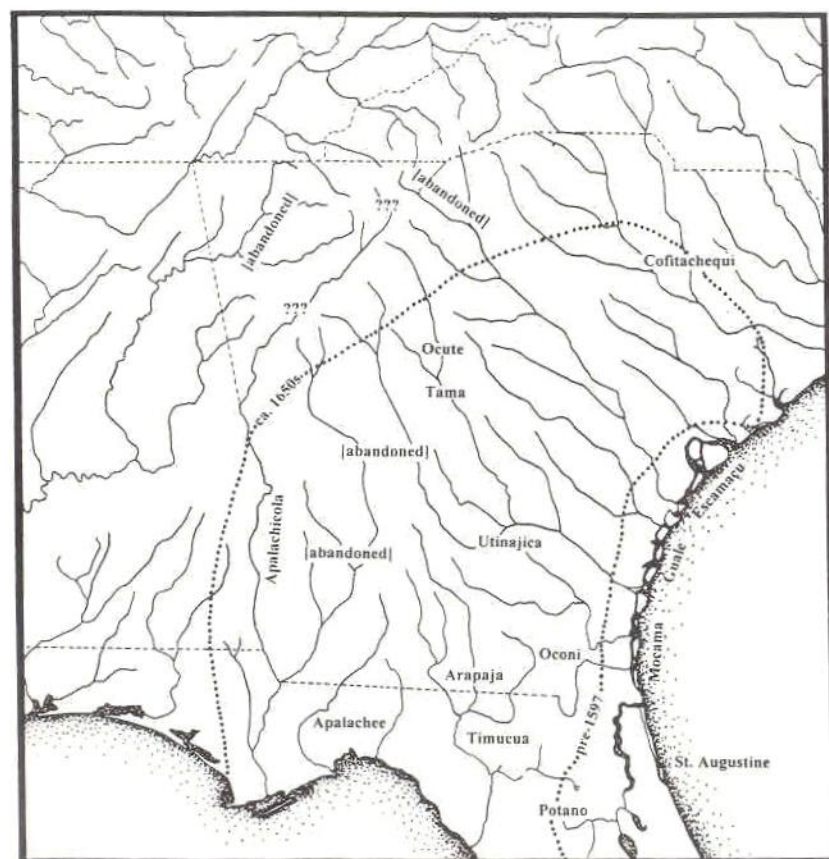


Figure 1. Social geography of early 17th-century Georgia. Dotted lines indicate expanding zone of direct Spanish contact.

## Interior Provinces of the 17th Century

Table 1: Chronology of Interior Georgia, 1597-1661.

- 1597 Fray Pedro de Chozas expedition reaches *Tama* and *Ocute*; Talufa and Usatipa provinces also mentioned.
- 1600 Governor Méndez de Canzo assembles testimony regarding the deep interior, including the Chozas expedition.
- 1602 Juan de Lara expedition reaches *Tama* and *Ocute*; testimony taken during review of the colony of Florida. Friars recount visits to interior provinces, including *Oconi*.
- 1604 Cacique of *Tama* meets Governor Ybarra during his visitation of Guale.
- 1616 Fray Oré journeys north from Florida's Timucua province to mission *Santa Ysabel de Utinahica*, descending by the Altamaha River to the Guale province.
- 1624 Governor Salinas sends two small expeditions into the northern interior in search of rumored white horsemen.
- 1625 Adrian de Cañizares expedition to *Tama* in search of white horsemen.
- 1627-1628 Two successive expeditions under Ensign Pedro de Torres pass through *Tama* on their way to Cofitachequi in South Carolina, both searching for the rumored white horsemen.
- 1630 Governor Rojas y Borja assembles testimony about provinces of La Florida; *Tama*, *Santa Ysabel*, and *Arapaja* mentioned. Francisco Alonso de Jesús mentions *Arapaja* in a request for pack animals for distant missions.
- 1636 Mission *Santa Ysabel de Utinahica* contributes two Indians to the yearly Spanish labor draft from the Guale province.
- 1639 *Apalachicola* province first mentioned in reference to unconverted groups bordering the Apalachee mission province.



Table 1 (cont.).

- 1645 Governor Rufz includes *Apalachicola* in his visitation of the western mission provinces.
- 1646 Governor Rufz sends infantry to forcibly relocate fugitive Timucuan Indians at the Lake of *Oconi* (unsuccessful).
- 1655 Mission list includes *Santa María de los Angeles de Arapaja* and *Santiago de Oconi* (said to be on an island). Mission *Santa Ysabel* not included on list. Governor Rebolledo sends Captain Juan Fernández de Florencia to burn *Santiago de Oconi* after capturing cacique; inhabitants flee.
- 1657- In the aftermath of the 1656 Timucuan Rebellion, Governor  
1660 Rebolledo orders northern Timucuan missions relocated southward. *Arapaja* towns move to mission Santa Fe along the Camino Real.
- 1659- Interior provinces ravaged by Chichimeco slave-raiders  
1663 from Virginia; many inhabitants flee to the fringes of the Spanish mission system, including *Tama* among the Yamasee. Chichimeco raiders return to *Tama* and *Catufa* following the 1661 assault on Guale.

---

Oconee River, and perhaps northwest Florida, in the region of the Apalachee province (although archaeological evidence for the latter is limited and presently inconclusive [see Worth 1992: 173, 185]). Despite present data limitations, it nevertheless appears quite clear that substantial transformations did take place in interior Georgia even prior to the beginning of the 17th century. Although a variety of forces may have been involved in these earliest abandonments and relocations, depopulation as a result of epidemic diseases introduced by Europeans seems to have played a significant role (Smith 1987).

Importantly, however, the fact that these earliest abandonments and transformations occurred prior to later Spanish and English contact during the 17th century makes archaeology virtually the only available source of evidence regarding the details

of this late 16th-century process. By the beginning of the 17th century, a large part of northern Georgia (including much of the Fall Line zone) seems to have been largely abandoned (see Figure 1). Although there are notable exceptions (as will be discussed below), the comparative lack of early 17th-century occupation in the northern Georgia interior has prompted Marvin Smith to ask, "Where are Georgia's seventeenth-century inhabitants?", describing such sites as "rare" (Smith 1992:29,84). Based on both archaeological and documentary information, this does indeed appear to be an accurate reflection of depopulation in many regions during the first half-century after de Soto.

A number of aboriginal societies survived this era, however, and persisted well into the next phase of Spanish colonization, namely missionization. During this period, Spanish observers were able to provide limited but valuable documentary information regarding these societies and their inhabitants, giving modern archaeologists the opportunity to add new depth and dimension to their analysis. Table 1 presents a brief chronology of Spanish activity in interior Georgia during this period. Occasional visits of friars and soldiers to the northern interior began again during the last decade of the 16th century from new missions on the Georgia coast, and mission provinces were established in north Florida beginning just after the turn of the century (see below), but it was not until the 1620s that a clearer picture of the more distant provinces emerged. By the second quarter of the 17th century, Spanish colonists and missionaries had begun to achieve a far better understanding of the social geography of the interior. In 1630, for example, at the request of Fray Francisco Alonso de Jesús, the Governor of Florida Don Luis de Rojas y Borja assembled several experienced soldiers for their testimony regarding the Indians of present-day Florida and Georgia (Rojas y Borja 1630). Among these men was a fifty-six year old soldier who provided a detailed geographic description of the interior provinces west of the Georgia/South Carolina coastal provinces:

...and with these two provinces [of Guale and Santa Elena] borders that of Tama, to the west, and it is some fifty leagues distant from them, a little more or less, and this [province] of Tama, which has its location in the middle of the land, borders with that of Santa Ysavel, to the southwest, some thirty leagues distant from Tama, and this [province] of Santa Ysavel borders



with that of Harapaha, a land of Christians, to the west another thirty leagues, and all flat land, and from the [province] of Arapaha one goes to the province of Apalachee, which is of pagans, fifteen leagues to the west...The province of Harapaha is some seventy leagues distant from this presidio [of St. Augustine] to the northwest...(Fernández de San Agustín 1630).

A comparison of the description above with the map in Figure 1 clearly demonstrates the somewhat skewed directional perspective of the early 17th-century Spaniards in La Florida, but the Fernández testimony (along with that of other soldiers who testified at the time) nevertheless provides important details regarding the relative locations of major aboriginal provinces, both converted and unconverted, including those within the interior of present-day Georgia. This information, supplemented with data from other early 17th-century documents, permits a glimpse into what were essentially the last decades of a largely indigenous aboriginal social geography for much of interior Georgia.

As will be seen below, by the late 1600s, the great majority of these surviving prehistoric societies had vanished, leaving most of interior Georgia a vast abandoned zone between the Spanish colonial frontier to the south and that of the English to the north. Only in the decades that followed would a new social order emerge, built out of the ruins of the prehistoric chiefdoms that once dotted Georgia's landscape. The early 17th century thus provides both a first and last opportunity to combine ethnohistoric and archaeological data about Indian societies that would soon give way to a changed world. The following overview represents only an early step, however, for as will become apparent below, most of the work remains to be done regarding this important period. Emphasis below is placed on the more recent and less well-known ethnohistoric and archaeological information relative to these early 17th-century provinces. Consequently, this article, used in combination with other recent and upcoming publications mentioned in the text, is intended principally as a review of both what is known and what can be suggested at present, and thus may serve as a guide for future investigations into this era in Georgia's history.

#### OCONI

The interior region of the lower Atlantic Coastal Plain,

bypassed by both the army of Hernando de Soto and the early colonial and missionary efforts along Georgia's barrier island chain, was not initially penetrated until the 1590s, and as such remained largely unknown to Spanish chroniclers until the early 17th century. One of the first Spaniards to venture beyond the immediate fringes of the mainland wilderness in this area was Fray Francisco Pareja, who in 1602 reported an earlier visit to the "land which is called Ocony, three days by road from the town of San Juan, and two from the town of San Pedro" (Pareja 1602). Pareja, who was at that time stationed at mission San Juan del Puerto at the mouth of the present day St. Johns River, indicated that Oconi's cacique had requested baptism "for him and his town, and the rest of the neighboring towns," suggesting at least a cluster of settlements within his jurisdiction. Pareja's description, along with an assortment of other evidence dating to the mid-17th century (see Worth 1992: 156, 183; and below), fixes the location of the Oconi town within or along the eastern fringes of the present-day Okefenokee Swamp (indeed, this geographical feature was subsequently known as the Laguna de Oconi, or the lake of Oconi).

Despite Pareja's early contact, there is no evidence to suggest that Oconi was missionized during the first quarter of the 17th century. Nevertheless, the next documentary reference to this area provides intriguing details regarding its population, revealing that due to its remote and inaccessible location, Oconi had become a refugee settlement, inhabited by fugitives from the *repartimiento* labor draft in the interior province of Timucua (Worth 1992: 155-8). In 1646, Governor Benito Rufz de Salazar Vallecilla sent a detachment of infantry northward to Oconi on a mission to forcibly relocate its inhabitants to the primary east-west mission road in northern Florida:

The Indians who are aggregated at the place which is called the lake of Oconi are fugitive Indians from the towns of the provinces of Timucua and other places, in order not to work, through having, as they have in the said place, roots, fish, and other fruits; and so that they do not live as barbarians, they have been given a missionary to live with them, and the missionary is very disconsolate, by the said place being more than twenty leagues distant from the nearest doctrina...(Rufz de Salazar Vallecilla 1646).



Although the order to relocate these Indians does not seem to have been carried out, its text is informative. The twenty-league distance, though possibly exaggerated, may imply that the inhabitants of Oconi had retreated deeper into the swamp since Pareja's visit (perhaps on an island). Furthermore, it is clear that by the late 1640s, a Franciscan mission had been established at Oconi.

Nearly a decade later, the name for this mission was revealed to be Santiago de Oconi, and was included on the 1655 mission list for La Florida (Díez de la Calle 1659). Although the reported distance from St. Augustine seems to have been distorted since the list was compiled as a visitation route (see discussion in Worth 1992: 70, 77-8), the 1655 list places Oconi on an island on the overland route between the coastal Guale and interior Timucua provinces, consistent with its situation in the Okefenokee. Retrospective evidence relating to a military expedition during this same period supports this conclusion, and furthermore provides details of Oconi's destruction at the hands of the controversial Florida Governor Don Diego de Rebolledo. During the posthumous judicial review, or *residencia*, one of the participating soldiers presented testimony about the 1655 attempt to relocate the inhabitants of Oconi to the depopulated mission Nombre de Dios just north of St. Augustine:

...in the province of Mocama, withdrawn from the village of San Pedro, which is the head of the said province, between two lakes [---] little towns [---] that the largest was Santiago, in which village a missionary served. The said villages are very remote from this city, and likewise withdrawn from the rest of the provinces, and because of the village of Nombre de Dios which is under the artillery of the fort having been depopulated, the said Don Diego de Rebolledo tried to reduce the said little towns to this [village] of Nombre de Dios, which would be more among the Catholics, and at hand for the service of the King, for which he called the caciques. The cacique of Santiago de Ocone having come to this city as head of the rest, he said to the Governor that they would come very willingly to settle where he commanded them, and furthermore that he [the Governor] would be well-served to give them time to gather what they had sown, from which the said Governor became infuriated and commanded him to be taken as a prisoner to the fort, saying that he had to stay until they came [---] vassals, and

of the rest of the caciques. Then he commanded Captain Juan Fernández to make the Indians come, and for this he should burn the houses. This witness found himself present when this happened, and afterwards the said Captain Juan Fernández went with some soldiers, and when he returned, he said to this witness that upon bringing all the people and having a meeting in the said village of Ocone, as the principal [village], in order to convey them to this city and the village of Nombre de Dios, the greater part of them fled to the forests, and most of them never again had recourse to the village, except for some who had gone to the village of San Pedro. This witness has done some tasks with those who are in the forest, and could not reduce them so that they might come under the bell (Alcayde de Cordoba 1660).

Beyond describing the burning of Santiago de Oconi and the flight of its inhabitants, the above testimony indicates that, at least by the middle of the 17th century, Oconi was considered to be a part of the province of Mocama, which extended at that time from St. Simons Island on the north to the mouth of the St. Johns River on the south (see Worth n.d. b). Its principal town, San Pedro de Mocama, was situated on the southern end of Cumberland Island, and as such was the nearest neighbor to the remote mission of Santiago de Oconi.

The brief and incomplete documentary record regarding the province of Oconi, spanning at its widest only 53 years from first contact to final destruction and dispersal, nevertheless provides the only information currently available regarding the aboriginal society situated in the Okefenokee Swamp area. Despite repeated surveys, this region has yet to produce unequivocal evidence of early 17th-century occupation (Chris Trowell, personal communication 1992). This is not particularly surprising, however, since the material culture of several important Timucuan-speaking groups has remained largely unexplored even in recent years. This includes the two societies on either side of Oconi: the Timucua province of north Florida, which has only recently been more fully described as the Suwannee Valley archaeological culture (see Weisman 1992; Worth n.d.a; and below), and the middle reaches of the Mocama province, which has only been subjected to limited archaeological investigations (Milanich 1971a, 1972). Perhaps in the light of even this limited historical evidence the Oconi province, and its principal town Santiago de Oconi, can finally be located and investigated in the ground.



## UTINAHICA

Deeper into the interior Atlantic Coastal Plain, yet another aboriginal society lay unknown to the Spanish colonists until the turn of the 17th century. On their return journey from the Oconee Valley provinces of Tama and Ocute (see below), the 1597 Chozas expedition (including three Spaniards and thirty Guale Indians) encountered a "more populous" region, and elsewhere I have suggested that this corresponds to the area of the late prehistoric Square Ground Lamar culture at and above the forks of the Altamaha River (Worth in press; and see Snow 1990). Although this province was only mentioned in passing with relation to the 1597 expedition, by 1616 it becomes clear that Franciscan missionaries had established a mission in this area, named Santa Ysabel de Utinahica. At that time, Fray Luis Gerónimo de Oré passed northward from the recently established missions of the Timucua province in north Florida on a visitation of La Florida that would eventually lead him to the Guale province on the Georgia coast (Oré 1936). His route, however, crossed a *despoblado*, or uninhabited zone, said to be 50 leagues across, at the end of which was the mission of Santa Isabel de Utinahica:

Here [at Santa Cruz de Tarihica] I determined to take a shortcut of very great labor, entering across a desert and uninhabited zone of fifty leagues in order to go to the convent of Santa Isabel de Utinahica, where the woods were closed up with a great density of trees and thickets. I passed through some towns of pagan Indians and was received by them with great contentment and demonstration of the desire that they had of becoming Christians.....Proceeding along our road, we arrived at another three or four little towns of pagans, and although we lacked food on account of it being Advent, the Lord provided a good gift of mushrooms that we gathered along the road in order to sustain ourselves with them in the hut or shelter that we made for sleeping in order to defend ourselves from great colds and downpours that rained down upon us, soaking and drenching us, including my tunic and papers. Our Lord provided much consolation and spirit until coming forth to Santa Isabel, crossing the turbulent rivers that, on account of being deep, could not be forded, nor did they have more of a bridge than a

long and thick pine by which the Indians who accompanied me crossed running, as someone who had lost the fear of those dangerous crossings, which I, confessing myself first, crossed in the name of Our Lord, and through the sacred obedience of my Prelates who commended this visitation and commission to me. Having visited the convent and missionary of Santa Isabel, and having preached to the Indians and examined them in the doctrine, we descended in canoes by a river larger than the Tagus [in Spain] to the towns of the language of Guale... (Oré 1936: 122-3).

Based on the known locations of both Timucua and Guale provinces, Fray Oré's route must have taken him through the northern populated reaches of the Timucua province (see Arapaja below) and around the western side of the Okefenokee Swamp (and the Oconi province) and north to the forks of the present-day Altamaha River, which he subsequently descended to arrive at Sapelo Island, where the next visitation was held in mission San José de Sapala (Oré 1936: 123). Interestingly, Oré's hint above that the inhabitants of Utinahica spoke the Timucuan language presents an intriguing dilemma for archaeologists considering the apparent material culture of the region (see below).

Mission Santa Ysabel de Utinahica persisted for at least two decades following Fray Oré's visit. In 1630, Santa Ysabel was described as an Indian province situated 30 leagues from Tama and 30 from Arapaja across level terrain (Fernández de San Agustín 1630). The last known documentary reference to this mission dates to 1636, when Santa Ysabel contributed two Indian laborers to the yearly repartimiento labor draft from the Guale province (Horrutiner 1636), suggesting that Utinahica was considered by Spanish authorities to be more connected to the northern coastal mission provinces of Guale and Mocama than to the western interior missions of Timucua. By the time of the 1655 mission list of Juan Díez de la Calle (1659), however, Santa Ysabel had vanished from the record of active missions, although it lent its name to the present-day Altamaha River for years to come (e.g. Díaz de Badajoz 1630; Aranguiz y Cotes 1661). Interestingly, however, a cacica (or female chief) of Utinajica, named Clara, was recorded in the official 1685 visitation of the relocated Mocama mission of Guadalquini (Leturiondo 1685), suggesting that the inhabitants of Santa Ysabel had relocated between 1636 and 1655



to the northernmost town of Mocama, San Buenaventura de Guadalquini, at that time situated on the southern tip of St. Simons Island. Utinahica's inhabitants, together with Guadalquini and the rest of the Mocama province, thus eventually retreated south to St. Augustine, leaving with the Spaniards during the late 18th century.

What I conclude to be the probable archaeological remains of the indigenous province of Utinahica, and possibly mission Santa Ysabel, have already been identified as the Square Ground Lamar culture of the Ocmulgee Big Bend region (although Lawson [1987] and Snow [1990] conclude that this was Tama; see below). Aboriginal ceramics dating well into the late prehistoric period have been documented, revealing the presence of an indigenous Lamar society extending from before the 15th century until the early 17th century. Interestingly, just as would be expected based on the documentary evidence for Utinahica, aboriginal occupation seems to effectively disappear after the first half of the 17th century. Furthermore, several late 16th and early 17th-century European trade items of probable Spanish origin have been encountered at sites in this area, confirming at least some contact with Spaniards from the coast. These objects include a fragment of metal and a blue glass bead from the Lind Landing site, a sherd of Spanish majolica from the Coffee Bluff site, and two copper finger-rings from the Bloodroot site (Snow 1990). Any one of these sites might be considered potential candidates for mission Santa Ysabel, although further work is clearly needed.

As mentioned above, the archaeological identification of the Timucuan-speaking province of Utinahica as Square Ground Lamar constitutes an intriguing anomaly, inasmuch as other prehistoric Lamar societies in central and southern Georgia, including that of Guale on the coast, have been identified as speaking the Muskogean language. Indeed, available archaeological evidence indicates that the rest of the Timucuan-speaking mission provinces of Spanish Florida, including Timucua (Johnson 1991; Weisman 1992; Worth 1992, n.d.a), Potano (Milanich 1971b), and central Mocama (Milanich 1971a, 1972) along the northern fringes of this language area, were not part of the broader Lamar culture area during the late prehistoric period (see Williams and Shapiro 1990). Since the Square Ground Lamar region is currently the best fit for documentary descriptions regarding the location of Utinahica (indeed the only known early 17th-century province on the Río de Santa Ysabel, or the present-day Altamaha River), archaeologists are confronted with the task of explaining the apparently unusual

combination of a Timucuan-speaking prehistoric Lamar culture. Furthermore, the probability that Utinahica eventually joined with the northernmost Mocama mission of Guadalquini, as yet unexplored archaeologically, poses an interesting research question regarding the material culture of Guadalquini on the southern tip of St. Simons Island (see Worth n.d. b). The appearance of Lamar-related ceramics at other sites on that island (see Thomas 1987; 1993) might indeed imply a phenomenon similar to that of the Square Ground Lamar society in the interior; specifically, yet another Timucuan-speaking Lamar society along the linguistic/material culture boundary noted above.

#### ARAPAJA

Although Hernando de Soto's army marched across the northern and western interior regions of modern Florida in 1540, followed by the occasional journeys of isolated French explorers from Fort Caroline in the mid-1560s and a single visit by Fray Baltasar López in 1597, the penetration of the Gulf Coastal Plain by Franciscan missionaries only began in earnest with the missionization of the Potano and Timucua provinces of north Florida after 1606 and 1608 (see Worth 1992). It was not until the 1620s, however, that missionaries crossed what is now the Georgia state line to establish missions in the interior of deep southern Georgia. Beginning with the 1623 conversion of the cacique of Cotocochuni (later to be known as the Yustaga province of north Florida), the upper reaches of the Suwannee River drainage were missionized in only a few years. The northernmost mission in this region, almost certainly situated just above the Georgia state line east of Valdosta, was that of Santa María de los Angeles de Arapaja, which seems to have been part of the most remote cluster of aboriginal villages associated with the Timucua mission province of northern interior Florida.

The first documentary reference to the mission at this site dates to 1630, when Arapaja was noted to be one of several recently founded missions in need of pack horses due to their remoteness (Jesús 1630). At the same time, several soldiers described Arapaja as a "land of Christians" situated some 30 leagues west of Utinahica across level terrain, and 15 leagues east of Apalachee (Fernández de San Agustín; López 1630). Its distance from St. Augustine was reported to be 70 leagues in a northwesterly



direction (Fernández de San Agustín 1630). Arapaja next appeared in Spanish records some 25 years later, when a brief surge in documentation during the late 1650s provided a final view of Arapaja before its relocation. The name of the Arapaja mission was revealed in the 1655 mission list to be Santa María de los Angeles de Arapaja (Díez de la Calle 1659). By that time, Arapaja was one of a number of other missions in what was at that time considered the Timucua mission province, comprising the three aboriginal societies of Potano, Timucua, and Yustaga (see Worth 1992). Although Arapaja seems to have been a small but largely independent cluster of villages on the northernmost frontier of the Timucua mission province, it was undoubtedly part of the broader aboriginal society of Timucua, and thus probably had sociopolitical connections with the rest of the Yustaga subregion. This might have included its nearest neighbor, Santa Cruz de Cachipile, postulated to have been located on the Withlacoochee River near the Georgia-Florida border (Worth 1992: 51-2, 349).

The events of 1656 that led up to the Timucuan Rebellion resulted in a comparative wealth of documentation regarding Arapaja and its status within the Timucua province. Although the details and subtleties of the rebellion are well beyond the scope of this article, several documentary references to Arapaja are pertinent. In late April, while on a fateful journey to personally deliver Governor Rebolledo's inflammatory order to draft 500 Indian warriors from Timucua and Apalachee for extended military service in St. Augustine, Captain Agustín Pérez de Villa Real ventured northward to Arapaja. Four years later, Pérez testified:

From [Niayca] this witness passed to the village of Arapaja....and in the said village of Arapaja, this witness made the order that he carried known to its cacique, called Pastrana, and he responded that he and his vassals would come to serve His Majesty like the rest of the caciques. Seeing that Pastrana was an old man, who is now dead, and that it was not suitable to put him on the road, and on account of the ministry, he [Pérez] said he should name a person in his place who might come with his people, and although at first he refused, he said he would name a person, as he did, and he named one of the principal Indians of his village (Pérez de Villa Real 1660).

Intriguingly, although most of the Timucua mission province

soon rose in rebellion, resulting in seven murders, the cacique of Arapaja was one of a handful of aboriginal leaders who ultimately decided to remain loyal to the Spanish military, assisting later that fall in the tense negotiations that led to the capture, trial, and execution of virtually the entire upper echelon of aboriginal leadership in Timucua (Worth 1992). Indeed, all of the northernmost missions in Timucua sided with the Spaniards, eventually surviving the rebellion of the more southerly missions along the original western mission road. In the aftermath, Arapaja's cacique was one of several elevated to more important leadership positions within the Timucua mission province, accepting Governor Rebolledo's plan for the geographical restructuring of Timucua.

By the spring of 1657, when Rebolledo conducted a formal visitation of Timucua (see Hann 1986), the cacique of Arapaja, Alonso Pastrana (either the same Pastrana noted above or his heir), was listed as the titular leader of both Arapaja and Santa Fe, an important Timucuan mission to the south whose cacique had been imprisoned following the rebellion (Worth 1992: 280). Subordinate to Arapaja were three satellite villages, including the only remaining active Potano mission of San Francisco, and two other missions named San Pablo and San Juan, which may have originally been satellites of Arapaja and which were at that time scheduled to relocate with Arapaja.

Although at the time of the 1657 visitation, Arapaja's cacique was said to be among those willing to relocate southward, providing his original territory was retained for his use, there is evidence that this was a forced move (Worth 1992). In 1658, Captain Martín Alcayde de Cordoba was directed to "dismantle" the northern Timucua missions, including the "Indians of the villages of Arapaja and its jurisdiction, which are three or four little villages of few people" (Alcayde de Cordoba 1660; and see Worth 1992: 299-300). Later evidence indicates that this plan of forced resettlement was indeed implemented by 1660 (Worth 1992: 303). Although Arapaja's cacique Alonso Pastrana does not appear in later records, the fact that the once subordinate mission of Santa Fe rose to the preeminent leadership position in the entire Timucua mission province by the 1670s suggests that the Arapaja chiefly lineage made a successful transition within the context of the late 17th-century colonial system of Spanish Florida. Nevertheless, the remnants of Arapaja, along with the rest of Timucua, accompanied the Spaniards in their departure from the North American continent



in 1763.

Mission Santa María de los Angeles de Arapaja has not yet been identified on the ground, and our understanding of the 17th-century archaeology of this area of the Georgia/Florida border is presently limited. Fortunately, recent survey and analysis in north Florida (Johnson 1991), combined with simultaneous excavations in the heart of the early 17th-century Timucua mission province (Weisman 1992; Worth n.d.a), have permitted the definition of the late prehistoric archaeological material culture of this interior region. The Suwannee Valley culture (roughly corresponding to Johnson and Nelson's [1990] Indian Pond complex), extending across much of the Suwannee River basin, represents a non-Mississippian culture that persisted throughout the late prehistoric era. It roughly corresponds at least to the Timucua region within the broader Timucua mission province (Worth n.d.a; 1992: 11-8). The Suwannee Valley culture, or a close variant, is known to extend at least as far as Hamilton County in the area of the lower Alapaha River drainage (Keith Terry, personal communication 1992), and thus it presently seems likely that the Arapaja society just north of the Georgia border was a part of this broad culture area. Future archaeological work along the Alapaha River (the name of which represents a direct link with Arapaja) may result in the identification of this northernmost mission within Timucua, permitting the exploration of what might be anticipated to be yet another late prehistoric site cluster within the Suwannee Valley culture area (see Johnson 1991; Worth n.d.a). The terminal occupation date of Arapaja can be fixed with some certainty at ca. 1658, making the mission's archaeological remains of potential value in the refinement of chronologies.

#### TAMA/OCUTE

The famed provinces of Tama (or Altamaha) and Ocute, first visited by the expedition of Hernando de Soto in the spring of 1540 (Hudson, Smith, and DePratter 1984), were not re-visited by Spanish explorers for well over half a century. During this time, what is known by modern archaeologists as the Oconee province (a name derived from the 18th-century name of the river as distinguished from the province of Oconi in southeastern Georgia) experienced apparently dramatic transformations, many of which are currently being revealed by archaeological investigation. In

stark contrast to the rest of the prehistoric provinces of northern Georgia, the societies of Tama and Ocute experienced a substantial *increase* in population following the Soto expedition, resulting in a comparatively massive expansion of settlement along the piedmont stretches of the Oconee River (Kowalewski and Hatch 1991; Smith 1992:31). Although archaeological data are presently limited, and conclusions as to the reasons for this demographic expansion must be considered tentative, the nature and scope of population growth in the Oconee Valley seem consistent with the conclusion that Tama and Ocute may have served as one of the zones of aggregation that developed during the widespread depopulation of the late 16th-century Southeast (Smith 1989).

Although details of this process are not within the purview of this paper, present data reveal that the Oconee Valley population increase was accompanied by significant expansion of settlement into the interriverine uplands, far from the rich floodplain habitats so favored by prehistoric Mississippian societies (Kowalewski and Hatch 1991). Additional populations seem to have dispersed into small farmsteads or hamlets over a broad area, where the expansion of population seems to have peaked toward the last quarter of the 16th century. Estimates of maximum population range into the tens of thousands (Kowalewski and Hatch 1991: 10-12). Whatever the cause, available evidence indicates that the provinces of Tama and Ocute flourished demographically following the expedition of Hernando de Soto, reaching a summit toward the turn of the century. It is no surprise, therefore, that the first small Spanish expedition from St. Augustine into the deep northern interior was directly to Tama and Ocute.

Between 1597 and 1628, perhaps five small Spanish military expeditions actually visited the province of Tama, possibly still centered at the Shinholser site at the Fall Line. I have discussed the details of these expeditions elsewhere (Worth in press), but it is instructive to review some of the more pertinent ethnohistoric information that resulted from the accounts of these journeys. The first two expeditions, led by Fray Pedro de Chozas in 1597 and Juan de Lara in 1602, were sent in comparatively rapid succession, and both within the term of Governor Gonzalo Méndez de Canzo (Salas 1600; Escobedo n.d.; Lara 1602; Méndez de Canzo 1602). Each of these early expeditions seem to have visited both Tama and Ocute, which still seem to have been politically linked, though under the overall leadership of the cacique of Tama (Lara 1602). In



a poem based on Chozas' exploits, Fray Escobedo (n.d.) listed a total of four "kingdoms," or provinces, including two others in addition to Tama and Ocute (apparently named "Quaque" by Chozas):

In another kingdom, that had as its name Quaque, which is farther on from Tama, and in Talufa, of very high renown, Chozas the Franciscan calls to all, and in Usatipa he preached like a man who inflames the soul to serve the Lord, in such a manner that the great Chozas to whom I refer converted three kingdoms, except the first (Escobedo n.d.).

Of the two additional provinces noted by Escobedo, at least one (Talufa) seems to have been a tributary of Ocute during the Hernando de Soto expedition, referred to then as Patofa. Usatipa may also have been a subordinate Oconee Valley cacique in 1597.

Interestingly, both of these early expeditions were forced to turn back, heeding warnings of hostility deeper in the interior (although as will be seen below Gaspar de Salas was made aware of populations just over four days away from Ocute). Ocute's cacique warned the members of the Chozas expedition not to go forward, for the Spaniards would surely be killed as had been done in Soto's time (Salas 1600). Escobedo (n.d.) also noted that after converting the previously mentioned provinces, Chozas "could not preach in another land, because its kings, [on account] of others offended, made crude war against them." It therefore seems probable that other aboriginal groups farther into the northern interior were hostile toward Spaniards by the end of the 16th century, and that Tama and Ocute (along with their tributaries) were perhaps the most distant provinces that maintained at least comparatively amicable relations with Spanish Florida early in the 17th century.

Nevertheless, there are indications that in 1597 Tama's cacique was unable to take a firm stand in favor of Chozas and the Spaniards, possibly due to political pressure exerted by other factions under his control (see Worth in press). Although agreeing to convert to Christianity on Chozas' initial visit, the cacique renounced his decision upon the Spaniards' return journey, and nearly succeeded in having the friar scalped before the party's hasty return to the coast (Escobedo n.d.). The specific reasons for this change of heart are less than clear, but the fact that the scalp was to be awarded to the winner of a contest between Tama's cacique and

another chief suggests that the decision was influenced by other aboriginal leaders. Despite Chozas' early failure, Tama was visited on several subsequent occasions, and was for many years considered a prime candidate for missionization and even colonization.

Documentary evidence for the locations of Tama and Ocute at the beginning of the 17th century appears to indicate that the Bell phase occupation of the Oconee River Valley can be equated with these two provinces, providing evidence for occupational continuity between 1540 and 1597 (Smith 1987, 1992; Worth in press; but see also Lawson 1987). Although I have discussed this evidence in detail elsewhere (Worth in press), it is instructive to note that while both Gaspar de Salas and Governor Méndez later estimated the distance from St. Augustine to Tama as only 50 leagues (Salas 1600; Méndez de Canzo 1602), the fact that their journey from Guale took some eight days (Salas 1600) provides confirmation of Juan de Lara's later estimate of 60-70 leagues inland from Guale (Lara 1602). Archaeological evidence for these early expeditions to Tama and Ocute is sparse but nonetheless telling. Chozas is known to have brought many items with him into the interior, including knives, fish-hooks, scissors, sickles, axes, and chisels, along with "very fine beads of glass" (Escobedo n.d.). Some of these may well have been recovered by modern archaeologists, for contemporaneous aboriginal sites in both Tama and Ocute have produced a handful of late 16th/early 17th-century glass beads, along with occasional peach pits, glass, iron fragments, and even sherds of Spanish majolica (Williams 1990; Kowalewski and Hatch 1991; Smith 1992). Of course, some of these items may have made their way into the interior as a result of indirect trade with the Atlantic coastal mission provinces of Guale and Mocama, similar to the largely undocumented 17th-century flow of Spanish goods into the northern interior provinces of the Gulf watershed from the Apalachee and Timucua mission provinces (Waselkov 1989; and see below). Nevertheless, at least a portion of the Spanish items recovered from the Oconee Valley were probably a direct result of the expeditions of Chozas, Lara, and others noted below.

Tama was visited again at least once, and probably three times, during the mid-1620s, when Governor Rojas y Borja followed his predecessor Juan de Salinas in dispatching several fruitless searches of the interior for rumored white horsemen (see Worth in press). In 1625, Ensign Adrian de Cañizares y Osorio traversed the



"more than one hundred leagues" between St. Augustine and Tama, "with much risk to his life by all that province of Indians being pagans and very bellicose warriors, and enduring many hardships by walking on foot out and back with weapons shouldered" (Cañizares y Osorio 1635). The failure of Cañizares to discover the source of these rumors prompted even more ambitious expeditions, and two years later the first of two major expeditions under Ensign Pedro de Torres may have passed through Tama as a stepping stone on its way to the northern province of Cofitachequi, of Soto and Pardo fame (Worth in press). Like the last Spaniards who crossed the vast and uninhabited Savannah River Valley between Tama and Cofitachequi, Torres's party nearly starved before being discovered by the Indians of Cofitachequi, who refused them entry due to "wars that they were having with other nations" (Argüelles et al. 1678). The second Torres expedition of 1628, finally succeeding in reaching Cofitachequi, may also have used Tama as a conduit, although the province was not mentioned in Governor Rojas's account (Rojas y Borja 1628).

As in the 1597 and 1602 expeditions, the accounts dating to the 1620s suggest that Tama was not a province at peace with its neighbors. The sense of hostility expressed in Cañizares's account is complemented by the fact that regular communication and travel does not seem to have been maintained between Cofitachequi and Tama, since when Spaniards finally crossed this buffer zone they were at first refused access. Unlike the earlier accounts, however, the secondary province of Ocute does not appear in the later documents, suggesting that its power may have waned during the first quarter of the 17th century. Archaeological evidence seems to back this up with an apparent drop in population following the turn of the 17th century in the region identified as Ocute (Kowalewski and Hatch 1991). The lack of comparable evidence from the Fall-Line zone around and below the contemporaneous Bell phase occupation (more than three hectares in area) at the Shinholser site (Tama) makes it presently impossible to gauge population trajectories in this more southerly province (see Kowalewski and Hatch 1991; Williams 1990).

In 1630, following the last of the Spanish military reconnaissance expeditions to Tama, St. Augustine's veteran soldiers described Tama as being 50 leagues from the coast "in the middle of the land" (Fernández de San Agustín 1630). No clear evidence exists for any subsequent Spanish *entradas* to Tama, and

indeed the next documentary reference to the province dates more than 30 years later, and relates to the final years of Tama in its original location. Following the establishment of trading relations between the immigrant Rickahecrian Indians and Virginia colonists in the late 1650s (Swanton 1922; Crane 1956), a new era dawned in the history of interior Georgia. As I have detailed elsewhere (Worth n.d. b), the year 1659 witnessed the arrival of these northern raiders in the deep interior Southeast, wielding firearms from Virginia in search of Indian slaves. By 1661, these Indians came to be known by Spanish authorities as the Chichimecos (referring to a nomadic group on the northern frontier of New Spain), at which time a fleet of war canoes descended the Altamaha River to mount a direct assault on the missions of Guale. Although mission Santo Domingo de Talaje at the mouth of the river was destroyed in the attack, the Chichimeco slave-raiders were repulsed by Spanish infantry, and retreated back into the interior "to the provinces of Tama and Catufa" (Aranguiz y Cotes 1661).

This is the last known reference to the province of Tama in its original location deep in the Georgia interior. The name of Catufa, probably the Patofa of Soto's era and the Talufa of the Chozas expedition, apparently vanished after this time. Within two years, at least some of the remnants of the Oconee Valley provinces had regrouped along the fringes of the Spanish mission system, becoming part of a group known by that time as Yamasees (Worth n.d. b). At first remaining in the unconverted Escamacu province of coastal South Carolina, the Yamasees eventually fled further depredations and settled within the mission provinces, where by 1675 the name of Tama was listed among the towns in both Mocama and Apalachee (see Worth n.d. b and Hann 1988). When the cacique Altamaha accompanied other Yamasees in a mass removal from Mocama and Guale after pirate raids in 1683, settling on an island on the lower South Carolina coast, Tama then became an English-allied Yamasee town, sponsoring its own slave-raids into Spanish territory after 1685 (Worth n.d. b). Pushed farther inland by Spanish reprisals in 1686, Tama became one of the better-known Yamasee towns in South Carolina, the site of which has recently been subjected to archaeological investigation (Green 1991). Ultimately, however, like other Yamasee towns involved in the revolt of 1715, the remnants of Tama once again joined the Spanish-allied Indians around St. Augustine, retreating to the south with the Spanish in 1763.



## APALACHICOLA

The deep interior province of Apalachicola, situated along the Lower Chattahoochee River in western Georgia, first appears in Spanish colonial documentation only following the 1633 establishment of the Apalachee mission province of northwest Florida, at the western end of the east-west mission road from St. Augustine. The prehistoric Indian chiefdoms known by archaeologists to have been situated along the Chattahoochee Valley were, curiously, totally circumvented by Soto's army in 1540, leaving Spaniards apparently unaware of this region's population for more than a century afterward. In 1639, Governor Damián de Vega, Castro, y Pardo made reference to having mediated a conflict between the Apalachee province and three others, including Apalachicola (Vega, Castro, y Pardo 1639). Shortly thereafter, as the missionization of Apalachee accelerated, the province of Apalachicola seems to have been the focus of an increasingly important illicit trade network extending deep into the northern interior. In 1645, newly installed Governor Ruiz conducted the first formal visitation of the western mission provinces, including Apalachee and Timucua (Hann 1988; Worth 1992). During that trip, the Governor also made his way north into the Apalachicola province, establishing trading contacts that were to persist for decades (Hann 1988: 16,140,183).

Although quite poorly documented during its early years, the northern trade with Apalachicola seems to have flourished during the late 1640s and 1650s, for by the time of the 1657 visitation of Apalachee and Timucua, the burgeoning trade was already a source of strife between soldiers and missionaries in the mission provinces (see Hann 1986). Interestingly, the extent and scope of such trade is perhaps best known from recently synthesized archaeological data (Waselkov 1989). The distribution of mid- to late-17th century European trade goods, including sheet brass ornaments such as disk gorgets, collars, arm bands, and animal effigies, along with Spanish iron hoes, argues for the existence of a "sustained, small-scale trade to the interior Southeast," extending far beyond the Apalachicola province of the lower Chattahoochee River, and into eastern Alabama and Tennessee. This trade would ultimately become an important feature of European/Indian interaction with the aboriginal inhabitants of the Apalachicola province.

The window of ethnohistoric documentation does not fully

open for the Apalachicola province until much later in the 17th century (and long after the period of principal interest here), when the lower Chattahoochee Valley emerged as the aggregation site of the future Lower Creek tribe. Nevertheless, archaeological data reveal an effectively continuous occupational sequence extending deep into prehistory (see Knight and Mistovich 1984; Williams and Shapiro 1990). The late prehistoric Stewart phase is followed by the early historic period Abercrombie phase (A.D. 1550-1625), and subsequently by the Blackmon phase (A.D. 1625-1715), both of which fall within the period of interest here, and both of which have produced archaeological evidence of Spanish trade. What is perhaps most important is the fact that archaeological and documentary information confirms a largely unbroken sequence of aboriginal occupation along the Lower Chattahoochee River from the late prehistoric period until the last decade of the 17th century (when many of these towns fled Spanish influence to settle briefly amongst Carolina traders on the middle Ocmulgee River in central Georgia).

The reasons for the persistence of Apalachicola seem to be related once again to this area's status as an aggregation point during the devastation of the early historic period (Smith 1989; and above). Perhaps partly as a consequence of its relative isolation from Spanish missionaries and colonists until well into the 17th century, and its perceived value for both Spanish and later English trading activities, Apalachicola ultimately became a haven for refugee groups fleeing from the north and east, potentially experiencing effects of immigration similar to that already demonstrated for the Oconee Valley province. Ultimately, however, Apalachicola (unlike Tama and Ocute) survived the arrival of the Chichimecos, remaining by the last quarter of the 17th century as a last bastion of aboriginal occupation in the Georgia interior. Principally for this reason, a substantial amount of ethnohistoric detail regarding Apalachicola is available for the late 17th and particularly the 18th century, permitting a more thorough examination of this society than will ever be possible for those provinces abandoned before the 1660s.

## UNDOCUMENTED PROVINCES

Figure 2 summarizes graphically the times for which there is



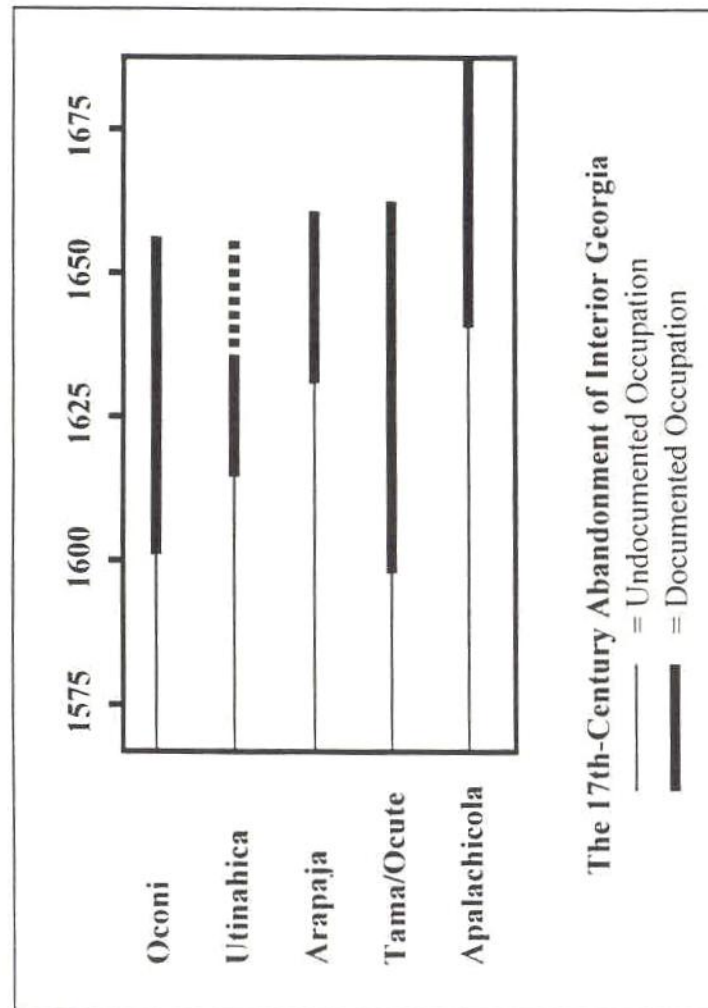


Figure 2. The 17th-century abandonment of interior Georgia.

documentary evidence from the 17th century for the five interior Georgia provinces just discussed. Archaeologists have found evidence for aboriginal occupation in early 17th-century Georgia that is as yet unidentified in the Spanish documents. This does not mean that the names of these towns or societies do not appear in Spanish colonial records, but simply that an association has yet to be clearly established between the inhabitants of certain geographic locations in Georgia and named aboriginal groups in the documents. Such identifications may well be possible in the future, particularly given a more complete archaeological and documentary data base. Nevertheless, at the present time there are several archaeological sites in Georgia which, although they show relatively unambiguous evidence for occupation during the early 17th century, remain unidentified by modern scholars.

One of these areas is the Dog River Valley, along the middle to upper reaches of the Chattahoochee River drainage in the piedmont. Here, four isolated aboriginal structures of the late Lamar culture have recently been excavated, revealing evidence of comparatively short-term occupation apparently beginning after the 1540 Soto expedition (Poplin 1990). Radiocarbon dates between A.D. 1552 and 1645, and a single glass bead dating to the late 16th or early 17th century, indicate that this area was probably inhabited to at least a limited extent during the period of interest here. There is some hint from the 1597 Chozas expedition of populations even deeper into the interior than Ocute (see above; and Worth in press). The soldier accompanying Fray Chozas later recounted that the inhabitants of Ocute described a mountain "very high, shining when the sun set like a fire" which was four days travel from Ocute, and that on the other side of this mountain lived a "short-haired" people, and there were signs of cut pines (Salas 1600). This might possibly have been a reference to Stone Mountain, placing the location of these other people in the general vicinity of the Chattahoochee River drainage, and thus perhaps even associated with the Dog River occupation noted above.

The geographical proximity of the Dog River drainage to the Vandiver Mound, a largely unexplored Lamar site farther upstream (Hally and Rudolph 1986), might suggest the existence of a small late prehistoric chiefdom in the middle piedmont Chattahoochee Valley. However, the short-term nature of this occupation during the devastating years following first Spanish contact, combined with the fact that three of the Dog River structures were burned



prior to abandonment (apparently a sudden, catastrophic event in one case), might be interpreted as indirect results of the disintegration of chiefdoms in other areas of north Georgia (Poplin 1990). The families living along the Dog River might have been the kind of refugees that seem to have been relocating across much of the Southeastern interior during the century after Hernando de Soto. Had the burned structure at 9DO39 been in use as late as the 1650s, its sudden destruction might even have been the result of the Chichimeco slave raids known to have ravaged the Georgia interior in that period (Worth n.d. b).

Farther north in the Chattahoochee River drainage, the Nacoochee site has also produced limited evidence of early to mid 17th-century occupation, in the form of two human burials with glass beads and sheet brass ornaments (Waselkov 1989; Smith 1992). Whether or not these interments reflect the existence of a larger society at that time, or are simply the result of brief and isolated inhabitation, is unknown. Nevertheless, these two areas in the Chattahoochee Valley provide evidence for at least some early 17th-century aboriginal occupation of unknown identity.

As noted by Smith (1992: 32), apart from these areas noted above, aboriginal ceramic data suggest that other areas of 17th century occupation may yet be identified in Georgia, including along the middle Ocmulgee and middle Chattahoochee Rivers. Furthermore, the fact that parts of the eastern Tennessee River drainage to the north was occupied at this time (see Waselkov 1989) might imply the possibility of some overlapping early 17th-century occupation in the northern reaches of Georgia's Blue Ridge region. Nevertheless, until further analysis is available, the existence and scale of such occupation remains unclear. It is worthwhile to recall, however, that some of the ethnohistoric evidence presented above fixes the locations of comparatively well-documented early 17th-century aboriginal provinces in areas where sufficient archaeological evidence to confirm or deny these suggested locations is largely or totally lacking (i.e. Oconi and Arapaja). Consequently, the list of provinces described above and mapped in Figure 1 should by no means limit search for other contemporaneous sites in Georgia. Indeed, if there is one lesson to be learned from the dynamics of the early historic period it is that aboriginal occupation was remarkably flexible and mobile, adapting to changing circumstances with bewildering rapidity, and undoubtedly resulting in a less than straightforward archaeological

record.

#### POSTSCRIPT: INTERIOR GEORGIA AFTER 1659

Very soon after the arrival of Chichimeco slave-raiders from Virginia some time during the fall of 1659, much of interior Georgia was effectively transformed into a "no-man's land". With the rapid dispersal of the remnants of Tama toward the fringes of the Spanish mission provinces, interior Georgia became a vast buffer between the musket-bearing Chichimecos on the Savannah River and the established mission provinces along the southeastern Georgia coastline (including the remnants of Guale, Mocama, and their Yamasee immigrants) and the interior of northern Florida (Timucua and Apalachee). Only the western province of Apalachicola seems to have survived *in situ*, almost certainly due to a combination of its status as a refugee aggregation point and its relative remoteness from the immediate depredations of the Chichimecos. Nevertheless, soon after the foundation of Charles Town in 1670, the Chichimecos, or Westos (as they were known by the Carolinians) became an even greater threat, with a ready supply of guns, powder, and shot and an equally ready market for Indian slaves. Although the Westos were ultimately to fall victim to their own aggressiveness, and were destroyed by the Carolinians themselves in 1681, Indian slave-raiding only increased toward the end of the century (see Crane 1956; Covington 1967). Between 1661 and 1684, the few remaining coastal Guale and Mocama missions retreated southward in the face of repeated Indian-raids from the interior and pirate-attacks from the coast, leaving even Georgia's coastal zone abandoned after 1685 (see Worth n.d. b). When the English-Spanish territorial struggle shifted to the deep western and northern interior during the closing years of the 17th century, the long-lived Apalachicola province emerged as a major player in European politics, playing a pivotal role in the final destruction of the western mission provinces of Spanish Florida after 1704 (Crane 1956; Hann 1988).

It was in this context that what came to be known as the Lower Creek and Cherokee societies crystallized toward the turn of the 18th century, paving the way for a new era in the history in the Indian occupation of Georgia. Most of the last vestiges of the prehistoric chiefdoms had been swept away under the stresses of European colonization, and the new tribes and confederacies that emerged and flourished during the next century would in many



cases become the success-stories of the colonial era, surviving even to the present day. Out of the multi-ethnic mix of refugees in the old Apalachicola province emerged the influential Lower Creeks of Oglethorpe's era and beyond, and the groups spreading southward from the Appalachian highlands into the abandoned valleys of northern Georgia were the Cherokee of 18th and 19th-century fame. A new era had dawned, and the survivors of Georgia's near-abandonment during the 17th century now began the process of forging new societies within the European colonial world.

## REFERENCES CITED

*Archival Sources*

Alcayde de Cordoba, Martín

1660 [Testimony, May 2]. In the notebook of secret testimony to the residencia of Governor Don Diego de Rebolledo, Archivo General de Indias [AGI], Contaduría 964.

Aranguiz y Cotes, Don Alonso de

1661 [Letter to the King, November 15] AGI Contaduría 965.

1662 [Letter to the King, September 8] AGI Santo Doming 225.

Argüelles, Antonio de, Francisco González de Villa García, Francisco García de la Vera, Nicolás Estévez de Carmenatis, Salvador de Cigarroa, Francisco de la Rocha, and Juan Sánchez de Urisa

1678 [Testimony regarding the service of Juan Bautista Terraza, October 20] AGI SD 234.

Cañizares y Osorio, Adrián de

1635 [Petition to the King] AGI SD 233.

Díaz de Badajoz

1630 [Testimony, April] In Rojas y Borja (1630).

Díez de la Calle, Juan

1659 Noticias sacras y reales de los dos imperios de las Yndias Occidentales desta Nueva España. Selection transcribed in *Documentos históricos de la Florida y la Luisiana, siglos XVI al*

XVIII, ed. by M. Serrano y Sanz, pp. 131-3. Madrid, 1912.

Escobedo, Juan de

n.d. La Florida. Relevant portion of late 16th-century poem transcribed by López (see Oré 1936).

Fernández de San Agustín

1630 [Testimony, April] In Rojas y Borja (1630).

Horruytiner, Don Luis de

1636 [Order to Juan Gómez Navarro, January 27] AGI SD 232.

Jesús, Francisco Alonso de

1630 [letter to the King, March 2] AGI SD 235.

Lara, Juan de

1602 [Testimony, September] AGI SD 2533.

Leturiondo, Domingo de

1685 [Record of the visitation of Guale and Mocama, December] AGI SD 2584. Translation in Worth (n.d. b).

López, Diego

1630 [Testimony, April 3]. In Rojas y Borja (1630).

Méndez de Canzo, Gonzalo

1602 [Letter to the King, September 22] AGI SD 224.

Oré, Luis Gerónimo de

1936 *Relación Histórica de la Florida, escrita en el siglo XVII*, ed. by A. López. Madrid.

Pareja, Francisco

1602 [Declaration, September 14] AGI SD 235.

Pérez de Villa Real, Agustín

1660 [Declaration, April 30] In the notebook of secret testimony to the residencia of Governor Don Diego de Rebolledo, AGI Contaduría 964.



## Worth

Rojas y Borja, Don Luis de

1628 [Letter to the King, September 22] AGI SD 224.

1630 [Investigation regarding the petition of Fray Francisco Alonso de Jesús, April] Transcribed for the residencia of Governor Benito Ruíz de Salazar Vallecilla, October 17, 1657. AGI Escribanía de Cámara 155b.

Ruíz de Salazar Vallecilla, Benito

1646 [Order to Ensign Antonio de Argüelles, January 27] AGI SD 23.

Salas, Gaspar de

1600 [Testimony, February 4] AGI SD 224.

Vega, Castro, y Pardo, Damián de

1639 [Letter to the King, April 8] AGI SD 225.

## Other Sources

Anderson, David G., and J. Joseph

1988 *Prehistory and History along the Upper Savannah River: Technical Synthesis of Cultural Resource Investigations, Richard B. Russell Multiple Resource Area*. Interagency Archaeological Services, National Park Service, Atlanta.

Blakely, Robert (editor)

1988 *The King Site: Continuity and Contact in Sixteenth-Century Georgia*. University of Georgia Press, Athens.

Covington, James

1967 Some Observations Concerning the Florida-Carolina Indian Slave Trade. *Florida Anthropologist* 20:10-18.

Crane, Verner W.

1956 *The Southern Frontier, 1670-1732*. University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor.

Green, William

1991 *The Search for Altamaha: The Archaeology and Ethnohistory of an Early 18th-Century Yamasee Indian Town*. Unpublished MA Thesis, Department of Anthropology, University

## Interior Provinces of the 17th Century

of South Carolina, Columbia.

Hally, David J., and James L. Rudolph

1986 *Mississippi Period Archaeology of the Georgia Piedmont*. Laboratory of Archaeology Series, Report No. 24. Department of Anthropology, University of Georgia, Athens.

Hann, John H.

1986 Translation of Governor Rebolledo's 1657 Visitation of Three Florida Provinces and Related Documents. *Florida Archaeology* 2: 85-145.

1988 *Apalachee: The Land between the Rivers*. University of Florida Press, Gainesville.

Hudson, Charles

1989 *The Juan Pardo Expeditions: Exploration of the Carolinas and Tennessee, 1566-1568*. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington.

Hudson, Charles, Marvin T. Smith, and Chester B. DePratter

1984 The Hernando de Soto Expedition: From Apalachee to Chiaha. *Southeastern Archaeology* 3(1): 65-77.

Hudson, Charles, and Carmen Chaves Tesser

in press *The Forgotten Centuries: Europeans and Indians in the American South, 1513-1704*. University of Georgia Press, Athens.

Johnson, Kenneth W.

1991 *The Utina and Potano Peoples of Northern Florida: Changing Settlement Systems in the Spanish Colonial Period*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Florida, Gainesville.

Johnson, Kenneth W., and Bruce C. Nelson

1990 The Utina: Seriations and Chronology. *Florida Anthropologist* 43(1): 48-62.

Knight, Vernon James, Jr., and Tim S. Mistovich

1984 *Walter F. George Lake: Archaeological Survey of Fee*



## Worth

*Owned Lands, Alabama and Georgia.* Report of Investigations 42. Office of Archaeological Research, University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa.

Kowalewski, Stephen A., and James W. Hatch

1991 The Sixteenth-Century Expansion of Settlement in the Upper Oconee Watershed, Georgia. *Southeastern Archaeology* 10(1): 1-17.

Larsen, Clark Spencer (editor)

1990 *The Archaeology of Mission Santa Catalina de Guale 2: Biocultural Interpretations of a Population in Transition.* Anthropological Papers 68. American Museum of Natural History, New York.

Lawson, Samuel J., III

1987 La Tama de la Tierra Adentro (The Tama of the Interior). *Early Georgia* 15:1-18.

McEwan, Bonnie (editor)

1991 Special Issue: The Missions of Spanish Florida. *Florida Anthropologist* 44(2-4).

Milanich, Jerald T.

1971a Surface Information from the Presumed Site of the San Pedro de Mocamo Mission. *Papers of the Conference on Historic Sites Archaeology* 5: 114-21.

1971b *The Alachua Tradition of North-Central Florida.* Contributions, Anthropology and History, No. 17. Florida State Museum, Gainesville.

1972 Tacatacuru and the San Pedro de Mocamo Mission. *Florida Historical Quarterly* 50(3): 283-91.

Poplin, Eric C.

1990 *Prehistoric Settlement in the Dog River Valley: Archaeological Data Recovery at 9DO34, 9DO39, and 9DO45, Douglas County, Georgia.* Draft report prepared for the Douglasville-Douglas County Water and Sewer Authority. Brockington and Associates, Atlanta.

## Interior Provinces of the 17th Century

Smith, Marvin T.

1987 *Archaeology of Aboriginal Culture Change in the Interior Southeast: Depopulation during the Early Historic Period.* University of Florida Press, Gainesville.

1989 Aboriginal Population Movements in the Early Historic Period Interior Southeast. In *Powhatan's Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast*, edited by P.H. Wood, G.A. Waselkov, and M.T. Hatley, pp. 21-34. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.

1992 *Historic Period Indian Archaeology of Northern Georgia.* Laboratory of Archaeology Series, Report No. 30. Department of Anthropology, University of Georgia, Athens.

Snow, Frankie

1990 Pine Barrens Lamar. In *Lamar Archaeology: Mississippian Chiefdoms in the Deep South*, edited by M. Williams and G. Shapiro, pp. 82-93. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.

Swanton, John R.

1922 *Early History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors.* Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 73. Government Printing Office, Washington. Reprint, Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1970.

Thomas, David Hurst

1987 *The Archaeology of Mission Santa Catalina de Guale 1: Search and Discovery.* Anthropological Papers 63(2). American Museum of Natural History, New York.

1990 *Columbian Consequences: Archaeological and Historical Perspectives on the Spanish Borderlands East.* Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington.

1993 *Historic Period Indian Archaeology of the Georgia Coastal Zone.* Laboratory of Archaeology Series, Report No. 31. Department of Anthropology, University of Georgia, Athens.

Waselkov, Gregory

1989 Seventeenth-Century Trade in the Colonial Southeast. *Southeastern Archaeology* 8(2): 117-33.



## Worth

Weisman, Brent R.

1992 *Excavations on the Franciscan Frontier: Archaeology of the Fig Springs Mission*. University of Florida Press, Gainesville.

Williams, Mark

1990 *Archaeological Excavations at Shinholser (9Bl1), 1985 + 1987*. LAMAR Institute, Watkinsville, GA.

Williams, Mark, and Gary Shapiro

1990 *Lamar Archaeology: Mississippian Chiefdoms in the Deep South*. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.

Worth, John E.

1988a *Mississippian Occupation on the Middle Flint River*. Unpublished M.A. thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Georgia, Athens.

1989 Mississippian Mound Centers along Chickasawhatchee Swamp. *LAMAR Briefs* 13.

1992 *The Timucuan Missions of Spanish Florida and the Rebellion of 1656*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Florida, Gainesville.

in press Late Spanish Military Expeditions in the Interior Southeast, 1597-1628. In *The Forgotten Centuries: Europeans and Indians in the American South, 1513-1704*, ed. by Charles Hudson and Carmen Chaves Tesser. University of Georgia Press, Athens.

n.d. a Prehistory in the Timucua Mission Province: Archaeological Investigations at Ichetucknee Springs State Park, 1990. Manuscript in possession of the author.

n.d. b The Struggle for the Georgia Coast: An Eighteenth-Century Spanish Retrospective on Guale and Mocama. Manuscript in possession of the author.