

UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA
LABORATORY OF ARCHAEOLOGY SERIES
REPORT NUMBER 34

HISTORIC INDIAN PERIOD ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE GEORGIA COASTAL PLAIN

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ATHENS
1995

GEORGIA ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH DESIGN PAPER NO. 10

APPENDIX A

The Early Seventeenth Century Locations of Tama and Utinahica

by

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April 1994

The Early Seventeenth Century Locations of Tama and Utinahica

Below is a somewhat lengthy discussion regarding the documentary and archaeological evidence supporting my contention (Worth 1992; 1993; 1994a; 1994b) that the early seventeenth century aboriginal province of Tama was located along the middle Oconee River in the region of the Bell Phase defined by Mark Williams (1983), and that the mission province of Santa Isabel de Utinahica was located at the forks of the Altamaha River in the Square Ground Lamar region documented by Frankie Snow (1977; 1990). The bulk of this discussion centers on the recent interpretation of the Sansevilla Bluffs site as the site of mission Santa Isabel de Utinahica (Braley, this volume), the related conclusion that Tama was actually located in the Square Ground Lamar region, as originally proposed by Sam Lawson (1987) and Frankie Snow (1990). I hope that the following evidence will serve to demonstrate the reasoning behind my conclusions, and why I maintain that other interpretations do not fit available documentary evidence.

Testimony from 1630

Undoubtedly, the most important evidence for the relative locations of Georgia's early seventeenth century interior provinces was provided by testimony given by several experienced Spanish soldiers gathered by then-governor Don Luis de Rojas y Borja (1630). In response to a petition for information by Fray Francisco Alonso de Jesús, at the time preparing to write a treatise on the Indians of Spanish Florida, these soldiers testified as to the locations of all known Indian provinces in Spanish Florida. The most thorough account relative to Georgia's provinces (repeated in part by other witnesses) was by Juan Fernández de San Agustín, who testified as follows:

...and with these two provinces [of Guale and Santa Elena] borders that of Tama, to the west, and it is some fifty leagues 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).

Examination of the details of this account reveal some important facts. First, the province of Tama was perceived as *bordering* the provinces of Guale and Santa Elena, including the northern Georgia coast from the mouth of the Altamaha River to the southeastern corner of South Carolina. Furthermore it was described as more or less 50 leagues (about 132 miles) inland from these provinces "in the middle of the land." The province of Tama was next described as *bordering with* the province of Santa Isabel (Utinahica) located 30 leagues (about 79 miles) to the southwest of Tama. Santa Isabel was next described as *bordering with* the province of Arapaja, located another 30 leagues (about 79 miles) west across flat land.

It is clear from these accounts that seventeenth century Spanish perceptions of absolute directions were somewhat skewed from reality, largely resulting from their presumption that provinces directly inland from the Atlantic coast were always to the *west*, and not skewed off in a northwesterly direction. Regardless, it is instructive to note that Fenandez located Tama to the west of the coastal provinces, and subsequently located Santa Isabel to the *southwest*, suggesting that however erroneous his absolute directions were, he considered Santa Isabel to be somewhat south of Tama. The location of the northern Timucuan province of Arapaha (almost certainly located near Valdosta, Georgia, based on later documentation), was subsequently placed by Fernández even farther to the west, followed in the complete account by the as-yet unconverted Apalachee province.

Given that Fernández located these provinces in *sequential* order, with respect to which provinces bordered which other provinces (and having traveled throughout them all), we can calculate that the distance from Guale/Santa Elena to Tama was 50 leagues, and then on to Santa Ysabel amounted to a total distance of 80 leagues, and then on to Arapaja at 110 leagues, or approximately 270 miles. Furthermore, there is reason to believe that the distance figures provided by Fernández are reasonably accurate, since the relative locations he provided for all other currently-known provinces and missions (particularly along the Georgia and South Carolina coast) were sound, as were his descriptions of all the coastal bays and bars. Consequently, using a string or strip of paper in concert with a map, and anchoring each end to two known locations of Guale/Santa and Arapaja, we can definitely conclude that the *only* configuration that matches the Fernández account and the distribution of late prehistoric/early historic period archaeological site clusters (see below) places Tama at the Fall Line of the Oconee River near Milledgeville, and Santa Isabel at the forks of the Altamaha River.

Using these distances, there is *absolutely* no way to fit the most recent alternative hypothesis into the Fernández account, with Tama at the forks of the Altamaha and Santa Isabel de Utinahica at the Sansevilla Bluffs location. Beyond this, it seems highly illogical that Tama would be described by Fernández as *bordering* the coastal provinces of Guale and Santa Elena, and that Santa Isabel would be described as being located *between* Tama and Arapaja, if Santa Isabel was at that time situated only five leagues from the southernmost Guale mission of Santo Domingo de Talaje (under modern Fort King George), and directly *between* Guale and Tama, which would have to be located only 25 leagues upriver (at the forks of the Altamaha). Were that the case, Fernández would have been far more likely to say that the province of Santa Isabel bordered Guale/San Pedro, and that Tama bordered both Santa Isabel and Arapaja (none of which he or any other witness said). Further evidence is provided by the contemporaneous testimony of a later witness, the sixty-nine year old Alonso Dfaz de Badajoz, who after describing in great detail all the coastal provinces (San Pedro de Tuluteca, Guale, and Santa Elena) note that:

...he has not traveled in the [land] of Tama, nor does he know about its district, and he has seen the river that is called [the river] of Santa Ysavel, but that he has not traveled in it nor in the land of Arapaja, nor has he traveled in Apalache, nor does he know about it, and that he has only been from this city to the land of Timuqua and Potano, and has arrived at San Juan de Buacara and has gone to Pohoy...(Dfaz de Badajoz 1630).

Detailed examination of the original Spanish text implies that although Díaz had seen the *river* of Santa Isabel, he specifically stated that he had not traveled in the *land* of Santa Isabel. Since Díaz obviously knew both the San Pedro/Mocama province and the Guale province quite well, and noted having even seen the River of Santa Isabel, his statement that he had never been to the land (or province) of Santa Isabel suggests that it was farther into the interior, as were Tama, Arapaha, and Apalachee, which he also stated that he had never seen.

Other Evidence Relative to Tama's Location

As I have discussed at length elsewhere (Worth 1993; 1994a), documentary evidence from several early expeditions to Tama and Ocute strongly implies that Tama was situated at the Fall Line of the Oconee River, far to the north of the forks of the Altamaha. *All* of the contemporaneous distance estimates based on the routes actually traveled place Tama much farther to the interior than the 30-league distance to the forks of the Altamaha. These include Juan de Lara's estimate of a 60- to 70-league distance between Guale and Tama (Lara 1602), and Adrián de Cañizares' (1635) estimate of a 100-league distance between St. Augustine and Tama (presumably including the ca. 45-league distance to Guale and the ca. 55 league distance inland to Tama). Only Gaspar de Salas (1600), who visited Tama and Ocute during the first expedition of 1597, projected a shorter distance of 50 leagues from St. Augustine, and this was apparently only an inaccurate estimate of the straight-line distance based on a much longer journey. For the roughly 30-league journey from Tolomato near the Georgia coast to the forks of the Altamaha to have lasted the eight days he himself described between Guale and Tama (seven of which were through unoccupied land), he and his 32 companions would have been traveling at a rate of well under 4 leagues, or roughly 10 miles, per day. This would have been a slow pace even for Hernando de Soto's 600-man army just over a half century earlier, and hardly seems likely. Much more probably is that Salas' eight day journey extended to Shinholser at the Fall Line, roughly 57 leagues into the interior. Nevertheless, Salas' testimony influenced Governor Méndez de Canzo in his early estimates regarding Tama's proximity to St. Augustine until the second expedition five years later under Juan de Lara.

Apart from the distances, Tama is almost universally mentioned in association with references to hills, mountainous terrain, and abundant mineral and crystal deposits, and as such seems clearly associated with the Piedmont province of northern Georgia. In 1602, for example, Juan de Lara noted having arrived "at a *sierra* [mountain range] and a town which is called Olatama" after walking nine full days (similar to Salas) from Guale (Lara 1602). Other references (discussed at greater length in Worth 1994a) make it abundantly clear that Tama was situated in a region that was geographically unlike that normally experienced by the Spaniards in *La Florida*, which was generally characterized by level, sandy Coastal Plain terrain (this was a number of years before Apalachee province in the red hills of Tallahassee was missionized after 1633). These geographical references, when combined with the compelling evidence regarding distances noted above, argues quite convincingly in favor of the Fall Line zone of the Oconee River (where, as noted below, early seventeenth century Spanish contact had already been well-documented in the Bell phase).

The Location of Santa Isabel de Utinahica

Documentary evidence for the location of Utinahica is very scant. Indeed, only three contemporary documents make reference to the location of Utinahica in its interior location (the remnants of Utinahica seem to have joined with their nearest Timucuan-speaking neighbors in 1685 among the leaders living in mission Santa Cruz de San Buenaventura de Guadalquini). These references include Fray Lu s Ger nimo de Or 's account of having ventured from the Timucua province of interior northern Florida to the coastal mission of San Jos  de Sapala (Or  1936), governor Rojas y Borja's investigation of 1630 (above), and a mention in a *repartimiento* labor draft order for Guale dating to 1636 (Horruytiner 1636). Now, from Or 's account, we know that Santa Isabel de Utinahica was located on a very large river which flowed to the Atlantic coast near Sapelo Island. Later documentary evidence makes it quite clear that this river was the Altamaha, since the river was referred to in several seventeenth century documents as *el r o de Santa Isabel* (e.g. D az de Badajoz 1630; Aranguiz y Cotes 1661). Thus we know from this account that the mission's location was almost certainly on the Altamaha drainage.

The details of the 1630 Rojas y Borja investigation (discussed in detail above) make it relatively clear that the "province" of Santa Isabel was situated some distance inland from the mouth of the Altamaha, and very probably at or near the forks of the river. Finally, the 1636 labor draft order lists Santa Isabel as one of the missions providing laborers for the 1636 *repartimiento* from Guale. At the same time, no laborers were drafted from missions in the Mocama/San Pedro province, since missions San Juan and Santa Maria provided ferrying services. This evidence suggests that in 1636 mission Santa Isabel was near enough to Guale to provide relatively easy access to the soldiers gathering laborers there (see below).

Mission Santa Isabel seems to have disappeared as an independent mission town prior to 1655, when an overall listing of Florida missions failed to mention it (D ez de la Calle 1659). This conclusion is further confirmed by the letter of Governor Aranguiz y Cotes describing the Chichimeco assault on Guale during June of 1661, since the raiders descended from the interior along the River of Santa Isabel to attack the first mission in Guale, Santo Domingo de Talaje (at Darien). No mention was made of mission Santa Isabel, which should have been along the route of the Chichimeco raiders. Later, we discover that it had at some point been aggregated to mission San Buenaventura de Guadalquini on St. Simons Island (Leturiondo 1685).

Archaeological Evidence

The recent scatterplot by Mark Williams and Chad Braley of Indian sites dating to the Late Mississippian, Protohistoric, and Historic periods suggests that the Altamaha/lower Ocmulgee/Oconee River valleys of the Coastal Plain were home to only two major clusters of aboriginal occupation. One was located along the Ocmulgee Big Bend region at and above the forks of the Altamaha (Frankie's Square Ground Lamar province), and the other was at or near the mouth of the Altamaha, extending northward into the well-known Guale province along the coastal zone (this area was the historically documented southern boundary of the Guale province, with the Timucuan-speaking Mocama province beginning on St. Simons Island and extending southward (see Worth 1994b). [*But survey coverage away from these clusters is poor at best--C. Braley*]) The middle stretch of the Altamaha River appears to have been largely vacant, perhaps serving as a sort of buffer between the interior cluster and the coastal cluster.

Given that early seventeenth century artifacts have been found in each of these clusters, and in the "mega" cluster to the north along the middle Oconee River, it seems likely that the Spanish were aware of and had at least some contact with each of these aboriginal provinces. The task remains to identify which was which in the documentary record. Now based solely on the documentary evidence, as noted above, it seems highly probable that these three correspond to the provinces of Guale, Utinahica and Tama. The Sansevilla Bluff locality, based on its physical location, is clearly associated with the Guale cluster/province of the coastal zone, since it falls on the eastern side of the long "buffer" apparent on the Altamaha River. The names of these bluffs, however, suggests an origin in the name Santa Isabel, known to have been the seventeenth century name for the Altamaha River. Furthermore, the fact that early seventeenth century Spanish majolica and olive jar sherds have been found there indicates that this site was in fact occupied during the time in question. The only remaining question seems to be the following: was this site simply one of the many outlying early seventeenth century Guale satellite towns and villages (the abandoned site of which later became associated with the name of the river it is located on), or was it the actual location of mission Santa Isabel at some point in time?

In my judgement, either solution is possible. The key will be in differentiating the ceramic assemblage of the coastal Guale cluster from the interior Square Ground cluster. If it can be demonstrated that the Sansevilla Bluff ceramics are more similar to those of neighboring Guale towns than to those in the interior, then the site may be argued to have been a Guale satellite town. If, however, the Sansevilla Bluff ceramics are more similar to those of the interior Square Ground cluster, and contrast with all neighboring sites of the Guale province, then the site may well represent the *relocated* mission Santa Isabel from the deeper interior (since documentary information clearly rules out the Sansevilla Bluff location between 1617 and 1630). Based on the pattern established throughout the missions of early seventeenth century Spanish Florida, I would have no difficulty accepting that mission Santa Isabel was first established at the provincial capital of Utinahica (the Square Ground cluster at the forks of the Altamaha), but that due to depopulation in both Utinahica and Guale, the isolated mission Santa Isabel might have been relocated farther downstream in order to provide closer access to the Spaniards in Guale and Mocama. The fact that Santa Isabel was listed on the Guale labor draft of 1636 might even support this conclusion. The re-established mission Santa Isabel then lent its name to the Sansevilla Bluff locality.

Indeed the retreat of this interior mission to the coast between 1630 and 1636 might make a great deal of sense, since this period was also a time of tremendous population decline, and since the Spanish military was thus left with a declining labor pool along the coast. Additionally, the immigrant Chisca Indians were raiding along the western mission frontier at least as early as the 1620s, and were suspected of raids along Guale's borders in the early 1650s (see Worth 1992:152-5), leaving open the possibility that Santa Isabel, and indeed the entire province of Utinahica, may have been ravaged by such Chisca raiders between the 1620s and 1650s, resulting in their flight toward the coast and eventual aggregation to Guadalquini. This would be pure speculation at this point, but we do know that raiding had a heavy impact on the mission frontier at this very time, and the coincidence of a mission relocation might indeed be related.

The archaeological evidence may in fact argue that *both* solutions are valid. Specifically, the Sansevilla Bluff site may have been a satellite village in the Guale province during the late sixteenth century (perhaps abandoned after the Guale revolt of 1597?), and it may have been *re-*

occupied during the 1630s by the immigrant inhabitants of Santa Isabel de Utinahica, prior to their eventual aggregation to Guadalquini on St. Simons Island. In this instance, ceramics characteristic of both the coastal site cluster and the interior site cluster might be found at Sansevilla Bluff. Only further archaeological work will provide the data we need to answer this question.

In any instance, the documentary evidence seems quite clear on the point that Tama/Ocute should be equated with the Oconee Valley site cluster (the Bell Phase) and that Utinahica should be equated with the Ocmulgee Big Bend/Altamaha forks cluster (Square Ground Lamar). To argue that the Timucuan-speaking Utinahica province was originally located just five leagues from the Muskoghean-speaking Guale province and just 10 leagues from the Timucuan-speaking Mocama/San Pedro province, and that Tama was located just 25 leagues upriver, does *not* fit the available documentary evidence. Even if the early seventeenth century inhabitants of Sansevilla Bluff were simply part of the Mocama/San Pedro province to their immediate south (which would be likely since Guadalquini was only 10 leagues away on the southern tip of St. Simons Island), it seems extremely illogical that Fernández would list the "province" of Santa Isabel separately (were it to have been located there), and only following his previous discussions about the provinces of San Pedro, Guale, Santa Elena, and Tama, and immediately before mentioning Arapaja, Apalachee, Timucua, and Pohoy. Like the 1655 enumeration of Florida missions (Díez de la Calle 1659), Fernández's description of Florida provinces ran first north along the Georgia coast, then inland across the interior, and finally sweeping southward into peninsular Florida. It furthermore seems unlikely that Alonso Díaz de Badajoz, quite familiar with Mocama/San Pedro and Guale, would at the same time state that he had seen the *river* of Santa Isabel, while never having traveled to the *land* of Santa Isabel.

Santa Isabel was clearly an interior province, separated from coastal Guale and Mocama/San Pedro, and located on the route between the other interior provinces of Tama and Arapaja, both 30 leagues distant from Santa Isabel. The only logical solution based on all current historical and archaeological evidence is that Frankie's Square Ground Lamar cluster *was* the province of Utinahica, and almost certainly the site of the original mission Santa Isabel in 1616 and 1630 (though not necessarily so after 1636). Interestingly, had Frankie Snow not already documented the existence of this seventeenth century Coastal Plain Lamar society, the documents I have discussed above would probably make no sense whatsoever (situating Utinahica in an "abandoned" zone of the central Coastal Plain), and thus we are fortunate to have the benefit of his remarkable research. Frankie has probably already identified the mission (and certainly the province) which we are only now capable of giving a name to, given recent discoveries of previously unexamined historical documentation. Now begins the task of further exploring Utinahica as the curious combination of Lamar ceramics and the Timucuan language (a phenomenon which may not be totally unique along the Muskoghean/Timucuan language boundary in southern Georgia).

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