The Archaeology of Pineland: A Coastal Southwest Florida Site Complex, A.D. 50 - 1710

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Pineland During the Spanish Period

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INTRODUCTION

Although the Calusa community at Pineland was not routinely visited by Spaniards or other Europeans during the early colonial era (1513-ca.1710), the Pineland Site Complex clearly was still inhabited during the Spanish period. The extensive archaeological excavations carried out between 1988 and 2002 unquestionably indicate that portions of the site were occupied well into the Caloosahatchee IV period (A.D. 1350-1500). Furthermore, several artifacts of Spanish origin discovered in Smith Mound and at the Randell and Brown's complexes also reveal the presence of at least some occupation into the Caloosahatchee V period as presently defined (A.D. 1500-1750), though perhaps also during the Cuban fishing period extending to A.D. 1836. Consequently, it is at least possible that the Calusa name and identity of the site complex might have been recorded in Spanish records. In addition, it is important to examine Pineland within the context of broader events that were occurring on a regional and even global scale during the Spanish period, so that a better understanding can be gained of the final years of Calusa occupation at the site. Finally, through a combination of archaeological and ethnohistorical information, it may ultimately be possible to address more precisely the role of Pineland within the broader Calusa social formation.

GEOGRAPHIC BENCHMARKS IN THE CALUSA HEARTLAND

The effective use of available ethnohistorical information regarding the Calusa in general and the Pineland Site Complex in particular necessitates the identification of specific geographic benchmarks on the sixteenth-to-eighteenth-century Calusa landscape. The most prominent and consistently documented Calusa community throughout the entire Spanish colonial era was the Calusa administrative center. Excepting only the expeditions of Juan Ponce de León in 1513 and 1521, and subsequent military expeditions dating to 1612 and 1614, all documented Spanish direct contact with the Calusa along the southwest Florida coast seems to have occurred at the Calusa capital, commonly known as Carlos to the Spaniards, based on the Calusa name of Calos or Calus, also rendered as Caalus, which translated either as "fierce people" or "fierce town" (Escalante Fontaneda n.d.; Hann 1991:280; Zubillaga 1946:132).

Eyewitness descriptions of this site, combined with other direct geographic references, make it abundantly clear that the Calusa capital was located at modern Mound Key, a major archaeological site located in Estero Bay just east of present Fort Myers Beach (Lewis 1978; Torrence et al. 1994; Wheeler 2000). Probably the best evidence for this identification comes from the detailed geographic descriptions penned by Spanish royal cosmographer and chronicler Juan López de Velasco, whose information about the Florida coast was in large part based on the maritime explorations and voyages of Pedro Menéndez Márquez between 1566 and 1569, as subsequently reported by Menéndez Márquez himself (Hann 1991:308-315; López de Velasco 1894:157-170; Lyon 1989:160-161). Menéndez Márquez made numerous voyages during this period to resupply the early Spanish forts at Tocobaga, Carlos, and Tequesta (see below), and thus almost certainly had a better firsthand sailing knowledge of the lower Florida Gulf coast than any other European mariner until the eighteenth century or even later. The following text selections leave no doubt as to the identity of Calos/Carlos as Mound Key, and furthermore provide details regarding other important geographic benchmarks in the Calusa heartland (Figure 1).

Beginning with the "Bay of Tocobaga," unquestionably identified as modern-day Tampa Bay based on this and a variety of other text descriptions and maps, López de Velasco (1894:163-164) traced a route 33 leagues southward to the original "Bay of Tampa," presently known as Charlotte Harbor (and probably including most of what is now called Pine Island Sound). While the distance indicated is far in excess of the actual distance (more like 19 nautical leagues, measured at 3.45 statute miles, or 3 nautical miles, per league), López's text description of the coastline between Tampa and Charlotte Harbor is quite accurate: "upon passing the Bay [of Tocobaga], at two leagues of bald land, which serves as a signal to recognize the southern entrance, is a very small river that enters about half a league into the interior, and immediately joins an arm of the sea that runs from there the length of the coast down to the very port of Tampa, all inundated and full of little islands [*isletas*] and keys, making an island of all the coast,

a little more or less than half a league wide, full of trees and some cabins [*cabañas*]." This description matches the barrier islands in front of the long, narrow estuaries of Sarasota Bay and Lemon Bay, passed on the approach to Charlotte Harbor from the north.

The "Bay of Tampa" proper, or Charlotte Harbor itself, was described by López de Velasco as "a large bay, which has three leagues in width at the entrance, all full of shoals, and within inundated and full of islands." López went on to indicate that it had a small entrance large enough for frigates on the southern side, where there was a "great fishery of mullet [*licias*], which they catch in nets as in Spain," presumably describing modern Boca Grande Pass. From there López traced the route 12 leagues further south to the "Bay of Carlos," passing an entrance only 50 or 60 paces wide at 4 leagues distance, probably corresponding to modern Captiva Pass or an undocumented predecessor in a slightly more southerly location (both Captiva Pass and Blind Pass seem to have been in existence at or near their present locations as early as the mid-eighteenth century; see Celí 1757). López next describes "the sea running to the south up to close to Carlos, making the entire coast an island like that described above [the barrier islands west of Lemon Bay north of Boca Grande], except it is not as dirty, although it has within it islands; the majority on the outside is clean, up to the entrance of a small river [*riachuelo*, presumably the Caloosahatchee River] which is two leagues from the Bay of Carlos, forward from which all [the bays] are shallow, [and] the said small river communicates with the arm of the sea mentioned above."

This last description clearly refers to the southward trend of all the barrier islands down to the eastward bend of Sanibel Island toward the mouth of the Caloosahatchee River, shortly before arriving at Estero Bay, or the original "Bay of Carlos." The bay is described as being located at just past 26.5 degrees north latitude, fitting well with the actual location at 26 degrees, 20-27 minutes. Furthermore, López de Velasco's description fits Estero Bay quite well:

> Its entrance is very narrow and full of shoals, in such a manner that only rowboats can enter; within it is spacious, like four or five leagues in circuit, although all inundated; in the middle is a small island that is about half a league in circumference, with other little islands around it, on which the cacique Carlos had his establishment [asiento], and now his successors have it: one passes with canoes from there up to the arm of the sea that extends up to Tampa, through some channels [caños] that there are between one body of water [mar] and the other.

Not only does this text fit Mound Key and Estero Bay, it also provides an accurate description of the route northwest through Matanzas Pass and San Carlos Bay into Pine Island Sound and Charlotte Harbor, together identified as the "Bay of Tampa."

Framing the "Bay of Carlos" on the southern side, López continued his route southward, describing a 12-13 league distance (passing 5 small rivers, or passes) to the Point of Muspa, certainly identifiable as the notable projection of land comprising Cape Romano, Marco Island, Goodland, and other adjacent islands. Noted to be at 25.75 degrees latitude (Cape Romano itself is today located at 25 degrees, 50 minutes), the Point of Muspa was described as "projecting a shoal one league long into the sea, between which and the mainland there is passage for frigates," likely referring to modern Caxambas Bay. López continued, "past the Point of Muspa the coast turns, making a cove [*ensenada*] to the east for about two leagues, from which the coast then turns north-south down to the Martyrs [Florida Keys], making some coves and bays, and some small rivers and inundated marshes [*pantanos anegadizos*]." This last description fits well with the Ten Thousand Islands district south of Cape Romano.

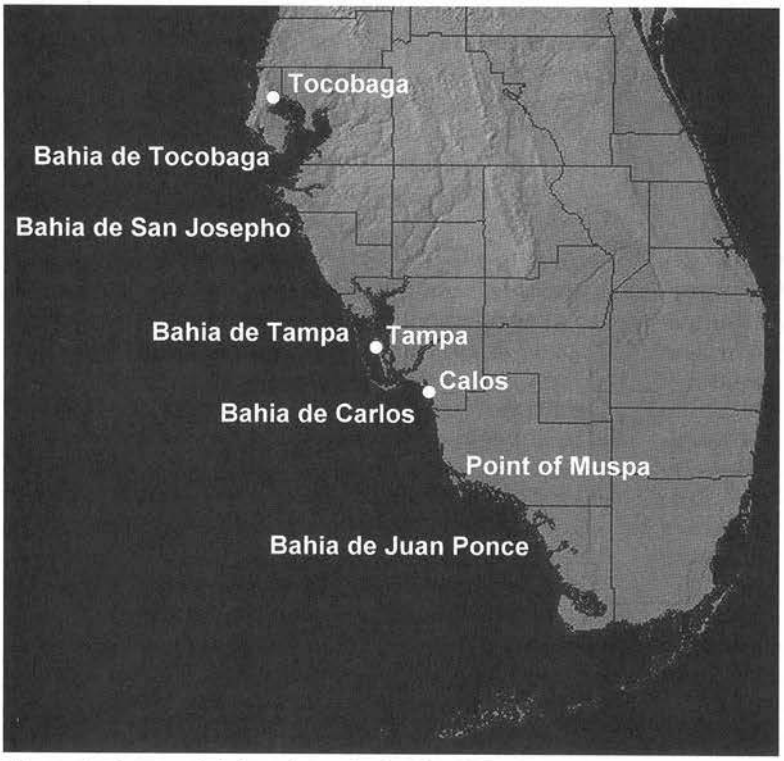

Figure 1. Geographic benchmarks in the Calusa heartland.

Given this interpretation of Juan López de Velasco's 1575 textual description of the Southwest Florida coastline, the following identifications seem likely: Boca Grande Pass, Charlotte Harbor, and at least the northern portion of Pine Island Sound were the sixteenth-century "Bay of Tampa;" Estero Bay was the "Bay of Carlos;" and Cape Romano was the "Point of Muspa." These identifications are also generally supported by several seventeenth-century maps showing features of Florida's Gulf coastline, and distinguishing a total of some five primary bays along the western Florida peninsula, beginning with the Bay of Tocobaga to the north (commonly indicated as the mouth of the "River of Espiritu Santo" in reference to the Soto landing site), then proceeding southward to the Bay of San Josepho, followed by the Bay of Tampa, then the Bay

of Carlos, and finally the Bay of Juan Ponce on some maps (e.g., Herrera 1601; Laet 1625; Sanson 1656). These geographic features presumably correspond to present-day Tampa Bay (originally Tocobaga), Sarasota Bay (originally San Josepho), Charlotte Harbor/Pine Island Sound (originally Tampa), Estero Bay (originally Carlos), and perhaps Ponce de Leon Bay (originally Juan Ponce). While not all maps show all bays, and there are some later maps that occasionally change the order of some, these five bays appear with sufficient repetition to suggest that they can be equated with the modern geographic features noted above.

The report from the 1612 voyage of Juan Rodríguez de Cartaya down the Gulf coastline to the Calusa capital (described below) additionally confirms several of these key geographic identifications (Fernández de Olivera 1612; Hann 1991:9-12). Once entering the northern Gulf by boat, Rodríguez first came to a large bay at 27.33 degrees latitude said to be under control of the chief of "Pooy" (Pojoy), known from many sources to have been located near Tocobaga and modern Tampa Bay (probably near Tarpon Springs toward the end of the seventeenth century). The party then passed south to the mouth of a river called Tampa (Boca Grande Pass at Charlotte Harbor) at 26.167 degrees, and then finally to the community of Carlos itself, said to have been located within "a great river and bar" at 26 degrees. While the actual latitude measurements provided by Rodríguez are all slightly smaller than they should have been, the distances *between* the geographic features named are consistent with the identifications provided above, namely that there was roughly 1.167 degrees between the bay at Pojoy and the river of Tampa, and only 0.167 degrees between the rivers of Tampa and Carlos (Fernández de Olivera 1612).

The identification of Charlotte Harbor/Pine Island Sound as the original Bay of Tampa is also strongly supported and augmented by an important map drawn in 1683 (Figure 2). This map, drawn by Florida native and gubernatorial secretary and notary Alonso Solana, is uniquely significant because it is the only detailed original map of the Florida peninsula known to have been drawn *within* Spanish Florida during its entire primary colonial era, namely the First Spanish Period dating from 1565 until 1763. Furthermore, independent confirmation of the relative locations of many geographic and cultural features indicated on the map demonstrates that the Solana map is highly accurate, even with regard to fine-grained detail about the precise position of missions and other aboriginal communities on the landscape (see Worth 1995a:29, 37, 38, 195-196). Perhaps more so than any other resident of St. Augustine at the time, Solana had a tremendous breadth of experience with essentially all official paperwork that crossed the governor's desk, making him uniquely qualified to draft an accurate map of greater Spanish Florida.

Solana's rendition of southwest Florida is remarkable, especially given the limited amount of direct contact that Spaniards had with the Calusa and other neighboring groups during the seventeenth century (Figure 3). He showed two communities within the Calusa heartland, though later accounts of the 1697 Franciscan mission to the region make it clear that there were many others still occupied at this time. Nevertheless, both these communities appear to represent important regional centers, based on both ethnohistorical and archaeological evidence. One community, with the legend "Port and Town of Infidels," was located just inland and south of the mouth of a long, curving river that flowed westward from the peninsular interior, almost precisely paralleling the course of the modern Caloosahatchee River. Another more northerly community, denoted "Town of Tampa," was located inland and just south of the "Bar of Asapo" (modern Boca Grande Pass), which is rendered as the mouth of another river which turns north just inland and forks into two branches, a surprisingly accurate portrayal of the present-day Myakka and Peace Rivers which empty into the northern reaches of Charlotte Harbor. In-between these two communities and rivers the coastline makes a sharp bend, almost exactly following the curve of modern Sanibel Island on the western margin of Pine Island Sound.

Among the many Calusa communities listed by shipwreck survivor and Calusa captive Hernando de Escalante Fontaneda during the 1570s (see below), only one community other than the Calusa administrative center was specifically singled out to be a "large town," and that was Tampa (Escalante Fontaneda n.d.). This information, combined with the fact that the location of the "Port and Town of Infidels" shown on the 1683 map is clearly identical with the Calusa capital at Mound Key, suggests that the Solana map probably shows two of the largest and/or most important Calusa communities along the coastline at that time, Calos at Mound Key, and Tampa just southeast of Boca Grande Pass. Furthermore, from an archaeological perspective, there are two prehistoric shell mound sites that clearly stand out above all the rest in this region in terms of overall site size and mound volume: Mound Key and Pineland (e.g., Torrence 1999). In addition, both these sites have produced evidence for Spanish-era occupation (substantially so in the case of Mound Key; see Wheeler 2000), indicating that they were likely inhabited into the sixteenth, seventeenth, and perhaps even into the early eighteenth centuries. And finally, Pineland is situated precisely where the 1683 Solana map locates the "Town of Tampa," just inland and south of Boca Grande Pass, and not coincidentally along the southern margin of the body of water known as the "Bay of Tampa" (Charlotte Harbor and northern Pine Island Sound).

Based on this evidence, I conclude that the Pineland site was very likely the important Calusa community of Tampa, which lent its name to modern Charlotte Harbor and Pine Island Sound as the original "Tampa Bay." Although nearby Useppa Island apparently maintained the alternate name Toampa (also Toampe, Toampi) through the early nineteenth-century (Williams 1837:25, 33, 39; the modern name Useppa derives from the Spanish Josepha/Joseppa, in use no later than 1801), archaeological investigations across this island have failed to yield any clear evidence for prehistoric occupation post-dating A.D. 1250, suggesting that it was essentially unoccupied throughout the early Spanish colonial era (Marquardt 1999:245). Even if minimal sixteenth- or seventeenth-century Calusa occupation were ever to be identified in unsurveyed portions of the island, it seems unlikely that this occupation could

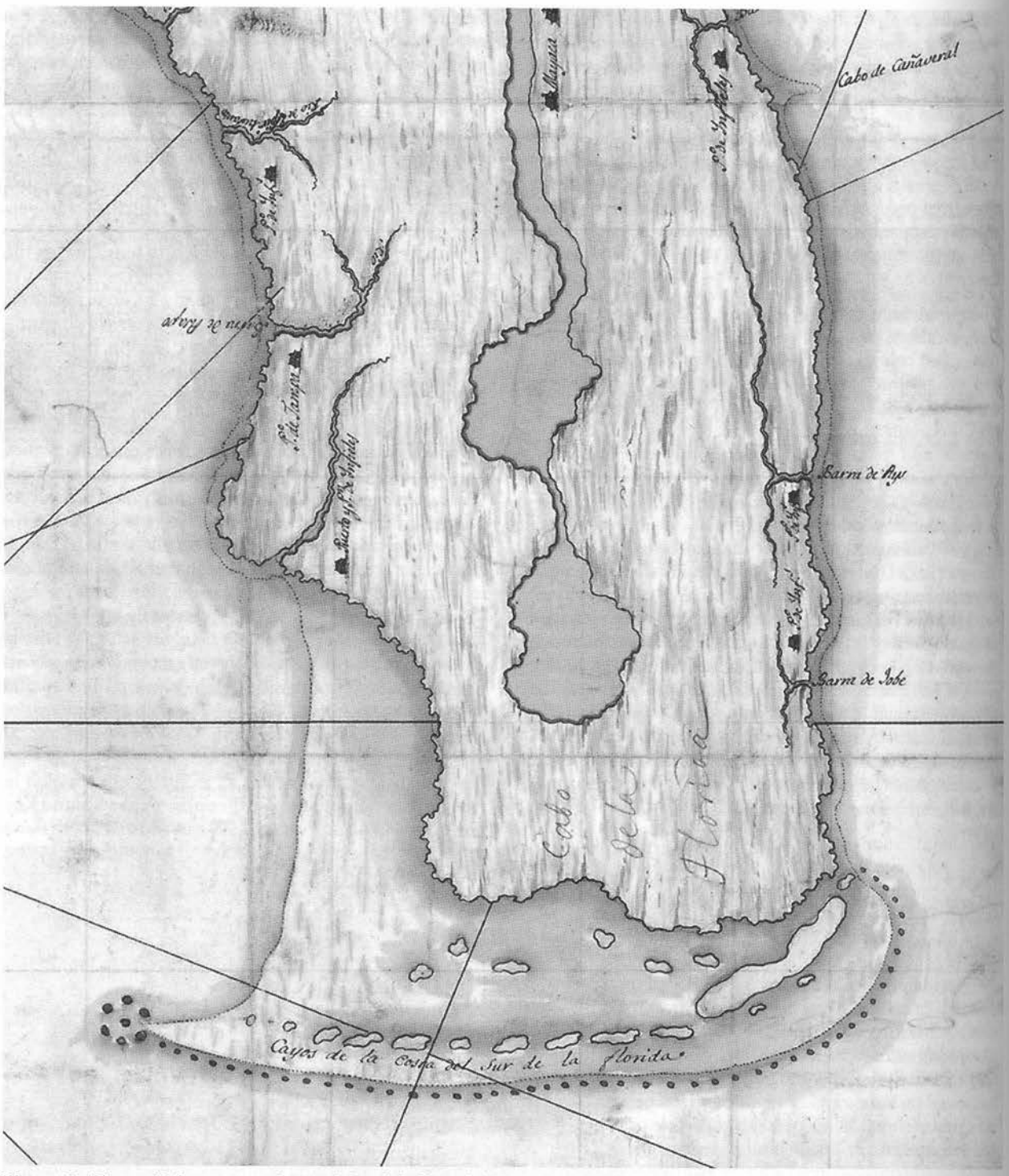

Figure 2. Alonso Solana map of 1683. Map labels as follows, proceeding from upper left around coastline to upper right: Rio de S[a]n Martin; Rio de Amajuro; Rio de Espiritu Santo; P[uebl]o de Ynf[iele]s; Rio [partially erased and illegible]; Barra de Asapo; P[uebl]o de Tampa; Puerto y P[uebl]o de Ynfieles; Cayos de la costa del sur de la florida; [in modern hand] Cabo de la Florida; Barra de Jobe; P[uebl]o de Ynf[iele]s; P[uebl]o de Ynf[iele]s; Barra de Ays; Cabo de Cañaveral; P[uebl]o de Ynfieles; [along interior river] Mayaca. Source: "Mapa de la Ysla de la Florida, drawn by Alonso Solana, included with June 28, 1683 correspondence from Florida Governor Juan Márquez Cabrera. Centro Geográfico del Ejército, Madrid."

compare with the pure volume and spatial extent of the late prehistoric shell mound complexes at Pineland. Based solely on the archaeological data, including the presence of two large mound complexes, a cross-island water canal, and two substantial burial mounds, Pineland was clearly an administrative center of some importance in this region, fitting quite well with ethnohistorical evidence regarding the community of Tampa.

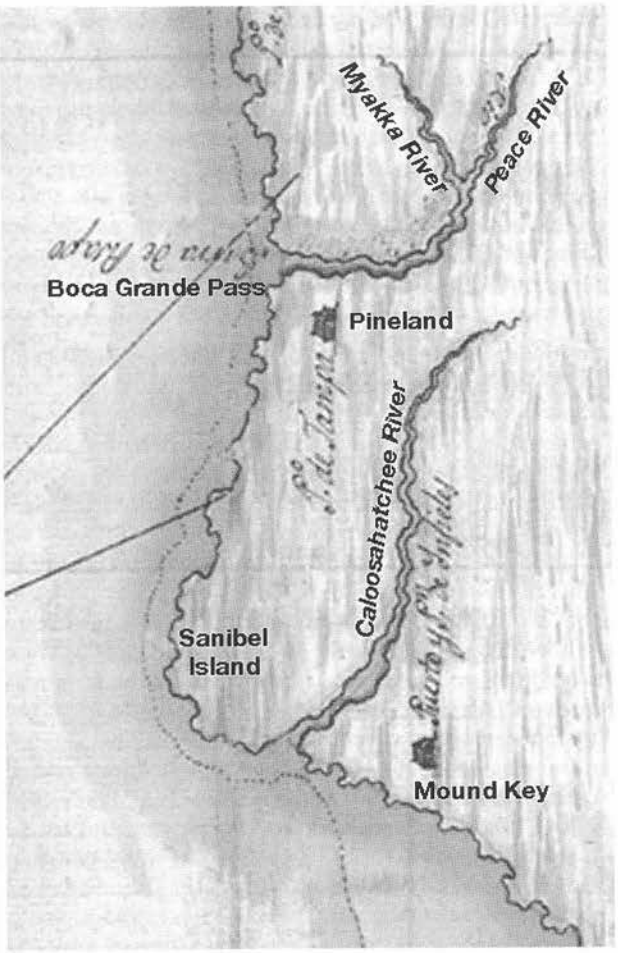

Figure 3. A portion of the Solana map with contemporary place names superimposed.

HISTORY OF SPANISH CONTACT WITH THE CALUSA

Although there is only ambiguous documentary evidence that Spaniards directly visited the community of Tampa (see below), a review of the overall history of Spanish contact with the Calusa is instructive, not only for what it tells us about the Calusa and their strategies in dealing with Europeans, but also for what it tells us about Spanish perspectives and policies toward the Calusa (Table 1). The earliest documented Spanish expeditions to make direct contact with the Calusa were those led by Juan Ponce de León in 1513 and 1521. Unfortunately, documentary accounts of these expeditions are quite vague, and very difficult to interpret regarding the precise locations of the events being described. Furthermore, there is no textual evidence that the Spanish under Ponce de León ever actually approached or visited a single named Calusa community, though information from the Freducci map of 1514-1515 suggests they became aware of the existence of at least two such communities, named "Stababa" and "Juchi" (or "Suchi" or "Guchi") during their first voyage (Milanich and Milanich 1996). Details from what must have been an original log or diary of this first expedition, used by Spanish historian Antonio de Herrera in creating his 1601 narrative of the journey, suggest that the first sighting of land along the Florida Gulf Coast occurred somewhere along the barrier islands south of Boca

Table 1. Selected chronology of European contact along the southern Florida Gulf coastline, 1513-1760.

1513	Juan Ponce de León and three ships explore the southern Florida coast
1516	Diego Miruelo explores Tampa Bay
1517	Francisco Hernández de Cordova explores SW Florida coast
1519	Alonzo Alvarez de Pineda explores entire Gulf coastline
1521	Juan Ponce de León and two ships launch failed colonial attempt
1528	Pánfilo de Narváez expedition arrives at Tampa Bay
1539	Hernando de Soto expedition arrives at Tampa Bay
1566	Pedro Menéndez de Avilés visits Calusa capital at Mound Key; Francisco de Reynoso establishes Fort San Antón de Carlos in October
1569	Fort San Antón is withdrawn in June
1611	Alonso Díaz de Badajoz is sent with infantry to execute Pohoy leadership at Tampa Bay
1612	Juan Rodríguez de Cartaya visits Calusa capital to establish peace
1614	Juan Rodríguez de Cartaya is dispatched to punish Calusa chief after raid against Mocoço; Pineland is one of the likely targets
1680	Medina-Cruz expedition visits Calusa frontier
1683	Pineland appears on Solana map as "Town of Tampa"
1688-1689	Bishop of Cuba sends Cuban fisherman to establish contact with Calusa chief; Calusa families dispatched to live in Havana for 1.5 years
1689-1690	Calusa chief travels to Havana for baptism
1697-1698	Fray Feliciano López and 4 friars attempt abortive mission at Calusa capital
1699	Luís Rodrigo de Ortega undertakes overland expedition to modern Tampa Bay
1704-1711	Yamasee/Creek slave raids; Calusa and other refugees gather in Florida Keys
ca. 1710	Estimated final abandonment of Pineland by Calusa
1711	270 south Florida Indian refugees are transported to Havana, including 50 Calusa
1732	Attempted transport of additional Keys Indians to Havana
1743	Jesuit mission to the remnants of Calusa and other south Florida Indians at Miami and in the Keys
1757-1760	Final evacuation of south Florida Indians to Cuba

Grande Pass, and that the ships sailed southward to land eventually near the mouth of the Caloosahatchee River, probably either on modern Estero Island or Sanibel Island (Herrera 1601:303-304). While the actual text is ambiguous enough to allow for landings at any one of a number of island locations along the southwest Florida coastline, the appearance of the town called Juchi on the Freducci map, independently mentioned by Fontaneda in the 1570s (see below), strongly suggests that Ponce's expedition landed well north of Cape Romano and Naples (Muspa and Teyo/Tello, respectively, based on other evidence), and probably just at or not far south of the mouth of the Caloosahatchee River.

While the details of this early expedition are beyond the scope of this chapter, it is important to note that on June 4, 1513, while careening one of his vessels at his first island

landing site, Ponce de León was greeted by an Indian sent by the Calusa chief who understood the Spanish language (Herrera 1601:303). The Spaniards presumed he was originally from Hispaniola or some other Spanish-occupied island, and subsequent evidence suggests he might possibly have been one of a number of Cuban Indian refugees who reportedly fled the Spanish conquest after the 1511 expedition of Diego Velázquez, and were permitted to settle within the Calusa domain (Escalante Fontaneda n.d.). This Indian carried a message from the Calusa chief for the Spaniards to wait for his arrival, but it was ultimately discovered to have been a delaying tactic to permit a subsequent attack on the ship by Indians in 20 canoes. The Indians were repulsed, with some losses in killed and captured. Subsequent contact resulted in another pitched battle with 80 war canoes prior to the Spanish withdrawal.

The fact that the Calusa attacked the Spanish visitors almost immediately after their arrival, with only a brief pretense of welcome, almost certainly reflects their foreknowledge of both the Spanish and their tactics, at the very least conveyed by documented Indian refugees from the brutal conquest carried out by Diego Velázquez during the previous year on the island of Cuba, or from previous engagements in Hispaniola or other locations. Furthermore, as Marquardt (1988:176-179) has convincingly argued, it is also possible that there were undocumented indirect or even direct contacts between south Florida Indians and early Spanish slavers, or with their victims in the Caribbean or Bahamas. In any case, by 1513 the Calusa had already been conditioned to be wary of Spanish visitors, and had almost certainly made a formal decision to mount active military resistance to Spanish exploration and conquest. This policy would ultimately dominate Spanish-Calusa relations for the 175 years to come, with only two brief strategic truces until a change of policy in the late 1680s (discussed below).

Beginning on September 27, 1514, Juan Ponce de León was named Adelantado of Florida and Bimini and granted formal permission to establish a new colony there (Spanish Crown 1514a, 1514b, 1514c). Although he would not ultimately return until 1521, in the meantime the Spanish conquest of Cuba had been completed (ca. 1511-1515) and Spanish towns had been established across much of the island, including Havana to the immediate south. From this nearby base, Spanish vessels evidently returned to South Florida on at least one occasion before 1517, because in that year there is a reference to an active lawsuit by Ponce against Cuban Governor Diego Velázquez, who had apparently sent his own expedition north from Cuba on the pretext of discovering a new island, but had brought back some 300 Florida Indians to Cuba in violation of Ponce's charter (Spanish Crown 1517). The effect of this and possibly other undocumented slaving expeditions to South Florida can only have served to increase the anti-Spanish sentiment of the Calusa.

Juan Ponce de León finally launched a second expedition in 1521, this time with two ships full of colonists planning to settle on the coast of Florida. Still not entirely sure that Florida was a separate land mass from Cuba, Ponce de León led his ships back to the Southwest Florida coast, evidently landing at or near their original site near the mouth of the Caloosahatchee River (Oviedo y Valdés 1851:621-623; Ponce de León 1521a, 1521b). While primary accounts of this expedition are unavailable, secondary sources agree that the nearby Indians once again attacked the Spanish not long after their landfall, wounding Ponce de León himself and forcing a retreat to Havana, where the expedition's leader perished from his wound. The two ships and their cargo were subsequently sold in Yucatán, and South Florida was effectively abandoned for more than a generation (Spanish Crown 1523).

Following the failed 1521 colonial attempt, there is no direct evidence for contact between the Calusa and Spanish explorers or sailors until 1566. Perhaps two full generations had passed during the nearly half a century that lapsed between these contacts, and while the Calusa must have been aware of the sporadic contact between Spaniards and Indians around present-day Tampa Bay (Pánfilo de Narváez in 1528, Hernando de Soto in 1539, and Fray Luís Cancer in 1549), they seem to have enjoyed relative isolation during this period. The Calusa seem to have been only vaguely aware of the details of these expeditions to the north, as confirmed by the later narrative of former Calusa captive Hernando de Escalante Fontaneda, who mentioned Soto just twice in reference to the territory of the enemy Tocobaga chiefdom located on the north end of modern Tampa Bay (this is contrasted by the clear recollection of the neighboring Indians of Pojoy, who as late as 1612 stated unequivocally that Soto had disembarked there; see Olivera 1612). Fontaneda had been shipwrecked about 1549 as a 13-year-old in south Florida during a trip from Cartagena to Spain, and was imprisoned by the Indians, ultimately spending the next 17 years living as a Calusa captive (Escalante Fontaneda n.d.; True 1944; Worth 1995b). His experiences as a captive between 1549 and 1566, and subsequently as an interpreter at the Spanish fort on Mound Key through 1569 (Escalante Fontaneda 1569), constitute one of the most important records of indigenous Calusa culture available to modern researchers.

The next phase of Spanish exploration and interaction, and by far the most intensive throughout the entire early colonial era, was marked by the February, 1566 arrival of the founder of St. Augustine and the Florida colony – Pedro Menéndez de Avilés – his rescue of the captive Fontaneda, and the subsequent establishment of Fort San Antón de Carlos (October 15, 1566-July 15, 1569) at the Calusa capital on Mound Key. Although this phase is very commonly referred to as the first Spanish "mission" to the Calusa (e.g., Hann 1991), the Jesuit presence in Fort San Antón was actually only minimal and sporadic, consisting of a single missionary and an open-air chapel, and lasting a total of only about 14 discontinuous months prior to its abandonment. By far, the fort and its military garrison represented the most significant and long-lived aspect of Spanish-Calusa interaction during this period, even though its visibility in the documentary record is considerably less than the Jesuit presence.

The intricacies of Menéndez's dealings with the Calusa chief named Carlos are too lengthy for this chapter, but it is important to note that the Spaniards used threat of

force on several occasions to force the Calusa leader into allegiance, marking only a brief and coercive period of uneasy truce between the Spaniards and the Calusa from 1566 until 1569 (see, for example, Esquivel 1570; Menéndez de Avilés 1566a, 1566b, 1566c; Menéndez Márquez 1568; Reynoso 1569; Rogel 1568a, 1568b, 1568c, 1569, 1570, 1607-1611; Sedeño 1568a, 1568b; Segura 1568a, 1568b, 1569; Solís de Merás n.d. :149-168; Villarreal 1568, 1570). Subsequent events suggest that chief Carlos had decided that it was in his best interest to submit himself as a vassal of the Spanish crown, at least in part out of immediate fear of military domination, and perhaps also with designs toward gaining a powerful ally in his ongoing wars with neighbors Tocobaga and Tequesta. Carlos ultimately offered Menéndez his elder sister as a wife in sign of political subordination, and permitted the construction of the fort and the presence of its garrison of up to 70 or more soldiers, but his frustration with the Spaniards led him to conspire against the garrison, ultimately resulting in his execution and replacement by a disgruntled noble cousin named Felipe, whose tenuous (and short-lived) political power ultimately rested entirely upon Spanish support.

By the end of March 1567, Spanish forts were garrisoned not only at San Antón de Carlos, but also at Tocobaga in modern Tampa Bay and at Tequesta in present-day downtown Miami. Resident Jesuit missionaries were stationed in Calos and Tequesta. What had been an aboriginal landscape of three warring paramount chiefs was converted, at least superficially, into a fortified Spanish colonial hinterland for this brief period. But beneath the surface of this imposed peace simmered an undercurrent of anti-Spanish hostility that would ultimately erupt on multiple occasions, usually with tragic results.

Felipe, the Spanish-backed Calusa chief at Mound Key, faced internal resistance and even outright rebellion throughout his rule. Four subordinate towns evidently broke away from Calusa sovereignty during late 1567, rendering obedience to chief Tocobaga to the north. The forts at Tocobaga and Tequesta were overrun by March of 1568, with the Spanish promising to back Felipe's efforts to make war on these former allies. By the fall of 1568, Felipe had executed more than 15 rebel chiefs, and was seen dancing with four of their heads in the plaza at Mound Key. Nevertheless, despite a brief visit to Havana in early 1569, and a reciprocal visit by Menéndez himself in the spring, Felipe's hold on power finally crumbled after he was coerced by the Spanish governor to fulfill his long-standing promise to burn the town idols. Finally plotting against the Spaniards himself, Felipe was eventually executed along with 14 or 15 noble Indians during some sort of skirmish in which many were wounded. The inhabitants of the Calusa capital apparently fled the island, leaving the Spaniards without any support or resident labor. On June 15, 1569, Fort San Antón de Carlos was officially abandoned exactly 2 years and 8 months after being commissioned, and the garrison and Jesuits were withdrawn to Havana.

Following the withdrawal of the garrison at Fort San Antón, the surviving Calusa eventually returned to their capital town, where they would ultimately live in almost complete isolation from the outside world for as many as 142 continuous years, punctuated only by three documented visits by Spaniards (one of which was in military retaliation against the Calusa chief). Throughout this period, however, sporadic information reached St. Augustine regarding happenings in the Calusa domain, and at least one expedition was launched in 1612 to establish peaceful relations. Apparently prompted by the 1611 Spanish execution of the chiefs of Pojoy and Tocobaga at modern Tampa Bay in retaliation for the murder of 17 Christian Timucua Indians along the lower Suwannee River (Hann 2003:120-121; Worth 1998b:17), the Calusa chief acquiesced to a Spanish visit the following summer, professing his desire to end the war with the Christians. In retrospect, this now seems to have been a short-lived pretense designed to buy time, but the Spaniards accepted the response at face value and dispatched an expedition to confirm the peace.

During the summer of 1612, Ensign Juan Rodríguez de Cartaya led 20 soldiers in a launch all the way down the Gulf coastline to the Calusa capital. Probably passing or even visiting Pineland during their inland passage between Boca Grande Pass and Mound Key, the soldiers presented gifts to the Calusa chief, receiving a shipwrecked black man from Havana and promises of friendly relations in return (Hann 1991:9-12). Not two years later, however, on March 30, 1614, Rodríguez was dispatched again to the Calusa domain, this time on a mission with two launches full of soldiers to exact "the greatest punishment possible" on the Calusa chief in retaliation for his having sent 300 war canoes to the province of Mocoço along the southern Spanish frontier at modern Tampa Bay, killing some 500 men, women, and children in two towns there (Treviño Guillamas 1614). Later documents confirm the participation of several other soldiers in "the war that was made in the Cove of Carlos, Tanpa, Tachista, and Nuspa [presumably mistranscribed from Muspa, and perhaps even Tatesta]" (Quixano 1618; Treviño Alvarez 1616), and contemporary warehouse account records from St. Augustine reveal a considerable disbursement of munitions and supplies on June 6 and 7, 1614 for the two launches there—the *San Martín* (master Alonso Fernández) and the *San Pedro* (master Gaspar Lorenzo)—possibly representing the arming of this military expedition to southwest Florida. Given the instructions in the original order, combined with the specific reference to Tampa and the other principal coastal communities in the Calusa heartland, it seems likely that Pineland may have been a direct target of this military strike. Furthermore, given the survival and continued service of the expedition leader and at least one other participant, the expedition probably did not end in complete failure. Regardless of whether the Calusa chief was caught and executed, presuming that few or no direct skirmishes occurred (accounting for the limited documentation regarding this event), and that the Calusa probably abandoned their communities to avoid confrontation, standard Spanish practice at the time would have led the soldiers to burn target communities to the ground, perhaps also destroying any food-producing capability (normally agricultural fields elsewhere, perhaps fish-weirs or traps here). While this is no more than informed speculation, the 1614 Spanish destruction of the Pineland community (and probably other important or easily-accessible communities) seems likely, given available documentation.

Spanish records are essentially silent regarding events in the Calusa heartland for the next 65 years. Two or three generations passed before Spaniards dared to venture again into Southwest Florida. In the meantime, Florida's Franciscan mission territory expanded westward across the northern peninsula, through Potano and Timucua by 1608, Yustaga by 1623, and Apalachee by 1633 (see Worth 1998a). Between 1635 and 1639, the first Spanish port on Florida's Gulf coast was established at St. Marks, leading to regular maritime traffic between the Apalachee mission province and both Havana and St. Augustine (Worth 1998a:160). Despite this new ship traffic directly off the Calusa coastline, Spanish vessels seem deliberately to have avoided any contact with land between the Keys and Apalachee, mostly due to the shallow Gulf waters, and probably in part due to fear of hostile Indians. Overland and to the north, the farthest south that any Spanish missions penetrated were at Mayaca along the St. Johns River and the Acuera missions along the Oklawaha River, both of which were more than 150 miles north of the Calusa heartland. Southwest Florida remained an unexplored hinterland, completely circumvented by regular ship traffic around the Florida peninsula. Even an abortive 1680 attempt by a group of Christian Timucua Indians with a Spanish soldier-interpreter to reach Mound Key was unable to penetrate the fringes of heartland of Calusa territory by land from the north (Hann 1991:23-28).

Despite the failure of this expedition, the Governor nevertheless wrote to the Spanish Crown in March of 1680 regarding his hopes that Cuban missionaries might establish missions at least among the many "docile" groups that were being "dominated" and "oppressed" by the cacique Carlos, who demanded tribute from all his neighbors. This request prompted a favorable reply, and by December of that year the Council of the Indies had issued a recommendation for volunteer clergy from Santiago de Cuba to travel to Havana at royal expense and embark on a mission to south Florida. A royal decree to this effect was issued on December 26, and by the following August of 1681, Bishop Juan Garcia de Palacios reported that he already had five volunteers for the project (Hann 1991:30-33, 51-56). Nevertheless, subsequent disputes about funding stalled the project for years, but in 1687 the decree was renewed, prompting further action.

In the meantime, however, a fundamental policy change was brewing at the Calusa capital, marking a complete reversal of their previous isolationism. The year 1688 marked the beginning of a watershed change for Calusa-Spanish relations, for it witnessed the first direct attempt by the Calusa chief proactively to reach out to the Spanish in apparent hopes of establishing peaceful relations and obtaining resident missionaries. Early that year, during incoming Governor Diego de Quiroga y Losada's formal visitation of the Apalachee mission province, the son and heir of "the great cacique of the Keys of Carlos" arrived in Apalachee along with other nobles and met with the governor, announcing that the Calusa were ready to embrace the Catholic faith (Hann 1991:36-37, 80). Taken out of context, this visit by "Prince Carlos" seems completely out of character for the previous century. But given the ongoing Spanish efforts to send missionaries to the more "docile" groups within the Calusa sphere of influence (i.e., those visited during the 1680 Medina-Cruz expedition), the 1688 visit to Apalachee probably represented a proactive attempt by the Calusa chief to regulate and control the dispatch and distribution of missionaries to south Florida, heading off any independent action by neighboring chiefs who were nominally tributary to the Calusa. It seems unlikely that the Calusa leadership was completely ignorant of the Spanish Crown's approval of the south Florida mission project, because word must have spread to mission priests and Indians in Apalachee and other Florida provinces. Furthermore, the ca. 1679-1683 presence of two immigrant Yamasee mission communities at the old sites of San Antonio de Enacape and San Salvador de Mayaca along the upper St. Johns River, and the occasional presence of missionaries in that region of east-central Florida during the 1680s, cannot have gone unnoticed by the Calusa (Hann 1993:122-125).

In this context, the Calusa chief must have come to the realization that inaction and isolationism would eventually lead to an erosion of their control over more distant vassals and client chiefdoms, whose acceptance of Spanish missionaries would ultimately give them direct access to Spanish military protection. Indeed, this very same phenomenon is known to have characterized the earliest years of the mission effort in northern Florida, when literally dozens of autonomous chiefs arrived almost simultaneously in St. Augustine requesting missionaries for their provinces in an effort to enhance their own internal political power (Worth 1998a:36-40). While previous Calusa leaders had chosen direct military aggression to re-exert control over Spanish-leaning provinces (e.g., Mocoço in 1614), by 1688 Calusa military power may have been somewhat diminished in the face of ongoing epidemics that apparently reduced their numbers from an estimated 20,000 in the 1560s to perhaps only 2,000 in 1697 (Hann 1991:165, 168, 174; Worth 1995b:351). Whatever the reason, however, 1688 was the effective end of strict Calusa isolationism from Spanish authorities.

To the south, the new Bishop of Cuba Diego Ebelino de Compostela responded quickly to the 1687 renewal of the 1680 decree that had ordered the dispatch of missionaries to South Florida. At some point either late in 1687 or early in 1688, the bishop convened several volunteer clergy in Havana, dispatching a Cuban fishermen who already maintained "communication and correspondence" with the Calusa chief in order to explore the possibility of a mission, beginning with a personal invitation to come to Havana (Ebelino de Compostela 1690; incomplete translation in Hann 1991:58-91). The chief was reported to have been dissuaded from the voyage by his noble counselors, fearing capture and imprisonment, but instead sent "some Indians of the Keys" to Havana with their families to live for a period of a year and a half across the bay from downtown Havana (presumably in the location called La Cabaña, where all subsequent Calusa immigrants were likewise settled). Arriving sometime before the summer of 1688, these individuals later returned to the Calusa capital, reporting good treatment by the Spaniards. The Calusa chief and his retinue were finally transported to Havana by the same fisherman, arriving on December 3, 1689 with

his war chief, two brothers, two sons, and up to 20 other nobles. The chief was baptized during his month-long stay in the city, and returned to Mound Key in early 1690.

Delays in staffing and financing the anticipated Calusa mission postponed its implementation until 1697, when five Franciscan friars and a teenage servant under Fray Feliciano López finally embarked for the Calusa capital on September 11. In retrospect, their mission named San Diego de Compostela was a short-lived failure, lasting only from September 18 to December 2 on Mound Key, during which the Spaniards were subjected to ridicule, abuse, and threats against their lives (Contreras 1698; Hann 1991:40-45, 155-211). Apparently fearing retaliation from Spanish troops, the old chief, named Felipe, shielded the missionaries from outright murder, ultimately providing canoes and guides to transport the six Spaniards down the coastline past the communities at Teyo, Muspa, Casitua, and finally Tancha at Cape Sable, where they were transported to Matecumbe in the eastern Keys and abandoned for eventual passage back to Havana. Discovered in late December by a Spanish sloop sent with mail for the missionaries, the party finally returned to Havana in February.

Although the 1697 mission ended in total failure, other reports and parish records from Havana suggest that if anything, direct contact between the "Keys Indians" within the Calusa domain only increased during subsequent years. Italian traveler Gemelli Careri reported in 1698 the arrival of a group of Keys Indians subject to the chief Carlos on a Spanish vessel, trading in fish, ambergris, turtle shells, and cardinals (Berthe 1971), and the parish register of the Santo Angel Custodio church in Havana records no fewer than five Keys Indians baptized and buried there in 1698 alone, along with others in 1699 and 1701 (Craig et al. 1995). No direct contact was ever established between the Calusa and St. Augustine, although the 1699 overland journey of Ensign Luís Rodrigo de Ortega and a party of Timucuan Indians from the vicinity of present-day Gainesville to modern Tampa Bay did result in an indirect promise to report any English maritime activity within the Calusa domain (Hann 2003:126-129; Torres y Ayala 1699). The Calusa indeed fulfilled this promise two years later, sending word to the Indians at Tampa Bay about the sighting of several English ships off their coast in the summer of 1701 (Escalona 1701; Romo de Uriza 1701). Nevertheless, within a few years, slave raids from the north would turn the Calusa world upside down, as discussed below.

SPANISH ARTIFACTS FROM THE PINELAND SITE COMPLEX

Although the vast majority of the areal extent of the Pineland Site Complex shows no direct archaeological evidence for Calusa occupation during the Spanish colonial era (Caloosahatchee V, as presently defined), there is clear evidence that at least some important components of the Pineland site, most notably the frontal shell mound complexes and at least one of the sand burial mounds, were still inhabited and being utilized into at least the sixteenth century, and probably later. In 1990, Spanish artifacts were found in Smith Mound (8LL36) during test excavations, including two glass necklace beads (Figure 4). A sherd of tin-enameled Spanish pottery was collected on the surface in 2001 by George Luer along the western margin of the Brown's Complex (Figure 5), and another was discovered in 2004 at the base of the "plaza" area immediately to the east. In addition, a single glass necklace bead (Figure 4) was recovered recently during 2002 work on the summit of Randell Complex Mound 1 (both areas within site 8LL33). Other artifacts of European origin or materials were reportedly discovered by private digging in 1969 on Smith Mound, including a hammered gold tablet and a number of glass beads.

Before proceeding, it is worth considering precisely how such European items would have been obtained by the Calusa inhabitants of Pineland, and under what circumstances they could have entered the archaeological record. This is especially important considering the observation above that Pineland—presumably the Calusa community of Tampa—is not specifically documented to have ever had even a single Spanish visitor to the site, save perhaps the brief passage of Juan Rodríguez de Cartaya in 1612, and the possible attack on Tampa in 1614. As a consequence, items or materials of European origin presumably entered the Pineland community only indirectly from their ultimate source (presumably from Spaniards or as a by-product of their frequent shipwrecks along the east coast), through aboriginal exchange systems that were either vertical (i.e., tribute) or horizontal (i.e., trade), or a combination of both. Because determining whether or not Pineland continued to be inhabited throughout the Spanish period might normally be gauged by the presence or absence of artifacts or materials of European origin (the only distinction between Caloosahatchee IV and V periods), it is therefore pivotal to address the social and functional context of such items within Calusa culture throughout the Spanish colonial era.

To the north, across the mission provinces of Spanish Florida and much of the interior Southeast, first European contact during the sixteenth century was typically followed by varying periods of initial isolation, but was subsequently followed by ever more increasing levels of European interaction, ranging from assimilation into the Spanish mission system to peripheral integration into the expanding zone of English commerce in Indian slaves and deerskins (see my more detailed discussion in Worth 2002:46-64). In other words, by the early eighteenth century, most surviving southeastern Indian groups to the north were either mission Indians allied to the Spanish or commercial slavers and deer-hunters allied to the English. In either case, however, European objects and materials ultimately became part and parcel of the material culture of virtually all southeastern Indians living along the colonial frontier. For this reason, archaeologists in these more northerly regions are afforded the opportunity to compare the social and archaeological contexts of European goods within these cultures at different times and at different levels of colonial interaction (e.g., Knight 1985:15-22, 169-183; Smith 1987:23-53).

For the purposes of this chapter, what is most important to note is the fact that the role of European goods clearly changed over time in all these regions, depending on the nature, intensity, and regularity of interaction between

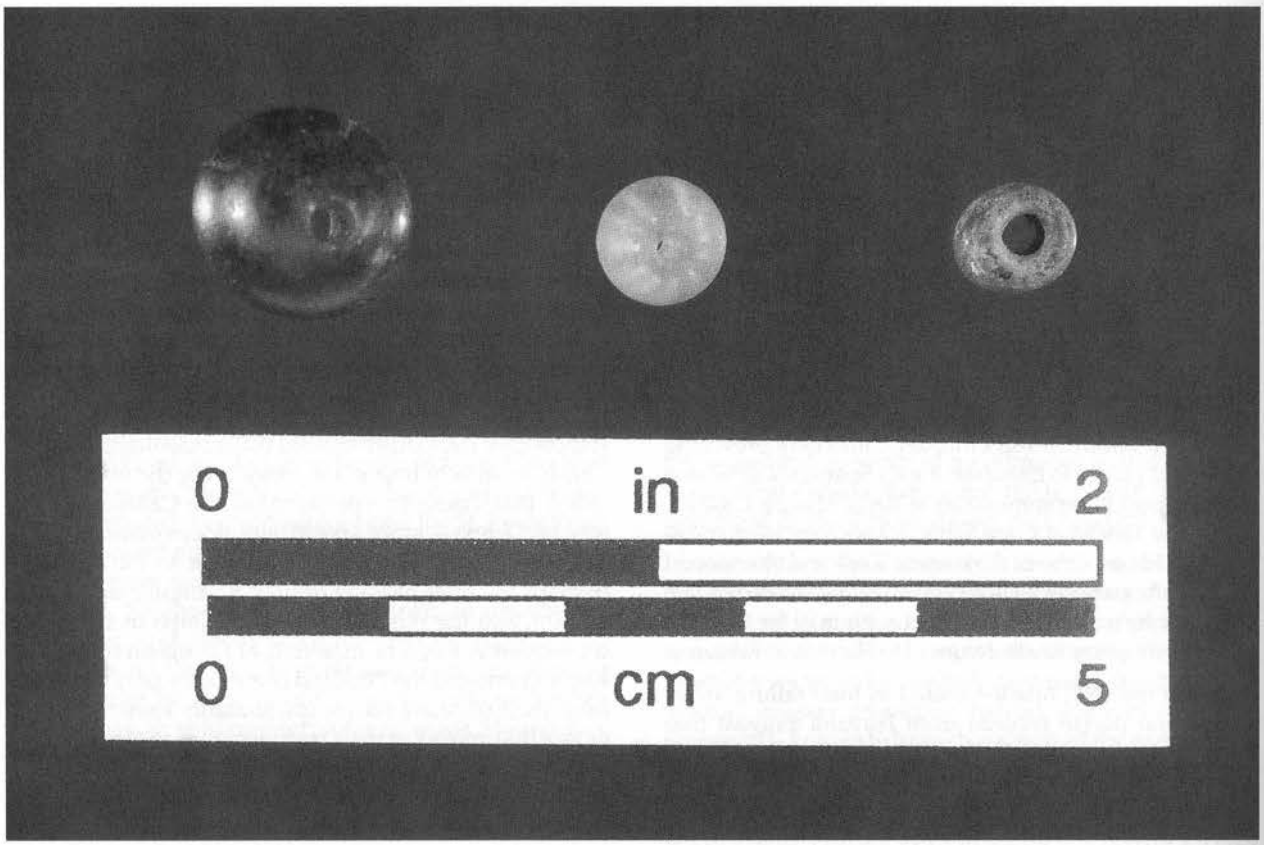

Figure 4. Spanish-period glass beads from the Pineland Site Complex. Left: spherical blue bead; center: gooseberry bead; right: Cornaline d'Aleppo bead. (See Table 2 for catalog numbers; photo by Jeff Gage and Tammy Johnson.)

Indians and Europeans. This is not to say that there is a simple and direct correspondence between increased European-Indian interaction and the frequency of European goods on Indian sites, or that the relative presence or absence of European goods represents an accurate measure of what many archaeologists call "acculturation" (see related discussion in Worth 2006). Nevertheless, there is a demonstrable archaeological difference between the social and functional contexts of European objects in "first contact" sites typically dating to the sixteenth century across most of the Southeast, and their contexts in later sites associated with either the Spanish mission system or English commercial trade.

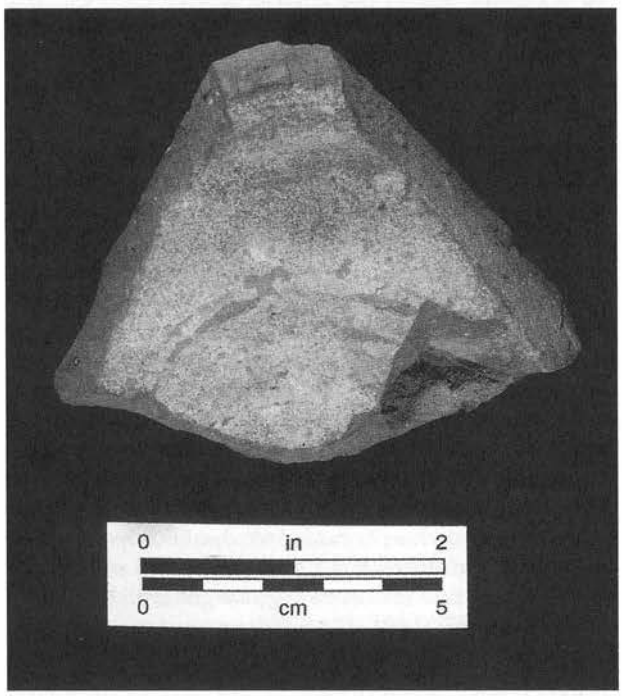

Figure 5. Spanish-period ceramic sherd from the Pineland Site Complex. (Florida Museum of Natural History 2001-48-1; photo by Jeff Gage.)

The earliest phase of European contact, typically limited to the sixteenth century in the northern interior, is characterized by the almost exclusive limitation of European goods to elite or high-ranking social contexts, their rapid spread across broad areas not directly contacted by Europeans, and their quick burial in elite mortuary contexts. This archaeological pattern has suggested to many researchers that European goods and materials were initially viewed as exotic luxury items, and as such they quickly became "sociotechnic status markers" used and controlled by chiefs and other high-ranking members of aboriginal societies, and were rapidly consumed into the archaeological record as grave goods (e.g., Knight 1985:16, 175; Smith 1987:25-27, 119-120). Ethnohistorical data from other "first contact" situations in late sixteenth-century St. Augustine confirm that the most coveted European goods probably had more social than utilitarian value, since the majority of Spanish gifts to visiting chiefs were comprised of "highly visible (and comparatively more expensive) luxury items such as colorful European clothing" as opposed to iron tools (Worth 1998a:38-39). Even

axes, chisels, wedges, and other metal tools were probably acquired more for their social value as exotic luxury items; many such tools are specifically documented to have been distributed to headmen and chiefs during the 1566-1568 Juan Pardo expeditions (Hudson 1990:135-140). However, while these and similar objects made their way into aboriginal hands during the earlier Hernando de Soto (1539-1543) and Tristan de Luna (1559-1561) expeditions, the entire number of sixteenth-century European items found to date by archaeologists from such contexts across the Southeast could nevertheless fit "on the top of a good-sized conference table" (Hudson 1997).

If sixteenth-century European artifacts from "first contact" situations across the interior Southeast are rare and generally confined to elite mortuary contexts, such items are just the opposite during subsequent centuries, and particularly so at sites dating to the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Beginning as early as 1600, and increasing substantially during the next two centuries, artifacts and materials of European origin became more and more common, not just as grave furniture for chiefs and their relatives, but rather as common, everyday items found in a variety of domestic contexts (Knight 1985:175-183; Smith 1987:27, 120-122). European tools were being used as tools by virtually everyone, and not necessarily as symbolic reinforcement for chiefly authority. To be sure, this was in part a result of more intensive and regular interaction with European colonists during this period, and the increased access to European goods afforded by such interaction. Nevertheless, ongoing and independent aboriginal cultural change undoubtedly played a role, especially as hierarchical social structures based on ascribed status began to disintegrate in favor of more egalitarian social formations that were better adapted to economic and political realities of the European colonial world (see Worth 2002:59-64).

For the purposes of this analysis, therefore, it is important to note that southern Florida in general, and Pineland in particular, was characterized by a somewhat different colonial trajectory after the initial period of "first contact" during the sixteenth century. Due in large part to its physical isolation from Spanish Florida and the rest of the European colonial world in the southeastern United States, combined with its persistent political autonomy and fierce anti-European hostility throughout most of the colonial era, most of southern Florida never effectively moved beyond the "first contact" phase described above. Apart from a brief period of military fortification during the Menéndez era, and the late and short-lived penetration of the Florida mission chain into the central Florida lake country, South Florida remained almost completely cut off from European colonial developments to the north until the early eighteenth century, despite probable interaction with Cuban fishermen no later than 1688. Even as late as 1743, when Jesuits briefly visited the Calusa refugees living at the mouth of the Miami River (discussed below), many elements of indigenous aboriginal culture appear to have been little changed from the sixteenth century, including sociopolitical structure and religion.

For this reason, at the Pineland site, and indeed at virtually any other archaeological site in the Calusa domain except for the garrisoned capital at Mound Key, it would not be unexpected that most European goods, if present, would be concentrated in elite mortuary contexts, and not in general domestic refuse scattered about the community. Indeed, based on all available archaeological data, this does seem to be the case at Pineland and another nearby site. Except for the sherd of Spanish pottery found near the old shoreline in front of the Brown's Complex (which might well relate to the post-Calusa Cuban fishing industry), all other artifacts of Spanish origin were found either in burial mounds or in slope deposits from the high frontal shell mounds, presumably occupied or used by chiefs or nobles.

Only three of the Spanish artifacts were discovered during professional excavations at the site, including the two beads from Smith Mound (8LL36) and the bead from Randell Complex Mound 1 (8LL33; see Figure 4 and Table 2). Nevertheless, both these excavations were conducted to salvage information from previously disturbed areas of the mounds, and thus the precise context of the beads is not clear. The beads from Smith Mound were found in sifted backdirt from earlier digging near the summit of the mound, and the bead from RCM1 was found during April 2002 profile-cleaning of a 1990s footer excavation, which had also previously been disturbed by a footer trench for an early twentieth-century (ca. 1917) house (Walker 2002). Despite this probable lack of primary context (the Randell Mound bead might well have come from undisturbed strata adjacent to the footer), all three beads clearly came from late stratigraphic contexts in both mounds.

The beads from Smith Mound include a large wire-wound plain spherical translucent blue bead and a Gooseberry bead with white bands inside a clear translucent matrix. Both beads are large enough to be classified as necklace beads (as opposed to embroidery beads, or seed beads), but only one (the blue bead) provides sufficient chronological information to infer that Smith Mound may indeed have been utilized as late as the last quarter of the seventeenth century. The chronological range of the Gooseberry bead spans the entire range of probable Calusa occupation

Table 2. Glass Beads from the Pineland Site Complex.

Site No.	FLMNH[a] Catalog No.	Bead Type	Date Range (Deagan 1987)	Bead Color(s)	Bead Length	Bead Diameter	Hole Diameter
8LL36	90-9-7	Wire-wound plain spherical (W1b)	1675-1800	blue	10.2 mm	11.7-12.4 mm	~2.9 mm
8LL36	90-9-8	Gooseberry (Ib18)	1550-1750	translucent clear with white bands	6.5 mm	7.2-7.3 mm	~2.1 mm
8LL33	2002-51-8	Cornaline d'Aleppo (IIIa3)	1575-1800	opaque brick red around translucent green interior	5.9 mm	5.9-6.8 mm	~2.7 mm

[a] Florida Museum of Natural History, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida.

at the site and later, but its spherical shape tends to indicate a sixteenth- or seventeenth-century time range (Marvin T. Smith, personal communication, December 8, 2004; see also Deagan 1987:172-174,176-168,177-179).

The Cornaline d'Aleppo bead from Randell Mound 1 also spans the entire range of the Spanish period at Pineland, and even extends into the late eighteenth century, making it at least possible that the bead post-dates the Calusa occupation at Pineland (Deagan 1987:168-169). Nevertheless, its barrel shape may imply a late seventeenth- to early-to-mid-eighteenth-century date, suggesting it may also be associated with the terminal Calusa habitation of the Pineland Site Complex (Marvin T. Smith, personal communication, December 8, 2004). In addition, despite the possible intrusion by twentieth-century house footer excavation, the presence of the bead within the upper elevations of RCM1 suggests that its cultural association is probably Calusa, predating the inferred abandonment of Pineland around 1710. Like the other beads found at Smith Mound, this bead is also a necklace bead.

In 2001, George Luer collected a single sherd of Spanish tin-enameled pottery (Figure 5) from the surface of the ground on one of the lower mound surfaces of the Brown's Complex, not far from the original shoreline. Examination of this sherd in 2003 indicated that it is probably a basal fragment of a lebrillo-type vessel of Blue-Green Basin ware (Kathleen Deagan, personal communication, October 6, 2003; George Luer, memo to John Worth, December 17, 2003). This ceramic type post-dates 1730, and thus clearly post-dates the known Calusa occupation at Pineland, probably deriving from eighteenth-century Cuban-fishing era visitation or habitation along the shore. More recently, I recovered an olive jar sherd (FLMNH catalog number 2004-192-1) only a few meters east of the Basin ware find in the base of the "plaza" area, and although it cannot be definitively assigned to either the middle-style or late-style, which divide about 1800 (Al Woods, email to John Worth, March 30, 2005; see also Deagan 1987:28, 30-35), its provenience suggests that it probably also relates to the Cuban fishing period at Pineland.

In addition to these better-documented finds, a number of other items of Spanish manufacture or materials also have been reported from Pineland. A small hammered gold tablet was reportedly found in the fall of 1969 by a group of boys digging in Smith Mound (Figure 6; for anecdotal discussions of the discovery, see Jordan 1985:106-109; White 1999, 2000:xiii-xvi; but see also Allerton et al. 1984:38 and Luer 2002:171 regarding doubts about the tablet's discovery site). The tablet, along with a number of glass beads, were sifted out of the sand, and presumably had been associated with a human burial. Similar tablets, more commonly made of silver, have been found across most of southern Florida in mortuary contexts, and sometimes in direct association with thousands of glass seed beads, suggesting that they may have been worn as necklace centerpieces (Allerton et al. 1984; Griffin 2002:322-326; Luer 1985, 1994, 2000). Silver and gold are well documented to have been recovered routinely by Indian divers on the Atlantic coast of southern Florida throughout the Spanish colonial era (e.g., Escalante Fontaneda n.d.), and the broad distribution of objects made by Florida Indians from this

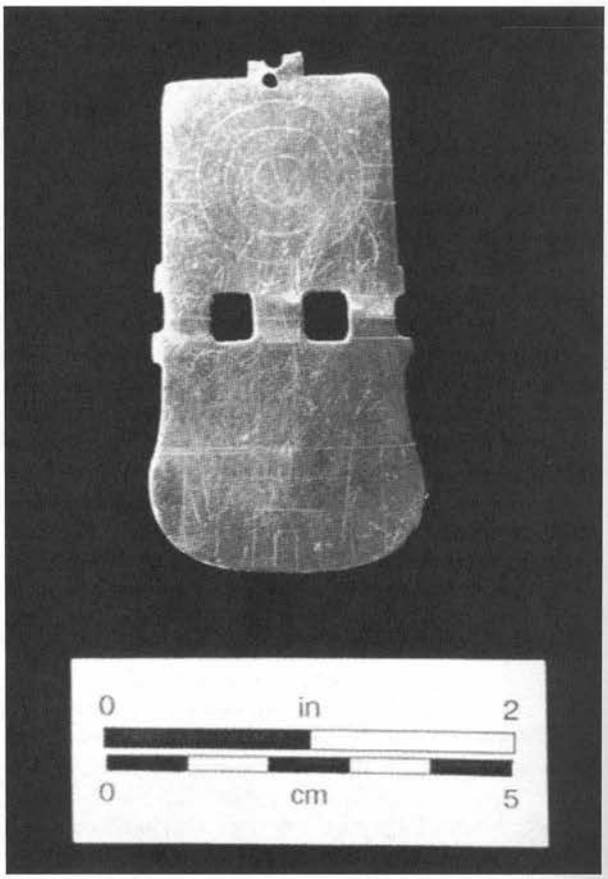

Figure 6. Gold tablet from Smith Mound, Pineland Site Complex (Florida Museum of Natural History 98-20-1, photo by Jeff Gage.)

salvaged metal indicates clearly that it was either traded or paid as tribute from east to west. The highest concentration of silver and gold tablets is actually within the Kissimmee River valley region of the interior central Florida peninsula, although the west coast has also produced significant numbers as well in comparison to the east coast (e.g., Luer 1994:182). Clearly, the final geographic distribution of Spanish silver and gold in mortuary contexts was not determined exclusively by direct distance to the source (shipwrecks on the east coast), and but was also strongly influenced by aboriginal patterns of trade and tribute, specifically as they related to the overall social geography of south Florida (even if not directly corresponding to the presumed political dominance of the coastal Calusa). For that reason, the appearance of the gold tablet in Smith Mound has bearing not only on the chronology of mound use (which obviously extended into the Spanish era), but also on the relative importance of the Pineland Site Complex on both a local and presumably regional scale. Both the material (salvaged Spanish shipwreck gold) and the form (an indigenous South Florida symbol) lend credence to the idea that Pineland may indeed have been a chiefly administrative center during the Spanish era.

There is at least indirect and unconfirmed evidence for other possible Spanish-era artifacts having been discovered at Pineland in the past. During 1884, Pineland was visited by a rented 17-ton schooner named the *Wallowy*, chartered at Cedar Key by a party from New York led by

Barnet Phillips. During their visit, in which they met a widowed father and four children living in a dilapidated shack apparently located just north of the mounds (which seem to be visible in an illustration of the homestead), the party dug in one of the mounds near the house. As described by Phillips (1885:223-224) in a subsequent magazine article:

> Here on Pine Island was an Indian mound, and the party, with strong archaeological tendencies, scrambled through thickets, and found an ancient tumulus. It was hard digging in a blazing sun with inefficient tools. Machetes were plied, and a grubbing hoe was used. It was tough work, because vegetation has bound the sand all through with rootlets. We soon struck potsherds, then found a bone or so, and presently a good skull was discovered. We took three fine skulls after an hour's work, and carried them off. They could not have been ante-Columbian, because we turned up a bit of rusted iron, the fragment of a knife. It does not look as if the early Indians frequented these shores, save in occasional places, and I should doubt if south of this any important finds will be made. It was only in later times, when the whites encroached on the Floridian Indian, that he sought a refuge farther south.

Apart from Phillips' amusing lack of foresight regarding "important finds" ever being made farther south along the Florida coastline, his insightful comment regarding the discovery of a rusted iron knife with a burial makes it at least possible that the burial dated to the Spanish era (see list of Spanish-era items found at nearby Pine Island 8 mound below). The description of sand in the mound, and the discovery of three skulls after only limited digging, suggests that the party was probably digging in Smith Mound (8LL36), or perhaps Adams Mound (8LL38).

The presence of the Spanish artifacts discussed above provides clear evidence that there were Calusa Indians living at Pineland during the Spanish period, and that at least some of them (probably members of the ruling family lineage) were using Smith Mound to inter their dead. Nevertheless, because there is presently no clear way to distinguish aboriginal ceramic assemblages from the immediately pre-contact Caloosahatchee IV period and those dating to the post-contact Caloosahatchee V period (Cordell, this volume), it is impossible to state with certainty the areal extent of the Spanish-period occupation. This is especially so given the expectation outlined above that most Spanish artifacts would be found in elite mortuary contexts. Given, therefore, that almost any late Caloosahatchee IV deposits might actually have been generated by post-contact Calusa who simply did not discard any artifacts or materials of European origin there, the limited distribution of Spanish artifacts across the Pineland site should not necessarily be interpreted as a limited or sparse occupation during the Spanish period. Instead, any area of the site with Caloosahatchee IV deposits should probably be considered a potential candidate for Caloosahatchee V occupation as well. The Caloosahatchee V community at Pineland might well have been just as large as that during the preceding Caloosahatchee IV phase. Peripherally, this same observation could also be applied to any archaeological site with a documented Caloosahatchee IV component. Until demonstrated otherwise by more intensive archaeological investigations, any Caloosahatchee IV site in the entire region could easily have been occupied well into the Spanish colonial era.

This having been said, it is also important to note that the presence of Spanish colonial artifacts in southwest Florida archaeological sites in the *absence* of demonstrable Caloosahatchee IV-V occupation debris may very well reflect post-Calusa occupation of shell mound sites in this same region by eighteenth or early nineteenth-century Cuban fishermen or their Creek and later Seminole neighbors and trading partners, and should therefore *not* be taken as a clear indicator of Spanish-era occupation by Calusa Indians. For archaeologists, the first and principal indicator for possible Spanish-era Calusa sites should be the presence of Caloosahatchee IV-V aboriginal pottery, with the concurrent presence of Spanish artifacts being only a secondary and far less reliable indicator (and only when those artifacts are reliably dated by context or style prior to about A.D. 1710). There are probably far more sites in southwest Florida with Spanish artifacts of Cuban origin than those reflecting early contact or trade with the indigenous Calusa.

NEARBY SPANISH ASSEMBLAGES

While the lack of clear chronological control on the few Spanish artifacts excavated at the Pineland Site Complex makes it somewhat difficult to gauge the extent or duration of post-Spanish contact occupation at the site, one nearby site produced substantially more artifacts from this period. In 1900 and 1904, Clarence B. Moore (1900:362-363; 1905:305-308) completely excavated a small sand burial mound just 2.5 miles east of Pineland, located just north of the eastern entrance of the Pine Island Canal (8LL34) onto Pine Island proper (see also Luer and Wheeler 1997; Mitchem 1999:21). The mound, presently called the "Pine Island 8" mound (8LL40), was originally just over 5 feet high and 60 feet in diameter, and was described by Moore as consisting of a single gray sand cap overlying a basal deposit of black sand with a final estimated total of at least 257 burials. These burials included tightly and loosely flexed primary inhumations, as well as "an inextricable confusion of burials" comprised of "several masses of disconnected bones and skeletons disturbed by burials made afterward, though probably by the same tribe" as well as "bunched burials with sometimes a single skull and sometimes several crania" (Moore 1900:362; 1905:305). Of importance for the present analysis, this mound produced evidence for Spanish contact, suggesting that most of the mound's construction and use occurred during the Spanish period, though the basal and sub-basal deposits apparently had no European objects.

During the first excavations in 1900, Moore discovered three iron celts, glass beads "on three occasions," and sheet silver objects including two tubular beads with overlapping edges and a "kite-shaped" pendant with a repoussé cross symbol (Moore 1900:362-363). Moore concluded that "the burials with European objects, however, were not intrusive, but belonged to the period when the part of the mound in which they were was made." During his 1904 excavations, Moore found one large glass bead and "a considerable number" of smaller glass beads, and a

large number of iron implements, including "five axes of the type obtained by aborigines from early white traders; three pairs of scissors; two broad chisels; three knives; one pruning knife; one chisel or caulking-knife" and one square iron bar 0.75 inches wide and 28 inches long with a point on one end. He also discovered several more sheet silver ornaments, including three more overlapping-edge tubular beads and a concave ovoid gorget with drilled suspension holes at one end, as well as a broken glass cross and a teardrop-shaped glass pendant.

This assemblage is the single-most numerous collection of Spanish colonial artifacts from any archaeological site on Pine Island, and provides an excellent opportunity to gauge the chronological range of Calusa occupation on the northern end of the island during the Spanish period (Table 3). While I have not had the opportunity to examine any of the remaining objects in person, Vernon James Knight recently viewed the items noted above at the National Museum of the American Indian, and confirmed that they match the descriptions in Moore's published texts (personal communication, June 2003). Combined with Moore's textual descriptions and illustrations, this collection provides sound evidence that the Pine Island 8 burial mound was constructed in large part during the height of the Spanish period in southwest Florida (ca. 1510-1710). Indeed, many items in this assemblage are similar to the collection of European artifacts from a burial cache excavated about 1890 on Mound Key itself, which Ryan Wheeler (2000:127) dates to the late seventeenth-to-early eighteenth century. Several of the objects fall into what Wheeler terms the Terminal Glades Complex (part of John Goggin's "Glades Cult" and Randolph Widmer's "South Florida Ceremonial Complex"), including the silver kite-shaped and "petaloid" pendants described by Moore (Goggin 1947; Wheeler 2000:107-108,125-154; Widmer 1989). Other objects, including the iron trade axes, the silver-colored sheet metal tubular beads (made of either silver or tin), and the "Punta Rassa Teardrop Pendant," are also consistent with the Mound Key collection. In addition, the glass cross, scissors, and knives are generally consistent with seventeenth-century mission period assemblages elsewhere in Florida.

Based strictly on Moore's reports, then, it seems evident that the burial mound on the east end of the Pine Island Canal was in use well into the seventeenth century, suggesting that northern Pine Island had resident Calusa populations through that period. This evidence, combined with the less tightly-dated Spanish artifacts from Pineland on the other end of the same canal, lends some degree of confidence to the interpretation that Pineland itself was probably occupied during this same period. The fact that a similar range of burial artifacts has not been recovered from Pineland probably has a great deal to do with the fact that only a very limited amount of archaeological testing has been conducted in Smith Mound and Adams Mound, both of which have also been impacted by twentieth-century earthmoving activity (see chapters 3 and 4, this volume). And as noted above, the lack of artifacts or materials of European origin from non-mortuary domestic contexts at Pineland is very likely a reflection of the overall paucity of such items in circulation at that time, and their close association with chiefly exchange and tribute.

While we cannot yet be sure, all available lines of archaeological evidence seem to support the hypothesis that the Pineland Site Complex was still inhabited during the seventeenth century, and perhaps as late as the first decade of the eighteenth. It is unclear whether or not this late occupation was comparable in size or scope to that which was presumably associated with the Pine Island 8 mound, especially because no excavations have yet been undertaken to identify the presence of Caloosahatchee IV or V occupation at nearby habitation sites such as Indian Field (8LL39), and of course, because neither Smith nor Adams Mounds have been as completely excavated as Pine Island 8. Nevertheless, the archaeological evidence reviewed here presently supports ethnohistorical data presented above that the Pineland Site Complex was probably identical with the documented Calusa community of Tampa. As noted previously, the fact that Pineland and Mound Key are the second-largest and largest shell mound complexes in all of southwest Florida, both showing evidence for continued occupation into the Spanish period, and furthermore are both located precisely where Alonso Solana plotted his only two Calusa communities on the 1683 map, provides convincing circumstantial evidence to support this identification.

Table 3. Artifacts of Spanish Manufacture or Materials Discovered by C. B. Moore during 1900 and 1904 in the Pine Island 8 Burial Mound.

Items	Number Found	NMAI[a] Collections	NMAI Catalog No.
iron celt	3	no	-
iron axe	5	no	-
scissors	3	no	-
iron chisel (broad)	2	no	-
chisel/caulking-knife	1	no	-
iron knife	3	no	-
pruning knife	1	no	-
pointed square iron bar	1	no	-
tubular sheet-silver beads	5	yes, all 5	170079.000, 170101.000
kite-shaped sheet-silver pendant	1	yes	170080.000
ovoid sheet-silver gorget	1	yes	170078.000
glass cross	1	yes	170104.000
glass teardrop pendant	1	yes	170103.000
glass bead	1 large, many smaller	only 1	170102.000

[a] National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

THE ABANDONMENT OF PINELAND AND SOUTHWEST FLORIDA

Ethnohistorical sources provide the best clues regarding the final abandonment of Pineland and the surrounding region of southwest Florida, which apparently occurred about 1710 as a direct result of aggressive slave-raiding by Yamasee and Creek Indians armed with firearms and operating as agents

for English traders in Carolina. As I have detailed elsewhere (Worth 2009), beginning with the devastation and withdrawal of the last remnants of the northern Florida trans-peninsula mission chain between January, 1704 and May, 1706, English-backed Indian slave-raiders began to penetrate aggressively into southern peninsular Florida, ravaging the landscape and ultimately forcing the survivors to abandon their homelands. Thousands of southern Florida Indians were enslaved, untold numbers were murdered, and those who survived eventually congregated in two locations: St. Augustine and the Florida Keys.

The last direct reference to a Calusa presence in their southwest Florida homeland dates to May of 1709, when a Spanish launch traversed from Havana to the Florida Keys in search of news regarding English ships. In subsequent testimony regarding their reconnaissance among the Indians at Tancha (Cape Sable) and Key Biscayne, two Spanish sailors reported that those Indians had learned from the "Indians of Carlos" that five sailing vessels had been anchored in the "Cove of Carlos" days earlier, but had left without any indication of their purpose or direction (García 1709; Rodríguez 1709). By early 1711, however, the entire Calusa leadership, along with most or all of their subordinate populations (presumably including any remnants at Pineland), seem to have relocated southeast to the Florida Keys.

In the spring of that year, a Franciscan friar visiting Key West baptized the dying Calusa chief while visiting "his towns." The chief requested transport for his vassals to Cuba. Soon thereafter, a Spanish vessel returned and picked up some 270 Indians, including 50 vassals of the Calusa chief, along with 220 other Indians including the chiefs of Jove and Rioseco (probably Jeaga) on the Atlantic coast, Miami in the interior, and Tancha and Muspa on the Gulf coast (Tampa/Pineland was not mentioned), all said to be living at that time on Key West, Cow Key, and in the vicinity of Matecumbe (Guëmes y Horcasitas 1743; Monaco and Alaña 1742; Valdés 1711). The young Calusa chief, who was actively engaged in distant warfare with the Yamasees upon the boat's arrival, sent his brother-in-law the Great Captain, and evidently came to Havana later to be baptized Felipe V. Nevertheless, after being settled together at La Cabaña, within two to three months he, along with three other chiefs and up to 200 Indians (only half of whom had been baptized), perished from rampant epidemics of typhus and smallpox. The survivors were divided up among private citizens around Havana, while others were sent inland, perhaps as far as the Bay of Jagua on the southern Cuban coast, with only 16 or 18 ultimately returning to their homeland in Florida.

The Calusa and other southern Florida Indians who had remained in the Keys after the 1711 evacuation would ultimately survive nearly half a century longer, even expanding back onto the mainland of Southeast Florida in the aftermath of the 1715 Yamasee War, which considerably relaxed the slaving pressure from the north (see Worth 2009). Cuban fishermen continued to frequent South Florida waters throughout this period, trading fish with the Keys Indians and even hiring Keys Indians as seasonal laborers on their fishing expeditions to the lower mainland Gulf coastline, presumably even to the vicinity of Charlotte Harbor and Pine Island Sound (Barberi 1760; Monaco and Alaña 1743a, 1743b). Voyages to Havana were made at least annually, and in 1722 at least some of the Keys Indians under their new chief Don Diego were reported to have been baptized previously there (Charlevoix 1744). And even despite this increased level of interaction with Spaniards, Jesuit priests Joseph María Monaco and Francisco Xavier Alaña (1742, 1743a, 1743b) reported a thriving indigenous religion and political system during their abortive 1743 mission named Santa María de Loreto at the mouth of the Miami River. Although southern Florida's Indian population had dropped below 500 at this point, their native culture seems to have remained surprisingly vibrant despite the devastation that had brought them all together as refugees so far from their diverse homelands.

The southward advance of pro-English Creek Indian factions would ultimately seal the fate of the remaining Calusa and other southern Florida Indians, culminating during the Seven Years War (1756-1763). Creek Indian raids against both Keys Indians and Cuban fishermen across South Florida peaked during the period 1757-1760, and despite the best efforts of the Havana governor to provide arms, boats, and other support to the remaining Keys Indians who fled briefly to Cuba in 1757, a devastating raid on the last surviving community in Key West was carried out on May 17, 1760, leading to the final evacuation of some 60-70 survivors to La Cabaña across from downtown Havana (Alonso 1760; Barberi 1760). The parish registers of the church of Nuestra Señora de la Asunción in nearby Guanabacoa record the deaths of at least five Christian Keys Indians there between 1762 and 1773 (Nuestra Señora de la Asunción Parish 1762-1796, Nos. 21, 140, 238, 242, 770), though no marriages or births during the same period, suggesting that mortality among the first unconverted arrivals may have been high. Nevertheless, long-term survivorship of at least a few Calusa Indian descendants in Cuba is suggested by the 1729 and 1731 baptisms of two daughters of Leonor de Sayas, said to be a "native of Carlos" but living in Guanabacoa (Nuestra Señora de la Asunción Parish 1726-1739, Nos. 111, 159). It is therefore at least possible (although unlikely ever to be fully documented) that a living descendant of the Calusa inhabitants of the Pineland site may yet exist in modern Cuba or even Florida.

PINELAND AFTER THE CALUSA

After its likely abandonment around 1710, Pineland probably remained virtually uninhabited through most of the remaining Spanish and British colonial periods, and even into the first decades after the 1821 transfer of Florida to United States jurisdiction. Nevertheless, in the meantime the surrounding waters of Pine Island Sound and Charlotte Harbor witnessed the expansion of the Cuban fishing industry, which flourished throughout the estuaries of southwest Florida through the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Even after the final evacuation of the remaining Keys Indians in 1760 and the consequent abandonment of southern Florida to Creek Indian dominance, as well as the formal delivery of Florida to British governance between 1763 and 1783, the Cuban fishing industry based at Havana only grew, eventually becom-

ing affiliated with Spanish-allied Creeks based in Coweta town in Georgia, and frequenting the Gulf coastal ports at Apalachee, Tampa, and Sanibel (e.g., Boyd and Navarro Latorre 1953). Seasonal winter fishing expeditions eventually gave way to year-round residence and Cuban-Indian intermarriage, with Pineland's near-neighbor Useppa Island becoming a primary base of operations for this vicinity (e.g., Almy 2001; Covington 1959; Palov 1999). Probably visited on occasion by passing fishermen, Pineland may even have been farmed by at least one Cuban fisherman named Primo, who in 1844 was noted to have cultivated on "Pine Key" near some large mounds, and who also had a fish oil processing station on Cayo Pelau on the north side of Charlotte Harbor (Brown 1844). The Spanish ceramics found at the Brown's Complex might indeed date from this period, and the nearby discovery of Spanish olive jar and a late eighteenth- or early nineteenth-century Seminole Indian burial at the site known as Indian Field directly opposite Pineland on the eastern end of the Pine Island Canal (Luer 1989) might confirm similar Cuban fishing activity on the other side of northern Pine Island.

Regardless of sporadic visitation or settlement during the Cuban fishing period, Pineland's earliest documented resettlement during the American period was by Rhode Island native Henry Brown, a sailor born in 1810 who moved to Pineland about 1853 from Key West, becoming not only the earliest Anglo-American resident of Pine Island, but also the namesake of modern Brown's Mound (U.S. Census, Monroe Co., Florida, 1840, 1850, 1870; Luer 1991:59-61). Although Pineland became home to a series of other successive Anglo-American residents through the 1880s and 1890s, the entire population of Pine Island was still comprised only of 36 inhabitants as late as 1900 (U.S. Census, Monroe Co., Florida, 1880, 1900; Florida State Census, Monroe Co., 1885; Phillips 1885). The better-documented twentieth-century history of Pineland, including its role in the emerging local citrus industry, is discussed in greater depth elsewhere (e.g. Luer 1991; Marquardt and Walker, Chapter 19 this volume).

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