University of North Florida
UNF Digital Commons

UNF Graduate Theses and Dissertations

Student Scholarship

2014

From Chaos to Order: Balancing Cross-Cultural Communication in the Pre-Colonial and Colonial Southeast

Nicole Lynn Gallucci
University of North Florida, nicole.gallucci@unf.edu

Follow this and additional works at: https://digitalcommons.unf.edu/etd

Part of the Cultural History Commons, Social History Commons, and the United States History Commons

Suggested Citation

Gallucci, Nicole Lynn, "From Chaos to Order: Balancing Cross-Cultural Communication in the Pre-Colonial and Colonial Southeast" (2014). *UNF Graduate Theses and Dissertations*. 516.
https://digitalcommons.unf.edu/etd/516

This Master's Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Student Scholarship at UNF Digital Commons. It has been accepted for inclusion in UNF Graduate Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of UNF Digital Commons. For more information, please contact Digital Projects.
© 2014 All Rights Reserved

FROM CHAOS TO ORDER: BALANCING CROSS-CULTURAL COMMUNICATION IN THE PRE-COLONIAL AND COLONIAL SOUTHEAST

By

Nicole Gallucci

A thesis submitted to the Department of History

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts in History

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH FLORIDA

COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

June, 2014

Unpublished work © Nicole Gallucci

Certificate of Approval

The Thesis of Nicole Gallucci is approved:

____ **Date:** __________________

Dr. Denise Bossy

____ **Date:** __________________

Dr. Denice Fett

____ **Date:** __________________

Dr. Keith Ashley

Accepted for the History Department:

____ **Date:** __________________

Dr. Charles E. Closmann
Chair

Accepted for the College of Arts and Sciences:

____ **Date:** __________________

Dr. Barbara A. Hetrick
Dean

Accepted for the University:

____ **Date:** __________________

Dr. John Kantner
Dean of the Graduate School

Dedication

To Bobby and Caddy…

…just because.

Table of Contents

Abstract…………………………………………………………………………………v

Introduction: Striking a Balance……………………………………………………..1

Chapter One: Ordering Chaos in the Pre-Colonial Southeast……………………………………14

Chapter Two: Balancing New Voices: Contact Captives………………………………………..40

Chapter Three: From Order to Chaos: Making and Remaking Cross-Cultural Communication in the Colonial Era……………………………………………………………………….69

Epilogue: Still Balancing…………..……………………………………………………...118

Bibliography…………………………………………………………………………122

Vita…………………………………………………………………………………...134

Abstract

This Master's Thesis examines the ways in which the culturally distinct groups who inhabited the pre-colonial and colonial Southeast approached cross-cultural communication. The extensive and violent *entradas* led by Spaniards into the Southeastern interior in the 1500s represent a watershed moment in North American history that deeply impacted the economic, social, and geopolitical landscapes of an already well-populated and politically sophisticated region. The subsequent establishment of St. Augustine in 1565 and the arrival of the British in the mid-seventeenth century are similarly seen as pivotal moments in the region's history that forced many culturally and linguistically dissimilar groups to interact. Early accounts of cross-cultural interactions are peppered with glimpses into the importance of verbal and nonverbal communication to the successes and failures of Indian and European groups and individuals in the region.

This thesis explores how different groups actually learned and utilized language and communication in pre-colonial and colonial times. It argues that Southeastern Indians remained

active agents of their lives when faced with the drama and disharmony that often accompanied European settlements and the individuals who populated them. Although they sometimes borrowed communicative techniques and methods from their European counterparts when attempting to quell cross-cultural anxieties and misunderstandings, Southeastern Indians continued to rely on methods of communication predicated on maintaining balance and harmony within and between communities developed during the Mississippian period. Meaning making, performance, and communicative practice lay at the heart of this study, as do the multiple perspectives of those who contributed to these processes.

Introduction: Striking a Balance

In 2003 Donald L. Fixico, an American Indian raised in traditional Seminole and Muscogee communities, published *The American Indian Mind in a Linear World*. In this extremely profound and illuminating book Fixico reflects on the fundamental ways in which the thought processes of American Indians differ from those of non-Indians. Fixico starts by describing his childhood in rural Oklahoma during the 1950s as filled with the stories of his elders. He explained how his elders

> talked mainly about "what happened" to someone that everyone knew. And they usually told who these people were related to and discussed why it happened. Stories perpetuated life. Contrary to the historic stereotype of the "silent Indian" or "stoic Indian," Indian people, at least my people, the Seminoles and Creeks, talk a lot.[1]

For Fixico and his kinfolk, storytelling helped to "[reassure] listeners, especially children, that things were all right, making them feel safe and secure."[2] Ensuring the safety and security of community members ties directly into Fixico's kin's desires to maintain balance and security in their lives. "Seeking balance," Fixico explains, "is a continual struggle that has been deemed by the Creator of All Things so that a balance is sought within one's self and within one's community."[3] Fixico's Creek Indian heritage deeply informs the ways in which he thinks about the world around him and his place in it. Prior to their U.S. sanctioned removal to Oklahoma in the 1830s, Fixico's Creek ancestors enjoyed a long, rich cultural history in Southeast region of

---

[1] Donald Fixico, *The American Indian Mind in a Linear World: American Indian Studies and Traditional Knowledge* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 24-25.
[2] Fixico, 7.
[3] Fixico, 7.

the North American continent and, like Fixico and his kin, sought balance and harmony in everything they did.[4] Though written in a contemporary setting, Fixico's ideas regarding the power of storytelling, language, and balance and harmony extend all the way back to a pre-colonial and colonial Southeastern Indian history that he and his kin still feel a deep and intense connection with.[5] In this way, even the most mundane retelling of events by elders brimmed with cultural significance for Fixico and those with whom he grew up.

The majority of Fixico's book focuses on contemporary struggles between what the author refers to as linear and non-linear thinkers. According to the Fixico, the linear mind "looks for cause and effect, and the Indian mind seeks to comprehend relationships."[6] Fixico suggests that, regardless of the time period in which interactions occur, when linear minds and Indian minds meet misunderstandings typically ensue.[7] This Master's Thesis examines the ways in which Donald Fixico's Creek ancestors, as well as many of the other culturally distinct groups who inhabited the pre-colonial and colonial Southeast, approached cross-cultural communication with non-native outsiders during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and early eighteenth centuries. The mechanics of the dialogic process (e.g. how different groups actually learned and utilized languages and communication) are of particular interest to this current study. When thinking about the mechanics of cross-cultural interaction, historian Philip J. Deloria posits that the ways in which groups and individuals persuaded, perceived, misperceived, and misinterpreted each other are inextricably linked with the "cultural realm of meaning-making, performance, and communicative practice."[8] Following Deloria's lead, meaning-making, performance, and

[4] Charles Hudson, *The Southeastern Indians* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1976), 318.
[5] Fixico, 2-3.
[6] Fixico, 8.
[7] Fixico, 2-3.
[8] William Ramsey, *The Yamasee War: A Study of Culture, Economy, and Conflict in the Colonial South* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008), 7-8 and Philip J. Deloria, "What is the Middle Ground, Anyway?", *The William and Mary Quarterly* 63, no. 1 (2006): 16.

communicative practice lay at the heart of this study, as do the multiple perspectives of those who contributed to these processes.

This study attempts to fill some of the gaps in the current historiography of the colonial southeast regarding language and exchange. Southern historians who focus on seventeenth and eighteenth century cross-cultural interactions tend to gloss over how English and Indian cultural mediators actually learned foreign languages (a critical part of the dialogic process).[9] In these narratives, English men acquire Indian wives or an individual "goes native" by choice or force. Fluency ensues and the process of cultural transmission begins. This transition seems a little too smooth. How can we be sure that the European and Indian individuals who became invaluable cultural mediators understood everything that they said and heard?

With the notable exception of Verner Crane's *The Southern Frontier*, anthropological and historical discussions of seventeenth-century interactions between Europeans and Indians remained relatively quiet until the late 1960s.[10] Working separately from historians, anthropologists did much to highlight the inner workings and material cultures of individual Indian groups. Their efforts did not fully permeate historical dialogues until the 1960s when scholars started embracing social history as an approach to interpreting the colonial Southeastern past, leading to the creation of ethnohistory as a sub-field.[11] The American Indian Movement in the 1970s also caused historians to take a closer look at the roles of Indians in America's past. The movement to demarginalize native peoples in the colonial Southeast came to fruition in 1976

[9] The exception to this trend is Steve Hahn, who in his very recent biography of Mary Musgrove reconstructed aspects of her childhood educational experiences.
[10] In the 1920s Verner Crane's *The Southern Frontier* opened the discussion of the interactions between American Indians, the British, and Spaniards during the seventeenth century. Although seemingly dated, Crane's work is exceptional due to the amount of agency he allots Indian groups and individuals as active shapers of the region. Crane's approach was not replicated again until the emergence of the new social history in the 1960s and 1970s.
[11] Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession* (New York: Cambrige University Press, 1988), 440. Novick emphasizes the desire to highlight previously marginalized groups in historical studies as one of the hallmarks of social history and states that between 1958 and 1978 studies in social history quadrupled.

with Charles Hudson's *The Southeastern Indians*. In this massive tome Hudson combines historical primary source documents with archaeological records in an attempt to place Indian groups into the larger framework of southeastern history. He argues that that the beliefs of preliterate peoples need to be regarded as serious attempts at explaining worldviews and that these worldviews and the people who held them greatly affected the South as a region.[12]

Thanks to inroads made by Hudson and his contemporaries, the question of how European and Indian groups dealt with cross-cultural interactions and exchanges has received increasing attention over the past several decades.[13] As a result of the push towards social history as well as the new Indian history in American universities that started in earnest during the 1960s, historians and anthropologists alike have attempted to achieve a more holistic rendering of the colonial world, straying away from narratives of Indian declension and instead trying to treat all groups as historical actors worthy of study and capable of agency.[14] In 1991 Richard White's *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* presented readers with a colonial world in which Indians and Europeans negotiated the terms of cross-cultural interactions as well as their places in the region. White defines the middle ground as the place in between cultures, peoples, and empires in which diverse peoples adjusted their differences via "creative misunderstandings." When violent force proved to be undesirable (if not impossible) as a means of domination in the region, both European and Indian groups and individuals utilized creative misunderstandings to "persuade others…different from themselves

---

[12] Hudson, *The Southeastern Indians*, vii.
[13] In the 1920s Verner Crane's *The Southern Frontier* opened the discussion of the interactions between American Indians, the British, and Spaniards during the seventeenth century. Although seemingly dated, Crane's work is exceptional due to the amount of agency he allots Indian groups and individuals as active shapers of the region. Crane's approach was not replicated again until the emergence of the new social history in the 1960s and 1970s.
[14] Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession* (New York: Cambrige University Press, 1988), 440.

by appealing to what they perceive to be the values and practices of those others."[15] According to White, new meanings, practices, and accommodations arose from these misunderstandings and shaped the ways in which Indians and Europeans interacted, creating an environment in which neither major group maintained complete control prior to the creation of the American Republic.[16]

Historians of colonial North America have had a variety of reactions to this particular theoretical model, ranging from wholesale acceptance to outright rebuttal. In any case, White's study caused many academics to think more critically about how culturally dissimilar peoples interacted. Influenced by trends in social history, historians in the late 1990s and early 2000s came up with new ways to describe and interpret the spaces that existed between cultures and the individuals who traversed colonial North America. Historians such as James Merrell, Andrew Frank, Kathleen DuVal, and Joseph Hall responded to White's middle ground in ways that complicate past perceptions of Indian-European relations in the colonial world. Merrell and Frank created new terminology to describe individuals who operated in Indian and European worlds while DuVal and Hall tested the applicability of Richard White's middle ground to the southeast as well as the Arkansas River Valley. In *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier* Merrell examined the lives of "go-betweens." According to Merrell, go-betweens located and constructed compatibility between Englishmen in Pennsylvania and their Indian neighbors.[17] These individuals, who were indispensable to the dialogue between cultures, were not, Merrell argues, "denizens of some debatable land between native and newcomer; almost without exception, they were firmly anchored on one side of the cultural divide or the

[15] Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), x.
[16] White, x-xv.
[17] James H. Merrell, *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1999), 27.

other."[18] Departing from White's analysis, Merrell maintains that neither Indian nor European go-betweens made accommodations in terms of culture. In a brief discussion on language transmission, he credits total immersion and "going native" as the primary ways in which individuals absorbed each other's languages. However, he does little to describe what those methods entailed.[19]

Andrew Frank's 2005 *Creeks and Southerners: Biculturalism on the Early American Frontier* responded to Merrell's go-betweens (or cultural breakers) with the concept of "cultural brokers." Whereas Merrell argues that go-betweens did not accommodate other cultures, Frank, looking primarily at the children of Indian and European unions through the lens of identity and ethnicity, contends that some individuals simultaneously "obtained and maintained their central roles in both Creek and European American societies."[20] Rather than submitting exclusively to one culture or the other, Frank suggests that on the Southern frontier, these cultural brokers carefully balanced their dual identities and loyalties.[21] Frank speculates as to how the children of Creek women and British men created bilingual children, but does little to elaborate on the cross-cultural linguistic skills of their fathers.[22]

While Merrell and Frank examined the lives of go-betweens and cultural brokers, DuVal and Hall developed their own interpretive categories to explain cross-cultural interaction and exchange. Published in 2006, Kathleen DuVal's *The Native Ground: Indians and Colonists in the Heart of the Continent* focuses on the cross-cultural interactions that took place in the Arkansas Valley between the mid-sixteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. DuVal argues that

---

[18] Merrell, 37.
[19] Merrell, 59.
[20] Andrew Frank, *Creeks and Southerners: Biculturalism on the Early American Frontier* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 3-5.
[21] Frank, 95.
[22] Frank, 67.

unlike in White's middle ground, little to no accommodation existed in the interactions that took place in this particular region. Rather, different Indian groups defined and renegotiated borders amongst themselves while keeping Europeans largely on the periphery. She argues that Indians incorporated colonists into their worldview and defined relationships on their own terms. She is careful to remind readers that each European community that attempted to establish a permanent base in the Arkansas Valley, be they Mississippians, Osages, Quapaws, Cherokees, European settlers or Anglo-Americans, envisioned themselves as the rightful natives and hence the rightful landholders. In this way the Arkansas Valley was "not a middle ground but each group's claimed native ground."[23] This study borrows greatly from DuVal's methodology.

The works of Joseph Hall also significantly informs this thesis. In *Zamumo's Gifts: Indian-European Exchange in the Colonial Southeast* Hall examines the centrality of trade, exchange, and gifting to diplomacy in the colonial southeastern interior. Hall posits that "although cultural blending and adaptation were crucial to changing patterns of southeastern exchange" no middle ground formed due to the transient and unstable nature of the region's inhabitants.[24] Rather, Hall views the relationships between Europeans and Indians as ones constantly negotiated and renegotiated through exchange that created "diaphanous spider webs" connecting individual places and people.[25] Building on this notion, Michelle LeMaster dismisses both middle and native grounds in her 2012 *Brothers Born of One Mother: British-Native American Relations in the Colonial Southeast*. With an eye towards Hall, she describes the colonial southeast as a "place in which the balance of power shifted during the eighteenth

---

[23] Kathleen DuVal, *The Native Ground: Indians and Colonists in the Heart of the Continent* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 5.
[24] Joseph Hall, *Zamumo's Gifts: Indian-European Exchange in the Colonial Southeast* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 5.
[25] Hall, 9.

century, creating complex and often changing diplomatic situations that required constant renegotiation and reevaluation of existing relationships.[26]

Although all of the scholars mentioned above have made important and intellectually stimulating contributions to the field, language lies, at best, on the periphery of their studies and the debate over how much or how little information Indian groups granted European visitors (and vice versa) is rarely mentioned.[27] In recent years several scholars have attempted to mollify this historiographical gap. In his 2011 article "Lying Together: The Imperial Implications of Cross-Cultural Untruths" Josh Piker looks to individuals such as Acorn Whistler (a Creek Indian man put to death in 1752 for allegedly murdering five Cherokee men) to examine the cross-cultural lies that both Europeans and Indians told each other that "demonstrate the fragility…of power in both Indian nations and European empires."[28] By looking more closely at these lies, Piker asserts, we can start to disentangle the voices of groups and individuals from the narratives of power plays constructed by twentieth and twenty-first century historians.[29] The answer to this problem, as Piker implies, is in a reassessment of the primary sources as well as stronger emphasis on linguistics and syntax. Several historians are heeding Josh Piker's suggestions in "Lying Together" and are bringing the role of linguistic training in and around the colonies it to the fore. This study looks to current works by Josh Piker, Alejandra Dubcovsky, and Steven Hahn to inform its methodology, for all three of these individuals turn critical eyes towards the role of language in cultural transmission in the Southeast.

---

[26] Michelle LeMaster, *Brothers Born of One Mother: British-Native American Relations in the Colonial Southeast* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2012), 8.
[27] See Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Indians and English: Facing Off in Early America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000).
[28] Joshua Piker, "Lying Together: The Imperial Implications of Cross-Cultural Untruths," *The American Historical Review* 116, no. 4 (2011): 969.
[29] Piker: 969-70.

Alejandra Dubcovsky's 2011 PhD dissertation "Connected Worlds: Communication Networks in the Colonial Southeast, 1513-1740" places an invaluable emphasis on language and the transmission of information between cultures. She specifically examines the information networks that the Spanish of La Florida created to gather *nuevas* (news) and *información* (information) about what was going on around them. By looking at these networks and interpreting them as spaces of cross-cultural exchange, she brings together "previously splintered narratives" and "[draws] attention to the importance of otherwise ignored geopolitical space."[30] Dubcovsky achieves this by digging deeper into both European and Indian perceptions of news and information both before and during contact with Southeastern Indians. In this way, she gets extremely close to reaching the goal set by Piker by examining linguistic interactions on their own terms rather than the ones prescribed by twenty-first century historians. Here methodology is replicated in chapter two of this thesis when examining competing notions of captivity.

Steven Hahn's recent biography of Mary Musgrove, a half Creek, half English woman and cultural broker who played an influential role in Anglo-Creek relation in Georgia and South Carolina during the first half of the eighteenth century, contains the most satisfying coverage of linguistic cultural transmission and discussion of language learning in the colonial Southeast. Hahn places much needed emphasis on the importance of Mary's acquisition of the English language and the ways in which this education, made possible by the efforts of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG), impacted the decisions she made throughout the rest of her life.[31] Hahn picks up where Andrew Frank left off by describing in great detail the circumstances under which Mary likely learned English. Hahn surmises that Mary learned through "an intensive process of cultural immersion" in which young Indian

---

[30] Alejandra Dubcovsky, "Connected Worlds: Communication Networks in the Colonial Southeast, 1513-1740," (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2011), 2.
[31] Steven Hahn, *The Life and Times of Mary Musgrove* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2012), 3-5.

children in Pon Pon mastered *The English School-master*, an SPG approved primer.[32] Although largely speculative, it provides a wonderful starting point in furthering our understanding of how important language and linguistic training truly was to the lives of cultural mediators.[33] Methodologically, this current study borrows significantly from Hahn's study in an attempt to account for the ways in which Europeans and Indians learned each other's languages. A focused study of language acquisition will ultimately lead to better understanding the communicative roles and decisions made by the peoples who traversed the Southeast in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and early eighteenth centuries.

The three chapters that follow are structured in rough chronological order. In order to represent the multiple perspectives present in the southeast during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, some jumping back and forth in time occurs. The fact that Spanish St. Augustine and English Charles Town (the two permanent European settlements that this study focuses primarily on) were established almost one hundred years apart helps to account for discontinuity and overlap within individual chapters. It is worth noting that the voices of some colonial actors in the region–most obviously those of the African men and women who worked for and with European and Indian communities as well as the French in colonial Louisiana–are largely absent from this study. The absence of these voices in this study in no way negates their importance to the region and its peoples. By focusing on Indian, Spanish, and English perspectives regarding the importance of language acquisition and cross-cultural communication, the synthesis of information in this study, it is hoped, will provide the necessary baseline knowledge for future scholars wishing to incorporate more colonial voices into Southern history. Special attention is also placed on European interactions with Muskogean speaking Southeastern

[32] Hahn, *The Life and Times of Mary Musgrove*, 35-46.
[33] Hahn, *The Life and Times of Mary Musgrove* 31-55. The primer, Hahn states, "pointed the way to the eventual study of the Psalter, Bible, and other advanced texts."

Indians. This is due in large part to the fact that by the sixteenth century Muskogean served as one of the largest indigenous language families in the region.

Taking a peek into the Mississippian world, chapter one examines how Southeastern Indians conveyed abstract ideas of place, cosmology, and history to linguistically and culturally diverse outsiders prior to the arrival of non-native others to the region. By the time Europeans and Africans arrived in the Southeast, Indian groups had already created communication systems and networks in which the exchange of regionally symbolic goods as well as storytelling and oral traditions served to balance disharmonic internal and external group dialogues.[34] When Europeans began to explore and settle the region in earnest during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, disease, religious conversion, slave raids, and war disrupted many Indian communities already feeling the aftershocks and changes brought about by the collapse of ancient Mississippian societies.[35] First contacts between Indians and Europeans caused anxiety for all parties involved. For thousands of years prior to the arrival of Europeans, Southeastern Indians grew accustomed to interacting with outsiders who spoke different dialects and languages but typically thought about and organized their worlds in similar ways.[36]

Both before and after the contact era in the Southeast, one of the best ways to obtain people who could potentially learn, teach, and translate other languages and quell some of the anxieties that came along with communicating with others was to simply steal them.[37] Chapter

---

[34] Daniel Richter, *Before the Revolution: America's Ancient Past* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2011), 5. Richter points out that early European traders in North America "drew much of its material from patterns of exchange and political power forged by Native North America's progenitors."
[35] Robbie Ethridge, *Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone: The Colonial Indian Slave Trade and Regional Instability in the American South* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), 1-2. Ethridge illustrates in great detail the push factors that led to the "collapse" and transformation of the Mississippian world. Her framework is useful to this study in that it highlights, more then anything else, the tremendous amounts of change that the region underwent both before and after European contact.
[36] Hudson, *The Southeastern Indians*, 122.
[37] See James Axtell, "Babel of Tongues: Communicating with the Indians in Eastern North America," in *The Language Encounter in the Americas, 1492-1800*, ed. Edward G. Gray and Norman Fiering (New York: Berghahn

two focuses on the roles that European and Indian notions of captivity played in cross-cultural communication when groups interacted for the first time. Because their physical wellbeing depended on it, contact captives, this chapter argues, strove to better understand the deeply intertwined belief systems and social organizations that structured southeastern Indian worldviews. Obtaining fluency in their captor's language provided captives an important avenue through which they could improve their chances for survival and potentially advance their position within Indian communities. Contact captives' understandings of these complicated aspects of Indian culture became clear upon their redemption when they often facilitated cross-cultural communication between their European redeemers and the Indian communities they encountered. However, contact captives often did not entertain thoughts of redemption or repatriation, so they assimilated easily and quickly into Indian communities.

The compliance associated with contact captives gave Indians a false primer into the worlds of the Europeans who constructed permanent settlements in the region during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. European individuals who operated out of Spanish St. Augustine and English Charles Town did not bend quite as regularly or willingly to Indian modes and methods of cross-cultural communication. The final and longest chapter of this thesis focuses on how Europeans and Indians established and broke down cross-cultural communication in St. Augustine and Charles Town. Concerned with making their own colonial interests and voices heard, Europeans based out of these communities often picked and chose how they wanted to communicate with their Indian neighbors, sometimes adjusting to Indian methods and other times relying on their own ideas of clear, effective communication. Indian communities, in turn, calculated the risks and benefits of incorporating unfamiliar forms of

---

Books, 2003), 44. Frances Karttunen, "Interpreters Snatched From the Shore: The Successful and the Others," in *The Language Encounter in the Americas, 1492-1800*, ed. Edward G. Gray and Norman Fiering (New York: Berghahn Books, 2003), 216-218.

European communication, embracing some forms and rejecting others depending on how well or poorly these methods impacted their place and importance in the region.

The common thread running through all three chapters is the idea that Southeastern Indians remained active agents of their lives when faced with the drama and disharmony that often accompanied European settlements and the individuals who populated them. Although they sometimes borrowed techniques and methods from their European counterparts, Southeastern Indian continued to also rely on methods of communication predicated on maintaining balance and harmony within and between communities developed during the Mississippian period. This trend lasted well into the eighteenth century and, in Donald Fixico's case, into the twenty-first century as well.

Chapter One: Ordering Chaos in the Pre-Colonial Southeast

In the summer of 1650, Edward Bland, Abraham Woode, Sackford Brewster, and Elias Penant travelled through the Carolinas on behalf of the Virginia colony. As they moved along old Indian trading paths, they paid close attention to the words and actions of the Indians whom they hoped to one day Christianize. Christianization of native populations, they assured their English patrons, would accelerate settlement of the area and advance "the interests of the province of Virginia and the merchants and traders thereof."[38] They also hoped to establish trade with a Tuscarora town and "speake with an Englishman amongst them."[39] Despite their purported religious motives, economic goals actually underwrote their travels during that hot, muggy summer. Woode and his compatriots were charged with gathering information about the region's extended communication and trade networks with an eye to establishing trade with the Tuscaroras.

On August 27, the men encountered a notably wide path on which two remarkable trees marked off their eastern and western borders. Upon reaching the trees, Pyancha, their Appamatuck Indian guide, did something that struck the English travelers as entirely strange. Without explanation, he "made a stop, and cleared the Westerly end of the path with his foote."[40] Intrigued, the English men demanded to know the meaning behind Pyancha's seemingly random actions. Unwilling to indulge their curiosity, Pyancha let out several audible sighs while they

---

[38]Edward Bland, Abraham Woode, Elias Pennant, and Sackford Brewster, "The Discovery of New Brittaine, 1650," in *Narratives of Early Carolina, 1650-1708*, ed. Alexander S. Salley (Boston: Adamant Media Corporation, 2005), 3.
[39] Ibid., 9.
[40] Ibid., 13.

waited for Oyeocker, a Nottaway Indian who served as a secondary guide, to catch up with them. Oyeocker quickly cleared the other end of the path before he acknowledged his English travel companions. Sensing their befuddlement, he related to them the story of two combatant Indian "kings" who met on that very path over forty years before. Shortly after the two "kings" embraced, the "King of Pawhatan…whipt a bow string about the King of Chawans neck and strangle[d] him." Oyeocker went on to explain that in memorial of this event, "the path is continued unto this day, and the friends of the Pawhatans…cleanse the Westerly end of the path, and the friends of the Chawans the other."[41]

This particular incident highlights the multiple layers of communication predicated on maintaining balance still at play in the Southeast during the colonial era. It also highlights how seemingly ordinary things such as paths facilitated, shaped, and informed cross-cultural communication. The Powhatan king's violent actions undoubtedly created a breach between the Powhatans and the Chawans. Verbal and performative communication allowed members of the two communities, in this instance Pyancha and Oyeokcer, to repair the path of peace between their two communities and thereby restore cosmological balance to a world that they, by the mid seventeenth-century, probably felt was coming undone. In order to counteract past violence and ensure peaceful diplomacy for the future, descendants of both groups used performance and ceremony to cleanse the path and keep it straight and white.[42] The process of clearing the path also provided the Indian guides a way to align themselves and communicate with their past and their kin.[43] Finally, this highly performative act, combined with storytelling, offered guides such

[41] Ibid., 14.
[42] Angela Pulley Hudson, *Creek Paths and Federal Roads: Indians, Settlers, and Slaves and the Making of the American South* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 11. Charles Hudson, *The Southeastern Indians*, 223-228. For many Southeastern Indians, white paths symbolized peace and negotiation, whereas red, bloody paths denoted aggression and war
[43] Hudson, *Creek Paths and Federal Roads*, 5.

as Oyeocker a way to instruct European outsiders on the nuances of his community's history and cosmology in distinctly Indian terms. Whether or not the English men turned spectators fully understood what they saw, instances such as this offer scholars a glimpse into the importance of paths, historical memory, and storytelling as powerful and ancient communicative tools. These tools helped Southeastern Indians to simultaneously indoctrinate newcomers and restore balance to their worlds.

Like their English followers, the two Indian guides certainly recognized the utility of paths as a means to literally move goods from one community to another.[44] However, the ways in which Pyancha and Oyeoker chose to communicate on that particular day was the culmination of thousands of years of attempts by Southeastern Indians to convey abstract ideas of place, cosmology, and history to cultural and linguistic insiders and outsiders. By the time Europeans and Africans arrived in the Southeast, Indian groups had already created communication systems and networks that encompassed the exchange of regionally symbolic exchange goods and storytelling to balance disharmonic internal and external group dialogues.[45] It is useful to use anthropologist Victor Turner's theoretical framework concerning crisis situations when thinking about the multiple dialogues that existed in the pre-colonial and colonial Southeast. Turner focuses on "disharmonic" or "crisis" situations. They include arguments, combats, or rites of passage and are considered inherently dramatic because the participants involved not only do

---

[44] Gregory A. Waselkov, "Indian maps of the Colonial Southeast," in *Powhatan's Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast,* ed. Gregory A. Waselkov, Peter H. Wood, and Tom Hatley (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 435. Waselkov argues that English groups and individuals who travelled throughout the Southeast during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries held a slightly more myopic view of paths and cartography in general. Their curiosity, he posits, was limited to deciphering the locations of paths, rivers, and settlements.
[45] Daniel Richter, *Before the Revolution: America's Ancient Past* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2011), 5. Richter points out that early European traders in North America "drew much of its material from patterns of exchange and political power forged by Native North America's progenitors."

things, but also "try to show others what they are doing or have done."[46] Southeastern Indians attempted to quell the confusion and difficulty that came along with verbal communication by relying on regionally recognized symbols and rhetoric to better articulate, or "show," their history and standing in the region to those around them.

The communication systems that Southeastern Indians created, though often fluid and imperfect, informed and guided groups as they journeyed into new or strange communities. In order to understand the cross-cultural communication that ensued between Europeans and Indians during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, it is imperative to first examine the Indian modes and systems of communication that shaped and dominated the region prior to contact with non-natives. This chapter focuses on the ways in which linguistically dissimilar communities communicated with each other prior to the arrival of European and African newcomers in the fifteenth century. Special emphasis is placed on the Mississippian period (900-1700 CE) due to the fact that archaeological findings as well as European accounts of early cross-cultural exchanges show that "substantial cultural similarities" existed between Southeastern Indian societies that lived in the region before and after contact with Europeans.[47] Southeastern Indians, as will be illustrated in subsequent chapters, continued to rely on methods of communication predicated on maintaining balance and harmony within and between communities developed during the Mississippian period well into the eighteenth century.

As the story above highlights, the desire to trade often connected culturally and linguistically dissimilar groups. However, the paths that connected pre-colonial Southeastern peoples often facilitated far more than the exchange of raw and finished goods. Paths promoted

---

[46] Victor Turner, *Process, Performance, and Pilgrimage: A Study in Comparative Symbology* (New Delhi: Ranchi University Press, 1979), 63.
[47]Hudson, *The Southeastern Indians*, 121.

spiritual and diplomatic ties between communities.[48] Effective communication both within and between pre-colonial Southeastern communities proved crucial to securing the spiritual and diplomatic connections that helped cement and balance Indians' place and standing in the region. The process of establishing "native ground," as historian Kathleen DuVal calls it, entailed incorporating culturally and linguistically disparate groups into one's worldview and defining relationships on their own terms. Doing so allowed groups to envision themselves as the area's rightful landholders.[49] The process of cycling that went on in the Mississippian Southeast served as a significant push factor for Indian groups to communicate their legitimacy in the region to cultural outsiders and insiders alike. Cycling, in which Mississippian chiefdoms of all sizes and stature rose and fell in prominence at relatively regular intervals, occurred frequently throughout the Southeast.[50] Prior to the arrival of Europeans, as DuVal convincingly posits, Indian groups and individuals played active roles in defining, defending, and disputing geographic and metaphoric borders.[51] These cross-cultural conversations occurred over and over again as complex and simple chiefdoms rose and fell. Exotic goods helped to buttress and expand chiefly power, giving many Southeastern Indians great impetus to establish extra regional trade paths and communication networks.[52] Despite linguistic differences that existed between many Mississippian groups, the desire for goods that helped to bolster regional power gave them a lot to talk about.

---

[48] Hudson, *Creek Paths and Federal Roads*, 12.
[49] DuVal, 5. DuVal's central argument deviates significantly from Richard White's middle ground concept. Rather than being an area where all groups had to accommodate the others due to an inability to sustain control, Duval paints a picture of an area where different Indian groups defined and renegotiated borders amongst themselves while keeping Europeans largely on the peripheral.
[50]Ethridge, 7. See also David J. Hally, "The Nature of Mississippian Regional Systems," in *Light on the Path: The Anthropology and History of the Southeastern Indians*, ed. Thomas J. Pluckhahn and Robbie Ethridge (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2006), 30-31.
[51] DuVal, 28.
[52] DuVal, 16.

Mississippian inner and outer group dialogues impacted how groups established and talked about their native ground. Mississippian outer dialogues are defined as any communicative exchange between linguistically and/or culturally dissimilar culture groups that occurred between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries. Mississippian inner dialogues are defined as the communicative interactions that took place on local and community levels between linguistically and culturally similar individuals. Effective communication carried the ability to make or break Mississippian communities on both internal and external levels. Both types of Mississippian dialogues were inextricably tied to "the cultural realm of meaning making, performance, and communicative practice" that accompanied the cross-cultural trade, gifting, and diplomacy that made paths necessary.[53] Furthermore, the ways in which Southeastern Indians persuaded, perceived, misperceived, and misinterpreted one another on local and regional levels in the pre-colonial southeast deeply influenced later colonial interactions. In order to communicate effectively on internal and external levels, Southeastern Indians created a world in which cultural understanding and misunderstanding were predicated on one's ability to connect with the past and interpret symbolically rich paths, trade goods, and gifts.[54]

Before examining the ways in which groups and individuals used symbolically rich goods to communicate legitimacy and prominence in the region, it is important to note that, although the Mississippian Southeast can certainly be considered a culture area, significant linguistic and cultural differences existed between communities. Since the mid-1980s archaeologists such as Jon Muller and Timothy Pauketat have dedicated much time and effort to highlighting the extent of this variability through comparative analyses of regional and local

[53]Deloria: 16; Ramsey, 7-8.
[54]Hall, Jr., 7. Prestige goods, Hall argues, were different from trade commodities in that their rarity "symbolized the power of giver and recipient."

archaeological findings.[55] While many common themes appeared on Mississippian artifacts in different communities over time and space, the ways in which individual communities expressed and interpreted them on finished prestige and exchange goods often varied greatly.[56] Regardless of these differences, traded and gifted prestige goods moved extensively throughout the region in the centuries prior to European contact. "The presence of raw materials and Mississippian artifacts on sites far from their place of origin," Florida Archaeologists Keith Ashley points out, "speaks of complex interaction networks that connected many mound centers and smaller communities across the greater Southeast."[57] By the early Mississippian period (400-1000 CE), regional trade networks connected the Southern Appalachians, central Alabama, and the Greater Cahokia areas.[58] By the middle of the thirteenth century, the exchange of raw and finished goods connected the South Atlantic and Gulf Coasts to areas as far away as Oklahoma and Illinois.[59] The themes and motifs found on the grave goods uncovered at the Spiro Mounds site in eastern Oklahoma came from multiple sites in the region and incorporated just as many different styles. Although the combinations of motifs on certain grave goods found in Spiro burials are difficult to account for, the site as a whole highlights just how expansive the movement of goods and ideas were in the Mississippian world.[60] Archaeologists have recently discovered that Indians who lived on the shores of the St. Johns River in Northeast Florida also participated in

---

[55] See Jon Muller, "The Southern Cult," in *The Southeastern Ceremonial Complex: Artifacts and Analysis* (Lincoln: The University of Nebraska Press, 1989), ed. David H. Dye and Camille Wharey; Michael S. Nassaney and Kenneth E. Sassaman, eds., *Native American Interactions: Multiscalar Analysis and Interpretations in the Eastern Woodlands* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1995); and Timothy Pauketat, *Chiefdoms and other Archaeological Delusions* (Lanham: AltaMira Press, 2007).
[56] Muller, 25.
[57] Keith Ashley, "Early St. Johns II Interaction, Exchange, and Politics: A View From Northeastern Florida," in *Late Prehistoric Florida: Archaeology at the Edge of the Mississippian World*, ed. Keith Ashley and Nancy Marie White (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2012), 100.
[58] James A. Brown, "Exchange and Interaction Until 1500," in *Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 14*, ed. Raymond Fogelson and William C. Sturtevant (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 2004), 679.
[59] Muller, 11.
[60] Dennis A. Peterson, "A History of Excavations and Interpretations of Artifacts from the Spiro Mounds Site," in *The Southeastern Ceremonial Complex: Artifacts and Analysis*, ed. Patricia Galloway (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), 115, 120.

"interregional exchange, as indicated by the recovery of exotica from certain sand burial mounds."[61]

Going beyond physical boundaries and paths, the linguistic worlds of Mississippian contained much variety. Muskogean, Caddoan, Iroquoian, and Siouan-Catawba were the major language groups of the Southeast in the sixteenth century. It is important to note that they are mutually unintelligible. To complicate matters even more for Mississippian and colonial travelers, each individual language group contained multiple regional dialects. It is difficult to discern through archaeological and documentary records the frequency with which Southeastern Indians provided linguistic outsiders with guides and interpreters prior to contact with Europeans and Africans.[62] However, by the time Hernando de Soto arrived in *La Florida* in 1539, the Indian communities he and his men encountered were well acquainted with using interpreters to move strangers around the region. Interpreters proved extremely useful in guiding sixteenth century Spanish *entradas* through the coastal and interior southeast.

Soto relied heavily on interpreters, and though he coerced many (as will be examined in the following chapter), others were given willingly by Southeastern Indians to lead him and his men from community to community. Soto and other Spaniards viewed interpreters as crucial navigational tools. In a letter written to the justice and board of magistrates in Santiago de Cuba in 1539, Soto explained how after he and his men arrived in the current day Tampa Bay area, he received news that the Indians had a Christian in their possession. Upon redeeming Juan Ortiz, a native of Seville, Soto wrote that he and his men "rejoiced no little over him, for he speaks the

---

[61] Ashley, 100.
[62] Marvin T. Smith and David J. Hally, "Chiefly Behavior: Evidence from Sixteenth Century Spanish Accounts," in *Lords of the Southeast: Social Inequality and the Native Elites of Southeastern North America*, ed. Alex W. Barker and Timothy R. Pauketat (Washington, D.C.: American Anthropological Association, 1992), 104.

language."[63] Without Ortiz, Soto exclaimed, he "[knew] not what would become of us."[64] When considering the amount of terrain covered by the expedition, it is hard to imagine that Ortiz fully understood and comprehended every Indian group he encountered. In fact, Ortiz and the other interpreters often hit the limits of their linguistic and spatial comprehension. They typically mitigated this problem by combing Indian communities for someone who could understand at least one of their interpreters, leading to what historian Charles Hudson has described as a "chain of translation."[65] Sixteenth-century Indian guides and interpreters, like their predecessors, likely utilized trade pidgins to communicate over such a spatially and linguistically expansive area. When the use of pantomimic contact gestures wore thin, trade languages helped to facilitate communication and exchange between linguistic outsiders.[66] Trade pidgins reduce languages to their most basic forms, sometimes combining words and phrases from multiple linguistic groups. The simplicity of pidgins makes them relatively quick and easy to learn.[67] Linguistic anthropologist Emanuel Drechsel argues compellingly that, given the extensive nature of Mississippian trade routes and the multilingual nature of chiefdoms, the use of trade pidgins predates the arrival of Europeans and Africans by hundreds of years.[68] Pidgins, rather than full competency and fluency in multiple Indian languages, likely aided Mississippian groups and individuals in their encounters with outsiders.

---

[63] Hernando de Soto, "Letter of Hernando de Soto at Tampa Bay to the Justice and Board of Magistrates in Santiago de Cuba," in *The De Soto Chronicles: The Expedition of Hernando de Soto to North America in 1539-1543*, *Volume 1*, ed. Lawrence A. Clayton, Vernon James Knight, Jr., and Edward C. Moore (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1993), 375.
[64] Ibid., 376.
[65] Charles Hudson, "The Hernando de Soto Expedition, 1539-1543," in *The Forgotten Centuries: Indians and Europeans in the American South, 1521-1704,* ed. Charles Hudson and Carmen Chavez Tesser (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994), 78.
[66]Axtell, 29-31.
[67] Ibid., 29.
[68] Emanuel Drechsel, "Mobilian Jargon in the 'Prehistory' of the Southeastern North America," in *Perspectives on the Southeast: Linguists, Archaeology, and Ethnohistory*, ed. Patricia B. Kwachka (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994), 37. Drechsel argues that some kind of trade pidgin or jargon had to have served as the lingua franca of the Mississippian Complex

One of the biggest limitations of using pidgins was the inability to communicate abstract ideas concerning cosmology and history so vital to establishing one's place and standing in the region.[69] Population growth, internal struggles for political power, poor leadership, competition over resources and trade connections, military defeat, and changes in climate all contributed to the process of chiefdom cycling that made power and stability in the region tenuous.[70] In the midst of such fluctuations, inner and outer group crises arose from the pressure placed on leaders of individual chiefdoms to communicate their legitimacy in the region to both cultural outsiders and insiders. In order to alleviate some of the tensions caused by cycling and less than perfect translations, Southeastern Indians attempted to alleviate the factors that both created disharmonic situations and made longevity in the region difficult by relying on regionally recognized symbols to better articulate, or "show," their native ground and native history to neighbors near and far.

Alleviating disharmonic situations spoke to the kinds of dualities that existed within many Southeastern Indian communities. Oppositions and polarities are deeply ingrained in Southeastern Indian belief systems and social organization. The creation and maintenance of dually opposed red and white paths, as described above, highlights just one way that Southeastern Indians divided and understood their cosmological and physical worlds.[71] Dual organization impacted pre-colonial Southeastern groups on internal and external levels. Splitting the world into opposing forces made balance and stability all the more imperative for groups and individuals experiencing disharmonic situations. Warfare provided Indian groups with a

---

[69] Ibid., 40-41. See also Michael S. Nassaney and Kenneth E. Sassaman, "Understanding Native American Interactions," in *Native American Interactions: Multiscalar Analysis and Interpretations in the Eastern Woodlands*, ed. Michael S. Nassaney and Kenneth E. Sassaman (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1995), xxix; Mark F. Seeman, "When Words Are Not Enough: Hopewell Interregionalism and the Use of Material Symbols at the GE Mound," in *Native American Interactions: Multiscalar Analysis and Interpretations in the Eastern Woodlands*, ed. Michael S. Nassaney and Kenneth E. Sassaman (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1995), 124-126.
[70] Hally, "The Nature of Mississippian Regional Systems," 33.
[71] Hudson, *The Southeastern Indians*, 235-235. Some Southeastern groups also utilized dual chiefs (one for peace and one for war) and dual moieties.

powerful and violent way to instill and restore balance and control. So, too, did the acquisition of exotic prestige goods. These goods allowed Southeastern Indians a way to visually perpetuate the kinds of cosmological storytelling so vital to their existence in the region.[72]

Although scholars debate its usefulness as a category of analysis, the Southeastern Ceremonial Complex (SECC) does provide a lens through which to view Mississippian outer dialogues.[73] Archaeologists have used the name "Southeastern Ceremonial Complex" in the past to refer to the stylistic similarities found on artifacts amongst regionally disparate Mississippian groups. It is important to note, as anthropologist Adam King does, that the SECC "was not a single, monolithic ceremonial complex, artistic traditions, or belief system."[74] However, several artistic motifs and themes existed amongst spatially distant Mississippian and non-Mississippian Indian communities.[75] Similarities in themes and motifs found amongst linguistically and culturally dissimilar groups suggest that deep levels of ideological communication existed across language barriers in the region. Bird symbolism represents one of the staple themes of the complex that helped Southeastern Indians articulate complex ideas regarding cosmology and ideology when verbal communication failed. The ability and willingness to incorporate cosmologically symbolic creatures such as birds into prestige and trade goods helped contribute to the formation of Mississippian native grounds because they helped communicate stability, knowledge, and, ultimately, power.

The use of bird symbolism goes back as far as the early woodland period (1000 BCE – 700 CE) and appears frequently throughout archaeological sites in the region during the contact

---

[72] Hall, 12-13.
[73] For more information, see Adam King, ed. *Southeastern Ceremonial Complex: Chronology, Content, Context* (Tuscalossa: The University of Alabama Press, 2007).
[74] Adam King, "The Southeastern Ceremonial Complex: From Cult to Complex," in *Southeastern Ceremonial Complex: Chronology, Content, Context*, ed. Adam King (Tuscalossa: The University of Alabama Press, 2007), 1.
[75] Muller, 11-12.

era.[76] However, Southeastern Indians did not view all birds as the same or equal in symbolic significance. Indians, Anthropologist Shepard Krech III explains, "consumed certain birds but tabooed others" and figured winged creatures "in contexts of kinship, descent, power, religion, sickness, well-being, performance, and narrative."[77] Different birds played different roles in Southeastern Indian cosmology. More generally, though, Southeastern Indians associated birds primarily with the Upper World. The Upper World, which represented order and predictability, served as a foil to the Under World, which represented change and unpredictability. This World, inhabited by human beings, sat somewhere in between the others and emphasized balance.[78] That birds were (and remain) associated with the Upper World and had the ability to fly through and inhabit multiple worlds make them formidable and respectable creatures in Southeastern Indian cosmology.[79] Southeastern Indians often adorned exchanged goods and gifts with bird imagery. Bird symbolism found in sites such as Spiro, Moundville, Etowah, Cahokia, and the Tennessee area includes images depicting birds, bird impersonators, and half-bird, half-human beings.[80] In many of its manifestations, relying on bird symbolism allowed leaders of Mississippian communities to visually co-opt this creature's power and make it their own. The order and power represented in bird symbolism likely helped to visually reinforce and augment the stability and legitimacy of groups in the region.

Utilizing bird symbolism also helped Southeastern Indians communicate hegemony, knowledge, and power to outsiders. Communication with and knowledge of the Upper World

---

[76] Muller, 11-13.
[77] Shepard Krech III, *Spirits of the Air: Birds and American Indians in the South* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2009), 2-3.
[78] Hudson,*The Southeastern Indians*, 125-127.
[79] For more information on birds and meaning making, see Shepard Krech, *Spirits of the Air: Birds & American Indians in the South* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2009).
[80] John A. Strong, "The Mississippian Bird-Man Theme in Cross-Cultural Perspective," in *The Southeastern Ceremonial Complex: Artifacts and Analysis*, ed. Patricia Galloway (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), 212.

helped to ideologically mitigate crises caused by cycling. Historian Joseph Hall argues that gifts mattered a great deal to Southeastern Indian elites because reciprocity and the acquisition of rare, exotic goods "ensured the strength of the towns they led" as well as the social relations they precipitated.[81] Although warfare certainly aided Southeastern Indians' efforts to maintain dominance and balance in the region, as will be discussed in the next chapter, communication with the cosmos and the acquisition of esoteric knowledge was equally important in creating and maintaining one's stance in the region. Cosmologically relevant motifs and themes, such as bird symbolism, the "weeping eye," and the cross and circle, appear frequently on the shell gorgets, copper plates and pendants, and ceramic jars that moved around the region.[82] Cosmological phenomena, as anthropologist Mary W. Helms argues, are typically imbued with distinctive energies in that they relate directly to ideas of "origins and creations, specifically to earthly creation, human beings, cultural origins, and the facilitators of such epiphanies."[83] Incorporating regionally recognizable themes into exchange goods helped to simultaneously embody and connect with powerful esoteric or supernatural forces.[84]

The commoditization of esoteric knowledge and the manipulation of religious symbols helped groups and individuals garner power and control over trade goods.[85] It also allowed Southeastern Indians a way to cultivate distinct, powerful regional and local identities.[86] Establishing and maintaining outer dialogues was an important aspect of Mississippian life.

---

[81] Hall, 13.
[82] Muller, 13.
[83] Mary W. Helms, "Political Lords and Political Ideology in Southeastern Chiefdoms," in *Lords of the Southeast: Social Inequality and the Native Elites of Southeastern North America*, ed. Alex W. Barker and Timothy R. Pauketat (Washington, D.C.: American Anthropological Association, 1992), 186.
[84] Peter N. Peregrine, "Networks of Power: The Mississippian World-System," in *Native American Interactions: Multiscalar Analysis and Interpretations in the Eastern Woodlands*, ed. Michael S. Nassaney and Kenneth E. Sassaman (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1995), 251.
[85] Vernon James Knight, Jr., "Some Speculation on Mississippian Monsters," in *The Southeastern Ceremonial Complex: Artifacts and Analysis*, ed. Patricia Galloway (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), 205.
[86] Ethridge, 4.

However, the dialogues that took place within Mississippian communities mattered just as much as the ones that extended beyond their borders. Leaders of complex and simple chiefdoms were tasked with securing group prominence in the region while reinforcing chiefly power within their own communities. Exchange with cultural outsiders provided elites with the kinds of prestige goods that helped to balance and regulate the cosmos.[87] They co-opted the esoteric knowledge and energy associated with spiritual beings such as birds to show hegemony and power to their non-elite audiences while simultaneously maintaining the dual organization that kept their physical and cosmological worlds in check.[88] Much as with outer Mississippian dialogic processes, meaning making via symbolically rich exchange goods and elaborate performances enabled Indian leaders to establish place and legitimacy within communities. Elites also used community planning and layout to further "show" and communicate statues to insiders and avoid disharmonic situations.[89]

As mentioned above, Mississippian communities showed great variability in the ways in which they artistically expressed regionally significant themes on exchange and prestige goods across space and time.[90] Archaeologists typically characterize the basic structure of chiefdoms as consisting of ruling elite lineages and non-elite lineages.[91] While archaeologists debate the extent of chiefly power, they agree that chiefs manipulated prestige-goods in order to maintain social rank and position in their respective communities. The presence of exotic prestige goods in the gravesites of individuals associated with ruling lineages demonstrates that elites, in both life and

[87] Hall, 13.
[88] Michael S. Nassaney, "Communal Societies and the Emergence of Elites in the Prehistoric American Southeast," in *Lords of the Southeast: Social Inequality and the Native Elites of Southeastern North America*, ed. Alex W. Barker and Timothy R. Pauketat (Washington, D.C.: American Anthropological Association, 1992), 115-116. See also Hudson, *The Souhteastern Indians*, 436-437.
[89] Helms, 185-187.
[90] Ethridge, 6.
[91] Ethridge, 4.

death, used such prestige goods in performative outward displays of their power and hegemony.[92]

Much like the acquisition of prestige goods, the actual layout of Mississippian communities further aided elites' desires to communicate hegemony, power, and knowledge. Flat-topped temple mounds, one of the hallmarks of chiefdom communities, helped to visually highlight the status of elites and their kin. Mounds often served as foundations for chiefly and other elite houses, as well as bases for temples and mortuaries.[93] By literally elevating themselves within their community, elites simultaneously distanced themselves from non-elites and brought themselves closer to powerful beings in the Upper World. Elites, as observed in Soto's travels, also inhabited distinct kinds of homes within some Southeastern Indian communities. "The difference which the houses of the lords or principle men have from those of the others," Soto's chronicler recorded when observing a group just beyond the town of Toalli shortly after their arrival in region, "is that besides being larger they have large balconies in front and below…and round about many large barbacoas in which they gather together the tribute paid them by their Indians."[94] In this case, elites implemented architectural designs that allotted them more living space than non-elites. By creating a space in which they could observe non-elites as well as tribute ceremonies, "lords" and "principal men" further utilized architecture to communicate inner group hegemony.

Other types of regionally and locally recognizable visual markers that communicated cosmological connectivity and knowledge appeared in Southeastern Indian communities. Traces

---

[92] Adam King and Jennifer A. Freer, "The Mississippian Southeast: A World-Systems Perspective," in *Native American Interactions: Multiscalar Analysis and Interpretations in the Eastern Woodlands*, ed. Michael S. Nassaney and Kenneth E. Sassaman (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1995), 275.
[93] Ethridge, 3-4. Hudson, 78.
[94] Gentelman of Elvas, "True Relation of the Hardships Suffered by Governor Hernando de Soto & Certain Portuguese Gentlemen During the Discovery of the Province of Florida," in *The De Soto Chronicles: The Expedition of Hernando de Soto to North America in 1539-1543*, ed. Lawrence A. Clayton, Vernon James Knight Jr., and Edward C. Moore, 2 vols. (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1995), 75.

of these visual reminders of balance and power appear in some of the earliest recorded encounters between Europeans and Indians in the interior Southeast. Ucita, one of the first Indian towns Soto and his men encountered upon entering Florida in 1539, contained a temple on which "a wooden bird with its eyes gilded" sat.[95] The elevated presence of the wooden bird obviously commanded and captured the attention of the Spanish visitors immediately upon their arrival. Juan Ortiz, who spent a considerable amount of time with the Indians of Ucita, understood the significance of birds within Southeastern communities and relayed this useful information to Soto. Soto co-opted the power and knowledge associated with bird symbolism and iconography later in his *entrada* when he visited the proto-Yamasee community of Altamaha. Soto greeted Zamumo, the chief of Altamaha, with "a large feather colored with silver." Happy to have received such a meaningful gift, Zamumo reportedly told Soto "you are from heaven, and this your feather that you give me, I can eat with it; I will go forth to war with it; I will sleep with my wife with it."[96] Soto co-opted this particular form of symbolism to aid diplomacy by communicating in a way that the Indians of Altamaha would understand.[97]

Like paths and exotic goods, storytelling and oral traditions also allowed Southeastern Indians a way to internally regulate and balance their physical and cosmological worlds. All Southeastern Indian groups lacked a formal writing system at the time of European contact. For thousands of years, Southeastern Indians relied on rich oral traditions to pass on information regarding religion, cosmology, iconography, and history from one generation to another. Whether travelling down a well-trodden path or sitting amongst a group of friends and kin, the

---

[95] Ibid., 57.
[96] Rodrigo Rangel, "Account of the Northern Conquest and Discovery of Hernando de Soto," trans. And ed. John E. Worth, in *The De Soto Chronicles: The Expedition of Hernando de Soto to North America in 1539-1543*, ed. Lawrence A. Clayton, Vernon James Knight Jr., and Edward C. Moore, 2 vols. (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1995), 272.
[97]Hall, 2.

stories that individuals told each other and themselves and the media through which they told them mattered. Storytelling that highlighted trade, gifting, and path maintenance helped shape cross-cultural communication in the Southeast for thousands of years prior to the arrival of Europeans and Africans. When fluency or competent interpreters allowed, Southeastern Indians used verbally transmitted myths and legends to instruct both insiders and outsiders on their history and cosmology. Much like the paths and waterways that connected communities and the gifts and exchange goods that moved around the region, stories held the ability to empower individuals, garner local and regional support, justify war, and balance (or destroy) one's place in the physical and cosmological world.[98]

Today, myths and legends that focus on the creation of physical and cosmological worlds remain an integral part of Southeastern Indians' oral traditions. Both before and after European contact, Indians used oral traditions, along with other mnemonic devices, to communicate their histories in the region as well as their native ground to both cultural outsiders and insiders.[99] These particular forms of storytelling often incorporated some of the Mississippian communicative practices and devices described above and are permeated with regionally recognizable iconography such as birds and bird figures as well as red and white paths and group designations. By the time men like Hernando de Soto, Edward Bland, Abraham Woode, Sackford Brewster, and Elias Penant travelled through the Southeast, distinctly Indian modes of inner and outer group communication dictated meaning-making and cross-cultural interactions in the region.[100] An examination of two specific genres within oral traditions– origin myths and

[98] Joshua Piker, *The Four Deaths of Acorn Whistler: Telling Stories in Colonial America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013), 10-11.
[99] DuVal, 19.
[100] DuVal, 19.

migration legends– allows us to catch glimpses of how Indian groups attempted to communicate their native ground to insiders and outsiders.

Verbally transmitted myths and legends provided Southeastern Indian groups and individuals a way to quell some of the crises and imbalances caused by cycling and, later, European encroachment in the region. Pre-colonial and colonial crises often resulted in mass movements of groups and individuals in and out of the region as well as with the formation of coalescent societies.[101] Due to these factors, many Southeastern Indians were tasked with reconstituting their native ground. Creation myths, which allow people to explain "how the world, people, and all things came to exist, and how order or cosmos was established from disorder or chaos," provided Southeastern groups with a powerful communicative tool to reassert or reinvent their identities.[102] Oral traditions are also malleable and reflect specific moments in time. Orators often shape and manipulate them to fit a certain political or social mood or to get a particular message across.[103] Henry Woodward, an English trader whose extensive knowledge of Indian languages and customs made him indispensable to the Charles Town colony in the late seventeenth-century, experienced native reinvention via oral tradition firsthand.

In a letter addressed to philosopher John Locke on November 12, 1675, Woodward related "ye best inquiry yt I can concerning ye religion & worship Originall, & customs of our natives especially among ye Port Royall Indians amongst whom I am best acquainted."[104] Woodward explained that during a particularly devastating deluge that altered the Port Royal

---

[101] Ethridge, 36-42. Ethridge points out that marriage, adoption, linguistic affiliations, and former chiefdom alliances served as the glue that held coalescent societies together.
[102] Bill Grantham, *Creation Myths and Legends of the Creek Indians* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002), 5.
[103] Steven C. Hahn, "The Cussita Migration Legend: History, Ideology, and the Politics of Mythmaking," in *Light on the Path: The Anthropology and History of the Southeastern Indians*, ed. Thomas J. Pluckhahn and Robbie Ethridge (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2006), 67-68.
[104] Henry Woodward, "Dr. Henry Woodward to Locke, 12 November 1675," in *The Correspondence of John Locke*, ed. E. S. de Beer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976), 431. It is unclear whether or not the Indian group he lived with turned him over to the Spanish or not.

Indians' physical and cosmological world, two members of their community took shelter in a cave. Reassuring birdsong eventually drew the two out of the cave once the rain stopped. The bird's song led the two sole survivors of the deluge out into a dry but empty new world. Upon exiting the cave, they found that the bird was dead. They proceeded to pull the red bird's feathers out and, one by one, blew them into the world. From these individual feathers, the two surviving Port Royal Indians created several tribes with several different languages.[105]

Woodward lived with Indians in Port Royal from July of 1666 until his incarceration in St. Augustine a little less than a year later. It is difficult to discern exactly what Indian group Woodward interacted with during his time in the area. Gene Waddell suggests that the people Woodward encountered belonged to one of the Cusabo groups who lived between the Santee and Savannah rivers from 1562 to 1751.[106] However, anthropologist John Worth has found that "the cultural identity of the Indians living in and around Santa Elena [Port Royal] during the 1660s and 1670s is far from clear based on a variety of English and Spanish sources."[107] Regardless of where the Port Royal Indians actually came from, the story recorded by Woodward highlights a Southeastern Indian understanding of creation. Furthermore, it is one of the few origin myths from the time period that specifically addresses the origin of Indian languages.

On a very basic level, the Port Royal myth helps to account for the variety of language in the region. Recent migration into the area starting in the middle of the seventeenth century brought many linguistically and ethnically dissimilar groups together, suggesting that this may be an ethnogenesis myth for the region. The Indians' use of a flood in their creation myth may reflect the substantial changes to the region caused by either Mississippian cycling or the

---

[105] Ibid., 431-432.
[106] Gene Waddell, "Cusabo," in *Handbook of North American Indians*: *Volume 14*, ed. Raymond Fogelson and William C. Sturtevant (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 2004), 262.
[107] John Worth, *The Struggle for the Georgia Coast: An Eighteenth-Century Spanish Retrospective on Guale and Mocama* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995), 23.

introduction of old World diseases, proto-capitalism predicated on the sale of animal skins and human chattel, and an intensification of violence and warfare that occurred in the region between 1540 and 1730.[108] Allowing Woodward to listen to this particular origin myth was largely strategic. The Indians at Port Royal placed themselves at the center of the universe by explaining to Woodward how their ancestors co-opted the spiritual power of the bird that brought them out of the cave to create several more groups. They, in essence, used the power of and symbolism behind feathers to correct a disharmonic situation and restore balance and order to their worlds. The Indians at Port Royal used this particular myth to communicate their native ground as well as their spiritual knowledge and power to Woodward.

Similar attempts to render native ground and balance in the Southeast via oral traditions and performance appear in the eighteenth-century as well. In his analysis of a Cussita migration legend from 1735, historian Steven Hahn argues that Chigelly, the Creek orator from Coweta who delivered the legend to an audience of Creek and English groups, associated the Cussitas with the creation of the world and the creator as a means to "justify present Cussita hegemony (as he saw it) as a tradition rooted in the deepest recesses of time."[109] What is useful about this legend is that unlike Woodward's origin myth, we know more about the specific context in which Chigelly attempted to instruct his audience. For two days during the summer of 1735, Chigelly and Antiche of Coweta relayed in Muskogee the migration legend of the Cussita Indians to a crowd consisting of Lower Creek chiefs and warriors as well as some of the most influential English members of the fledgling Georgia colony. In his examination of the Cussita migration legend, Hahn highlights the overtly political nature of performance and mythmaking.

[108]Ethridge, 1-2. Ethridge illustrates in great detail the push factors that led to the "collapse" and transformation of the Mississippian world. Her framework is useful to this study in that it highlights, more then anything else, the tremendous amounts of change that the region underwent both before and after European contact.
[109]Hahn,"The Cussita Migration Legend," 85.

He argues that when considered in the context of late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century internal Creek history and politics, Chigelly's delivery of the Cussita migration legend "may be viewed as an ideological defense of Coweta's own vision of the Creek Nation and its privileged role in leading it."[110]

That Chigelly, a Coweta leader, decided to recount a Cussita legend is significant. The people of Coweta did not enjoy the same longevity, ancient status, and acknowledged native ground that the people of Cussita did. It is possible, as Hahn suggests, that Chigelly hoped to co-opt some of the Cussita's power, status, and legitimacy in the region by placing them at the center of the universe and associating the Coweta with their emergence.[111] It is worth noting that both the Port Royal and Cussita origin myths were relayed to both European and Indian audiences at the start of new colonial projects. These colonial projects, like the cycling that took place prior to European contact, created moments of crisis that caused Indian groups and individuals to carefully and thoughtfully communicate their standing and legitimacy in the region. Much like the Port Royal myth recorded by Woodward, the orators relied on the power and knowledge of the cosmos to assert the legitimacy of their native ground to familiar and unfamiliar audiences.

Chegilly explained to his Indian and English listeners that shortly after emerging from the mouth of the ground, the Cussita participated in their very first human cross-cultural interaction. After following a red, bloody river to its end, they happened upon a thundering hill where they met people from three different "nations." Soon after, a "dispute arose, as to which was the oldest, and which should rule." They agreed that "as they were four Nations, they would set up four poles, and make them red with clay…and go to war; and whichever Nation should first

[110]Ibid., 59.
[111] Ibid., 84.

cover its pole…with scalps from the enemy, should be the oldest."[112] This struggle over space and legitimacy within the migration legend reflects the same kinds of struggles and negotiations over native ground experienced by Chigelly as well as the hundreds of other groups who came before him. That the Cussita won the scalp competition in the legend is significant on several fronts. In winning the contest, the newly emerged Cussita were awarded a highly honorific title– eldest of the four groups. Their victory also served Chigelly's eighteenth-century political agenda of aligning the Coweta with the ancient Cussita.[113]

Much like the origin myth Woodward recorded and Hernando de Soto's encounter with Zamumo, bird symbolism plays a significant role in the Cussita migration legend. After winning the scalp contest, a red rat helped the Cussita and the three other groups kill a large blue bird which "came every day and killed and ate their people."[114] After defeating the bird, the Cussita declared the eagle to be the great king of the birds and remarked on how they always "carry its feathers when they go to War or make peace…[and] if an enemy approaches with white feathers and a white mouth, and cries like an eagle, they dare not kill him."[115] Much like their Mississippian predecessors, keeping the eagle's tail feathers with them at all times allowed the Cussita to co-opt the spiritual and literal power associated with birds and the Upper World. Chigelly relied on easily understood and recognizable symbols such as feathers to inform, instruct, and remind his audience about the Cussita's history and power in the region. Doing so allowed him to further elevate himself and the Coweta.[116]

---

[112] Bill Grantham, *Creation Myths and Legends of the Creek Indians* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002), 113-114.
[113] Hahn,"The Cussita Migration Legend," 76.
[114] Grantham, 114.
[115] Grantham, 114-115.
[116] Hudson, *Creek Paths and Federal Roads*, 16.

Themes of opposition and polarity in which paths, tangible items, and groups are categorized as red or white appear frequently throughout the latter half of the migration legend. The Cussita spend the remainder of the legend in search of the creators of a white path where "the grass and everything around were white."[117] After leaving the Coosa after four years of cohabitation, the Cussita encountered a group of people whom they thought created and followed the white path. In order to communicate with them and determine whether or not they were the true creators, the Cussita "made white arrows and shot them, to see if they were good people…but the people took their white arrows, painted them red, and shot them back."[118] When their white arrows were returned red a second time, the Cussita became angry and took the town, killing all but two people whose tracks they followed. At the end of the myth the Cussita finally located the makers of the white path– the Apalachicolas.[119] Aware of the bloody mindedness of the Cussita, the Apalachicola Indians "gave them black drink as a sign of friendship, and said to them 'Our hearts were white, and yours must be white, and you must lay down the bloody tomahawk."[120] Chegilly went on to tell his audience that since that particular meeting of red and white hearts, the Cussita and Apalachicola had been "one people" and "the principal towns of the Upper and Lower Creeks."[121] The towns remained red and white, respectively, highlighting the balance of peace and war so crucial to Creek culture.[122] The Cussita migration legend highlights the kinds of "discrete" and "indiscrete human interactions" that led to the creation and

---

[117] Grantham, 115.
[118] Grantham, 116.
[119] They are referred to as the "Palachucolas" is the legend.
[120] Grantham, 117.
[121] Grantham, 117.
[122] Hudson, *Creek Paths and Federal Roads*, 11-13.

maintenance of Southeastern paths. Much like in the migration legend, individuals brought their own cultural, political, and social meanings to these interactions.[123]

The paths and stories that connected pre-colonial Southeastern communities as far away as 1,500 miles, like the ones traveled by Hernando de Soto, Pyancha, Oyeocker, and their English followers, and the Cussita, provided groups and individuals a way to "show" outsiders and insiders their hegemony in the region by carrying red and white items with them.[124] The duality and balance associated with red and white feathers, beads, paths, and arrows provided Southeastern Indians a way to communicate about each other in terms that held significance in the region at large.[125] Migration legends help to "explain how various groups of people migrated into southeastern North America."[126] Often times in these legends multiple peoples emerge at the same time. More often than not, part of their journey involves learning how to communicate and coexist (or not coexist) with others. The far-reaching trade and communication networks that existed in the Southeast prior to European contact caused many culturally and linguistically dissimilar groups, like the ones present in Chigelly's legend, to interact. The Cussita migration legend contains many instances in which performance and reliance on regionally recognized symbolism facilitated cross-cultural communication between groups and individuals.[127]

Much like the paths that connected the pre-colonial Southeast and the symbolically rich prestige goods that travelled along them, myths and legends helped to explain and communicate

---

[123] Robert Paulett, *An Empire of Small Places: Mapping the Southeastern Anglo-Indian Trade, 1732-1795* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2012), 7.
[124] Helen Hornbeck Tanner, "The Land and Water Communication Systems of the Southeastern Indians," in *Powhatan's Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast,* ed. Gregory A. Waselkov, Peter H. Wood, and Thomas M. Hatley (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 28.
[125] Hudson, *Creek Paths and Federal Roads*, 11.
[126] Grantham, 134.
[127] Notions of performance, as articulated by anthropologist Victor Turner, greatly inform and drive this study. See Victor Turner, *Process, Performance, and Pilgrimage: A Study in Comparative Symbology* (New Delhi: Ranchi University Press, 1979).

the cosmic order and knowledge that confirmed the social order and values of Indian communities.[128] The aspects of pre-colonial Southeastern Indian material culture examined above allows scholars to better glean Indian understandings of communication as it applied (and applies) to their history and the making of their native grounds.[129] Maintaining balance and stability, two elements of Southeastern Indian life deeply entwined with cosmology, gifting, trade, and diplomacy, helped to ensure Southeastern Indian native ground on local, regional, and spiritual levels. Becoming familiar enough with regional and local symbols of power and prestige was central to survival and stability in the region. The media examined above provided Southeastern Indians with ways to communicate about each other in terms that held significance in the region at large while simultaneously balancing cosmological and physical worlds.[130]

Cross-cultural interaction in the Southeast did not begin when Europeans arrived in the region. Rather, Europeans entered into a space well acquainted with shifts in power, alliance, and location. They also entered into a world in which ideas of balance and stability manifested themselves in the stories Southeastern Indians told themselves and each other, the paths that connected Indian communities, and the exchange of goods that emphasized power and knowledge. Multiple dialogic processes existed and overlapped in both the Mississippian and colonial southeast and each contributing group involved in this multifaceted colonial chorus line wished to achieve their own particular ends.

The non-native newcomers examined in the next chapter posed many interesting communicative challenges to Southeastern Indians due to the fact that they often did not think in similar terms and this, in turn, made them difficult to indoctrinate into Indian communities. However, some Europeans proved easier to fit into native worldviews than others. With no

---

[128]Grantham, 3.
[129] Hudson, *Creek Paths and Federal Roads*, 5.
[130] Hudson, *Creek Paths and Federal Roads*, 11.

permanent presence in the region and typically little hopes of redemption, European captives taken during the earliest moments of contact assimilated relatively well into Indian communities, picking up languages and pertinent cultural information quickly. Becoming familiar enough with regional and local symbols of power and prestige proved essential to maintaining, creating, or destroying diplomatic ties in the region, as well as survival on an individual level for non-native captives. Verbal and symbolic communication on local and regional levels ultimately served as strategies, tools, and lifelines for the Indians, Europeans, and Africans who lived in, traveled through, and perished along lower eastern Atlantic seaboard. It also helped groups carve out physical and cosmological space in times of crisis, making order out of chaos, harmony out of crisis. It is to these early contact situations that we now turn.

Chapter Two: Balancing New Voices

In March of 1540, a small group of Indians approached the cacique of Achese with an urgent message.[131] They informed him of the presence of strangers on the other side of the Ocmulgee River who had seized several of their countrymen and women. Wholly unfamiliar, they described the appearances of these strangers as well as the fierce animals and slew of native captives and burdeners that accompanied them. Fortunately, they relayed to the cacique, the strangers had with them a young boy with whom they could communicate. The boy told the captives that Hernando de Soto wished to converse with the headman of their town. Both alarmed and intrigued, the cacique crossed the river and, with the help of a chain of translators, exchanged words with the strangers. According to Soto's chronicler, a Portuguese "Gentleman from Elvas," the cacique sensed Soto's importance and apologized for not welcoming the strangers with a ceremony. He then offered his good will to the Spaniards. "The first thing I beg of your lordship," the cacique purportedly exclaimed, "is that with my person and land and vassals, you do as with a thing [of] your own; and secondly, that you tell me who you are, whence you came, whither you go, and what you seek, so that I may better serve you." Soto thanked the cacique and, after informing his Indian audience that he was descended from the sun and came from where it dwelt, told him that he travelled through the land in search of "the

[131]Hudson, *Knights of Spain, Warriors of the Sun: Hernando de Soto and the South's Ancient Chiefdoms* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1997), 148. According to Charles Hudson's exhaustive research on Hernando de Soto's Southeastern route, the Indian town of Achese (also referred to as "Ichisi" and "Chisi" in other accounts of the *entrada*) was located in present-day central Georgia.

greatest lord and the richest province in it." The cacique pointed Soto and his men in the direction of Ocute and, providing them with a guide and interpreter, sent them on their way.[132]

The incident described above reflects some of the communicative issues that arose when natives and newcomers met for the first time in the Southeast. For Southeastern Indians, balance and harmony within and between communities mattered and feelings of unease and worry typically accompanied the anomalous and unfamiliar.[133] If the cacique's words were indeed translated correctly, then gifting Soto a guide and interpreter likely served as his attempt to mollify his community's lack of ceremony when greeting the Spaniards. In both the pre-colonial and colonial eras, historian Charles Hudson explains, Southeastern Indians maintained "an almost obsessive concern with purity and pollution." Rituals and ceremonies geared towards keeping temporal and spiritual categories (which were interconnected) pure and free of pollution aided communities in maintaining balance.[134] For the Achese cacique, then, providing Soto and his men gifts served to right a past wrong and ensure his community's safety as well as friendly relations with potentially powerful outsiders, making them slightly less anomalous.[135]

Uneasiness played a role on the European side of this exchange as well. Soto, like many Europeans who hoped to establish a foothold in the Southeast before and after him, relied heavily upon Indian guides and interpreters to move from town to town and aid in cross-cultural communication. When he and his men snatched several Achese Indians from the shores of the river on which their town sat, they did so out of insecurity and frustration. Prior to their arrival at Achese, the Spaniards "had passed through lands having different languages, some of which he

---

[132] Gentelman of Elvas, 76-77.
[133] Hudson, *The Southeastern Indians*, 121.
[134] Hudson, *The Southeastern Indians*, 121.
[135] Theda Perdue, *Cherokee Women: Gender and Culture Change, 1700-1835* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 81.

did not understand."[136] When they realized that one of their captives could understand their guide, a young Indian called Perico, Soto and his men sent immediately for their captives' cacique. Upon reaching the neighboring Indian town of Ocute, Soto's chronicler noted that the Indians there had "great skill" in hunting the "deer, hens, rabbits, and other game with their arrows" that populated their lands. Spaniards, the chronicler stated, had no time to acquire these particular skills, "for most of the time they were on the march, and they did not dare turn aside from the paths."[137] Despite his often overly confident façade, Soto's joy over receiving interpreters and guides hints at his great insecurity with his sense of geography and communication in the region.

First contacts between Indians and Europeans caused anxiety for all parties involved. For thousands of years prior to the arrival of Europeans, Southeastern Indians grew accustomed to interacting with outsiders who spoke different dialects and languages but typically thought about and organized their worlds in similar ways.[138] The non-native outsiders who entered Indian worlds in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries presented communities with scenarios in which outcomes, initially, looked uncertain. On the flip side, Europeans held just as much insecurity regarding outsiders. These insecurities stemmed primarily from travelers' personal and cultural histories with potentially dangerous outsiders and impacted the ways in which they approached unfamiliar Southeastern Indians. Anxiety abounded on all sides of cross-cultural exchanges as all groups attempted to make themselves, their worldviews, and their agendas understood to those around them.

One of the best ways to obtain people who could potentially learn, teach, and translate other languages and quell some of the anxieties that came along with communicating with

[136] Gentelman of Elvas, 76.
[137] Gentleman from Elvas, 77.
[138] Hudson, *The Southeastern Indians*, 122.

outsiders was to simply steal them.[139] For both Europeans and Indians, Individuals who became captives helped to simultaneously alleviate some of the uncertainties involved in navigating the literal and figurative worlds of others while providing travelers and hosts with powerful communicative beings. The act of captive taking also had the additional benefit of serving as powerful and extremely violent communicative tool for all groups competing for space and survival in the Southeast. For Southeastern Indians, historian Matthew Jennings points out, the violence that accompanied wars and raids "could be generative as well as destructive, and the stories people told about violence mattered."[140] In the Southeast, these stories involved captives. Both Indians and Europeans used violence to communicate balance when non-violent words and gestures failed. The fear of captivity posed a very real threat to the survival of the European men and women who came into contact with Indian communities during this time period. The Indians who watched Hernando de Soto in the 1540s leave their communities with dozens, and in some cases hundreds, of captives and slaves also undoubtedly felt threatened and mourned the loss of their community members. However, the presence of captives was not a new phenomenon in European or Indian communities, so the fear of captivity did not close lines of communication between culturally disparate groups in the southeast during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

This chapter begins with a discussion of Indian and European notions of captivity. Understanding these notions is critical to understanding the communicative decisions Europeans and Indians made when faced with captivity.[141] As historian Eugene Lyon has explained, all

---

[139]Axtell, 44. Karttunen, 216-218.
[140] Matthew Jennings, *New Worlds of Violence: Cultures and Conquests in the Early American Southeast* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2011), xv
[141] Although this study often uses "Indian," "European," "Spanish," and "English" as blanket terms, it fully recognizes the heterogeneous nature of the groups who travelled through and attempted settlement in the Southeast as well as their personal histories and experiences. See Linda Colley, *Captives* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2002), 5.

captors hoped their captives would help them to "acquaint, interpret, indoctrinate, express complaints, help manage or moderate conflict, and pass orders or instructions" on to outsiders.[142] European individuals taken captive at the hands of Indians often assimilated in some way or adjusted to the cultural norms of their captors in order to survive. The remainder of this chapter focuses on how contact captives – those Indian and European people taken during initial meetings between culturally disparate groups whose lives were spared – were often given easy access to cultural information in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In seeking to highlight as many perspective and voices as possible, this chapter often goes back and forth in time. This is due in large part to the fact that Spaniards and Britons reconnoitered and settled the region at different times. However, their experiences as contact captives remained similar, further highlighting how Southeastern Indians still attempted to maintain open lines of communication with non-native newcomers into the seventeenth century.

In pre-colonial and colonial contexts, Southeastern Indians waged war on each other for a variety of different reasons, ranging, as historian Matthew Jennings argues, from retribution and retaliation to "civil or religious prestige," or, in some cases, to show dominance and masculinity.[1] Captive taking also often went hand in hand with Indian warfare. Captivity, much like the paths and forms of communication that linked Indian communities together, held many important societal and communicative functions for Indians all across North America.[143] For example, communities within the Great League of Iroquois in the mid-seventeenth century specifically targeted other Indians with similar beliefs and related languages in an attempt to simultaneously repopulate their communities while easing the process of assimilation for

---

[142]Eugene Lyon, "Cultural Brokers in Sixteenth-Century Spanish Florida," in *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, ed. Eugene Lyon (New York: Garland Press, 1995), 329.
[143] Susan M. Alt, "Unwilling Immigrants: Culture, Change, and the "Other" in Mississippian Societies," in *Invisible Citizens: Captives and Their Consequences*, ed. Catherine M. Cameron (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2008), 205.

captives.[144] Similar to these Iroquoian "mourning wars," warring Southeastern Indian communities also used captives to help to maintain populations and customs in times of crises and imbalance. Typically, revenge and retaliation– rather than territorial or economic aspirations– motivated Southeastern Indians to wage war and amass captives. Episodes of "crying blood" allowed Southeastern Indians the ability to exact clan retaliation and replace kinsmen lost to malice or unfortunate accidents and to soothe the spirits of the dead.[145]

Although not a contact captive, Carolina trader and sometimes-Indian agent Thomas Nairne wrote about the Chickasaw Indians' treatment of captives and war prisoners when he traveled through the Southeast in 1708. His account is valuable in that it speaks to this ancient Indian idea of death and rebirth through clan retaliation and captive taking. It also gives us some insight into important Indian rituals of purification. Nairne described a ceremony in which Indian prisoners taken during war underwent an elaborate ceremony in which his enemies carried him around a fire four times, sprinkled ashes on his head, washed him in the river, and combed and oils his hair and skin. "All this purification," Nairne wrote, "is because in their esteem, [the captive] is risen from the dead, and come to life again, for as soon as any person is taken, [the Indians] account him dead, and call killing and being taken prisoner by the same name."[146] Captives met a variety of fates, ranging from adoption and subsequent status as blood kin to slavery and, in some cases, torture and death.[147] The captives described in John Stewart's letters to Queen Anne in the early eighteenth century highlight the more violent fates of individuals taken in war and retaliation.

[144] Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 65.
[145] Hudson, *The Southeastern Indians*, 239-240. James Adair, *The History of the American Indians* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2005), 184.
[146] Thomas Nairne, *Nairne's Muskhogean Journals: The 1708 Expedition to the Mississippi River*, ed. Alexander Moore (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1988), 62.
[147] Hudson, *The Southeastern Indians*, 253. Indian slavery differed greatly from the economical kind practiced by Europeans.

While penning a letter to Queen Anne in 1711, Scottish trader John Stewart thought it prudent to include information concerning the Indians' treatment of war captives when advising her on the importance of allying with the Southeast's strongest Indian groups.[148] Well known by contemporaries and historians alike for his prolix writing style, Stewart's accounts provide a wellspring of information on southeastern Indian captivity practices during the late seventeenth century. Starting in 1690 Stewart spent three uninterrupted years with the Muscogee speaking Cussita, Alabama, Conaliga, Milawilaes, and Chickasaw Indians in the southeastern interior and purportedly gained fluency in each group's language.[149] He also gained invaluable insight into Indian worlds of violence and captivity. Even in times of grave danger, Southeastern Indians continued to rely on storytelling to communicate with friends and enemies alike. "I have seen some [Indian] warriors and captains," Stewart wrote, "with a scornfull look and a disdainfull air…repeat all the actions of his life in warr" to an audience of Indian captors. Stewart went on to describe one particular captive's valiant and brutal war exploits as well as the vehement threats he lodged at his captors. Replete with the sound and fury of vengeance, the captive explained that if chance allowed, he would "kill all your nation man and mothers [and] son" and, as he had reportedly done in the past, make "dung…of [their] nation." Before encouraging his captors to do their worst, the captive let them know of his hopes that one day his "countrymen will peforme this as [he] designd."[150] Clearly, this Indian's captors did not intend to incorporate him into their community. Rather, they tortured and killed this disruptive individual and restored balance to their community. It is important to note that, like Nairne, Stewart was not a contact

---

[148]Alan Gallay, *The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South, 1670-1717* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 183-185.
[149] Ibid., 162.
[150] John Stewart to Queen Anne, October 1711, AC, microfilm copies, Manuscript Reading Room, LC, C13C, 2: 72-73. Stewart wrote three lengthy letters to Queen Anne in the early eighteenth century regarding Southeastern Indians. These letters fell into French hands during Queen Anne's War (1702-1713) and received no scholarly attention until the early twenty-first century when historian Alan Gallay examined them in his 2002 work *The Indian Slave Trade.* For more information see Gallay, 155-164.

captive. These men's accounts, however, reflect Indian perceptions of captivity and illuminate how distinctly Indian practices aimed at either incorporating or destroying captives persisted well into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Whatever their fate, though, captives incorporated into Southeastern Indian communities allowed Indian families suffering from loss to restore psychological and cosmological balance to their worlds while cementing their places in them.[151] Captives kept alive also served as incredibly powerful communicative beings within their host communities, for, through language, they helped make strangers more familiar. Captives kept alive as kin or socially ambiguous slaves provided captors with potential informants and it is likely that Indian captors probed these individuals for information regarding neighboring or distant groups.[152] They also held the potential to be useful as interpreters when establishing extensive ties throughout the region, which, in turn, could further legitimacy and standing in the region. Although linguistically dissimilar captives could be extremely useful to the community, captives from the same or similar language groups also played important roles. Captives who became kin were taught the language and or dialect of their adoptive group and the nuances of their culture in an attempt to fill the social gap left by the individual they replaced.[153]

Age and sex typically determined whom raiding Indian parties deemed worthy of captivity. More often than not, Indian communities spared the lives of women and children captives for they posed less of a threat to the host community and were more easily incorporated than their adult male counterparts. If the host community decided not to sacrifice, torture, enslave, or incorporate these captives, they could choose to gift or exchange women and children

---

[151] Denise Bossy, "Indian Slavery in Southeastern Indian and British Societies, 1670-1730," in *Indian Slavery in Colonial America*, ed. Alan Gallay (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), 209-213.
[152] Dubcovsky, 63.
[153] Bossy, 213.

to broker or maintain alliances with neighboring groups while simultaneously highlighting their military prowess.[154] When families decided to fully incorporate captives into their communities through adoption, they fully expected their new kin to learn their adoptive family's language. In some cases, captives were considered slaves until they attained some form of fluency. In his letter to Queen Anne regarding the military practices of the Southeastern Indians in the early eighteenth century, Scots trader John Stewart described how Creek and Chickasaw communities tended to prefer young captives. He described how the Indians kept captive children as slaves until they became proficient in their host's language. After that, they "emancipat[ed] them to add numbers to ther nation or they adopt them for children or [cousins] to ther particular families."[155] Stewart then explained how one Indian "king's" family took in a young Iroquois slave. Once the young boy learned his captor's language, the "king" released him from his slave status via adoption. This particular captive, Stewart described, eventually "succeeded to be king."[156] In this case, the Iroquoian captive turned slave turned kin and king was, according to Stewart's account, able to obtain an influential position within his adoptive community. In this sense, the acceptance and acquisition of a foreign language proved decisive for the boy's physical and social survival.

As evidenced in the accounts of Thomas Nairne and John Stewart briefly described above, captives and captivity continued to play an important cultural and communicative role in Southeastern Indian communities well into the contact era. This helps to explain why, when it suited their needs and was done on their terms, Indian communities gladly gifted Soto captives during his stint in the region. Both of Soto's chroniclers noted the large amount of captive Indian women and children who came to accompany the trip. According to one chronicler, these captives "learn[ed] the language of the Christians" relatively quickly, aiding further in the chain

[154] Gallay, 26-27.
[155] Stewart to Queen Anne, October 1711.
[156] Stewart to Queen Anne, October 1711.

of translation that made diplomacy in the region possible.[157] However, when Europeans did not follow Southeastern Indian scripts when communicating across cultures, misunderstandings or violence typically ensued. Upon leaving the Indian town of Chiaha in May of 1540 Soto "asked the cacique for thirty Indian women as slaves."[158] Seeing little benefit in this exchange, all of the Indians in Chiaha, with the exception of the cacique, "left the town with their wives and children and went away."[159] Later that same year Indians in Tascaluza and Mabila responded violently to Soto's request for "tamemes and one hundred Indian women." The cacique of Tuscaluza gifted Soto the tamemes (burden bearers) and told him that the rest of his demand would be delivered at Mabila, a "province of a principal vassal" of Tascaluza.[160] When Soto and his men arrived in Mabila, the town's warriors "took command of the gates of the wall of the town" and lodged an attack against the Spaniards.[161] When Europeans did not play by Indian rules and disturbed the balance necessary for exchange, they usually did so because their own notions of diplomacy and captivity willingly and unwillingly prevented them from cross-cultural compliance. It is to these notions that we now turn.

Much like the Indians they interacted with, Spaniards and Britons held their own culturally specific notions of captives and captivity rooted in the pre-contact experiences of their countrymen and women. "Captivity," historian Linda Colley argues, "was an integral part of Britain's overseas experience" prior to their colonial efforts in North American and the Caribbean.[162] This notion easily extends to the Spaniards who traveled to the Americas during

---

[157] Gentleman of Elvas, 70.
[158] Ibid., 89.
[159] Ibid., 89.
[160] Rangel, 290-291.
[161] Ibid., 292.
[162] Colley, 3.

the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the first half of the seventeenth century, "Barbary" corsairs (Islamic cultures from Morocco, Algiers, Tripoli, and Tunisia) took captive approximately 12,000 English subjects.[163] Spaniards operating in the Mediterranean also experienced captivity at the hands of this particular sect of corsairs during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. One of Hernando de Soto's chroniclers noted the presence of a Portuguese man who proved extremely useful in the construction of a ship intended to help the surviving members of the *entrada* leave Florida. This man "had been taught to saw with saws while a captive at Fez."[164] Mediterranean captives also appear in Rodrigo Rangel's account of Soto's *entrada*. Shortly after leaving the interior town of Cofitachequi, Rangel noted several men who deserted the governor and his men in the province of Xalaque. Among the deserters was "a native of Barbary."[165] These two men as well as their captive backgrounds appear in the historical record because the chroniclers deemed their actions noteworthy. However, the attention paid to these men's backgrounds indicates that stories of past captivities abroad were communicated in some way amongst Soto's men and were woven intimately into the historical memory of traveling Europeans. Although exact numbers remain unknown, there likely existed many other former captives from the Mediterranean on Soto's *entrada*. At the very least, the acknowledgment of these two men and their backgrounds highlights a level of engagement with the kind of captivity experienced by Spaniards and Britons that preceded their efforts to establish permanent footholds in the Americas.[166]

Once taken captive by Islamic communities in the Mediterranean, slavery became a very real possibility for Britons and Spaniards and, as Colley points out, European captives often met

[163] Colley, 43-44.
[164] Gentleman of Elvas, 151.
[165] Rangel, 281-282.
[166] Colley, 44. Spanish experience with Barbary captivity continued well past the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As late as the 1790s, Colley points out, "1400 Spaniards had to be redeemed from Algiers alone."

this fate. News of Barbary captivity and slavery permeated London society in the seventeenth century and quickly made its way into London's print culture and, as a result, Britons received "extensive newspaper, pamphlet, and ballad coverage, as well as…church sermons and appeals for ransom money on a nationwide basis."[167] Whether transmitted via print or orally, captivity as well as the threat of captivity at the hands of "others" ingrained itself deeply into the historical memories and storytelling of Spaniards and Europeans who journeyed across the Atlantic and impacted the ways in which they interpreted Indian forms of captivity. Furthermore, imperial expansion into the Americas exposed Europeans to a new world in which the possibility of falling into wholly unknown enemy hands remained a constant threat.[168]

From Hernando de Soto's mid-sixteenth century *entrada* on behalf of the Spanish crown to William Hilton's reconnaissance mission on behalf of England's Lords Proprietors over a century later, notions of captivity informed Europeans' actions towards Southeastern Indians in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Spaniards' and Britons' experiences with captivity as either a lived reality or a cultural fear also greatly affected the communicative decisions they made when interacting with Southeastern Indian towns and communities. Unaware of the many fates of Southeastern Indian captives, as described above, Europeans likely assumed that captivity at the hands of Indians would lead only to enslavement.

Anxiety permeates many of the travel accounts that came out of the earliest Spanish and British forays into the Southeast. Anyone familiar with tales of Barbary captivity likely understood that linguistic capacity and capability proved imperative to one's survival amongst

[167] Colley, 63.
[168] Lisa Voigt, *Writing Captivity in the Early Modern Atlantic: Circulations of Knowledge and Authority in the Iberian and English Imperial Worlds* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 1.

captors.[169] This helps to explain Soto's joy over the redemption of Juan Ortiz mentioned in the previous chapter as well as his inclination to hold on to certain Indian captives regardless of how untrustworthy he found them. Upon leaving the town of Patofa, Soto's guide and interpreter, a young male Indian captive called Perico, seemed to hit the limits of his spatial comprehension and led Soto and his men "for six days along a path which gradually grew narrower until it was all lost." The youth, the Gentleman from Elvas recounted, "said that he did not know where he was. That there was no other whom Juan Ortiz understood availed in preventing him from being thrown to the dogs."[170] It is possible, though, that Perico meant to mislead Soto and his men. Regardless, Soto kept Perico around in order to keep the tenuous "chain of translation" that helped him and his men navigate the Southeastern interior for as long as they did.[171]

Interestingly enough, Europeans who traversed the Southeastern coast and interior in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries responded to the threat of captivity by acquiring captives of their own. "From the outset of expansion from the islands to the mainland," ethnohistorian Francis Xavier Luca argues, Europeans fully "recognized the importance of training Indians to act as intermediaries and spokes persons."[172] Taking captives served two purposes. First, Indian captives might provide travelers with useful individuals through which, regardless of the captive's actual knowledge of other Indian languages or the Southeastern terrain, they could ease the uncertainty and anxiety that came along with charting the unknown. Secondly, when captives were indeed multilingual, they helped travelers communicate with others, much like Perico did for Soto and his men.

---

[169] Colley, 86. See also Evan Haefeli and Kevin Sweeney, *Captive Histories: English, French, and Native Narratives of the 1704 Deerfield Raid* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2006), 18.
[170] Gentleman of Elvas, 80.
[171]Hudson, "The Hernando de Soto Expedition, 1539-1543," 78.
[172] Francis Xavier Luca, "Re-'Interpreting' the Role of the Cultural Broker in the Conquest of La Florida," Florida International University, http://www.kislakfoundation.org/prize/199901.html (accessed January 1, 2014).

Europeans also took captive other Europeans, typically survivors of shipwrecks and or defectors, whom they deemed linguistically useful to quell anxieties over communication and navigation in the region. While exploring the Carolinas and Tennessee between from 1566-1568 on behalf of the governor of the recently established settlements of St. Augustine and Santa Elena, Juan Pardo and his men relied primarily on a Frenchman named Guillaume Rouffi as an interpreter.[173] A member of the failed French attempt to establish a colony near Santa Elena in 1562, Rouffi, then a young boy, decided to stay with the local Indians while the rest of his countrymen journeyed back to France on a small makeshift boat. When King Philip II learned of the French presence in Spanish-claimed Florida, he sent one of his men to search the region. In 1563, a reconnaissance mission led by Hernando Manrique de Rojas resulted in the capture and interrogation of Rouffi. Rouffi's year spent in isolation with the Indians of Santa Elena and knowledge of the local Indian language, combined with fluency in his own native tongue, made the young boy linguistically useful in the eyes of Rojas and his men. Rojas brought his French captive back to Havana, choosing to incorporate the boy into the fabric of colonial Spanish society rather than repatriate him to France. Proving his usefulness a year later in 1564, Rouffi served as an interpreter during an interrogation of several French men who had recently mutinied and escaped the French colony at Fort Caroline. Just north of Spanish St. Augustine, King Philip II viewed the extermination of the French fort crucial to the security and longevity of his own fledgling colony as well as the shipping channels it served to protect. The information extracted from the mutinous Frenchmen proved crucial to the subsequent destruction of Fort Caroline in 1565.[174]

---

[173] In the Spanish records, this Frenchman appears as Guillermo Rufín.
[174] Charles Hudson, ed., *The Juan Pardo Expeditions: Exploration of the Carolinas and Tennessee, 1566-1568* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2005), 14-15.

Rouffi proved useful to Spain's colonial enterprise again when he accompanied the aforementioned Pardo expeditions later in the 1560s. Linguistic amnesia colors Pardo's personal account of the trip, providing readers with an account filled with nothing but smooth travels and warm receptions from almost every Indian community he encountered. Pardo neglects to even mention Rouffi's presence throughout the trip. However, the account of Pardo's notary, Juan de la Bandera, mentions Rouffi's role as translator and "interpreter for much [of the] land of Florida."[175] Neither Pardo nor Bandera waxed rhapsodic about the acquisition and utilization of their redeemed captive (though this may be due to the fact that he was French, not Spanish). However, much like Juan Ortiz decades earlier, Rouffi's role in bridging linguistic divides and providing another link in the Spanish-Indian chain of translation cannot be overstated. One of the main goals of Pardo's expedition was to pacify and calm "the caciques or Indians of all the land and to attract them to the service of God and of His Majesty and likewise to take possession of all the land in his royal name."[176] This order, sanctioned by the king of Spain and given by then adelantado and governor of Florida Pedro Menéndez de Aviles, proved a tall one on both logistical and linguistic fronts. Pardo and his men required a convenient and reliable way to not only navigate the interior, but to also communicate intrusive and demanding messages regarding fort placement and sustenance. Rouffi proved invaluable in his ability to identify and "summon" the leaders of Indian communities and aid the Spaniards in delivering their messages.

Following the same kind of formulaic style characteristic of many colonial Spanish documents, Bandera's descriptions of the cross-cultural encounters made possible by Rouffi all follow the same format: Pardo and his men reach an Indian town, their French captive summons

[175] Juan de la Bandera, "The 'Long' Bandera Relation," in *The Juan Pardo Expeditions: Exploration of the Carolinas and Tennessee, 1566-1568,* ed. Charles Hudson (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2005), 258.
[176] Ibid., 255.

someone in a position of power, Rouffi, with the help of other Indian translators, delivers Pardo's message, and the cacique or cacica responds positively to their European visitors be replying with the affirmation "yaa."[177] Although the "yaa" response seems generic, Rouffi without a doubt helped in deciphering the nuances of each groups' messages and responses. Whether or not he fully understood everything the Indians and their translators communicated to him, Rouffi did seem to help Pardo and his men avoid the dramatic kinds of violence found in the accounts of Hernando de Soto's *entrada*. During Pardo's second expedition in October 1567, Rouffi's presence and linguistic ability shielded the traveling Spaniards from a detrimental coup d'état in the Indian town of Satapo located near the Little Tennessee River. In the middle of the night an unnamed Indian who had joined the expedition two or three days prior woke Rouffi and, according to Bandera, told the him "that if he would arrange or the captain to give him an axe he would discover and tell a certain treachery that the Indians and caciques of the place and the Indians and caciques of Cosa, and of Uchi, and of Casque and of Olameco, who until [then] had gone with the company, had prepared."[178] Rouffi's proficiency in at least one Indian language and the fact that he himself did not hail from Spanish stock may have all contributed to why the Indian chose him, rather than Pardo, to relay this pertinent information. Or, perhaps, these factors made the young boy all the more gullible in the Indian's eyes. Regardless of the informant's intent, Rouffi's presence made Pardo's explorations possible.

Europeans who attempted to travel through and settle in the Southeast during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries also feared captivity at the hands of other Europeans. Spaniards based out of St. Augustine and Santa Elena clearly held no qualms about taking French men and women captive in order to secure their standing in the region, as is evidenced in

[177] Ibid., 260.
[178] Ibid., 270.

the case of Guillaume Rouffi. From their violent exploits in South America and the Caribbean to the slaughter of French men and women up and down the Florida coast, stories of Spanish encounters in the "new world" undoubtedly reached the ears of other Europeans both at home and abroad, further propagating *la leyenda negra*. The Spanish maintained a long history of captivity and captive taking in the region, a history that made its way back to the English who journeyed through the region in the mid seventeenth century. This may help to explain the erratic and at times downright confusing logistical and communicative decisions made by William Hilton, an Englishman based out of Barbados, during his reconnaissance mission into the Carolinas in 1663.

Traveling over a century after Hernando de Soto's *entrada*, Hilton and his men entered a region already shaped by generations of cross-cultural communication between culturally disparate groups. Markers of past and contemporary Spanish activity in the region did not escape the attention of Hilton and his men. Shortly after arriving four leagues north of Port Royal, several Indians came aboard Hilton's ship and "said they were of St. Ellens; being very bold and familiar; speaking many Spanish words, as, *Cappitan, Commarado*, and *Adeus*."[179] Indian knowledge and utilization of Spanish words and phrases was not unique to Muscogee speaking peoples located along the coast of present-day South Carolina and Georgia. In 1696 Englishman Jonathan Dickinson, along with his wife, infant, and several other English and African men, shipwrecked on the southeastern coast of Florida en route to Philadelphia. According to Dickinson, the Florida Indians led aggressive inquiries into the ethnic origins of their white captives, exclaiming "Nickaleer" and "Epainia" multiple times. Given the Indians' familiarity with Spanish words and phrases, Dickinson decided quickly to place himself and his comrades

[179] William Hilton, "A Relation of a Discovery," in *Narratives of Early Carolina, 1650-1708*, ed. A.S. Salley (1911; repr., Boston: Adamant Media Corporation, 2005), 39.

"under the denomination of the Spaniards." After several days in Indian country, however, the Indians, familiar with Spanish language and culture, figured out that their captives were not, in fact, of Spanish stock. The presence of Solomon Cresson amongst the captives improved their situation greatly for, according to Dickinson, he was fluent in Spanish and often served as an interpreter when interacting with Indians either fluent in or familiar with Spanish. Although Dickinson's party lacked individuals proficient in one or more Indian languages, the presence of Solomon proved decisive to their eventual redemption in St. Augustine.

However, Hilton's party did not include individuals fluent in any language other than English. This absence proved problematic multiple times throughout his voyage. The same Indian visitors who spoke to Hilton and his men informed them of several English men currently in the custody of "Captain Francisco", a Spanish general located in Santa Elena. Hilton quickly made the redemption of his English brethren a priority, asking the Indians to deliver a letter to the Spaniards whom Hilton assumed was holding the English captives. In his response, Arguelles explained how Don Adeleyers, then governor of St. Augustine, learned about the shipwrecked Englishmen and sent the captain north to "ransome and free the Subjects of the King [Hilton's] Master, Charles the Second" from the Indians at Santa Elena. Arguelles went on to instruct Hilton in the art of Indian diplomacy, informing him that the successful redemption of the captives required him to gift the Indians "four Spades, and four Axes, some Knives, and some Beads" as well as the four Indians currently being held captive by Hilton and his men.[180] Lacking anyone even remotely capable of reading and translating Spanish, Hilton replied to Arguelles's less then malevolent note with what can only be considered confused hostility. "Whereas wee received a Letter from you, the Contents whereof we understand not," Hilton wrote to Arguelles,

[180] Ibid., 54.

"Our businesse is to demand and receive the English Prisoners from the hands of the Indians."[181] Although Hilton eventually redeemed some of his countrymen, his lack of capable linguists intensified the fear that already came along with traveling into the unknown, for he and his men perceived potential captivity at the hands of multiple others.

Hilton did eventually acquire an Indian guide, but his inability, and, sometimes-overt unwillingness, to understand Indian languages, paths, and waterways greatly complicated his voyage. Communication amongst Indians, "the drift of [whose] discourse [Hilton] understood not", incited just as much anxiety for Hilton and his men as did communication with Arguelles.[182] The lack of an Indian guide or interpreter initially complicated Hilton's ability to navigate the Carolina coast as well as his attempt to redeem the English men stranded in Santa Elena. Continually in "great fear of the Indians treachery" as well as suspicious of the "Frier and two Spanyards more at St. Ellens," Hilton and his men likely felt their own captivity imminent.[183] While attempting to navigate a river near the coast, Hilton and his men interpreted the sound of Indian singing that came out of he woods as "a Chalenge to us to come and fight them" and "went towards them with all speed."[184]

Europeans benefited greatly from the acquisition of Indian captives during reconnaissance missions in the region. Up until the Indian slave trade reached a fevered pitch in the late seventeenth century, Indian captives provided this particular set of newcomers' different avenues through which they could potentially communicate with outsiders. Whether or not European captors fully recognized or appreciated it, Indian captives as well as redeemed European captives also provided travelers with individuals adept at navigating the signs and

---

[181] Ibid., 55.
[182] Ibid., 41.
[183] Ibid., 39-42.
[184] Ibid., 49.

symbols that dominated and controlled social and diplomatic interactions in the native southeast. Despite differing worldviews and ideas concerning captivity, Indians and Europeans shared an important commonality in their experiences in the Southeast. Captives taken during first contacts between disparate communities all held the potential to serve as extremely powerful and effective individuals for their captors.

Southeastern Indians maintained a significant amount of control in the region well into the eighteenth century.[185] Even when faced with something as potentially culturally, spiritually, and politically threatening as captivity, Indian communities tended to be forthcoming and eager in the sharing of important cultural knowledge when communicating with non-native outsiders during the contact era. Indians relied heavily on performances and mnemonic devices developed during the Mississippian era to communicate their worldviews concerning captivity known to non-native cultural outsiders. By attempting to make themselves fully understood by non-native outsiders, Southeastern Indians hoped to further bolster their standing and legitimacy in the region.

Operating within the confines of a native ground predicated on maintaining legitimacy and balance in the region, Indians relied heavily on performances and mnemonic devices to make their worldviews of known to non-native cultural outsiders. Making themselves fully understood by non-native outsiders helped to further bolster the standing and legitimacy of Southeastern Indians who encountered Europeans and Africans. Southeastern Indian attempts to make themselves understood by non-native outsiders, as highlighted briefly in some of the examples above, could potentially benefit captives and captors alike. Contact captives, Indian and European individuals who did not fall victim to social or literal death, were given easy access to cultural information. The most successful contact captives were the ones who

[185] Notion derives from and fits with much of the recent historiography. See DuVal and Hudson.

assimilated or adjusted some way to the cultural norms of their captors in order to survive.[186] Despite linguistic barriers, early contact situations were sights of some of the most intensive and comprehensive cultural sharing between native and non-native groups.

The linguistic skills of captives, as James Axtell argues, "were often pronounced because they had acquired them quickly and in isolation from their natal tongues in order to survive, not from duty or for mere pleasure."[187] Whether by choice, coercion, or necessity, contact captives also adjusted to the cultures of their captors in more visible ways. Juan Ortiz, a member of the failed Narváez expedition, fell captive to the chief of Ucita in the late 1520s.[188] In his twelve years spent amongst the Indians at Ucita, Ortiz, who realistically held no illusions of his redemption, adapted and garnered a lot of useful cultural information. Ortiz lacked hope mostly due to the fact that up until this point in time, Spaniards had not succeeded in establishing a permanent settlement in the region to operate out of. For Europeans, the establishment of settlements and colonies transformed what was once foreign and strange into something decidedly more familiar and overflowing with potential. Establishing a local home base quelled some of the anxieties that ran rampant during each group's exploratory phase. Fear of captivity at the hands of others certainly did not go away once Europeans established permanent settlements in the region. However, the possibility of redemption and a safe passage home seemed much more realistic.

As discussed in the previous chapter, Ortiz likely passed this knowledge on the Soto and his men, whose expedition he gladly joined.[189] Upon his redemption in 1539, Hernando de Soto

---

[186] See James Axtell and Linda Colley. On the ability to take on many roles and adapt to many other culture, see Dubcovsky, 579.
[187] Axtell, "Babel of Tongues," 43.
[188] Dubcovsky, 16.
[189] Many Castilian castaways and captives, Francis Xavier Luca points out, "had no compunctions about leaving the Indians." In "Re-'Interpreting' the Role of the Cultural Broker in the Conquest of La Florida," (accessed January 1, 2014).

and his men found Ortiz “naked and…burned by the sun. He had his arms tattooed after the manner of the Indians and in no wise did he differ from them.”[190] The significance of Ortiz’s tattoos cannot be overstated. In some Southeastern Indian societies tattooing indicated distinction, social standing within a community, and/or war exploits.[191] Ortiz came from a Spanish culture in which “clothing and outward appearance were extremely important determinants of social status and cultural allegiance” but had entered a society in which the rules of Spanish decorum did not apply.[192] His ability to read both Indian and Spanish bodies likely helped him identify people of status in the Indian towns they traveled through as well as within the crew of Soto’s expedition. This particular knowledge, combined with his familiarity with Southeastern Indian bird iconography, likely contributed to Soto’s warm reception at Altamaha.[193] Ortiz proved so useful as an interpreter of Indian languages and cultures that when he died in the town of Autiamque, Soto “felt [the loss] deeply,” for “so great a misfortune was the death of Juan Ortiz, with regard to the exploring or trying to leave the land, that to learn from the Indians what he states in four words, with the youth [Indian replacement interpreter] the whole day was needed.”[194] Amongst the horrific and at times extreme acts of violence contained within accounts of Soto’s *entrada* exist interesting moments of cross-cultural adaptation. In some cases, as with Zamumo in Altamaha, Soto adapted fairly quickly to Southeastern Indian forms of diplomacy thanks, in large part, to cultural information from Juan Ortiz and the countless Indian captives who accompanied him throughout the interior.[195]

---

[190] Gentleman from Elvas, 59.
[191] Charles Hudson, *The Southeastern Indians*, 30.
[192] Francis Xavier Luca, “Re-‘Interpreting’ the Role of the Cultural Broker in the Conquest of La Florida,” (accessed January 1, 2014).
[193] Hall, 1-2.
[194] Gentleman from Elvas, 130.
[195] Hall, 1-2.

In the mid-seventeenth century, Britons from England and Barbados traveled to present-day South Carolina with the hopes of establishing a colony. The men who led the initial reconnaissance missions into the region, much like their Spanish counterparts in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century also engaged in captive taking as a means to navigate the region's cultural and linguistic frontiers. During his 1663 reconnaissance mission, the aforementioned William Hilton and his men quickly realized how difficult it was to navigate the region and interact with the Indians without a capable guide or interpreter. They corrected their mistake by "detain[ing] two of the chiefest Indians, one of them being the Kings Son of S. Ellens."[196] Although Wommony's presence, along with that of the other Indians Hilton took as guides, did little to ease the remainder of Hilton's trip, his presence in and around Barbados proved beneficial to Robert Sandford, a Lieutenant Colonel from Barbados, who included Wommony, now with the title of "captain," in his 1666 voyage into the same region. In his relation of the trip Sandford mentioned Hilton's "discoveries" multiple times and conducted himself in a way that showed he hoped to not relive his predecessor's follies.[197]

Although it is not explicitly stated in his relation of the voyage, it is not hard to imagine that Sandford received help from Wommony as well as Shadoo, another Indian man "which Hilton had carried to Barbardos," while in the planning stages of his trip.[198] Sandford's account differs greatly from Hilton's in that hostilities on both fronts (Indian and European) were at a minimum. This is due in large part to the fact that Sandford and his men learned much about the region and its people from both Hilton and the Indians he took captive. During the voyage, Sandford witnessed two very elaborate performances by Indian towns in Santa Elena and Port

[196] Hilton, 42.
[197] Robert Sandford, "A Relation of a Voyage on the Coast of the Province of Carolina, 1666," in *Narratives of Early Carolina, 1650-1708*, ed. A.S. Salley (1911; repr., Boston: Adamant Media Corporation, 2005), 87 and 90.
[198]Ibid., 90.

Royal. His experiences in Carolina were so positive, in fact, that he felt comfortable leaving Henry Woodward, the young surgeon from Barbados mentioned in the previous chapter, with the Indians at Port Royal "for the mutuall learning their language."[199] Prior to their arrival in Carolina, Woodward reportedly publicly expressed his desire to "stay with the Indians if…convenient."[200] Woodward's decision to stay with the Indians allowed him to become familiar with their language and culture in isolation of his English-speaking countrymen and women. Based on his knowledge of Hilton's misfortunes in the region as well as his interactions with Indian captives turned cultural mediators, Woodward fully recognized the importance of sustained cross-cultural interaction with outsiders and his choice benefited him tremendously in his later interactions with the Westo.[201]

The Indians at Port Royal did not technically take Woodward captive. However, he made himself a captive to contact by immersing himself in Port Royal culture in ways similar to other contact captives. Woodward's experiences, discussed at length in the following chapter, shed light on the kinds of communicative ceremonies and performances that Southeastern Indians participated in when reiterating their cultural and physical ties to their land. When Sandford dropped Woodward off in Port Royal to complete the exchange, the cacique welcomed the young man into his community with an elaborate, well-attended ceremony. The cacique placed Woodward upon a throne and showed him a large field of maize (a gesture that Sandford interpreted as land acquisition). Following this gesture, the cacique "brought [Woodward] the Sister of the Indian that [Sandford] had with [him] telling him that shee should tend him and dresse his victualls and be careful of him soe her Brother might be the better used amongst

---

[199] Ibid., 104.
[200] Ibid., 105.
[201] Dubcovsky, 99-103.

us."[202] Whether he understood it at the time or not, by giving Woodward an Indian wife the cacique indoctrinated him into a long-standing Southeastern tradition of extending kinship ties across cultures as a means of solidifying new alliances. In contact situations such as these where language barriers were palpable, Europeans and Indians alike engaged in performative acts geared towards displaying to others information regarding basic aspects of culture.[203] Although the Indians of Port Royal understood the significance of the cacique's presentation of his niece to this outsider, Woodward had to grapple with these incredibly deliberate pantomimic contact gestures. As Sandford sailed back to more familiar horizons with the cacique's nephew, Woodward received his first lesson on the importance of Indian kinship.

Although Woodward entered the Indian community at Port Royal willingly, the Spanish in St. Augustine quickly found out about his presence in their former territory and took him captive approximately a year later. Woodward entered into an under-examined but just as common form of captivity in the Southeast. Europeans vying for dominance and legitimacy in the region often took other Europeans captive in order to gain information about their competitors' affairs in the region.[204] Finding himself isolated yet again from his native tongue as well as from the Indian one he had just acquired, Woodward immersed himself in Spanish culture. While held captive in St. Augustine, Woodward befriended the parish priest, converted to Catholicism, and eventually came to be regarded as "the best in all of the land ("*el mejor de toda la tierra"*) until he was picked up and returned to South Carolina during Robert Searle's raid of St. Augustine in 1668.[205] The linguistic, cultural, and political information Woodward

[202] Sandford, 105.
[203] Turner, 63. See also Judith Butler, "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory," *Theatre Journal* 40, no. 4 (1988).
[204] Eugene Lyon, "The Captives of Florida," in *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, ed. Eugene Lyon (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1995), 171-190.
[205] "Carta del virrey marqués de Mancera" May 1668, AGI- Mexico, 42, N.59.

picked up while living amongst the Indians at Port Royal and the Spanish in St. Augustine made him an invaluable asset to the fledgling Charles Town colony. In fact, several Charles Town governing officials informed the Lords Proprietors that they could not "well dispence with his absence from the Collony being of very great advantage by his familiar acquintance amongst the natives, and his knowledge in their language."[206] Woodward's efforts to learn about the cultures of others combined with the forthcoming nature of supplying outsiders with important cultural information made Woodward, as well as other men and women who fell into the category of "culture broker," powerful and dangerous figures in the colonial Southeast. What captives turned culture brokers did with the information they gathered and received as well as the cultural alliances they formed varied from person to person and circumstance to circumstance.[207]

In his wonderfully comprehensive consideration of cross-cultural communication between natives and newcomers during the early colonial era, historian James Axtell argues that in non-threatening circumstances (e.g. circumstances in which their spiritual or physical well being remained unchallenged), "natives were notably forthcoming and eager to share their knowledge."[208] No matter how anomalous or unfamiliar the outsider, Indians attempted to incorporate them into their worldviews in some way. Examining how captives of Indian and European groups received, transmitted, and utilized the cultural information of their captors sheds tremendous light on some of the ways in which Indians were able to maintain the terms of cross-cultural communication in the region despite European intrusion. Although Europeans

---

[206] William Sayle, Joseph West, Ralph Marshall, Joseph Dalton, and William Scrivener to the Lords Proprietors, Charles Town, September 11, 1670, in *The Shaftesbury Papers and Other Records Relating to Carolina and the First Settlement on the Ashley River Prior to the Year 1676*, ed. Langdon Cheves, vol. 2 (Charleston: South Carolina Historical Society, 2000), 191-192.
[207]Frank, 95. Frank argues that some individuals simultaneously "obtained and maintained their central roles in both Creek and European American societies." Rather than submitting exclusively to one culture or the other, Frank suggests that on the Southern frontier, cultural brokers carefully balanced their dual identities and loyalties.
[208] Axtell, 44.

often benefited greatly from the acquisition of Indian captives in terms of linguistics, mobility, and labor, Indian communities also reaped the similar benefits by taking European captives. Predicated on notions of incorporation and indoctrination rather than negotiation and coercion, Indians treated the European captives taken throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries– those who were spared death and sacrifice– with a cultural openness not seen after the rise of the Indian slave trade. Foreign Captives provided Indians a lens through which to observe and learn the speech and mannerisms of potential allies or enemies. European captives witnessed and participated in some of the most creative cross-cultural communication in the region.

Obtaining fluency in their captor's language provided captives an important avenue through which they could improve their chances for survival and potentially advance their position within Indian communities. Because their physical wellbeing depended on it, contact captives strove to better understand the deeply intertwined belief systems and social organizations that structured southeastern Indian worldviews. Contact captives' understandings of these complicated aspects of Indian culture became clear upon their redemption when they often facilitated cross-cultural communication between their redeemers and the Indian communities they encountered. Indians operated in a world of oppositions and polarities that dictated everything from gender relations, kinship ties, and marriage to politics and warfare. Contact captives seemed to be able to grasp, navigate, and interpret these systems– systems that Southeastern Indians fully intended and expected to work together as a whole and mutually adjust to each other in times of great change or chaos in order to maintain spiritual and secular balance. It is safe to assume that communities who decided to fully incorporate non-native

captives into their communities via adoption communicated the holistic nature of their worlds through both words and performances.[209]

Language and communication (and, in some of the cases examined above, the lack thereof) contributed to the anxieties and fears of every group who came into contact with each other for the first time in the Southeast during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. For Europeans, the establishment of settlements transformed what was once foreign and strange into something decidedly more familiar and potentially overflowing with opportunity. Creating and maintaining a local home base quelled some of the anxieties that ran rampant during each group's exploratory phase. Fear of captivity at the hands of others certainly did not go away entirely once Europeans established permanent settlements in the region. However, the possibility of redemption and a safe passage home seemed much more realistic, for their homes were no longer oceans away. What is more, despite the socially and ethnically diverse nature of St. Augustine and Charles Town, these communities housed a non-native critical mass to which Europeans could operate out of, return to, and establish influence in.

Once Europeans gained a sense of home and ownership over space in the southeast, regardless of how precarious and tenuous their positions remained throughout the colonial period, they became slightly less anxious over imminent death at the hands of Indians and more anxious over making themselves understood to their new neighbors. The Indian communities they interacted with shared many of the same fears regarding effective communication. In some cases, as will be illustrated presently, communication between natives and newcomers flourished and communities created spaces in which Indian and European voices and methods of communication worked together in harmony. More often than not, Indian communities remained receptive to welcoming European outsiders and maintained open channels of communication

[209] Husdon, *The Southeastern Indians*, 184.

throughout each group's colonial periods as a means to better incorporate them into the native grounds and systems that they still perceived to dominate the region. In other cases, communication between Indians and Europeans broke down in extremely violent ways. For southeastern Indians, both peaceful and violent responses to newcomers' voices reflected the extent to which they felt they could actually incorporate them into their communities and worldviews as well as benefit from their relationships. The following chapter highlights how Indians and Europeans established and destroyed cross-cultural communication following the establishment of permanent European settlements.

Chapter Three: From Order to Chaos: Making and Remaking Cross-Cultural Communication in the Colonial Era

Many Southeastern Indians continued to indoctrinate and incorporate non-native outsiders into their communities and worldviews well into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. By keeping both literal and communicative paths to their communities clean and open to Europeans, Indians attempted to turn a presence that was once unknown and potentially dangerous into something familiar. Dealing with individuals operating out of permanent settlements, though, posed new communicative challenges to the Indian communities who still considered the region their rightful native grounds. The overly compliant nature of European contact captives gave Indians a false primer into the worlds of Europeans who constructed permanent settlements in the region during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Unlike the European contact captives who often entered Indian communities against their wills and whose isolation and lack of hope for redemption resulted in their wholesale indoctrination and assimilation into Indian culture, individuals who operated out of local European settlements did not bend quite as regularly or willingly to Indian modes and methods of cross-cultural communication. They also chose to learn foreign languages and establish communication with the region's Indians by their own volition. Concerned with making their own colonial interests and voices heard, Europeans often picked and chose how they wanted to communicate with their Indian neighbors, sometimes adjusting to Indian methods and other times relying on their own

ideas of clear, effective communication.[210] Indian communities calculated the risks and benefits of incorporating unfamiliar forms of European communication, embracing some forms and rejecting others depending on how well or poorly these methods impacted their place and importance in the region.

In order to highlight the multiple perspectives at play in the colonial Southeast, this chapter begins with an examination of the ways in which Spanish missionaries, settlers, and governors operating in and around St. Augustine during the first centuries of its existence established communication with the Indians they hoped to convert and extract labor from. The next section looks at similar communicative attempts made by Europeans operating out of Charles Town in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The “time lag” that separates the establishments of these towns, historian Alan Gallay points out, is significant. By the time British men and women started filtering into the region, Southeastern Indians had already been in contact with the Spanish for close to one hundred years.[211] Indian perspectives and voices pervade each section and serve to remind readers that the region’s native inhabitants were not passive receivers of European messages. Rather, much to the chagrin of their European counterparts, southeastern Indians actively interpreted and negotiated the terms of cross-cultural communication, rejecting and accepting messages depending on the needs of their communities.

At this point it is necessary to define some of the terminology utilized throughout this chapter. Both St. Augustine (established in 1565) and Charles Town (established in 1670) are considered European footholds and settlements that eventually grew into colonies. These spaces are defined as places where Europeans established communities in areas untouched by their own culture group. Whether or not they fully appreciated their roles as such, Europeans who tried to

---

[210] Axtell, 52. Axtell posits that wars broke out between Indians and Europeans during the colonial era because colonists “did and chose– or their distant European leaders chose– to ignore natives’ needs and wishes.”
[211] Gallay, 32.

establish communication networks with their Indian neighbors as well as those individuals who went willingly into Indian communities and learned Indian languages during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are referred to here as cultural mediators. These individuals interacted with Indian communities with great frequency and helped form both positive and negative connective links between culturally dissimilar cultures. More importantly, they often traveled beyond the confines of their colonies and settlements. For this reason, their voices as well as those they interacted with and recorded for European audiences in the southeast and beyond merit close attention.[212]

As examined in the first chapter of this thesis, Southeastern Indians already developed and instilled their own forms of cross-cultural communication in the region prior to the arrival of Europeans in the late fifteenth century. To balance this perspective, it is important to look briefly at perceptions of language and communication held by those who faced west into Indian country before examining the ways in which Europeans and Indians adopted and rejected each other's forms and methods of communication. Early modern European experiences with Mediterranean trade and captivity, examined briefly in the previous chapter, caused many to take language learning and communication with cultural outsiders very seriously. No strangers to cross-cultural communication with non-Christian outsiders, individuals from the British Isles and Iberian Peninsula with financial ties to the Mediterranean fully understood the importance of "linguistic capacity" to economic and physical survival in the region and they expected the intermediaries who operated on their behalves to gain and maintain proficiency in the languages of those whom they wished to establish economic ties.[213]

[212] This chapter's definition comes from ideas presented in Clara Sue Kidwell's study on Indian women as cultural mediators. See Clara Sue Kidwell, "Indian Women as Cultural Mediators," *Ethnohistory* 39, no. 2 (1992): 97-107.
[213] Colley, 86. See also Robert C. Davis, *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters: White Slavery in the Mediterranean, the Barbary Coast and Italy, 1500-1800* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

Increased interest and participation in Trans-Atlantic voyages correlated with the emergence of Europeans' own languages as "standardized, written vehicles and communication emblems of crowns, of nation-states, and of aggressive colonial enterprises."[214] Standardization, as well as previous experiences with linguistically and culturally diverse "others" in Africa and Asia, caused Europeans who made the trek to the Americas to recognize words as a "source of power" and "language, a source of knowledge."[215] The *entradas* and reconnaissance missions described in the previous chapter provided Europeans interested in establishing permanent settlements in the region their initial glimpses into the topographic, cultural, and linguistic features of the southeast. Those who funded colonial efforts in the region expected their charges to build on this information and establish strong communicative ties with the region's native inhabitants. Lord Anthony Ashley Cooper, the first Earl of Shaftesbury and one of Charles Town's most important financial supporters, hoped that colonists would rise to the linguistic challenges of the region and "[grow] into so good acquaintance" with neighboring Indians "as not to need and interpreter between them."[216] In the eyes of many Spanish rulers and English proprietors, settlers' efforts to learn Indian languages, in theory, would bolster their own power and control in the region and, by proxy, the influence of those who made their colonial endeavors.[217]

The linguistic aspirations that Kings and proprietors held for their settlers were seldom fully realized in the colonies. However, cultural mediators who operated out of St. Augustine and

---

[214] Michael Silverstein, "Dynamics of Linguistic Contact," in *Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 17: Languages*, ed. Ives Goddard and William C. Sturtevant (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1996), 117.
[215] Wick R. Miller, "The Ethnography of Speaking," in *Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 17: Languages*, ed. Ives Goddard and William C. Sturtevant (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1996), 238.
[216] Lord Ashley to Henry Woodward, April 10, 1671, in *The Shaftesbury Papers and Other Records Relating to Carolina and the First Settlement on the Ashley River Prior to the Year 1676*, ed. Langdon Cheves, vol. 2 (Charleston: South Carolina Historical Society, 2000), 316.
[217] Amy Turner Bushnell, *Situado and Sabana: Spain's Support System for the Presidio and Mission Provinces of Florida* (New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1994), 27.

Charles Town, as well as the Indian communities they interacted and formed connections with, all viewed the acquisition of and access to information as critical to their survival in the region. It is important to remember that the European settlements in the region were in no way homogenous entities. Both St. Augustine and Charles Town housed individuals from all political, religious, cultural, ethnic, and economic walks of life. A lot of infighting and strife occurred between individuals vying for power and influence within the settlements as a result.[218] Settlers disagreed on how to communicate and exchange information with natives, which, much to their detriment, often sent mixed and inconsistent messages to the Indian communities they hoped to form and maintain amicable relations with.[219]

In order to highlight colonial communicative successes and failures, we turn now to the attempts of Spaniards in Florida and their various approaches to cross-cultural communication with Indians. This section examines the various ways in which Spaniards and Indians learned (and in some cases did not learn) each other's languages and how they co-opted each other's forms of communication to their own benefit. Special attention is placed on the colony's satellite missions where missionaries and colonial officials sought to destroy "aspects of Indian culture which were felt to be in conflict with Christian doctrine" as well as control Indian labor.[220] This section highlights interactions in several key mission provinces, but special attention is placed on the Apalachee province in northwest Florida. When European voices and methods of communication became too inconsistent and intolerable, Indians in Apalachee, as well as those in other mission towns, pushed back in ways that reiterated the importance of operating within

[218] Bushnell, 16-19. Gallay, 316-317.
[219] Ramsey, 87.
[220] Jerald T. Milanich and William C. Sturtevant, *Francisco Pareja's 1613 Confessionario: A Documentary Source for Timucuan Ethnography* (Tallahassee: Division of Archives, History, and Records Management, 1972), 21.

the confines of well-established Indian communication systems and practices. In this way, perceived European disharmony and imbalance strengthened Indian voices.

Fearing for the safety of his treasure fleets coming out of South America and the Caribbean in the early 1560s, King Philip II of Spain convinced Pedro Menéndez de Avilés to accept the governorship of Florida and tasked him with building and populating several Spanish towns. Sustained, armed Spanish presence in the region, the Crown mused, would ensure protection from foreign encroachment into the stolen lands and treasures they claimed. Although Menéndez and his men successfully purged Florida of its French presence in 1565 via the destruction of Fort Carolina, their efforts to establish multiple towns came to nought, as did his attempts to establish lasting connections with Indians in South Florida.[221] In the early 1570s only two of the original 15 garrisons built by Menéndez and his men, Santa Elena and St. Augustine, remained functional despite their small populations and limited resources. Worried that Spanish resources in Florida were spread too thin, Spain's Council of the Indies, located in Havana, ordered the abandonment of Santa Elena in 1586.With Santa Elena dismantled, the Crown turned its focus on St. Augustine.[222]

Despite the many failures that came along with establishing a permanent foothold in Florida, the Spanish Crown continued to try to communicate its importance in the Southeast and attempted to keep St. Augustine and its population buoyant. Amidst the chaos and uncertainties rampant during Spain's first decades of settlement in Florida, Spanish individuals attempted to learn native languages and communicate with Indian communities. Spanish missionaries in particular made some of the most concerted efforts to understand the languages and cultures of the Indian peoples they hoped to convert and bring into the folds of Catholicism. Upon the

---

[221] J. Michael Francis and Kathleen M. Kole, *Murder and Martyrdom in Spanish Florida: Don Juan and the Guale Uprising of 1597* (New York: American Museum of Natural History, 2011), 18-21.
[222] Ibid., 22.

request of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, members of the Society of Jesus (Jesuits) quickly filtered into the vast, heavily populated region claimed by the Spanish crown following the establishment of St. Augustine in 1565. Mission work in Florida changed hands several times throughout the colonial period. When the Jesuits withdrew from the region in the early 1570s, members of the Franciscan order quickly took their places. Spanish missionaries of all orders had their work cut out for them when it came to learning Indian languages and communicating the complexities of Catholicism.[223] By planting themselves in Indian communities and creating mission towns, Historian Amy Turner Bushnell argues, missionaries, much to the vexation of St. Augustine's government officials, quickly became the "principal agents of Spanish control" during the seventeenth century.[224]

Unlike the contact captives who lived among Florida's Indians prior to the establishment of St. Augustine, missionaries who settled into the colony's peripheries did not perceive their personal survival in the region as dependent upon their full integration into Indian communities and culture. This was due, in large part, to their efforts to view Florida more as a permanent home filled with potential converts and friends and less as an inhospitable frontier riddled with captive hungry Indians. In short, their placement in the region did not occur by happenstance– they arrived there largely by choice and with preconceived notions of their place and function amongst its Indian inhabitants. Although many missionaries never felt completely at home in the region and often genuinely feared for their lives (many did die at the hands of Indians in ways deemed gruesome by their contemporaries), their goals of converting as many natives as possible and teaching them how to be good Catholics trumped their worldly anxieties and influenced every communicative decision they made along the mission chain. Historian Robert Galgano

[223]Milanich and Sturtevant, 6.
[224] Bushnell, 18.

argues that for the missionaries and governors deeply concerned with the spiritual lives of Spain's newest vassals, the region became a veritable feast of souls. Language and communication provided them their meal ticket.[225]

It is worth noting at this point that in the minds of Spaniards, the land they called Florida extended well beyond the confines of colonial St. Augustine. Missionaries attempted to extend their influence well into the colony's peripheral zones. Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries they operated primarily out of three major Indian provinces– Guale along the Georgia coast, Timucua in north Florida, and Apalache in northwest Florida. Missionaries also attempted to establish connections with the Calusa in south Florida. Although they understood the utility of learning Indian languages, missionaries did not anticipate the extent of linguistic diversity in the southeast.[226] Unlike their predecessors in Mexico, as Bushnell points out, missionaries in Florida had a difficult time isolating a single native language to learn and gain proficiency in. The languages spoken in the provinces of Apalache and Guale, though both part of the Muskogean language family, were mutually unintelligible. Complicating matters further, Timucua, a language isolate in the Florida peninsula, retained no linguistic ties to the Muskogean language family and contained at least ten different dialects.[227] In south Florida, Jesuit missionary Antonio Sedeño commented in 1570 that the Calusa domain contained "twenty-four languages in the thirty chieftainships there were, as they did not understand each other."[228] It is worth noting, as evidenced in chapter one, that the linguistic variability that existed in Florida did not inhibit

---

[225]Robert Galgano, *Feast of Souls: Indians and Spaniards in the 17th- Century Missions of Florida and New Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), 1-5.
[226] Bushnell, 18. As Bushnell points out, missionaries in Florida, unlike their predecessors in Mexico, "were unable to spread the use of a single native language."
[227] Ibid., 18. Milanich and Sturtevant, 1. Despite the fact that they did not belong to the same language family, the peoples of Apalache, Guale, and Timucua undoubtedly communicated with each other prior to contact with Europeans.
[228] Fray Juan de Carmenatri and Others to the King, December 5, 1693, in *Missions to the Calusa*, ed. John H. Hann (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1991), 115.

Indian communities from communicating with each other. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, though, Spaniards attempted to fit themselves into these dialogues.

Sources that detail exactly how Florida's missionaries learned Indian languages on the ground are few and far between. Fortunately, the accounts and letters that they left behind provide us glimpses into their communicative worlds and illuminate their various approaches. Some missionaries chose the route of fluency and, much like the contact captives who came before them, daily contact with native languages allowed them to learn languages relatively quickly. Missionaries throughout the colonial period typically taught Indian converts Catholic doctrine through rote memorization and recitation.[229] They likely approached their own education in Indian languages in a similar fashion. Following trends of linguistic standardization in Europe, some missionaries who obtained fluency attempted to produce grammars of Indian languages to serve as teaching tools for future missionaries interested in working in Florida. While working among the Guale Indians in the late 1560s Jesuit missionary Domingo Agustín Váez produced one of the earliest known grammars of an indigenous language in North America. However, other colonial observers only mention his attempts and his work remains lost.[230] Efforts to produce grammars of native languages continued into the early seventeenth century. Franciscan missionary Francisco Pareja arrived in Florida in 1595 and was assigned to the mission of San Juan del Puerto on Fort George Island. Shortly after his arrival he began work on a description and grammar of the language spoken by the Timucua Indians who populated the mission town. Although based out of and tied primarily to San Juan del Puerto, Pareja

[229] Bushnell, 95-96.
[230] Ives Goddard, "The Description of the Native Languages of North America Before Boas," in *Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 17: Languages*, ed. Ives Goddard and William C. Sturtevant (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1996), 17.

maintained extensive contact with nine other Indian towns close to the mission.[231] Well aware of the difficulties that came along with acquiring fluency in Indian languages, Pareja devised a way for Franciscans fresh to the region and not yet proficient in native languages to still administer confession to converted Timucuas. In 1613 he created a "bilingual catechism" and confessional to help bridge the linguistic divide between Spanish and Timucua and aid future missionary efforts.[232]

Individuals who went to great lengths to learn native languages acquired extremely useful ethnographic information and insight into their host communities. Pareja included questions in his 1613 *Confessionario* directed towards obtaining a better understanding of the native belief systems he hoped to dismantle. Through a series of questions, which probed Indians on everything from whether or not they prayed over their arrows prior to hunting to women's menses, Pareja garnered invaluable information regarding native political hierarchy and structure.[233] With a basic understanding of Indian socio-political organization under their belts, missionaries purposely chose prominent Indian towns to operate out of. They enlisted the help of caciques in ensuring the organization of Indian "labor, economic production, and defense" required to keep the Florida missions and St. Augustine colony alive. By choosing prominent towns with political rights over other towns, missionaries hoped to extend and communicate their influence by proxy.[234]

An example of Spaniards' attempts to co-opt the power of Indian methods of communication can be seen in the ways they utilized council houses in the mission communities in Apalachee province in the early eighteenth century. In 1701 St. Augustine Governor Don

[231]Milanich and Sturtevant, 10.
[232] Goddard, 18. Milanich and Sturtevant, 20-21.
[233] Milanich and Sturtevant, 21-25.
[234] Bushnell, 27, 64.

Joseph de Zúñiga y Zerda issued an order to his deputy governor in Apalachee in response to recent bouts of scalping committed by neighboring Timucua and Ygnaja Indians against distant native communities. Finding these "devilish" actions exceedingly troubling and without purpose, the governor ordered Manuel de Solana to ban "such practices as dancing with scalps in the council houses." Governor Zúñiga y Zerda instructed Solana to communicate this message to the Indians at Apalachee "by interpreters and the best means" he could, "so that they not persist in practicing such a diabolical custom." In order to solidify his message, the livid governor demanded that his order "or as much of it [as necessary], shall be posted in the council houses, so that it reached the attention of all."[235] Some background information is necessary in order to understand why Governor Zúñiga y Zerda demanded the use of council houses to communicate his order.

Apalachee-Spanish relations went all the way back to the sixteenth century. Apalachee Indians and Spaniards first encountered each other in 1528 during Panfilo de Narváez's ill-fated expedition and again in 1539 when Hernando de Soto led his *entrada* through the southeast. The willingness of Apalachee Indians to communicate their prominence in the region to their European visitors during this time earned them a reputation for great military skill.[236] Spaniards cut communicative ties with the Apalachee until the late sixteenth century when the province's leaders sent a message to St. Augustine requesting the presence of friars in their communities. In their extensive study of the mission at San Luis, John Hann and Bonnie McEwan point out that native leaders' intentions behind inviting friars into their communities are murky at best. It is possible, as they suggest, that St. Augustine's governors' willingness to distribute gifts to allied

---

[235] Order from Governor Zúñiga y Zerda, March 14, 1701, in *Here They Once Stood: The Tragic End of the Apalachee Missions*, ed. Mark F. Boyd, Hale G. Smith, and John W. Griffin (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1951), 35.
[236] John H. Hann and Bonnie G. McEwan, *The Apalachee Indians and Mission San Luis* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998), 6.

Indian communities influenced Indians' requests to accept friars and pledge loyalty and obedience to the crown.[237] This was certainly the case with the Calusa Indians to the south who systematically and violently ousted friars from their communities when the flow of European goods ceased to flow into their communities during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It is entirely possible that the Apalachee opened lines of communication with the Spanish in St. Augustine in order to garner support and restore balance to their worlds that had recently been ravished by European diseases.[238]

Regardless of their intentions, Apalachee Indians established ties with Spanish St. Augustine and friars quickly filtered into their communities. A shortage of friars in the early seventeenth century stalled the creation of structured, formal missions in Apalachee until 1633. Spanish-Apalachee relations remained relatively calm until the 1640s when Spaniards established a settlement in the province.[239] The actions of the Florencia family in particular helped ignite a revolt in 1647, which St. Augustine officials quickly put down when they sent thirty-one Spanish soldiers and over 500 Timucua warriors to the province.[240] Missionaries, settlers, and soldiers continued to occupy the province until 1704 when aggressive Anglo-Creek slave raids caused many to abandon the community. During their stay in Apalachee, Spaniards constructed churches, friaries, forts, villages, and ranches in attempts to properly settle the province and turn something once strange and unfamiliar into home. Despite cycles of peace, hostility, revolt, and reconciliation, Spaniards and Indians continued to cohabitate and communicate with each other in Apalachee province.

[237] Ibid., 22.
[238] Ibid., 24.
[239] Ibid., 35.
[240] Ibid., 36-37.

Even if Spaniards did not follow Francisco Pareja's lead by going to great lengths to acquire information from Indians regarding their languages and political and social organization (and many did not), the importance of structures that facilitated communication within Indian communities certainly did not escape their attention in areas that became as familiar as Apalachee. Regardless of their level of fluency in Indian languages, missionaries and government officials often tried to bolster their influence within Indian communities by attaching themselves and their messages to other markers of Indian power. As Governor Zúñiga y Zerda's order highlights, council houses provide just one example of the powerful Indian institutions that Spanish missionaries and officials tried to communicate through. 120 feet in diameter and located at the end of the town plaza, the council house located in the Apalachee capital of San Luis was one of the most prominent architectural structures in the community until the early eighteenth century when Indians and settlers abandoned the site.[241] Influential members of Indian communities typically gathered in council houses "to settle grievances among members of the chiefdom, to give audiences to ambassadors or strangers, and to consult and plan activities such as agriculture and the construction of new buildings."[242] Council houses also provided Indian communities a space in which they could seek harmony and balance and reconcile differences through open dialogue.[243] Even if they did not fully understand what went on within the walls of council houses, missionaries and government officials alike recognized it as an important meeting space. Throughout the seventeenth century, the council house "provided a forum for visiting Spanish officials."[244] Recognizing the communicative reach of the council house, missionaries and government officials often used it to their advantage when they needed to

[241] Ibid., 75, 77.
[242] Hudson, *The Southeastern Indians*, 218-219.
[243] Ibid., 224.
[244] Hann and McEwan, 75.

communicate to a large audience, hence Governor Zúñiga y Zerda's decision to post a message to the structure.

Early generations of missionaries who bothered to learn about and understand Indian cultures gladly shared their findings with others. Documents concerning how missionaries in the early seventeenth century learned the languages spoken by the Apalachee remain lost in the archives, though it is highlight likely they took the same approach as Francisco Pareja. By the time two Spanish friars officially established a mission in Apalachee in 1633, they reportedly "had a thorough knowledge of the Apalachee language."[245] Individuals such as Governor Zúñiga y Zerda's were the beneficiaries of such information and it helped them to navigate and try to control communication with the Indians living in neighboring provinces. Through the efforts of ambitious and prolix missionaries, governors and settlers in St. Augustine, present and future missionaries, and even Spain's highest powers of authority all received glimpses into the cultures and beliefs of Florida's Indians. In 1599 Francisco Pareja wrote a letter to King Philip II and described his missionary activities in and around San Juan del Puerto.[246] Through letter writing and the creation of instructional manuals geared specifically towards teaching missionaries how to speak Timucua, those who followed in Váez and Pareja's footsteps were given the unique opportunity to learn about Florida's Indians before they even set foot in the southeast. However, many individuals who entered Florida's Indian communities in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries chose not learn Indian languages.

Some Spaniards living in Florida did not share the same gusto and propensity towards learning and recording Indian languages as individuals like Váez and Pareja did. Rather, many Spaniards continued to rely on willing and unwilling interpreters to communicate across cultures.

---

[245] Ibid., 29.
[246] Milanich and Sturtevant, 10.

For example, when Jesuit plans to construct a college in Havana for the son's and daughter's of Florida's caciques and cacicas fell through in the late 1560s, the children slotted to make the journey into the Caribbean found themselves instead as servants in the governor's house in St. Augustine. In 1606 boasted about the presence of speakers from the five major language provinces in the region within his household.[247] Keeping these individuals within the confines of his home and inside the walls of St. Augustine allotted Ybarra the opportunity to learn multiple native languages. More realistically, though, Ybarra likely used them as interpreters when his own linguistic capabilities fell short.

Ironically, Spanish officials, who themselves depended on interpreters to travel through Florida's provinces, often criticized missionaries who chose not to learn Indian languages. While attempting to conduct missionary work amongst the Calusa in the late 1560s, Father Juan Rogel failed to learn the language of the people he sought so desperately to convert. In 1568 Rogel wrote to Father Jerónimo del Portillo, explaining how he sought to have an interpreter at [his] side always" to help communicate Catholic doctrine and, he hoped, convince Indians to convert.[248] Missionaries such as Rogel typically elicited the help of native sacristans to instruct converted unconverted Indians.[249] The trend of evangelism through interpreters continued well into the seventeenth century. While conducting a visitation to the Florida mission provinces in 1695, Don Juan Ferro Machado took serious issue with the fact that some missionaries "were undertaking to administer [the *doctrinas*] without knowing the language," and as a consequence, he realized, "it was necessary for them to hear confessions with an interpreter, which was the

[247] Bushnell, 105.
[248] Father Juan Rogel to Father Jerónimo Ruiz del Portillo, April 25, 1568, in *Missions to the Calusa*, ed. John H. Hann (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1991), 249.
[249] Galgano, 56.

occasion for sacrilegious confessions."[250] Despite the availability of willing and unwilling interpreters, many missionaries continued to follow Francisco Pareja's lead. In 1705 Father Fray Juan de Parga reportedly "preached a sermon in the Apalachian tongue which lasted more than an hour" in the Apalachee village of Patale right before an Anglo-Creek raid dismantled the community.[251] Oddly enough, Machado would have taken issue with Parga's methods of evangelism as well. According to historian John Hann, Machado reportedly did not see value in learning Indian languages and often supported Spanish attempts to teach Indians the Castilian tongue.[252] Fortunately for Machado and Europeans not adept at learning foreign languages, many Indians did choose to learn Spanish.

Allowing Spaniards into their communities provided Florida Indians their own invaluable educational opportunities. Community leaders may have perceived their presence as a means to better understand Florida's Spanish newcomers and transform the unfamiliar into something capable of categorization and integration.[253] By learning Spanish, Indians could move beyond gestures and overly elaborate cultural performances and better instruct missionaries on how to behave within Indian communities. Fortunately for Indians wanting to obtain proficiency in a foreign language, missionaries constructed helpful mnemonic devices to assist in teaching Indians Spanish and, they hoped, Catholic doctrine. Friars often divided and numbered the 14 articles of faith, 10 Commandments of God, 4 commandments of the Church, 7 sacraments, 7 virtues, 7 capital sins, and 7 corporal works of mercy into digestible chunks, setting portions of

---

[250] First Extract of Dispatches Relating to the Proposed Calusa Mission, 1695, in *Missions to the Calusa*, ed. John H. Hann (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1991), 126.
[251] Testimony of Juan de la Cruz, June 9, 1705, in *Here They Once Stood: The Tragic End of the Apalachee Missions*, ed. Mark F. Boyd, Hale G. Smith, and John W. Griffin (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1951), 74.
[252] Second Extract of Dispatches Relating to the Proposed Calusa Mission, 1695, in *Missions to the Calusa*, ed. John H. Hann (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1991), 136.
[253] Hudson, *The Southeastern Indians*, 120-121.

them to music, "using both Gregorian chants, or plainsong, and familiar native tunes."[254] Music, the elaborate pageantry of Catholic processions, murals, and decorative artwork helped attract Indians to the new religion while making learning a foreign language easier and more palatable.[255]

Despite how confident missionaries may have felt in their linguistic abilities or how receptive Indians seemed to their teachings, the Indians they hoped to convert and bring into the folds of Catholicism were not static listeners– they actively absorbed and processed information and determined how missionaries would fit into their communities. In his study of Spanish-Indian relations in seventeenth century Florida and New Mexico missions, Robert Galgano reminds readers of the reality that, much to the chagrin of missionaries, there "was no formula to native responses" to missionary efforts. Rather, he argues, "each individual, clan, and community faced an altered world and decided on a course of action according to particular circumstances."[256] It is important to remember that although the establishment of a permanent settlement and Catholic missions helped transform Florida into a home for Spaniards, they still occupied native grounds and could not move around as freely as they wished. Spanish missionaries did not enter Indian communities and learn their languages without permission. Indians *allowed* missionaries to enter their towns and observe their cultures.

Florida Indians easily adopted more formal Spanish systems of communication when they wanted to. According to Pareja, he often saw Indians with his devotional tracts and noted how "[easily] many Indian men and women have learned to read in less than two months, and they write letters to one another in their own language."[257] Apalachee Indians also adopted

[254] Bushnell, 95.
[255] Galgano, 57.
[256] Galgano, 6.
[257] Bushnell, 97.

writing as a means to communicate by the late seventeenth century. In a letter to the king of Spain, St. Augustine Governor Diego de Quiroga y Losada described his visitation to the Timucua and Apalachee provinces in 1688. "And having visited the provinces of Apalachee and Timucua, receiving their natives warmly and consoling them," the governor explained, "I left them very content and grateful to Your Majesty to whom they give the thanks due in the enclosed letters that their caciques wrote to Your Majesty in their own language and style."[258] Time spent with Spanish missionaries as well as contact with Spanish settlers and soldiers allowed Indians in Apalachee and Timucua to glean a practical understanding of Spanish bureaucracy and hierarchy. Considering that Spaniards on the ground asked for everything in the name of the king, the importance of this unseen figure of authority, regardless of how seriously they actually took him, was not lost on mission Indians. As is evidenced by the letters in Timucua and Apalachee mentioned above, some made attempts to incorporate him into their communication systems.

As highlighted above, Spaniards rarely behaved in consistent manners when it came to communicating with Florida Indians. Missionaries maintained control of far more than the religious aspects of colonial life in and around St. Augustine. By establishing close ties with native elites and their communities, these cultural mediators also helped to broker and extract the Indian labor that kept the colony intact.[259] Infinitely frustrated over the sway missionaries seemed to hold over Indian communities, governors often went over missionaries' heads in order to gain influence over the laborers, warriors, and elites who inhabited Florida's provinces.[260]

---

[258] Governor Diego de Quiroga y Losada to the King, April 1, 1688, in *Missions to the Calusa*, ed. John H. Hann (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1991), 80.
[259] Galgano, 47.
[260] Bushnell, 181. Galgano, 89.

When Spaniards competed with each other for space and prominence in colonial Florida, they presented a disunited front to the Indians they hoped to subdue.

Indians in Florida responded to Spaniards with just as much variety. However, when Spanish voices became too inconsistent and disharmonic to bear, Indian communities pushed back with their own voices in order to restore balance to their communities. As mission communities became more labor driven and disjointed in the latter half of the seventeenth century, some Indians responded by "voting with their feet" and fleeing to neighboring Indian communities.[261] Don Patricio and Don Andrés, caciques of the Apalachee towns of Ivitachuco and San Luis, explained this process in a letter to King Charles II of Spain in 1699. "Because of the great hardships imposed on us by the families which are settled in our village[s]," the caciques wrote, "there are many Apalachee Indians withdrawn to the Province of Guale, where many die without confession, because they do not understand the language of the missionaries of that province."[262] Population loss of any kind must have alarmed leaders of all Apalachee communities. Don Patricio and Don Andrés hoped to effect a change in their community by adopting Spanish forms of communication. Doing so, they hoped, would inspire Spanish officials to better regulate the disruptive, labor-hungry Spanish families living in Apalachee. Some Indians, wholly dissatisfied with Spanish irregularities and demands, used violence to communicate their displeasure. Throughout the mission period, Indians led revolts in just about every major mission province in Florida. As Spanish missionaries and government officials placed greater emphasis on extracting and controlling Indian labor, Indian revolts reached a fevered pitch. Between 1647 and 1695 Indians in Apalachee, Timucua, and Chacato all lashed

[261] Galgano, 89
[262] Don Patricio, Cacique of Ivitachuco, and Don Andrés, Cacique of San Luis, to the King, February 12, 1699, in *Here They Once Stood: The Tragic End of the Apalachee Missions*, ed. Mark F. Boyd, Hale G. Smith, and John W. Griffin (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1951), 25.

out at the members of Spanish communities they deemed too chaotic and, ultimately, no longer vital to their existence.

By the 1670s, French and English colonial interests took root in the southeast and placed additional strains on Spanish-Indian relations. Much like the Spanish in Florida, though, the Europeans who settled and populated English and French colonies maintained just as many concerns over language and communication. European settlers in Charles Town also attempted to learn Indian languages and co-opted Indian forms of communication in order to maintain their standing and interests in the region. Unlike the Spanish, though, European mediators operating out of Charles Town did not concern themselves with native conversion. Although many recognized Indians as "strangers to Christianity", the Lords Proprietors adopted a policy of religious toleration in the Carolina colony in order attract settlers from all over the British Isles as well as those in Barbados.[263] Hoping to establish amicable ties with Indian communities, the Lords Proprietors idealistically believed that through religious toleration, "civil peace may be maintained amidst ye diversity of opinions."[264] As a result, settlers and mediators concerned themselves more with the material goods and services that Indians could potentially provide.

Much like in the Spanish provinces of Florida, multiple voices competed for prominence in and around Charles Town. However, the English, Scottish, Irish, German, and French individuals who populated the colony, as Alan Gallay convincingly argues, "had more in common in regard to ideas of colonization, economy, slavery, and society than they had differences."[265] However, the ways in which settlers chose to communicate these notions to each other and neighboring Indians varied greatly and created a lot of tension within Charles Town.

---

[263] Gallay, 45

[264] First Set of the Constitutions for the Government of Carolina, 1699, in *The Shaftesbury Papers and Other Records Relating to Carolina and the First Settlement on the Ashley River Prior to the Year 1676*, ed. Langdon Cheves, vol. 2 (Charleston: South Carolina Historical Society, 2000), 113.

[265] Gallay, 6.

Disharmony within European settlements did not escape the attention of southeastern Indians who, as William Ramsey points out, often had a difficult time "untangling the words of the governor from those of the traders."[266] Charles Town's settlers and mediators typically prioritized their own agendas and interests in ways that ran counter to southeastern Indian communities who strove to bolster the needs of the community over those of the individual. When the imbalance and chaos of European settlements threatened to disrupt the balance and harmony within Indian communities near and far, Indians used a variety of communicative tools to both violently and gently correct these newcomers. The trade in Indian slaves in particular helped to create and destroy dialogues between Indian and European communities in the Southeast between 1670 and 1715. The trade also served as one of the biggest impediments to balance and harmony within Indian and European communities.[267]

The remainder of this chapter focuses on the ways in which Charles Town's cross-cultural mediators and the Indians with whom they interacted attempted to communicate (and not communicate) with each other in order to bolster personal and communal interests. Starting with the life and times of Dr. Henry Woodward, this section tracks the various ways in which Carolina traders and the governors and commissioners who hoped to regulate their actions helped to create, maintain, and break down lines of communication with southeastern Indians. This chapter concludes by looking at how and why communication broke down so fantastically and violently in the years preceding the Yamasee War. It is argued here that throughout the first decade of the colony's existence, the Lords Proprietors in England and government officials on the ground did not respond to the actions and requests of traders turned cultural mediators in a consistent manner. This in turn bred a culture of miscommunication and mistrust that remained

[266] Ramsey, 88.
[267] Gallay, 7. Gallay lauds the trade in Indian slaves as "the most important factor affecting the South in the period 1670 to1715."

active until the outbreak of the Yamasee War in 1715. The precedents set by early proprietors and government officials greatly influenced the inconsistent and oftentimes sketchy ways in which Carolina traders communicated with Indians. When Charles Town's culture of mistrust and miscommunication became too unbearable, Indians stepped in and attempted to restore balance to the region in both peaceful and violent ways.

Much like Spaniards on the Iberian Peninsula, English men with vested interests in the success of the Charles Town settlement placed a premium on gaining as much knowledge about the land and its inhabitants as possible. English attempts to establish permanent settlements in the Southeast began in earnest in the 1660s. Following the restoration of the Stuart monarchy in England in 1660, King Charles paid off his debts to his loyalist allies by issuing to them a colonial charter for the land south of Virginia on the North American continent. By encouraging the proprietors to establish trade with the region's Indians, the king's charter effectively "[set] Carolina on a course of economic interaction with neighboring Indian groups."[268] The seven benefactors of this exchange, who came to be known as the Lords Proprietors, wasted little time in sending reconnoitering and populating the region. One proprietor in particular placed an especially strong emphasis on the importance of language and communication to the success of colonial endeavors and was instrumental to efforts geared towards populating and maintaining the fledgling Charles Town colony until the mid 1670s.

Lord Anthony Ashley Cooper's thirst for information regarding the southeast and the actions of its native and European inhabitants is evidenced through the extensive collection of manuscripts that he, with the help of noted English philosopher and physician John Locke, collected between 1669 and 1675.[269] Locke joined Lord Ashley's household in 1667 and served

[268] Steven Hahn, *The Invention of the Creek Nation,1670-1763* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 31.
[269] *The Shaftesbury Papers*, viii.

as the proprietor's personal assistant in matters dealing with politics and government until 1675.[270] The philosopher maintained a high level of interest in the region's natives and often wrote to noted Charles Town linguists such as Henry Woodward to inquire about their languages and customs. Although it is debated whether or not Locke ever came into contact with Indians, he still felt comfortable synthesizing information on America's native inhabitants from colonial correspondence and memoranda in *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* to complicate the "metaphysical, religious, and cultural opinions of European readers at the close of the seventeenth century."[271] In the *Essay* Locke also mused on the importance of cross-cultural communication.[272] Looking for the keys to unlocking the riches of the southeast, Locke understood "the use and force of language" to be the "great instrument and common tie of society."[273] It is not a stretch to imagine Lord Ashley and Locke spending many hours discussing colonial matters. Regardless of who influenced who, Lord Ashley, as highlighted briefly at the beginning of this chapter, appreciated the utility of words and knowledge and fully expected settlers and Indians to obtain proficiency in each other's languages.

The actions and influence of Dr. Henry Woodward, the young surgeon from Barbados mentioned briefly in previous chapters, did not escape the attention of Charles Town's proprietors and government officials. Time spent as a guest amongst the Indians of Port Royal and a captive to friars in St. Augustine in the late 1660s gave Woodward invaluable insight into the languages and customs of Charles Town's Indian and European neighbors. His knowledge of Indian languages and customs in particular quickly made him indispensable to the fledgling colony's survival and allowed him to establish connections with some of the region's most

[270] V.C. Chappell, *The Cambridge Companion to Locke* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 8-9.
[271] James Farr, "Locke, 'some Americans', and the discourse on "Carolina,'" *Locke Studies* 9 (2009): 1-4.
[272] Ibid., 19-96
[273] John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924), 223.

powerful Indian groups. After being redeemed by his countrymen during Robert Searle's 1668 raid on St. Augustine, Woodward, who reportedly vocalized a "ready inclination to promote [the proprietors'] service" in Carolina, decided to remain in the southeast and joined the ranks of Charles Town's first settlers.[274] In 1670 Woodward spent two weeks in the interior on behalf of the Council at Ashley River. During this trip Woodward refreshed his knowledge of Indian languages and trade routes and, while in the infamous interior town of Cofitachequi, claimed to have "contracted a league with ye emperor and all those petty [caciques] betwixt us and them."[275] By doing so, as Bushnell argues, Woodward "[laid] the ground for Charles Town to move in on the Indian trade."[276]

Woodward's ability to communicate effectively with many of the Southeast's Indian communities and move through the region with relative ease quickly made him invaluable to proprietors and government officials alike. Woodward, having reportedly "made a very large discovery in the Colony" of Cofitachequi that he did not want to share with Carolina's local government officials, requested to be sent to England in order to share his findings with the Lords Proprietors in private.[277] Stephen Bull, Lord Ashley's deputy to Carolina, asked the proprietors to deny Woodward's request, explaining how the colony "[could not] well dispense with his absence from the colony being of very great advantage by his familiar acquaintance amongst the natives, and his knowledge in their language." Furthermore, Bull explained, Woodward proved "exceedingly useful to us in the time of scarcity of provision, in dealing with

---

[274] The Council to the Lords Proprietors, September 11, 1670, in *The Shaftesbury Papers and Other Records Relating to Carolina and the First Settlement on the Ashley River Prior to the Year 1676*, ed. Langdon Cheves, vol. 2 (Charleston: South Carolina Historical Society, 2000), 191.
[275] Henry Woodward to Sir John Yeamans, September 10, 1670, in *The Shaftesbury Papers and Other Records Relating to Carolina and the First Settlement on the Ashley River Prior to the Year 1676*, ed. Langdon Cheves, vol. 2 (Charleston: South Carolina Historical Society, 2000), 187.
[276] Bushnell, 138.
[277] From Sir John Yeamans, November 15, 1670, in *The Shaftesbury Papers and Other Records Relating to Carolina and the First Settlement on the Ashley River Prior to the Year 1676*, ed. Langdon Cheves, vol. 2 (Charleston: South Carolina Historical Society, 2000), 220.

the Indians for our supplies who by his means have furnished us beyond our expectations."[278] The inhabitants struggled to stay afloat during their first decades of residency in the southeast. According to historian Lorri Glover, South Carolinians tended to die at alarming rates and at relatively young ages due to the spread of disease, drinking contaminated water, and Indian wars.[279] Furthermore, they depended almost entirely on neighboring Indians to supply them with even the most basic provisions needed to stay alive. Other government officials echoed Bull's hesitance to let Woodward leave in letters to the proprietors. Hearing their pleas, Lord Ashley denied Woodward's request to leave the colony.

Lord Ashley's 1671 letter to Woodward marks one of the earliest moments when proprietors started to actively foster a community of secrecy, mistrust, and miscommunication in and around Charles Town. Appreciating Woodward's refusal to share his Cofitachequi discovery with the colony's governor before speaking to the proprietors, Lord Ashley praised the young surgeon's silence. Wishing to gain maximum profits from the Indian trade out of the hands of Charles Town's local elites, Lord Ashley encouraged Woodward to continue to keep his discoveries to himself. "People being tempted by the hopes of present gain," Lord Ashley explained to Woodward, would "forsake their plantation and so run themselves into certain ruin which has followed all those who formerly though in greater numbers then we have now marched into this country in search of gold and silver." Lord Ashley developed a code for Woodward to utilize when reporting his findings to the proprietors so that in the event that his letters should fall into "other hands" readers would not be able to understand its contents. As a reward for his silence, Lord Ashley recommended Woodward's services to the other proprietors

---

[278] Stephen Bull to Lord Ashley, September 12, 1670, in *The Shaftesbury Papers and Other Records Relating to Carolina and the First Settlement on the Ashley River Prior to the Year 1676*, ed. Langdon Cheves, vol. 2 (Charleston: South Carolina Historical Society, 2000), 192-193.
[279] Lorri Glover, *All Our Relations: Blood Ties and Emotional Bonds Among the Early South Carolina Gentry* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2000), 5.

and gifted the budding young trader one hundred pounds "in servants or goods out of our stores at Charles Towne."[280] The proprietor recognized the value of linguistic skills in forging profitable exchange with the southeast's Indians. He also recognized the value in keeping information hidden from Charles Town's colonists and government officials whose ambitions to go beyond trading solely with local Indians threatened to detract from Lord Ashley's own profitable trade with larger Indian communities in the interior. The fact that Lord Ashley held no intentions of leaving England must have heightened his anxieties over his ability to control the Indian trade.[281]

Language skills and familiarity with Indian culture benefitted Woodward and England's colonial efforts tremendously throughout the colony's first decades. Intimate details regarding exactly how Woodward learned Indian languages remain murky throughout the documentary record. However, it can be assumed that complete immersion in isolation from his own countrymen while living amongst the Indians at Port Royal allowed the young surgeon to quickly pick up their language. Much like the Spanish in Florida, the language variety extant in the southeast in the late seventeenth century proved challenging to the traders who travelled throughout the interior and hoped to establish trade with multiple linguistically related but dialectically dissimilar Indian communities. Europeans based out of Charles Town who chose to learn Indian languages in the late seventeenth century did so in ways similar to their Spanish counterparts in Florida, interacting with native speakers on a daily basis and turning Indian

[280] Lord Ashley to Henry Woodward, April 10, 1671, in *The Shaftesbury Papers and Other Records Relating to Carolina and the First Settlement on the Ashley River Prior to the Year 1676*, ed. Langdon Cheves, vol. 2 (Charleston: South Carolina Historical Society, 2000), 316-317.
[281] Gallay, 50.

captives into interpreters. However, they did not seem to display as much interest in creating grammars and instructional manuals in the late seventeenth century.[282]

According to St. Augustine Governor Juan Márquez Cabrera, by 1686 Woodward understood at least five Indian languages.[283] It seems more realistic, however, that Woodward obtained proficiency in the Muscogee language spoken by the Indians at Port Royal as well as in the trade languages that allowed them to participate in cross-cultural communication and exchange with their neighbors along the coast and in the interior. Indian women undoubtedly played an integral role in the linguistic training of traders who, like Woodward, Indians allowed to live in their communities for extended periods of time. When Robert Sandford exchanged Woodward for the cacique's son in 1666, the Indians at Port Royal held an elaborate, well-attended ceremony to welcome the newcomer into their community. The cacique reportedly placed Woodward upon a throne, showed him a large field of maize, and "brought [Woodward] the Sister of the Indian that [Sandford] had with [him] telling him that shee should tend him and dresse his victualls and be careful of him soe her Brother might be the better used amongst us."[284] Through gifting Woodward an Indian wife, the Port Royal cacique attempted to indoctrinate the young man into a long-standing southeastern tradition of extending kinship ties to solidifying group alliances. According to historian Michelle LeMaster, when mixed marriages proved successful, they bonded outsiders such as Woodward to his wife's village and "encouraged friendly relations between his nation and hers," and, in turn, balanced their

[282] Britons elsewhere in North America did create grammars, instructional manuals, and vocabulary and phrase books geared towards learning Indian languages. For example, in 1640s Providence founder Roger Williams created and published a phrase book of Narragansett filled with "culturally important language." For more information regarding Williams' efforts, see Roger Williams, *A Key into the Language of America* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1973). For a brief description of other English attempts to record and standardized Indian languages, see Ives Goddard, "The Description of the Native Languages of North America Before Boas," 18-19.
[283] Hahn, 32.
[284] Sandford, 105.

communities by turning strangers into family.[285] Additionally, Indian wives tutored their trader husbands in their community's language and culture, providing them, as historian Theda Perdue explains in her important study on Cherokee women, with "an entreé into Native society." Even if the Indian communities that traders married into did adopt them as kin, their wives that did maintain kinship ties "made [traders] less anomalous."[286] Indian communities who hoped to benefit from a relationship with the Charles Town colony used intermarriage to solidify their relationships and maintain the friendly, open lines of communication with outsiders that kinship and fictive kinship facilitated.

How receptive traders were to the teachings of their Indian wives and fictive kin depended completely on the individual. Woodward embraced the cultural information willingly given to him by the Indians with whom he brokered relationships. In the eyes of Indians who wished to forge relationships with the region's newcomers, this willingness to play by Indian rules made Woodward one of Charles Town's most approachable people. In 1674 a small group of Indians journeyed to Lord Ashley's Carolina plantation with hopes of establishing trade with the English colony. Andrew Percival, resident manager of the plantation, contacted Woodward immediately regarding the presence of these strangers.[287] Wasting little time, Woodward "went up the yawle, where [he] found according to [his] former conjecture…that they were the Westoes."[288] Until this point, the Westo had been actively raiding and taking captive Charles Town's Indian allies along the Atlantic coast. Hoping to open a dialogue with these aggressive newcomers, Lord Ashley tasked Woodward with settling a trade with the Westo "for furs and

---

[285]LeMaster, 149.
[286] Perdue, 81.
[287] Daniel W. Fagg, Jr., "St. Giles' Seigniory: The Earl of Shaftesbury's Carolina Plantation," *The South Carolina Historical Magazine* 71, no. 2 (1970): 117. Andrew Percival chose to alert Henry Woodward about the presence of Indian strangers due to the fact that he typically conducted trade with Indians from this plantation.
[288] Henry Woodward, "A Faithfull Relation of my Westoe Voyage," in *Narratives of Early Carolina, 1650-1708*, ed. A.S. Salley (1911; repr., Boston: Adamant Media Corporation, 2005) 130.

other commodities…for the supply of the plantation or advantageous for trade." He also asked Woodward to observe the Indians closely and "consider whether it be best to make a peace with the Westos or Cussitas." At the time, Lord Ashley believed the Cussita Indians, whose purported access to silver and pearls made them attractive in the eyes of proprietors and settlers alike, to be one of the most powerful Indian groups in the region.[289]

Much obliged to travel on behalf of Carolina's proprietor, Woodward followed the Westo to their town despite the fact that he failed to understand the language they spoke. He instead depended on his ability to read the symbolic actions and images that peppered Indian country, a skill that he undoubtedly acquired during his stay with the Indians at Port Royal years earlier. While traveling, Woodward noticed that the bark on multiple trees along the trail to the Westo's town had been hewed away. Upon closer inspection, the trader saw that the Indians "had drawn upon trees…the effigies of a beaver, a man, on horseback and guns." Woodward must have seen these symbols before in the region, for he correctly interpreted them as representing the Indians' "desire for friendship and commerce with" the settlers in Charles Town.[290] When Woodward and his guides reached the Westo town of Hickahaugau, the trader, ever the cultural sponge, listened as "the chief of the Indians made long speeches intimating their own strength…[and] desire for friendship." Even though Woodward did not understand the words his hosts spoke, he read the chief's gestures well enough to understand that they indeed wanted trade and friendship from the Charles Town colony. After the speeches concluded, the Westo "oiled [Woodward's] eyes and joints with bears oil" and gifted him various animal skins and copious amounts of food.[291] Careful not to offend his hosts, Woodward went along with all of the Westo's welcoming

---

[289] Instructions for Mr. Henry Woodward, May 23, 1674, in *The Shaftesbury Papers and Other Records Relating to Carolina and the First Settlement on the Ashley River Prior to the Year 1676*, ed. Langdon Cheves, vol. 2 (Charleston: South Carolina Historical Society, 2000), 445-446.
[290] Woodward, "Westoe Voyage," 130.
[291] Ibid., 132.

ceremonies. He also took the time to record information regarding the layout of Hickahaugau as well as the goods and people within its confines. The Westo's possession of "arms, ammunition, trading cloth and other trade from the north" communicated to the trader that this particular group had already established contact and trade with Europeans elsewhere in the region.

During his stay in the Westo town, Woodward, much to his pleasure, bared witness to a cross-cultural interaction between his hosts and two Savannah Indians. Speaking mutually unintelligible languages, the Savannah and Westo utilized the kinds of meaningful, elaborate gestures that had helped linguistically dissimilar Indian communities communicate for thousands of years prior to the arrival of Europeans. The visiting Indians informed the Westo of Cussita, Chickasaw, and Cherokee Indians' intentions to attack and destroy the Westo town. The Savannah hoped to entreat the friendship of the Westo by relaying this information and the Westo, taking their messages seriously, "expeditiously repaired their palisades" and "[kept] watch all night."[292] Pleased, the Westo treated the Savannah civilly for the remainder of their stay. Before Woodward's departure, the Westo Indians gifted him a young Indian boy. Although the exact significance of this exchange is unclear in the account, from a communication standpoint, this may represent an attempt on the part of the Westo to provide Woodward an individual capable of eventually translating verbal messages between the two groups. Woodward accepted the Westo's gift and, two days later, ten of the town's inhabitants escorted the trader and the young boy back to the St. Giles Plantation. Woodward did not allow his Westo guides to enter the plantation. The trader, satisfied with how the trip went, sent the Indians home, fully expecting to seem them again with "dear skins, furs, and young slaved" in tow.[293] Woodward's

[292] Ibid., 134.
[293] Ibid., 134.

ability to quickly and willingly adapt to all forms of Indian communication, a product of his contact-captive background, ensured his safe passage into Westo territory.

The success Woodward's Westo voyage cemented the trader's importance to Charles Town's Indian trade in the eyes of proprietors and colonists alike. Establishing ties with this particular group of Indians, though initially beneficial for Charles Town's proprietors, contributed to the start of what Alan Gallay heralds as "the most important factor affecting the South in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries"– the Indian slave trade.[294] "Until traders began to buy them," Theda Perdue explains, "war captives held no economic value" in Southeastern Indian society.[295] In an attempt to profit from labor demands in the West Indies and England's northern colonies, it is estimated that between 1670 and 1715 the British in Charles town sold anywhere from 24,000 to 51,000 southeastern Indians into slavery.[296] Although the Westo cannot be blamed entirely for the Indian slave trade (this was, after all, a group effort between Europeans and various southeastern Indian groups), their aggressive slaving campaigns did not go unnoticed by their new English friends to the south who were beginning to see the trade in human bodies as a legitimate way to obtain wealth, status, and privilege in the region. The Indian slave trade also altered the ways in which Europeans in Charles Town communicated (or did not communicate) with fellow colonists and neighboring Indians.

Throughout the late seventeenth century, traders, settlers, governing officials, and proprietors alike worked together to create a culture in which miscommunication and mistrust thrived. As the demand for labor grew in England's other American colonies, the Indian slave

---

[294] Gallay, 7.
[295] Perdue, 66.
[296] Gallay, 299.

trade quickly became “the most lucrative business in the colony.”[297] When Charles Town’s Lords Proprietors and governors forbid colonists from trading with Indians in the interior but continued to send trusted individuals like Henry Woodward on secret trade-related missions, tensions rose within in colony. Viewing the Lords Proprietors and, later, the Commissioners of the Indian trade as inconsistent and wholly unfair, those who wished to also profit from the Indian trade simply stopped listening to the leaders whom they felt largely ignored their needs. They instead engaged in their own campaigns of miscommunication in hopes of destroying the proprietors’ grip on the trade. Carolina planters James Moore, John Boone, and Maurice Matthews, also known as the Goose Creek, men often utilized miscommunication and misinformation to challenge the voices and agendas of their superiors.[298] These planters rose to power in the Charles Town Grand Council by garnering the support and trust of a great number of their fellow colonists who also hoped to see the destruction of the proprietors’ hold on the Indian trade. Here they shought to undermine the Lords Proprietors from within.[299]

Belonging to the council granted the proprietors’ dissenters powerful voices within Charles Town. It also gave them an avenue through which they could control the information that did and did not get back to the proprietors in England and undermine their competition within the colony, mimicking the past communicative actions of those whose power they wished to chip away at. On the ground in the colony, individuals like Henry Woodward reminded traders and would-be traders of the proprietors’ unevenness in dealing with colonists and, in turn, irritated Moore, Boone, and Matthews to no end. Like Woodward, the Goose Creek men also

---

[297] Eric E. Bowne, “Dr. Henry Woodward’s Role in Early Carolina Indian Relations,” in *Creating and Contesting Carolina: Proprietary Era Histories*, ed. Michelle LeMaster and Bradford J. Wood (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2013), 82.
[298] Moore, Boone, and Matthews resided near the Goose Creek branch of the Cooper River during the 1670s and 1680s.
[299] Gallay, 49-50.

communicated and formed connections with southeastern Indians.[300] For all intents and purposes, they considered Woodward their equal but, due to the wealth he amassed from trading with Indians on behalf on the proprietors, they considered him an enemy and rival and sought to weaken his position and influence within the colony through an elaborate smear campaign that led to a second war with the Westo in the early 1680s. The Goose Creek men also often played significant roles in inciting war between Indian communities around Charles Town by sending allied groups mixed messages. Inciting war, Eric Bowne convincingly argues, "resulted in a dual advantage– it not only produced prisoners for sale but also created fear of Indian uprisings against the colony."[301] In the early 1680s, the Goose Creek men prayed upon the fears of colonists and proprietors alike when they accused Woodward of inducing the Westos "for the destruction of certain of ye people of the settlement and the destroying and enslaving of the neighbor Indians to ye great discourage of ye people here and the better subversion of ye safety of ye settlement."[302] Meanwhile, these disgruntled traders furnished the Savannah Indians, whom they hoped would eventually replace the Westo as Goose Creek's premier Indian slave traders, with arms and ammunition in hopes that they would help defend the colony from a Westo attack.[303]

The Goose Creek men's accusation served two purposes. First, the Goose Creek men, along with other traders in Charles Town, had much impetus to misinform and cut ties with the colony's aggressive allies. The Westo regularly waged war against many of the region's Indian groups and blocked many of the major pathways that historically facilitated cross-cultural

---

[300] Council Meeting, December 10, 1675, in A.S. Salley, ed., *Journal of the Grand Council of South Carolina, August 25, 1671-June 24, 1680* (Columbia: Historical Commission of South Carolina, 1907), 79. During this meeting the council referred to John Boone as an "English interpreter."
[301] Bowne, 82.
[302] Council Meeting, June 1680, in A.S. Salley, ed., *Journal of the Grand Council of South Carolina, August 25, 1671-June 24, 1680* (Columbia: Historical Commission of South Carolina, 1907), 85.
[303] Bowne, 83.

contact and communication. This alliance made traders anxious, for it effectively inhibited them from establishing other potentially profitable friendships with Indians in the region.[304] The Goose Creek men also intended for their accusation to silence Woodward once and for all by damaging his sterling reputation as one of the colony's most trustworthy cultural mediators by linking him to the Westo's aggressive behavior towards Charles Town's Indian allies. The conditions upon which the Westo and Charles Town traders formed their alliance stipulated that the Westo were to leave the colony's neighboring Indians alone. During their meeting on June 1, 1680, the council, undoubtedly influenced by Moore, Boone, and Matthews, concluded that "the Westos and their confederates…contrary to their league with the government of [Charles Town] killed taken and destroyed severall of our neighbor Indians…to the great disturbance and discouragement of the people of this settlement and hazard of the security and peace thereof."[305] Whether or not the accusations made against Woodward and the Westo contained any truth, the Goose Creek men's messages did not fall in deaf ears. Using the Grand Council as a sounding board, the traders convinced the Lords Proprietors that Woodward lacked concern for the harmony and well-being of the colony and, by proxy, the benefits proprietors accrued from it. With the support of the proprietors and fearful colonists alike, Woodward lost his trade rights in the region and, adding insult to injury, the council fined him one thousand pounds.[306]

The Goose Creek men engaged in miscommunication again when they neglected to inform the Lords Proprietors of the outbreak of the Westo War. Instead, the proprietors learned of the conflict from "diverse letters from particular persons of Carolina" delivered by Captain

[304] Gallay, 55-56.
[305] Council Meeting, June 1, 1680, in A.S. Salley, ed., *Journal of the Grand Council of South Carolina, August 25, 1671-June 24, 1680* (Columbia: Historical Commission of South Carolina, 1907), 84.
[306] Council Meeting, June 1680, in A.S. Salley, ed., *Journal of the Grand Council of South Carolina, August 25, 1671-June 24, 1680* (Columbia: Historical Commission of South Carolina, 1907), 85. Bowne, 80-86.

Strong.[307] Irritated with this profound lack of communication, the proprietors instantly suspected the ulterior motives of some of the council members and requested to never again be left in the lurch in regard to Indian affairs between colonists and Indians. "We cannot well judge," the proprietors wrote in a letter to the council in March 1680, "whether this war was made upon a real necessity for the preservation of the colony, or to serve the ends of particular men by trade." They then demanded proof of Woodward's digressions and instructed the councilor to reestablish a peace with the Westo.[308] Again seeing the value of both spoken and written language, the proprietors requested that their orders be "translated into ye Indian languages, and a copy written in that language signed left with them and another kept to be read to them every time they come amongst us."[309] Though not entirely convinced of the councilors' accusations against Woodward, the proprietors, once his biggest champions at home in England, requested that any information regarding orders for the Westo be kept from him until tensions between the groups dissipated.[310]

Although the Goose Creek men ultimately succeeded in destroying the Charles Town's Anglo-Westo alliance that for years closed paths of communication and exchange into the southeast interior, their efforts to silence Woodward, although initially triumphant, came to naught.[311] In 1681 Woodward traveled to England and defended himself in front of a small group of proprietors who, still convinced of his usefulness as trader and culture broker, pardoned him with little hesitancy and permitted him to continue his travels into the interior.[312] Woodward again became an invaluable asset to the colony when Niquisaya, an influential Yamasee headman, guided the trader into the interior and helped him broker a relationship with his distant

---

[307] Proprietors to Governor and Council, March 7, 1680/1 in *Records in the British Public Record Office Relating to South Carolina, 1663-1782*, 1:115.
[308] Ibid., 115-116.
[309] Ibid., 107.
[310] Ibid., 107.
[311] For a lengthier discussion of the second West War (1680-1682), see Bowne, 83-85.
[312] Bowne, 86.

kin– the budding and increasingly influential Creek communities located in the Chattahoochee valley.[313] His actions upset not only the Goose Creek men who had hoped achieve the same ends by destroying Carolina ties with the Westo, but also the Spanish in Florida whose Apalachee Indian communities, with whom their influence was waning, lived along the Chattahoochee River.[314] Relying on his linguistic and interpretive skills, Woodward continued to forge alliances with powerful Indian communities in the interior throughout the 1680s.

Even though the proprietors' influence and control over the Indian trade in Carolina faded in the late 1680s, they, along with the disgruntled traders who actively chipped away at their power in the region, set a standard of behavior predicated on mistrust, misinformation, and miscommunication between Charles Town's settlers and governing officials that continued well into the eighteenth century. For the most part, the majority of traders moving in and out of Indian continued to communicate and behave according to their own agendas, and "the capture and exchange of slaves increased exponentially…as Englishmen sought entrance into the trade and native groups sought the firearms necessary for protection against raiders."[315] Although some played more active roles in the destructive colonial shenanigans of proprietors and settlers, many of the Southeastern Indians who resided in the region watched as communication between Charles Town's settlers broke down over and over again. When Charles Town's culture of mistrust and miscommunication threatened to disrupt near and distant Indian communities, Indians raised their voices and attempted to restore balance to the region through peaceful and

[313] Bowne, 86-87.
[314] "Spaniards and missionized peoples such as the Apalachee," John Hahn points out, "had maintained a desultory commerce with towns in the vicinity of [the Chattahoochee valley]...and Spaniards regarded them as part of their world." For more information, see Hann, "Cloak and Dagger in Apalachicole Province in Early 1686," *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 78, no. 1 (1999): 74.
[315] Bowne, 84.

violent ways, relying on both native and European methods of communication and miscommunication to do so.

Throughout the last decade of the seventeenth century colonists and traders continued to defy the proprietary government in order to satisfy their own colonial ambitions. Traders, like the Spanish missionaries described above, typically sustained the longest prolonged contact with the colony's Indian trade partners. The Lords Proprietors lost more and more control over Charles Town's Anglo-Indian relations and exchanges as these individuals, aware of how irrelevant the proprietors' voices in the colony had become, more or less behaved however they wanted to. Some, like Henry Woodward, continued to obtain fluency in Indian languages and gain more knowledge regarding their cultures. Others, however, took a less holistic approach to learning the languages and cultural nuances of their current and potential trade partners. For many of the traders turned cultural mediators that came after Woodward, full fluency in Indian languages became less of a necessity. These traders, James Axtell argues, "regarded native languages as relatively crude tools to do a job for their employers or creditors."[316] With the exception of the individuals who ran trade warehouses year-round, later generations of traders also spent less time immersed in the Indian communities they viewed as imperative to their financial survival located in the interior, visiting them, as William Ramsey points out, only twice a year.[317] The majority of Charles Town traders also opted to learn the southeastern trade pidgins and jargons that stripped down Indian languages to their simplest elements and "suppressed most of the features that made [them] distinctive and therefore difficult for strangers to learn."[318] Interestingly enough, by deciding to not obtain full fluency in Indian languages, these traders, whether they fully realized it or not, adopted a form of communication that historically enabled exchange between

[316] Axtell, 48.
[317] Ramsey, 24.
[318] Axtell, 29.

linguistically dissimilar southeastern Mississippian Indian communities. The adoption of familiar, ancient forms of communication may help to explain why Indian communities tolerated the presence of non-native speakers for as long as they did. However, traders' adoption of simplified languages may also help to explain the lack of care often taken when interacting with Indian groups and individuals.

Regardless of whether or not they obtained fluency in Indian languages or relied instead on trade languages, traders continued to merge Indian and European methods of communication to ensure their economic survival in the region well into the early eighteenth century. Much like their predecessors in the 1670s and 1680s, traders seldom ever behaved and communicated in the same ways towards southeastern Indian communities and inconsistencies in approaches and agendas continued to provoke conflicts between and with Indian communities around Charles Town. The colony's governing officials, historian William Ramsey argues pointedly in his study on the origins of the Yamasee War, did share similar concerns with their Indian neighbors over the importance of maintaining balance and peace within their communities and "regard[ed] the voices and actions of 'the multitude of traders' as a dangerous threat to the colony's safety and diplomatic agenda."[319] The behavior of individuals whom officials thought "[led] loose, vicious lives, to the scandal of the Christian religion, and do likewise oppress the people among whom they live" would surely "tend to the destruction of this province."[320] Tired of inconsistencies in traders' behavior and fearful of Indian uprisings, in 1707 Charles Town's Commons House of Assembly, hoping to create a single diplomatic voice for Charles Town, passed an act that

[319] Ramsey, 80.
[320] "An Act for Regulating the Indian Trade and Making it Safe to the Public," July 19, 1707, Act 269, in *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina*, 2: 309.

established a board of nine to regulate the voices and actions of those trading in and around the colony.[321]

Regulating discourse and exchange was no small task in a region riddled with so many different voices and agendas. Regulatory institutions and the people who ran them had a difficult time dismantling the culture of miscommunication and mistrust built by the colony's first settlers and proprietors. In an attempt to assuage issues caused by so many competing voices, the Commons House of Assembly tasked nine individuals, known as the Commissioners of the Indian trade, with enforcing "An Act For Regulating the Indian Trade and Making it Safe to the Public." The act required traders to purchase licenses once a year at the cost of eight pounds and forbid them from purchasing and selling free Indians as slaves. The act also required the commissioners to meet in Charles Town at least two times in a given month to listen to grievances regarding the Indian trade by Indians and colonists alike.[322] Intended to curve trader miscommunication, misconduct, and violence towards allied Indians, the 1707 Act, as Alan Gallay and William Ramsey posit, incited more conflicts than it settled. Traders and agents alike played important roles in the communicative breakdowns of the early eighteenth century. Sensing unfairness in the system, disgruntled traders responded to regulation much like their predecessors– they stopped listening, behaved according to their own interests, and tried to silence their rivals' voices. Although intended as a venue in which Indians could air grievances about their resident traders, between 1710 and 1715 more European traders utilized the bi-monthly meetings of the Commissioners of the Indian Trade to lodge complaints against each other. Although weighted more heavily towards the voices of European traders, the *Journals of*

---

[321] William L. McDowell and South Carolina, *Journals of the Commissioners of the Indian Trade, September 20, 1710-August 29, 1718* (Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department, 1955), viii. Ramsey, 82.
[322] Gallay, 217. "An Act for Regulating the Indian Trade and Making it Safe to the Public," July 19, 1707, Act 269, in *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina*, 2: 309-316.

the Commissioners of the Indian Trade provide invaluable glimpses into the cross-cultural communicative practices that took place prior to the start of the Yamasee War. The *Journals* also highlight some of the ways in which, like their Spanish counterparts in Florida, both traders and Indians co-opted each other's forms of communication to make their voices heard to regulatory agencies.

Some of the cases brought before the commissioners between 1710 and 1715 highlight traders' and commissioners' recognition that effective cross-cultural communication with southeastern Indians required balance, care, and attention to Indian protocol.[323] In May 1711 the commissioners received a letter from the Indian town of Pocotaligo. This prominent Yamasee community, located just north of Port Royal, settled along the Savannah River during the late seventeenth century and maintained close, though often uneasy, ties with the Scots settlement of Stuart Town.[324] Throughout the early eighteenth century the Yamasee, along with Creek groups in the interior, played significant roles in Stuart Town and Charles Town's Indian trade. They participated in slave raids into Spanish mission Indian communities along the coast and in Florida, exchanging captives for European goods while simultaneously enacting revenge on communities who had attacked them in the late 1690s.[325] The Yamasee quickly became one of the colony's most vital allies.[326] However, as the *Journals* show, they also "suffered disproportionately from the traders' abuses."[327] In the 1711 letter, the Yamasee at Pocotaligo complained about the actions of a Captian Peterson, whose actions the commissioners "look[ed] on as the highest crimes he could be guilty of." In response to these complaints, the

[323] Ramsey, 79.
[324] The Yamasee consisted of groups of Muskogee speaking refugees displaced by Westo Indian slave raids. They settled initially along the South Carolina-Georgia boarder in the early 1660s. For more information see John E. Worth, "Yamasee," in *Handbook of North American Indians Volume 14*, ed. Raymond D. Fogelson (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institute, 2004), 245.
[325] Gallay, 84-85.
[326] Gallay, 201.
[327] Hahn, 81.

commissioners ordered the current Indian agent, John Wright, to mitigate a peace between the Yamasee and their traders. By reminding Wright that "peace and quietness" amongst the Yamasee ensured "the peace and tranquility of the province," the commissioners helped to reiterate the idea of balance and harmony within Indian communities. Although they may not have fully understood the nuances of what was required to maintain harmony within Indian communities (and many did not), years spent with southeastern Indians left mediators at least a little aware of the fact that structure within native communities mattered.

Despite commissioners' requests to use the discourse of peace over war, traders continued to publicly humiliate caciques, enslave free Indians, attack Indian women, and trade without licenses between 1707 and 1715. Debt to traders also placed a massive strain on Ango-Indian relations. Historian Verner Crane estimated that by 1711, Southeastern Indians were indebted to Charles Town traders approximately 100,000 deerskins and traders often threatened to enslave debtors' kin and allies as repayment.[328] Much like the Indian communities in Florida who sustained contact with the Spanish, the Indians who interacted with traders in and around Charles Town also actively absorbed and processed information and determined how traders would (and would not) fit into their communities. They easily adopted more formal English systems of communication when they wanted to and, as evidenced by the letter purportedly received by the commissioners in 1711, also went through formal European channels to combat threatening traders. Between 1710 and 1714 roughly thirty cases in which Indians aired grievances regarding traders' unevenness in interacting with their communities through the commissioners occurred.[329] It became apparent, though, that the commissioners simply could no keep their traders, nor their Indian agents, in order and Southeastern Indians struggled to "[listen]

[328] Verner Crane, *The Southern Frontier, 1670-1732* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1929), 165-167.
[329] Ramsey, 14-15.

for the official voice of South Carolina."[330] The years leading up to the outbreak of the Yamasee War highlight the ways in which Southeastern Indians utilized peaceful and violent methods to communicate distress and anxiety over the lack of balance that plagued their communities.

Some of Charles Town's neighboring Indian communities expressed distress over imbalance by threatening to leave the homes and communities they built around the colony. In September 1711 an Indian woman named Cundy, a wife of one of Charles Town's traders, informed commissioner William Brett that the "Savanas intended to go away."[331] Although the Savannahs denied Cundy's report, the threat of losing this group caused enough alarm amongst commissioners to perform and investigation into the matter. When Southeastern Indians threatened to "vote with their feet" and remove themselves from the colony's drama, Charles Town officials fretted over losing the alliances that secured their trade, protection, and access to Indian slaves. Other colonists living in and around Charles Town also sensed brewing Yamasee tensions. By the second decade of the eighteenth century, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG) attempts to convert Charles Town's Indians and their neighbors to Christianity were in full swing. When writing to the secretary of the SPG in 1712, missionary Francis Le Jau reflected on the attitudes of the Yamasee Indians. Perceiving "something cloudy in their looks", Le Jau described the Yamasee as discontent and "haughty as of late."[332] Tensions between Yamasee communities and Charles Town traders continued to rise over the years

[330] Ramsey, 79. Indian Agents were not permitted to engage in trade with Indians or accept presents, fees, bribes, or rewards from Indian communities for their services. Like the traders the commissioners aspired to regulate, Indian agents behaved just as inconsistently when dealing with Indian communities. Nowhere was this difference more evident than in the communicative successes and failures of John Wright and Thomas Nairne. Nairne and Wright alternated as Indian agent between 1707 and 1715 and much like the Goose Creek men during the 1680s, they used their positions to discredit rival traders and each other.

[331] September 12, 1711, in *The Colonial Records of South Carolina: Journals of the Commissioners of the Indian Trade*, ed. W.L. McDowell (Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department, 1955), 17.

[332] Francis Le Jau to the Secretary, February 20, 1712, in *The Carolina Chronicle of Dr. Francis Le Jau, 1706-1717*, ed. Frank J. Klingberg (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1956), 109. For more on Le Jau and the Yamasee, see Ramsey, "'Something Cloudy in their Looks': The Origins of the Yamasee War Reconsidered," *The Journal of American History* 90, no. 2 (2003): 44-75.

following Le Jau's letter. Fearing the loss of these important allies, the Commissioners of the Indian Trade sent a small group of prominent traders and agents to Pocotaligo on April 14, 1715 in order to ensure the Yamasees, Ocheses, Apalachees, and Yuchis of Governor Charles Craven's desire to "[offer] them every kind of satisfaction for the wrong[s] which had been done to them."[333] The forms of communication that ensued ignited one of the region's most concerted pan-Indian efforts to re-establish balance by violently ousting poisonous persons who dwelled within their communities– the Yamasee War.

The commissioners sent both Thomas Nairne and John Wright, who up until 1715 actively engaged in campaigns to smear each other's names and reputations all over the colony, to Pocotaligo to help re-establish amity between the two communities. Nairne, Wright, and several other prominent traders delivered the colony's message of peace, which the Yamasee seemed to accept when they "shook hands in token of friendship, and drank with them as usual, after which the traders retired each to his own dwelling."[334] According to a letter written to Charles Town's governor Charles Craven by the "King" of the upper Yamasee town of Huspah, at some point in the night John Wright informed his hosts that "white men would come and [fetch]…the Yamasees in one night, and that they would hang four of their head men and take all the rest of them for slaves, and that he would send them all off the county."[335] Vexed, the Yamasee responded the next morning by lodging an extremely bloody campaign of violence. The Yamasee adorned their bodies with streaks of red and black paint and "without mercy" seized and killed the majority of the visiting agents and traders. Though seriously injured (Yamasee Indians shot him in the neck and back), Captain Burage managed to escape the attack

---

[333] "Letter of Charles Rodd to His Employer in London," May 8, 1715, in *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Office Series: American and West Indies, August 1714-December 1715*, 28:167-168.
[334] "Letter of Charles Rodd to His Employer in London," May 8, 1715, in *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Office Series: American and West Indies, August 1714-December 1715*, 28:167-168.
[335] Ramsey, 228.

and warned colonists in Port Royal and Charles Town about the Indian uprising and many colonists fled the region. Indian warriors burned empty houses to the ground and slew unattended livestock indiscriminately. Yamasee warriors subjected colonists who did not flee in time to torture. "The Indians," one trader who managed to escape Yamasee assaults on English towns reported, "burned the men, and made them die in torture. They treated the women in the most shameful manner in the world. And when these poor wretched cried O Lord! O my God! they danced and repeated the same words mocking them."[336] For two years after the incident at Pocotaligo, Yamasee Indians and their Catawba, Cherokee, Upper Creek, Lower Creek, Choctaw, Euchee, Savannah, and Choctaw allies waged war on Carolina traders.[337]

The violence Indians directed at Carolina's traders at the onset of the Yamasee War sent many different messages to the European colonists and governing officials who resided in and around Charles Town. Interestingly, they highlight a reliance on primarily Indian forms of communication to restore balance and purity to communities. For Southeastern Indians, violence held restorative powers and helped to re-establish balance within and between communities. In the origin myths examined in the first chapter of this thesis, violence often played a large role in the creation myths and legends of the Southeastern Indians.[338] Fueled by vengeance and the desire to right past wrongs, when Yamasee warriors prepared to attack traders and their livestock, they chose to paint parts of their bodies red to signify action, aggression, and

---

[336] "Letter of Charles Rodd to His Employer in London," May 8, 1715, in *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Office Series: American and West Indies, August 1714-December 1715*, 28:167-168.
[337] Ramsey, 101. Although allied against Charles Town's abusive traders, not all of the Indian groups mentioned joined the war effort at once. According to Ramsey, the Cawtabas, Cherokees, Upper Creeks, and Choctaws "delayed their entry into the war for weeks or even months after the first shots were fired." In addition, Ramsey argues, "various groups appeared to have pursued distinctive and military and diplomatic objectives that set them apart from other participants."
[338] Matthew H. Jennings, "Violence in a Shattered World," in *Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone: The Colonial Indian Slave Trade and Regional Instability in the American South*, ed. Robbie Ethridge and Sheri M. Shuck-Hall (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), 272.

retribution.[339] The torture and killing of captives also played into Indian ideas of vengeance that dated back to the Mississippian era.[340] That the Yamasee chose to taunt their victims in English likely served to heighten the terror of their actions.

The communicative actions and decisions utilized by the Yamasee before and during the war were not just random acts of wanton destruction. Calculated and specific, these actions highlight just how strong a grip Southeastern Indians still felt they had on the region in the early eighteenth century.[341] Problems with the Carolina colony brought together culturally and linguistically disparate Indian voices. The multitude of conflicting voices coming out of Charles Town caused problems for many of the region's southeastern Indian communities. In his brief but compelling discussion of the Yamasee War, historian Joseph Hall argues that although the Yamasee experienced violence and debt at the hands of Charles Town traders as a local crisis, "through conversation they recognized it as a regional one."[342] Much to the distress of many Europeans weary of contacts between Indian communities, linguistically and culturally disparate Indian groups and individuals continued to meet and exchange information on the ancient paths and waterways that connected the region. Although many of the Indian groups who allied with the Yamasee did so for their own reasons and according to their own rules and protocol, they likely worked out the details of the pan-Indian assault on Charles Town traders on paths as well as in other ancient structures (e.g. council houses) that for thousands of years helped to facilitate cross-cultural communication between communities. The coordinated efforts of Indians did not escape the attention of the colonists watched as Indians laid their homes to waste. According to Charles Rodd, from whose account the majority of the information regarding the earliest

[339] Hudson, *Creek Paths and Federal Roads*, 11.
[340] Hudson, *The Southeastern Indians*, 255.
[341] Ramsey, 9.
[342] Hall, 122.

moments of the Yamasee war comes from, Indian prisoners informed colonists that the Indians had been preparing this assault for years and that the Yamasee and their allies "design[ed] to seize the whole continent" and kill or chase out all of the Europeans in it.[343]

It is worth noting that Indians who allied with the Yamasee during the conflict did not view all Carolinians with hostility. Although the Yamasee had major issues with the traders who misbehaved in their communities, the letter from the Huspah King mentioned briefly above shows that they did not hold any major grudges against the colony's governor. The Indians at Huspah Town at least claimed to love Charles Craven and purportedly considered him their brother.[344] The Huspah King may have adopted a European form of communication (letter writing) on that particular day to best get through the governor whose life he hoped to spare. Although the king's exact intentions behind writing the letter murky at best, when considering the Southeastern Indians' preoccupation with maintaining balance and purity within their communities, the Yamasee's violent attacks on traders may have also served as a means to rid their friends and families living in European communities of poisonous individuals. In this way, the war cleansed both communities of impurities.

As shown above, communication between Carolinians and Indians broke down in fantastic and violent ways prior to the start of the Yamasee War. The culture of mistrust and miscommunication fostered in the earliest years of the colony's existence persisted into the eighteenth century and instilled in traders the disruptive, inconsistent behavioral patterns that unhinged and threatened to poison the Indian communities with whom they wished to befriend, trade with, and enslave. When this culture of mistrust and miscommunication became too unbearable, Indians stepped in and attempted to restore balance to the region in both peaceful

---

[343] "Letter of Charles Rodd to His Employer in London," May 8, 1715, in *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Office Series: American and West Indies, August 1714-December 1715*, 28: 169.
[344] Ramsey, 228.

and violent ways. Southeastern Indians continued to rely on Indian and European strategies of communication and miscommunication throughout the course of the Yamasee War.[345] The war ended in 1717 when the Creek Confederacy brokered a peace with governing officials of the much-weakened Charles Town colony and helped to oust the Yamasee presence in the Carolinas. Prior to this, Cherokees and Chickasaws, desiring peace, negotiated the terms of their friendships with the colony through gifting.[346]

The communicative decisions that contributed to the start of the Yamasee War had lasting effects on South Carolina and the Europeans who lived within its bounds. Devastated by the war and the loss of so many traders and cultural mediators, Carolinians relearned how to communicate with Southeastern Indians in order to ensure their physical and economic survival in a region they still wished to call home. This involved ending the trade in Indian slaves once and for all.[347] The war also strengthened the Creek, Chickasaw, and Cherokee presences in the region. Many communities adopted policies of neutrality when dealing with competing European outsiders and maintained strong voices in matters concerning Anglo-Indian relations.[348] Many Yamasee Indians relocated to Spanish Florida after the war and, by the 1730s, only two communities located on the south end of St. Augustine existed.[349]

Throughout the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, individuals who operated out of local European settlements did not bend quite as regularly or willingly to Indian modes and methods of cross-cultural communication. Unlike the contact captives who came before them,

---

[345] For an in-depth look into the trajectory of the war as well as its consequences, see William Ramsey's *The Yamasee War* and Alan Gallay's *The Indian Slave Trade*.
[346] Hall, 126.
[347] Gallay, 340-341.
[348] See Hahn's *The Invention of the Creek Nation* for more of the strengths and weaknesses of neutrality in Creek foreign policy.
[349] John Worth, "Yamasee," in *Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 14: Southeast*, ed. Raymond Fogelson and William C. Sturtevant (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 2004), 252.

settled Europeans often did not perceive a holistic understanding of Indian communities as especially beneficial to their survival in the region. For Europeans, the establishment of settlements transformed what was once foreign and strange into something decidedly more familiar and overflowing with potential. Establishing a local home base quelled some of the anxieties that ran rampant during each group's exploratory phase. Many missionaries and traders turned mediators did seem to obtain fluency in Indian languages and grasp the nuances of Indian cultures on their own terms. However, they continued, to their detriment, to focus on individual parts of a cultural whole to meet their own ends. In the case of missionaries operating in and around Florida's provinces, they fully believed that they were doing a service to their converts and potential converts in their attempts to dismantle native religions and all of their trappings. For Europeans in Charles Town, the economic needs of the individual always seemed to trump those of the community. Regardless of intentions, European cultural mediators in Spanish Florida and British Carolina shared many of the same experiences when attempting to communicate across cultures.

"The world becomes less safe," posits historian Robert Galgano, "when the strategies of cultural negotiation break down and when people cannot establish a framework for dialogue."[350] Nowhere are Galgano's eloquent words more evident than in the communicative actions that took place between natives and newcomers in the colonial southeast. Southeastern Indians remained active agents of their lives when faced with the drama and disharmony that often accompanied European settlements and the individuals who populated them. Although they sometimes borrowed techniques and methods from their European counterparts, Southeastern Indians continued to also rely on methods of communication predicated on maintaining balance and harmony within and between communities developed during the Mississippian period well

[350] Galgano, 10.

into the eighteenth century. In this way, they Southeastern Indians continued to harmonize crisis and, many hoped, order chaos. They also helped to make and remake cross-cultural communication in the colonial era.

Epilogue: Still Balancing

"The key to the continent," historian James Axtell pointedly argues when considering colonial struggles in the America, "was information."[351] For all culture groups who resided in the pre-colonial and colonial Southeast, the keys to information included effective language and communication. Southeastern Indians remained active agents of their lives when faced with the drama and disharmony that often accompanied European settlements and the individuals who populated them. Although they sometimes borrowed techniques and methods from their European counterparts when they found it convenient, Southeastern Indians continued to rely on methods of communication developed during the Mississippian period predicated on maintaining balance and harmony between and within communities. Whether captives or colonists, missionaries or traders, Europeans who recognized the importance of balance and harmony to the Indian communities with whom they hoped to establish relationships and connections with often adjusted their communicative tactics in ways that gelled better with Indian notions of exchange and communication. The ways in which individuals (both English and Indian) learned languages deeply impacted the ways in which they persuaded, perceived, misperceived, interpreted, and misinterpreted those around them.[352] When settled Europeans ignored fundamental elements of Indians' worldviews, chaos typically ensued for all and it was often up to Indian communities to restore balance.

[351]Axtell, 16.
[352] Deloria: 16.

Balance, harmony, and language mattered to the Southeastern Indians who fostered or destroyed cross-cultural relationships, indoctrinated or killed captives, and accepted or denied the presence of non-native outsiders in their communities. Although this thesis focuses primarily on interactions between Europeans and Indians, another set of non-native voices existed and played active roles in cross-cultural communication in the region. For both the willing and coerced Africans who found themselves in the Americas, anxiety played just as big a role in their communicative decisions regarding Europeans and Indians. For this under-observed group of colonial actors, survival often meant determining which culture group posed the least amount of threat to their well-being. Future studies of language and communication in the Southeast will benefit greatly from an examination of the ways in which competing African voices, agendas, and anxieties worked with and against dialogic processes in the region.[353] Although this current study omits their voices in order to better synthesize the vast amounts of information regarding European-Indian cross-cultural communication, it fully recognizes their importance to the development of the region.

Ideas and anxieties concerning balance and language continue to occupy contemporary American Indian minds. "How all of us as individuals place ourselves within a system of relationships," Donald Fixico eloquently contends, "is very important for understanding our own thinking about achieving balance within oneself and within the community…it is understanding one's relationships that is paramount to living a life in the beauty of balance and harmony."[354] Fixico's words are especially compelling when considering the ways in which non-native

---

[353] A handful of scholars have helped to illuminate the active roles of African men and women in colonial St. Augustine and Charles Town. See Peter Wood, *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina From 1670 Through the Stono Rebellion* (New York: Norton & Company, 1974); Jane Landers, *Black Society in Spanish Florida* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999); and Ira Berlin, *Generations of Captivity: A History of African-American Slaves* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2003).
[354] Fixico, 7.

individuals and governments tried to systematically dismantle the homes, languages, and cultures of North American Indians in the early nineteenth century after the United States adopted policies of Indian removal. Concerned over groups of people whom they felt were on the brink of extinction, reformers in the late nineteenth century attempted to destroy all facets of Indian cultures that kept traditional beliefs and values intact in order to fully assimilate them into the Anglo-American mainstream. Once stripped of their cultural identities, reformers felt that they could mold Indians into model U.S. citizens.[355] In these attempts to "kill the Indian and save the man," Indian languages suffered tremendously due, in large part, to the Indian boarding school movement that removed Indian children from their homes and punished them for speaking their native languages.[356]

U.S. assaults on Indian languages in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries created a plethora of cultural identity issues that American Indians, including Donald Fixico, still grapple with today. Historian Colin Calloway points out that the boarding school movement continually affects Indian people as they "struggle to revive languages that were almost destroyed and restore pride in a heritage that was denied any worth for so long."[357] Linguistic anthropologists Shirley Silver and Wick R. Miller conclude that even though a number of Indian languages thrive today, a majority of languages spoken in the Americas at large do indeed face an uncertain future.[358] However, government means of language maintenance such as the 1968 Bilingual Education Act and the 1990 Native American Language Act serve as beacons of hope for all Indian language speakers. Silver and Miller go on to point out that by 1986 there were

---

[355] Colin G. Calloway, *First Peoples: A Documentary Survey of American Indian History* (Bedford: St. Martin's, 2007), 404-405.
[356] Calloway, 404.
[357] Calloway, 390.
[358] Shirley Silver and Wick R. Miller, *American Indian Languages: Cultural and Social Contexts* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1997), 8.

already "eighty-nine projects covering fifty-five Indian languages with a total enrollment of 14,384 Indian students."[359] These numbers are encouraging, as are the creative initiatives taken by many groups in Indian country today to counteract past violence against Indian languages. In this way, Southeastern Indians today, like their Mississippian and colonial ancestors, continue the long tradition of making order out of chaos, harmony out of crisis.

---

[359] Silver and Miller, 11.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Adair, James. *The History of the American Indians*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2005.

Bandera, Juan de la. "The 'Long' Bandera Relation." In *The Juan Pardo Expeditions: Exploration of the Carolinas and Tennessee, 1566-1568,* edited by Charles Hudson, 205-298. Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2005.

Bland, Edward, Abraham Woode, Elias Pennant, and Sackford Brewster. "The Discovery of New Brittaine, 1650." In *Narratives of Early Carolina, 1650-1708*, edited by Alexander S. Salley, 5-19. Boston: Adamant Media Corporation, 2005.

Bull, Stephen. Stephen Bull to Lord Ashley, September 12, 1670. In *The Shaftesbury Papers and Other Records Relating to Carolina and the First Settlement on the Ashley River Prior to the Year 1676*, edited by Langdon Cheves. Charleston: South Carolina Historical Society, 2000.

Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Office Series: American and West Indies, August 1714-December 1715. Vol. 28. London: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1928.

Carmenatri, Juan. Fray Juan de Carmenatri and Others to the King, December 5, 169. In *Missions to the Calusa*, edited by John H. Hann. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1991.

Cooper, Ashley Anderson. Instructions for Mr. Henry Woodward, May 23, 1674. In *The Shaftesbury Papers and Other Records Relating to Carolina and the First Settlement on the Ashley River Prior to the Year 1676*, edited by Langdon Cheves. Charleston: South Carolina Historical Society, 2000.

Cooper, Ashley Anderson. Lord Ashley to Henry Woodward, April 10, 1671. In *The Shaftesbury Papers and Other Records Relating to Carolina and the First Settlement on the Ashley River Prior to the Year 1676*, edited by Langdon Cheves. Charleston: South Carolina Historical Society, 2000.

The Council to the Lords Proprietors, September 11, 1670. In *The Shaftesbury Papers and Other Records Relating to Carolina and the First Settlement on the Ashley River Prior to the*

Year 1676, edited by Langdon Cheves. Charleston: South Carolina Historical Society, 2000.

Cruz, Juan de la. Testimony of Juan de la Cruz, June 9, 1705. In *Here They Once Stood: The Tragic End of the Apalachee Missions*, edited by Mark F. Boyd, Hale G. Smith, and John W. Griffin. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1951.

Don Patricio, Cacique of Ivitachuco, and Don Andrés, Cacique of San Luis, to the King, February 12, 1699. In *Here They Once Stood: The Tragic End of the Apalachee Missions*, edited by Mark F. Boyd, Hale G. Smith, and John W. Griffin. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1951.

First Extract of Dispatches Relating to the Proposed Calusa Mission, 1695. In *Missions to the Calusa*, edited by John H. Hann. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1991.

First Set of the Constitutions for the Government of Carolina, 1699. In *The Shaftesbury Papers and Other Records Relating to Carolina and the First Settlement on the Ashley River Prior to the Year 1676*, edited by Langdon Cheves. Charleston: South Carolina Historical Society, 2000.

Gentleman of Elvas. "True Relation of the Hardships Suffered by Governor Hernando de Soto & Certain Portuguese Gentlemen During the Discovery of the Province of Florida," translated and edited by James Alexander Robertson. In *The De Soto Chronicles: The Expedition of Hernando de Soto to North America in 1539-1543, Volume 1*, edited by Lawrence A. Clayton, Vernon James Knight Jr., and Edward C. Moore, 2 vols., 19-219. Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1995.

Great Britain, and South Carolina. *Records in the British Public Record Office Relating to South Carolina, 1663-1782*. Columbia, S.C.: Department of Archives and History, 1900.

Hilton, William. "A Relation of a Discovery." In *Narratives of Early Carolina, 1650-1708*, edited by A.S. Salley, 31-61. Boston: Adamant Media Corporation, 2005.

Johnston, A.S., ed. *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina,* vol. 2. Columbia: A.S. Johnston, 1887.

Le Jau, Francis. *The Carolina Chronicle of Dr. Francis Le Jau, 1706-1717*. Ed. Frank J. Klingberg. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1956.

Locke, John. *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924.

Mancera, Marqués. "Carta del virrey Marqués de Mancera." May 1668, Archivo General de Indias, Mexico, 42, N.59.

McDowell, William L., ed. *The Colonial Records of South Carolina: Journals of the Commissioners of the Indian Trade, September 20, 1710-August 29, 1718*. Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department, 1955.

Nairne, Thomas. *Nairne's Muskhogean Journals: The 1708 Expedition to the Mississippi River*. Edited by Alexander Moore. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1988.

Quiroga y Losada, Diego de. Governor Diego de Quiroga y Losada to the King, April 1, 1688. In *Missions to the Calusa*, edited by John H. Hann. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1991.

Rangel, Rodrigo. "Account of the Northern Conquest and Discovery of Hernando de Soto," translated and edited by John E. Worth. In *The De Soto Chronicles: The Expedition of Hernando de Soto to North America in 1539-1543, Volume 1*, edited by Lawrence A. Clayton, Vernon James Knight Jr., and Edward C. Moore, 2 vols., 247-306. Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1995.

Rogel, Juan. Father Juan Rogel to Father Jerónimo Ruiz del Portillo, April 25, 1568. In *Missions to the Calusa*, edited by John H. Hann. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1991.

Salley, A.S., ed. *Journal of the Grand Council of South Carolina, August 25, 1671-June 24, 1680*. Columbia: Historical Commission of South Carolina, 1907.

Sandford, Robert. "A Relation of a Voyage on the Coast of the Province of Carolina, 1666." In *Narratives of Early Carolina, 1650-1708*, edited by A.S. Salley, 75-108. Boston: Adamant Media Corporation, 2005.

Sayle, William, Joseph West, Ralph Marshall, Joseph Dalton, and William Scrivener to the Lords Proprietors, September 11, 1670. In *The Shaftesbury Papers and Other Records Relating to Carolina and the First Settlement on the Ashley River Prior to the Year 1676*, edited by Langdon Cheves. Charleston: South Carolina Historical Society, 2000.

Second Extract of Dispatches Relating to the Proposed Calusa Mission, 1695. In *Missions to the Calusa*, edited by John H. Hann. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1991.

Soto, Hernando de. "Letter of Hernando de Soto at Tampa Bay to the Justice and Board of Magistrates in Santiago de Cuba." In *The De Soto Chronicles: The Expedition of Hernando de Soto to North America in 1539-1543*, *Volume 1*, edited by Lawrence A. Clayton, Vernon James Knight, Jr., and Edward C. Moore, 375-378. Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1993.

Stewart, John. John Stewart to Queen Anne, October 1711. AC, microfilm copies. Manuscript Reading Room, Library of Congress, C13C, 2.

Woodward, Henry. “A Faithfull Relation of my Westoe Voyage.” In *Narratives of Early Carolina, 1650-1708*, edited by A.S. Salley, 125-134. Boston: Adamant Media Corporation, 2005.

Woodward, Henry. Henry Woodward to Sir John Yeamans, September 10, 1670. In *The Shaftesbury Papers and Other Records Relating to Carolina and the First Settlement on the Ashley River Prior to the Year 1676*, edited by Langdon Cheves. Charleston: South Carolina Historical Society, 2000.

Woodward, Henry. “Dr. Henry Woodward to Locke, 12 November 1675.” In *The Correspondence of John Locke*, edited by E. S. de Beer, 431-433. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976.

Yeamans, John. From Sir John Yeamans, November 15, 1670. In *The Shaftesbury Papers and Other Records Relating to Carolina and the First Settlement on the Ashley River Prior to the Year 1676*, edited by Langdon Cheves. Charleston: South Carolina Historical Society, 2000.

Zúñiga. Order from Governor Zúñiga y Zerda, March 14, 1701. In *Here They Once Stood: The Tragic End of the Apalachee Missions*, edited by Mark F. Boyd, Hale G. Smith, and John W. Griffin. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1951.

Secondary Sources

Alt, Susan M. “Unwilling Immigrants: Culture, Change, and the ‘Other’ in Mississippian Societies.” In *Invisible Citizens: Captives and Their Consequences*, edited by Catherine M. Cameron, 205-222. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2008.

Ashley, Keith. “Early St. Johns II Interaction, Exchange, and Politics: A View From Northeastern Florida.” In *Late Prehistoric Florida: Archaeology at the Edge of the Mississippian World*, edited by Keith Ashley and Nancy Marie White, 100-125. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2012.

Axtell, James. “Babel of Tongues: Communicating with the Indians in Eastern North America.” In *The Language Encounter in the Americas, 1492-1800*, edited by Edward G. Gray and Norman Fiering, 15-60. New York: Berghahn Books, 2003.

Berlin, Ira. *Generations of Captivity: A History of African-American Slaves*. Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2003.

Bossy, Denise. “Indian Slavery in Southeastern Indian and British Societies, 1670-1730.” In *Indian Slavery in Colonial America*, edited by Alan Gallay, 207-250. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009.

Bowne, Eric E. "Dr. Henry Woodward's Role in Early Carolina Indian Relations." In *Creating and Contesting Carolina: Proprietary Era Histories*, edited by Michelle LeMaster and Bradford J. Wood, 73-93. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2013.

Brown, James A. "Exchange and Interaction Until 1500." In *Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 14*, edited by Raymond Fogelson and William C. Sturtevant, 677-685. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 2004.

Bushnell, Amy Turner. *Situado and Sabana: Spain's Support System for the Presidio and Mission Provinces of Florida*. New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1994.

Butler, Judith. "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory." *Theatre Journal* 40, no. 4 (1988): 519-531.

Calloway, Colin G. *First Peoples: A Documentary Survey of American Indian History*. Bedford: St. Martin's, 2007.

Chappell, V.C. *The Cambridge Companion to Locke*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Colley, Linda. *Captives*. New York: Pantheon Books, 2002.

Crane, Verner W. *The Southern Frontier, 1670-1732*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2004.

Davis, Robert C. *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters: White Slavery in the Mediterranean, the Barbary Coast and Italy, 1500-1800*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.

Deloria, Philip J. "What is the Middle Ground Anyway?" *The William and Mary Quarterly* 63, no. 1 (2006): 15-22.

Drechsel, Emanuel. "Mobilian Jargon in the 'Prehistory' of the Southeastern North America." In *Perspectives on the Southeast: Linguists, Archaeology, and Ethnohistory*, edited by Patricia B. Kwachka, 25-43. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994.

Dubcovsky, Alejandra. "Connected Worlds: Communication Networks in the Colonial Southeast, 1513-1740." PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2011.

DuVal, Kathleen. *The Native Ground: Indians and Colonists in the Heart of the Continent*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006.

Dye, David H. "Feasting with the Enemy: Mississippian Warfare and Prestige-goods Circulation." In *Native American Interactions: Multiscalar Analysis and Interpretations in the Eastern Woodlands*, edited by Michael S. Nassaney and Kenneth E. Sassaman, 289-316. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1995.

Ethridge, Robbie, ed. *Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone: The Colonial Indian Slave Trade and Regional Instability in the American South.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009.

Fagg, Daniel W. "St. Giles' Seigniory: The Earl of Shaftesbury's Carolina Plantation." *The South Carolina Historical Magazine* 71, no. 2 (1970): 117-123.

Farr, James. "Locke, 'some Americans', and the discourse on "Carolina.'" *Locke Studies* 9 (2009): 19-96.

Fixico, Donald. *The American Indian Mind in a Linear World: American Indian Studies and Traditional Knowledge*. New York: Routledge, 2003.

Francis, J. Michael and Kathleen M. Kole. *Murder and Martyrdom in Spanish Florida: Don Juan and the Guale Uprising of 1597*. New York: American Museum of Natural History, 2011.

Frank, Andrew. *Creeks and Southerners: Biculturalism on the Early American Frontier*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005.

Galgano, Robert. *Feast of Souls: Indians and Spaniards in the 17th- Century Missions of Florida and New Mexico*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005.

Gallay, Alan. *The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South, 1670-1717*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002.

Glover, Lorri. *All Our Relations: Blood Ties and Emotional Bonds Among the Early South Carolina Gentry*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2000.

Goddard, Ives. "The Description of the Native Languages of North America Before Boas." In *Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 17: Languages*, edited by Ives Goddard and William C. Sturtevant, 17-42. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1996.

Grantham, Bill. *Creation Myths and Legends of the Creek Indians*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002.

Haefeli, Evan and Kevin Sweeney. *Captive Histories: English, French, and Native Narratives of the 1704 Deerfield Raid*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2006.

Hahn, Steven C. "The Cussita Migration Legend: History, Ideology, and the Politics of Mythmaking." In *Light on the Path: The Anthropology and History of the Southeastern Indians*, edited by Thomas J. Pluckhahn and Robbie Ethridge, 57-93. Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2006.

Hahn, Steven. *The Invention of the Creek Nation,1670-1763*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004.

Hahn, Steven. *The Life and Times of Mary Musgrove*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2012.

Hann, John H. and Bonnie G. McEwan. *The Apalachee Indians and Mission San Luis*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998.

Hann, John. "Cloak and Dagger in Apalachicole Province in Early 1686." *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 78, no. 1 (1999): 74-93.

Hall, Joseph M. *Zamumo's Gifts: Indian-European Exchange in the Colonial Southeast.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009.

Hally, David J. "The Nature of Mississippian Regional Systems." In *Light on the Path: The Anthropology and History of the Southeastern Indians*, edited Thomas J. Pluckhahn and Robbie Ethridge, 26-42. Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2006.

Helms, Mary W. "Political Lords and Political Ideology in Southeastern Chiefdoms: Comments and Observations." In *Lords of the Southeast: Social Inequality and the Native Elites of Southeastern North America*, edited by Alex W. Barker and Timothy R. Pauketat, 185-194. Washington, D.C.: American Anthropological Association, 1992).

Hudson, Angela Pulley. *Creek Paths and Federal Roads: Indians, Settlers, and Slaves and the Making of the American South*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2010.

Hudson, Charles. "The Hernando de Soto Expedition, 1539-1543." In *The Forgotten Centuries: Indians and Europeans in the American South, 1521-1704,* edited by Charles Hudson and Carmen Chavez Tesser, 74-105. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994.

Hudson, Charles, ed. *The Juan Pardo Expeditions: Exploration of the Carolinas and Tennessee, 1566-1568*. Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2005.

Hudson Charles. *Knights of Spain, Warriors of the Sun: Hernando de Soto and the South's Ancient Chiefdoms*. Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1997.

Hudson, Charles. *The Southeastern Indians*. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1976.

Jennings, Matthew. *New Worlds of Violence: Cultures and Conquests in the Early American Southeast*. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2011.

Jennings, Matthew H. "Violence in a Shattered World." In *Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone: The Colonial Indian Slave Trade and Regional Instability in the American South*, edited by Robbie Ethridge and Sheri M. Shuck-Hall, 272-294. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009.

Karttunen, Frances. "Interpreters Snatched from the Shore." In *The Language Encounter in the Americas, 1492-1800*, edited by Edward G. Gray and Norman Fiering, 215-229. New York: Berghahn Books, 2003.

Kidwell, Clara Sue. "Indian Women as Cultural Mediators." *Ethnohistory* 39, no. 2 (1992): 97-107.

King, Adam, and Jennifer A. Freer. "The Mississippian Southeast: A World-Systems Perspective." In *Native American Interactions: Multiscalar Analysis and Interpretations in the Eastern Woodlands*, edited by Michael S. Nassaney and Kenneth E. Sassaman, 266-288. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1995.

King, Adam. *Southeastern Ceremonial Complex: Chronology, Content, Context*. Tuscalossa: The University of Alabama Press, 2007.

King, Adam. "The Southeastern Ceremonial Complex: From Cult to Complex," in *Southeastern Ceremonial Complex: Chronology, Content, Context*, edited by Adam King, 1-14. Tuscalossa: The University of Alabama Press, 2007.

Knight, Jr., Vernon James. "Some Speculation on Mississippian Monsters." In *The Southeastern Ceremonial Complex: Artifacts and Analysis*, edited by Patricia Galloway, 205-210. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989.

Kowalewski, Stephen A. "Large-scale Ecology in Aboriginal Eastern North America." In *Native American Interactions: Multiscalar Analysis and Interpretations in the Eastern Woodlands*, edited by Michael S. Nassaney and Kenneth E. Sassaman, 147-173. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1995.

Krech, Shepard. *Spirits of the Air: Birds & American Indians in the South*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2009.

Kupperman, Karen. *Indians and English: Facing Off in Early America*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000.

Landers, Jane. *Black Society in Spanish Florida*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999.

LeMaster, Michelle. *Brothers Born of One Mother: British-Native American Relations in the Colonial Southeast*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2012.

Lyon, Eugene. "The Captives of Florida." In *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, edited by Eugene Lyon, 171-190. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1995.

Lyon, Eugene. "Cultural Brokers in Sixteenth-Century Spanish Florida." In *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, edited by Eugene Lyon, 329-336. New York: Garland Press, 1995.

Luca, Francis Xavier. "Re-'Interpreting' the Role of the Cultural Broker in the Conquest of La Florida." Florida International University. http://www.kislakfoundation.org/prize/199901.html (accessed January 1, 2014).

Martin, Howard N. "Folktales of the Alabama-Coushatta Indians." In *Mexican Border Ballads and Other Lore*, edited by Mody C. Boatwright, 65-70. Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1967.

May, Stephanie A. "Alabama and Koasati." In *Handbook of North American Indians: Volume 14*, edited by Raymond Fogelson and William C. Sturtevant. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 2004.

Merrell, James H. *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1999.

Milanich, Jerald T. and William C. Sturtevant. *Francisco Pareja's 1613 Confessionario: A Documentary Source for Timucuan Ethnography*. Tallahassee: Division of Archives, History, and Records Management, 1972.

Miller, Wick R. "The Ethnography of Speaking." in *Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 17: Languages*, edited by Ives Goddard and William C. Sturtevant, 222-243. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1996.

Muller, Jon. "The Southern Cult." In *The Southeastern Ceremonial Complex: Artifacts and Analysis*, edited by David H. Dye and Camille Wharey, 11-26. Lincoln: The University of Nebraska Press, 1989.

Nassaney, Michael S., and Kenneth E. Sassaman, ed. *Native American Interactions: Multiscalar Analysis and Interpretations in the Eastern Woodlands*. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1995.

Nassaney, Michael S. "Communal Societies and the Emergence of Elites in the Prehistoric American Southeast." In *Lords of the Southeast: Social Inequality and the Native Elites of Southeastern North America*, edited by Alex W. Barker and Timothy R. Pauketat, 111-143. Washington, D.C.: American Anthropological Association, 1992.

Nassaney, Michael S., and Kenneth E. Sassaman. "Understanding Native American Interactions." In *Native American Interactions: Multiscalar Analysis and Interpretations in the Eastern Woodlands*, edited by Michael S. Nassaney and Kenneth E. Sassaman, xix-xxxviii. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1995.

Novick, Peter. *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession*. New York: Cambrige University Press, 1988.

Pauketat, Timothy. *Chiefdoms and other Archaeological Delusions*. Lanham: AltaMira Press, 2007.

Paulett, Robert. *An Empire of Small Places: Mapping the Southeastern Anglo-Indian Trade, 1732-1795*. Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2012.

Perdue, Theda. *Cherokee Women: Gender and Culture Change, 1700-1835*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998.

Peregrine, Peter N. "Networks of Power: The Mississippian World-System." In *Native American Interactions: Multiscalar Analysis and Interpretations in the Eastern Woodlands*, edited by Michael S. Nassaney and Kenneth E. Sassaman, 247-265. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1995.

Peterson, Dennis A. "A History of Excavations and Interpretations of Artifacts from the Spiro Mounds Site." In *The Southeastern Ceremonial Complex: Artifacts and Analysis*, edited by Patricia Galloway, 114-121. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989.

Piker, Joshua. *The Four Deaths of Acorn Whistler: Telling Stories in Colonial America*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013.

Piker, Joshua A. "Lying Together: The Imperial Implications of Cross-Cultural Untruths." *The American Historical Review* 116, no. 4 (2011): 964-986.

Piker, Joshua A. "White & Clean" & Contested: Creek Towns and Trading Paths in the Aftermath of the Seven Years' War." *Ethnohistory* 50, no. 2 (2003): 315-347.

Ramsey, William. "'Something Cloudy in their Looks': The Origins of the Yamasee War Reconsidered." *The Journal of American History* 90, no. 2 (2003): 44-75.

Ramsey, William. *The Yamasee War: A Study of Culture, Economy, and Conflict in the Colonial South*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008.

Richter, Daniel. *Before the Revolution: America's Ancient Past*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2011.

Richter, Daniel K. *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992.

Salley, Alexander S., ed. *Narratives of Early Carolina, 1650-1708*. Boston: Adamant Media Corporation, 2005.

Seeman, Mark F. "When Words Are Not Enough: Hopewell Interregionalism and the Use of Material Symbols at the GE Mound." In *Native American Interactions: Multiscalar Analysis and Interpretations in the Eastern Woodlands*, edited by Michael S. Nassaney and Kenneth E. Sassaman, 122-143. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1995.

Silver, Shirley and Wick R. Miller. *American Indian Languages: Cultural and Social Contexts.* Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1997.

Silverstein, Michael. "Dynamics of Linguistic Contact." In *Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 17: Languages*, edited by Ives Goddard and William C. Sturtevant, 117-136. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1996.

Smith, Marvin T., and David J. Hally. "Chiefly Behavior: Evidence from Sixteenth Century Spanish Accounts." In *Lords of the Southeast: Social Inequality and the Native Elites of Southeastern North America*, edited by Alex W. Barker and Timothy R. Pauketat, 99-109. Washington, D.C.: American Anthropological Association, 1992.

Strong, John A. "The Mississippian Bird-Man Theme in Cross-Cultural Perspective." In *The Southeastern Ceremonial Complex: Artifacts and Analysis*, edited by Patricia Galloway, 211-238. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989.

Swanton, John R. *Early History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998.

Tanner, Helen Hornbeck. "The Land and Water Communication Systems of the Southeastern Indians." In *Powhatan's Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast,* edited by Gregory A. Waselkov, Peter H. Wood, and Thomas M. Hatley, 27-42. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006.

Turner, Victor. *Process, Performance, and Pilgrimage: A Study in Comparative Symbology*. New Delhi: Ranchi University Press, 1979.

Voigt, Lisa. *Writing Captivity in the Early Modern Atlantic: Circulations of Knowledge and Authority in the Iberian and English Imperial Worlds*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009.

Waddell, Gene. "Cusabo." In *Handbook of North American Indians*: *Volume 14*, edited by Raymond Fogelson and William C. Sturtevant. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 2004.

Waselkov, Gregory A. "Indian maps of the Colonial Southeast." In *Powhatan's Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast*, edited by Gregory A. Waselkov, Peter H. Wood, and Tom Hatley, 435-502. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006.

White, Richard. *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

Williams, Roger. *A Key into the Language of America*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1973.

Wood, Peter. *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina From 1670 Through the Stono Rebellion*. New York: Norton & Company, 1974.

Worth, John E. *The Struggle for the Georgia Coast: An Eighteenth Century Spanish Retrospective on Guale and Mocama*. New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1995.

Worth, John E. "Yamasee." In *Handbook of North American Indians Volume 14*, edited by Raymond D. Fogelson, 245-253. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institute, 2004.

Vita

Nicole Lynn Gallucci was born . She obtained her Bachelor of Arts from the University of North Florida in May 2010 in communications. From 2010 to 2012 she worked as a park ranger at Fort Caroline National Memorial and Kingsley Plantation in the resource education division. She entered the history graduate program at the University of North Florida in Fall of 2010 and obtained her Masters of Arts degree in history in August 2014. When she is not writing and researching, she enjoys spending time with her dog, Caddy, and planting things.