

Coastal Encounters

The Transformation *of the*
 **GULF SOUTH** 
in the Eighteenth Century

EDITED AND WITH AN INTRODUCTION
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rior through kinship ties. In fact, Tensaw would serve as a springboard to power for these lineages affecting the power structure of the Creek nation through the removal era and well into the settlement of Indian Territory in the west.

In the late eighteenth century therefore leading Creek families using Native American social rules developed an innovative community for economic and political reasons. The founding of Tensaw illustrated the dynamic nature of the eighteenth-century Gulf South region and also revealed much continuity with the Creek past. The Creek Nation experienced profound economic and political challenges at the end of the Revolutionary War, but by relying on the successful historical precedent of incorporating foreigners, by insisting that these foreigners honor Creek conventions, and by embracing change within the broad contours of ancient cultural traditions, the Creeks at Tensaw appeared to have protected their economic future well into the nineteenth century.

6. A Nation Divided?

Blood Seminoles and Black Seminoles on the Florida Frontier

JANE G. LANDERS

Daniel K. Richter concludes his book *Facing East from Indian Country* with Andrew Jackson's bloody victories over the Red Stick Creeks and Seminoles of Florida and the triumph of the White Man's republic. With the ensuing "removal" Richter writes, "the east at last ceased to be Indian country."¹

This essay similarly explores Florida's transition from Indian Country to U.S. dominion but with a particular interest in the participation of persons of African descent, who were also of particular interest to Jackson. It is based largely on Spanish archival sources that accord real personhood to indigenous and African-descended peoples and that thus record their histories in more detail than do most English-language sources. This essay is also informed by recent archaeological investigations of African history in Florida.

The new perspectives are particularly relevant today because the Seminole Nation of Oklahoma is bitterly divided over its membership, with the so-called blood Seminoles attempting to expel the so-called black Seminoles, although both groups entered Florida at approximately the same time and were connected even before removal westward. Much of the history used to support the exclusionary effort is drawn from incomplete, and arguably biased, English-language sources.

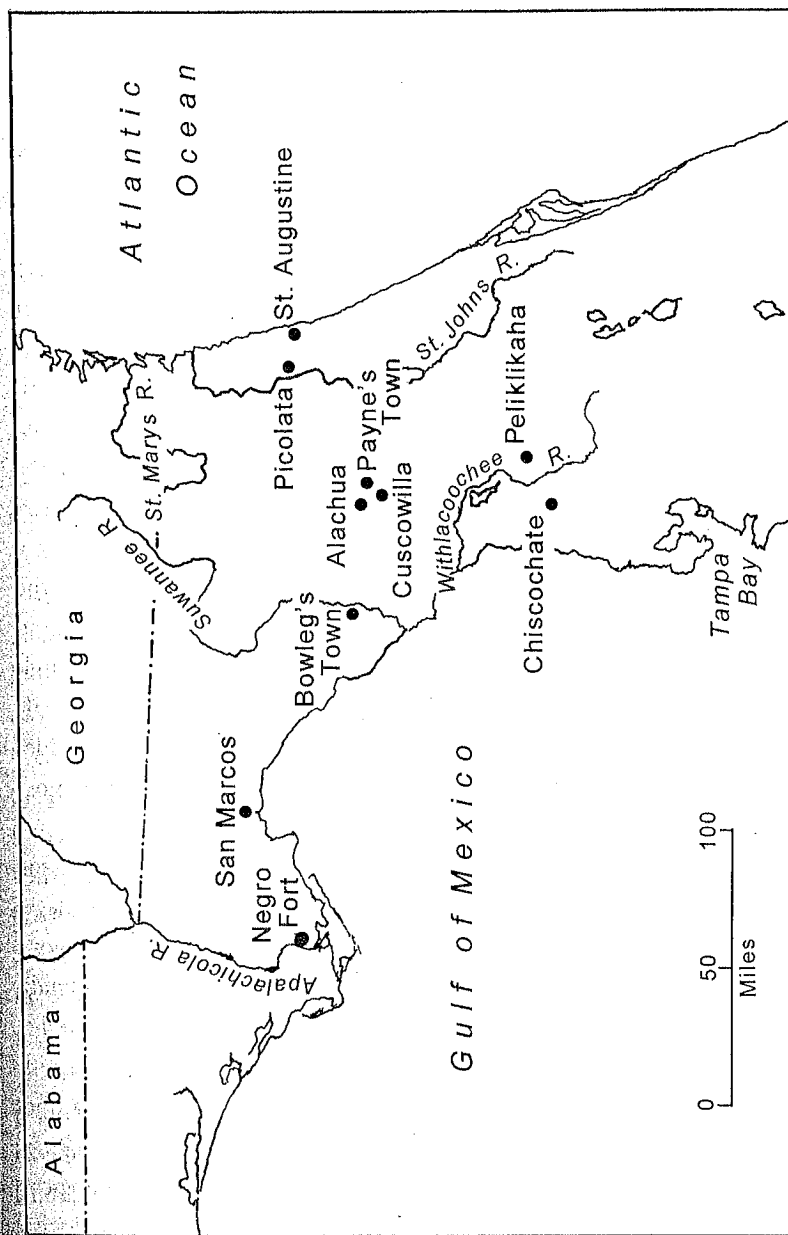
In 1991 the federal Indian Claims Commission ordered compensation of more than fifty-six million dollars to the "Seminole Nation as it existed in Florida" when the U.S. government seized Seminole lands in 1823. The

Bureau of Indian Affairs acknowledged the freedom enjoyed by blacks living with the Seminoles as well as the close relations between these groups but concluded in the report on which the Claims Commission based its rulings, that former slaves owned none of the lands seized by the federal government in 1823.

In fact, a variety of Spanish records, later English-language traveler's accounts, and even some military reports, attest to the fact that both blood and black Seminoles had established towns and developed agricultural and pastoral economies in Florida prior to removal. As racial attitudes hardened in the South and in Oklahoma, the history of black agency and industry in Florida was largely forgotten or erased, but two bands of black Freedmen or Estelusti, as they are also known, had long participated in tribal governance, along with twelve Seminole bands.

In 2000, however, in anticipation of a possible payout, the blood Seminoles amended the tribe's constitution to require one-eighth Seminole Indian blood for full tribal membership. The Freedmen filed suit to fight their expulsion and the bitter legal battles that followed divided the Seminole Nation. After a contested election, distinct tribal factions and the government recognized opposing chiefs. When the Seminole Nation began to lobby for additional compensation of ninety-five million dollars for improperly seized oil and gas leases, the issue of tribal membership became even more divisive.² As the financial stakes continued to rise, disunion seemed complete. As this essay reveals, however, the bloods and the blacks once stood together against the very government that will eventually decide if they are one.

The people who would become the Seminoles moved into Florida from Georgia and Alabama in the eighteenth century to fill the vacuum created by the exodus or extinction of Florida's indigenous nations during Spain's first tenure in the peninsula (1565–1763). Having accompanied James Oglethorpe during his invasion of Spanish Florida in 1740, these so-called Lower Creeks knew the terrain well, and eventually some of them created permanent settlements around the rich grasslands of east central Florida variously known as La Chua, Lochoway, or Latchaway.³



4. Seminole Florida in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries

Leaders of the Creek nation asked British officials to issue a trade embargo on the detached groups in order to force them back into the nation, but Chief Cowkeeper, his brother Long Warrior, and about one hundred and thirty Creek families resisted reincorporation and retained their autonomy.⁴ The Creek immigrants to Florida, who came to be known as the Seminoles (a corruption of the Spanish word *cimarrón*, or runaway), established flourishing villages in the interior savannas near present-day Gainesville.⁵

Pennsylvania naturalist William Bartram visited the Seminole capital of Cuscowilla in 1774 and described a prosperous settlement, based upon agriculture, “innumerable droves of cattle,” and “squadrons of the beautiful fleet Seminole horse.” The Seminoles were also slave owners of their defeated enemy, the Yamasees. At Cuscowilla Bartram found a population already “tinctured with Spanish civilization.” Some of the Seminoles wore “little silver crucifixes, affixed to a wampum collar around their necks, or suspended by a small chain upon their breast.” Although Bartram claimed most spoke and understood Spanish, Seminole loyalties lay with the English who held Florida from 1763 to 1784. Under Chief Cowkeeper’s rule the Seminoles were, according to Bartram, “the most bitter and formidable Indian enemies the Spaniards ever had.”⁶

Despite this hostility, over the next decades Cowkeeper’s successor Chief Payne and Payne’s successors, his nephews Micanopy and Bowlegs, reshaped Seminole foreign policy and became allies of the Spanish government. Under their leadership the Seminoles accepted into their lands many runaway slaves or *cimarrones*, who unlike the Yamasee slaves who preceded them, lived in a sort of feudal arrangement with their masters and intermarried with them. The Seminoles prospered at Cuscowilla, and by the 1790s Chief Payne was reported to have some twenty black slaves along with large herds of cattle, horses, sheep, and goats.⁷ Archaeological investigations at this site also attest to Payne’s wealth, and archaeologist Brent R. Weisman argues that it was the additional labor provided by the incoming blacks that enabled the Seminole hosts to prosper.⁸

While some blacks lived in Seminole villages like Payne’s Town and Bowlegs Town, many resided in autonomous villages such as Peliklakaha,

Mulatto Girl’s Town, King Heijah’s Town, Bucker Woman’s Town, Bogy Island, and Big Swamp.⁹ The village Negroes, as they were sometimes called in English sources, provided the chiefs with whom they were associated annual tribute and military service.¹⁰ Blacks like Abraham, who governed the village of Peliklikaha and who became the trusted interpreter and war council advisor to Chief Micanopy, recognized that Anglo rule would return them to slavery, so they, too, became fierce enemies of the Americans and allies of the Spaniards.

For approximately a half century black and blood Seminoles struggled to maintain their collaborative autonomy on the volatile Southern frontier, independent of either the Spaniards or the new American government—one nation—apart. Such an interstitial position was difficult and eventually untenable, but it was not yielded without fierce resistance.¹¹

After 1783 the St. Marys River demarcated the international border separating Spanish East Florida from the United States, just as the St. Johns River separated Spanish settlements from Seminole lands.¹² Although Spain attempted to enforce its borders with military patrols and to control trade and immigration with passport and customs regulations, the province was almost impossible to police and raiding Upper Creek Indians and Anglos crossed the Georgia border into Florida almost at will. Both groups were attracted by slaves, cattle, and horses and found the settlements along the St. Marys and St. Johns Rivers easy targets.¹³ A Spanish commander observed that, although the Indians from Georgia were “uncivilized in their actions,” they showed a sophisticated understanding of their own geopolitical interests.¹⁴

As noted above, the Spaniards enjoyed better relations with the Seminoles whose settlements lay west of the St. Johns River. Spain stood to lose its colony, the fugitive blacks their freedom, and the Seminoles their rich lands and cattle herds, and so Spanish officials capitalized on this convergence of interests often during their second tenure in Florida (1784–1821).¹⁵ Thus viewing the Seminoles as a buffer against Anglo encroachment, the Spanish government attempted to ensure their friendship by regularly hosting and gifting them in St. Augustine. The Crown allotted six thousand pesos annually for their gifts, which included items such as

cloth and clothing, hats, thread and needles, thimbles, scissors, beads, pipes, knives, axes, razors, mirrors, tin pots, spurs, munitions, tobacco, *aguardiente* (rum), and food. Women and children received gingham and chintz cloth and red paper, respectively, while luxury items such as saddles went to head men like Long Warrior, Filatuche, Tupane and the *mestizo* chief Perryman. On at least four occasions groups identified specifically as *cimarrones* traveled to St. Augustine, usually in the company of Seminoles, and they too were presented with gifts.¹⁶

The Spanish/Seminole/black alliance unraveled briefly in 1800 when the Seminole and Lower Creek nations elected William Augustus Bowles director of their new state of Muskogee that promptly declared war against Spain. Formerly a soldier with the Loyalist army in Pensacola, Bowles married the daughter of the *mestizo* chief Perryman and was adopted by the Creeks.¹⁷ From the 1780s onward he used those family connections, along with the backing of British governmental and commercial agents, to agitate against Spanish interests in the Southeast. Bowles eventually won support from Quebec, London, and the Bahamas for recognition of a separate Indian state with which the British would establish trade alliances.¹⁸

Director Bowles raised an army and navy of ambitious and land-hungry Anglos, southeastern Indians, and blacks—both fugitive slaves and slaves of the Seminoles—and from 1800 to 1803 his polyglot forces wreaked havoc on Florida. One party composed of “from twenty-five to thirty Indians, Negroes, and infamous whites all of them direct from Bowles headquarters” had orders to “plunder and break up all the settlements in Florida.”¹⁹ The *Nassau Gazette* reported that

the Muskogee Army has marched to plunder, pillage & lay waste Augustine, from whence they have already brought a number of Prime Slaves & some considerable share of very valuable property, & will entirely lay waste & ravage that Country ere they withdraw from thence nor can Spain send any Troops to act against them unless she wishes to sacrifice them which would be the case with any Troops who would enter their

Country as they must bush fight it with them, which no Troops are equal to the doing with success.²⁰

The only troops apparently “equal to the doing” were St. Augustine’s free black militiamen. These men, some of whom had acquired their military training in the American and Saint Domingue revolutions, proved among Spain’s most valuable troops. They regularly patrolled the Indian hinterland surrounding St. Augustine and served guard duty at small outlying forts or fortified houses at Picolata, Pellicer, San Juan, San Nicolas, San Vicente Ferrer, and Amelia. The black units also constructed a new fort, Buena Vista, at a high point on the St. Johns River to better patrol the Indian frontier. Some members of the black militia, like Sergeant Felipe Edimboro and his son Sandy, were posted at allied Seminole villages, where they had direct contact with former slaves like themselves who had chosen an alternate route to freedom. While twenty-two free black militia helped garrison Fort Picolata on the western frontier, the Black General Jorge Biassou, formerly of the Black Auxiliaries of Carlos IV in Saint Domingue, and the rest of St. Augustine’s free black troops guarded the southern frontier near the Matanzas River. Biassou had orders to detain all Indians seeking to come to the city and to allow to pass only those who were friendly—such as those who brought hogs and cattle to sell. His orders called on him to treat the Indians with “humanity and kindness” and to use force only when required, but in other matters to employ his own judgment.²¹

Although some Seminoles joined in these hostilities, the Spaniards’ most fierce enemies in the Creek confederacy were the Mikasukis, who periodically raided Spanish plantations near St. Augustine for slaves and horses, occasionally killing residents, both black and white. Wealthy East Florida planters such as John McQueen and Francis Phelipe Fatio were among those who lost slaves and property to Bowles and his raiders. Fatio hired agents who tried unsuccessfully to ransom his stolen or absconded slaves, some of whom later appeared on lists of U.S. military captives at the conclusion of the Second Seminole War.

During the three-year Muskogee war black homesteaders also lost slaves and property to Indian raiders. At dawn on June 24, 1800, three of

Bowles's raiders attacked the homestead of free black militiaman Sergeant Felipe Edimboro and stole his slave Jack, who was at work in the fields. Edimboro saw the Indians take Jack away in their canoe, and he quickly loaded his own family and that of his free black neighbor Juan Moore into another canoe in order to take them to safety. After unloading the group upriver at Fatio's Nueva Suisa estate, Edimboro hurried back to his homestead, only to find the Indians had taken more captives—the wife and seven children of free black militiaman Tony. Edimboro's slave Jack eventually escaped from his captors, as did Tony's eldest son, but other blacks stolen that day were never recovered. Some made new lives among the Seminoles and later became captives of the U.S. military.²²

In January 1802 the Seminoles staged a particularly violent attack on Josiah Dupont's plantation at Matanzas, abducting a white woman and her five young children, killing the oldest boy, and stealing ten slaves. The governor's war council feared Spain might lose the province and futilely appealed to the captain-general of Cuba for more regular troops. When these were not forthcoming, the hapless settlement called once again upon the black militia.²³

Throughout the summer of 1802 Spanish militias roamed the countryside in search of Mikasuki raiders, but the latter proved an elusive enemy who left behind deserted villages as they melted into the surrounding swamps. When encountered, they proved fierce fighters. Black militiaman Tomas Herrera, an escaped slave from Carolina, was badly wounded and had to be hospitalized after one fight.²⁴ Another black militiaman named Sparkman was granted permission to return home to care for his mother after the Indians killed his father.²⁵

By mid-summer nearby Creek and Seminole leaders began to denounce the Mikasukis and to respond to Spanish peace overtures. John Kinard, the so-called king of the Creeks wrote

Dear Sir, I take your talks and think them good we don't wish any disturbance with us and you we want the path kepe open that frids may pass and repass to se each other we don't want any war at all it is the mackasukey people that is at war we have

nothing to do with them nor the Spanyards the floridy people kild one ingan and tha went and kild one white man for it and says tha are don tha are all gon hunting and wants nomore of it all says tha are your frinds I am Dear Sir yours.²⁶

Chief Payne, leader of the Alachua Seminoles, was also ready to end the fighting. He warned Spanish officials when raiders from the Mikasuki nation approached, and he also began sending parties of his own people into St. Augustine to sell furs.²⁷ The Creeks and Seminoles finally signed a peace treaty with Spain in August 1802.²⁸ But not until his former Creek allies seized Bowles in May 1803 and turned him over to the Spaniards did an unstable peace actually return to East Florida.²⁹

In peacetime free black militiamen like Juan Bautista Collins traveled regularly to the Seminole villages as meat contractors for the Spanish government. In 1808 Collins made several trips to establish relations with Chief Bowlegs at La Chua. During one trip the black militiaman distributed gifts of cloth, handkerchiefs, belts, beads, sugar, tobacco, *aguardiente*, knives, and powder and shot among his Seminole hosts. Only after several of these visits did the black trader actually conduct successful business with Bowlegs. Collins was also able to purchase a herd of one hundred and twenty-five cattle at the Seminole village of Chiscochate, eighteen of which were sold to him by a black woman named Molly. Finally, after a difficult journey of five to eight months, during which he traded independently and tactfully among his Indian suppliers, Collins and black translator and fellow militiaman Benjamín Wiggins brought back herds of several hundred head of cattle for the sustenance of St. Augustine.

Through these visits and business negotiations, more connections were established between blacks and Seminoles, and when Collins was forced to sue the Spanish government for payment, Chief Bowlegs's sister Simency came to St. Augustine to testify on Collins's behalf. She threatened again that the tribe would sell their cattle to the United States if Collins were not paid. Despite that threat, the case dragged on until 1816 when Collins finally received payment for the Seminole cattle he had herded to St. Augustine.³⁰

As Collins' case dragged through the courts, in 1812 land-hungry Georgians, styling themselves Patriots, attempted to seize Florida and hand it to the United States. Once again the Seminoles and their black vassals came to the assistance of Spain.³¹ Once again the Spanish governor, Sebastián Kindelán, posted members of his black militia at Seminole villages, and chiefs Payne and Bowlegs reciprocated by sending some of their own black warriors to fight alongside the Spaniards as a gesture of good faith.³² Governor Kindelán was pleased when Chief Bowlegs brought two hundred men to fight for the Spaniards on the St. Johns River. Still he complained that anytime the Seminoles captured a slave, a horse, or any other valuable they left the field to secure it in their towns, and so their advantage was only momentary.³³

Like his predecessors, Governor Kindelán employed black translators, such as the free mulatto militiaman Benjamín Wiggins and the slave Tony Proctor—"the best translator of the Indian languages in the province"—to promote the Spanish-black-Indian alliance.³⁴ In July 1812 Tony Proctor traveled to address Chief Payne at the Seminole village of La Chua and recruited several hundred Seminole warriors for the Spanish side.³⁵

The turning point of the Patriot siege came in September 1812 when Lieutenant Juan Bautista Witten, a former runaway from South Carolina, led a band of twenty-five black militia men, thirty-two of Chief Payne's blacks, and a handful of Seminoles in a well executed ambush of twenty United States Marines and approximately sixty to seventy Patriots escorting a supply convoy through Twelve Mile Swamp at night. Witten's forces took down Marine Captain John Williams, his sergeant, and the wagon horses in the first volley. For two hours afterward they battled the more numerous invading forces, killing many but suffering several casualties as well. That night Witten's men destroyed one wagon, and the next morning they used the second to transport their wounded back to St. Augustine. This action lifted the Patriot siege and allowed badly needed supplies to reach St. Augustine. The Patriot accounts (and therefore, most historical treatments based on the English-language sources) reported that the ambush at Twelve Mile Swamp was the work of the Indians, but the Spanish governor wrote that the Indians were actually "our parties

of blacks, whom they [the rebels] think are Indians because they wear the same clothing and go painted."³⁶

Bereft of supplies, the demoralized Patriot and United States forces began to pull back. When later that month a force led by Georgia volunteer Colonel Daniel Newnan failed to break up the Indian and black towns near La Chua and was mauled by Payne's polyglot warriors, the invasion was spent.³⁷ Disease, the ferocity of the black and Indian militias, and weakening United States enthusiasm for the land grab when war with England threatened eventually ruined the Patriots. In May 1813 all foreign forces were withdrawn from Florida.³⁸

Spain's black guerrillas and their Seminole allies undid the half-hearted Patriot rebellion, but the United States remained firmly committed to an expansionist foreign policy in the Southeast. Its interventions were motivated by territorial ambition, by the lingering fear that Britain would displace the weakened Spanish regimes in the Southeast, and by racial politics. The very success of the Spanish/Indian/black alliance in effect ensured further intervention by Americans who could not tolerate such dangerous collaboration on their frontier. The War of 1812 and the simultaneous Creek War of 1813–14 evolved into a long-term effort to push the Creeks, Seminoles, and blacks out of their settlements in western and central Florida and eventually to drive out the Spaniards as well.³⁹

During the War of 1812, as during the American Revolution, the British deliberately encouraged slaves of the enemy to desert plantations, enlist in royal military service, and be recognized as free (a strategy the Spaniards had used so successfully against the English since the founding of Charles Town in 1670). The British also promised that after war's end the blacks would receive land, and in the summer of 1814 Colonel Edward Nicolls and his aide Captain George Woodbine established a large number of fugitive slaves from Mobile, Pensacola, Georgia, and St. Augustine, as well as beleaguered Red Stick Indian allies, at a small but well-armed fort at Prospect Bluff on the Apalachicola River within Spanish territory and about twenty-five miles north of the Gulf of Mexico. Nicolls and Woodbine gave the escaped slaves uniforms and arms, drilled them, and formed the men into three companies of Negro Colonial Marines. The provocation

was too much, and Americans, Lower Creeks, Spaniards, and the powerful West Florida trading firm of John Forbes and Company all considered the elimination of the fort to be a necessary objective.⁴⁰

In 1814 General Andrew Jackson routed the nativist Upper Creeks, or Red Sticks, at Horseshoe Bend, Alabama, and shortly after the Treaty of Ghent ended the war in 1815, he also defeated the British forces at New Orleans. But Prospect Bluff was still attracting escaped slaves and refugee Indians. By the summer of 1815 an estimated force of eleven hundred warriors, including several hundred blacks, garrisoned the so-called Negro Fort behind which planted corn fields were said to stretch along the river for more than forty-five miles.⁴¹ Nearby, advancing Georgians were also establishing settlements, and as commander of the Southern Military Division of the United States, Jackson demanded the "immediate and prompt interference of the Spanish authority to destroy or remove from our frontier this banditti."⁴²

Pensacola governor Mauricio de Zúñiga was in no position to actually send any troops against the fort, but he sent Captain Vicente Sebastián Pintado to investigate the matter and to retrieve any runaway slaves belonging to Spanish owners in East and West Florida.⁴³ The Pensacola merchant house John Forbes and Company claimed that sixty-three of its slaves had escaped to the settlement at Prospect Bluff.⁴⁴ Among the most highly valued of these runaways were Ambrosio, a shoemaker valued at nine hundred pesos, and Harry, a caulker and navigator who knew how to read and write and who was valued at two thousand pesos.⁴⁵ Others seduced away from the Spaniards were Fernando, who belonged to St. Augustine's auditor of war, and the later, more famous, Abraham, who once belonged to a physician in Pensacola. The runaways also included sailors, master carpenters, coopers, ironsmiths, bakers, servants, laundresses, cooks, sawyers, masons, cartwrights, and field hands. While they may not have been black Robin Hoods, as historian Herbert Aptheker called them, neither were they the parasitical villains described by contemporary Americans.⁴⁶

Forbes agent Edmund Doyle believed the English sponsors of the fort to be motivated by self-interest. He charged that Woodbine seduced away

"not more than ten" slaves belonging to the Americans, whose retaliation he feared, but that instead with the "help of their [Nicolls and Woodbine's] agents and black spies, corrupted the negroes of their friends and Spanish allies."⁴⁷

As a self-appointed British agent to the Creek Nation, Nicolls directed letters of remonstrance to U.S. Indian agent Benjamin Hawkins for attacks he said Americans had committed against Creek and Seminole towns. Nicolls complained that Americans attacked Seminole Chief Bowlegs' town on two separate occasions in March and May of 1815, killing warriors and stealing cattle. Hawkins responded that the Indians could appeal for redress to either legitimate Spanish or American officials, but he charged that Nicolls had no authority to speak for the Indians and likened him to William Augustus Bowles, "that Prince of Liars."⁴⁸ The charges that Americans (more specifically, Georgians) burned Seminole villages, stole cattle, and killed Indians in the process were repeated often by Nicolls, who received some of his information from the Bahamian Indian trader Alexander Arbuthnot.⁴⁹

When Captain Pintado finally arrived at Prospect Bluff, his escort, Royal Navy captain R. C. Spencer, would not allow the slaves to be forcibly returned to the Spanish representative. In Pintado's presence Spencer disarmed the men, paid them for their service, and gave each a discharge from the British service. He told them that new orders precluded him from transporting them to British possessions as promised earlier by Admiral Cochrane, and he warned them (correctly) that, when the English departed, the blacks would be preyed upon by the Americans and their Indian allies.⁵⁰ Pintado estimated the total number of runaways at the fort at about two hundred and fifty of whom he was able to convince only ten, all of them women, to return voluntarily. He reported that many of the fort occupants were leaving for the black Seminole settlements at Tampa Bay.⁵¹

Andrew Jackson had already ordered the destruction of the fort that was "stealing and enticing away our negroes" and that had "been established by some villain for the purpose of murder, rapine, and plunder." Lieutenant Colonel Duncan L. Clinch led the attack, reinforced by the

Coweta Creeks under Chief William McIntosh, son of a British Indian agent. Two U.S. Navy gunboats sailed upriver to join in the attack. The fort's black commander, Garçon, defiantly informed a Creek delegation that "he had been left in command of the fort by the British government and that he would sink any American vessels that should attempt to pass it."⁵² He also vowed to blow up the fort rather than surrender. Given that Garçon and the Choctaw chief who jointly commanded the fort had at their disposal ten cannon, several thousand muskets and sidearms, and ammunition and military stores, in addition to their well-trained and determined warriors, it portended to be a costly siege.

When the battle actually began on July 27, 1816, the blacks in the fort hoisted a red flag under the Union Jack and hurled insults as well as cannon shots at the Americans. One of the attacking officers noted with some admiration the "spirited opposition" of the blacks, who made it clear that they would neither ask for, nor give, quarter and that they would fight to the death. The blacks led several sorties against McIntosh's warriors but were driven back into the fort. On the second day a "miraculous" American shot hit the powder magazine, blowing up the fort with a blast that shook Pensacola, sixty miles away.⁵³ Only forty individuals survived the explosion, and few of those lived long. The Americans handed Garçon and the Choctaw chief over to the Creeks who "passed sentence of death" and promptly executed them. The victors returned the few live captives to owners, who claimed them and paid the costs of their retrieval. With the "banditti" exterminated, the American naval forces set fire to the fort and sailed away with approximately two hundred thousand dollars worth of arms and supplies.⁵⁴

The following year, in November 1817, Andrew Jackson led more than three thousand troops in a preemptive strike on the Mikasuki village of Fowl Town, and then with the western threats eradicated, in April 1818 he led a three-week campaign against the Seminole heartland. Jackson's military operation came to be known as the First Seminole War. In a last letter to his son, the doomed Indian trader Alexander Arbuthnot alleged that "[t]he main drift of the Americans is to destroy the black population of Suwany."⁵⁵ General Gaines confirmed this claim when he

wrote the Seminoles that "[y]ou harbor a great many of my black people among you, at Sahwahnee. If you give me leave to go by you against them, I shall not hurt anything belonging to you." King Heijah responded that some blacks may have taken refuge among the English during their war with the Americans, but "it is for you, white people, to settle those things among yourselves. . . . I shall use force to stop any armed Americans from passing my towns or my lands."⁵⁶

Jackson would not be deterred by such threats. Moving eastward, he forced the surrender of the Spanish garrison at San Marcos de Apalachee where he arrested and executed the Red Stick prophet Francis (Hillis Hadjo). He also arrested the trader Arbuthnot and Colonel Nicolls' Bahamian surrogate, Robert Ambrister. Jackson's hastily convened military field court convicted Arbuthnot and Ambrister of inciting and arming the Indians and blacks and executed them both, triggering outraged protests by the English government. Evidence at Ambrister's trial included a letter he had written Nicolls from the Suwannee stating that the three hundred blacks there "beg me to say, they depend on your promises, and expect you are the way out. They have stuck to the *cause*, and will always believe in the faith of you."⁵⁷

Joined by the Coweta Creek leader William McIntosh, who had besieged the Negro Fort, on April 16, 1818, Jackson's troops burned almost four hundred Seminole and black homes at Bowlegs Town on the Suwannee River, destroyed large quantities of food supplies, and spirited away herds of cattle and horses.⁵⁸ Blacks and Seminoles, who had been forewarned by Arbuthnot, put up a desperate fight, with three hundred black warriors holding back a greatly superior force at the Suwannee in order to give the women and children time to cross over the river to safety.

Among the last defenders on the Suwannee were blacks like Nero and Fernando, who had already fought American troops at Prospect Bluff. Andrew Jackson caught Fernando with weapon in hand and could have executed him on the spot but instead claimed him as his own slave, renamed him Polidore, and took him back to Tennessee. When his Spanish owner discovered Fernando's fate, she wrote Jackson to try and recover her slave, and she wrote Fernando (in Spanish) to chastise him for dis-

loyalty. It would seem Fernando, like other blacks who lived among the Seminoles, was a literate man.⁵⁹

From the Suwannee Jackson marched westward and seized Spanish Pensacola, concluding the First Seminole War. Although the Seminole's northern settlements were ruined, their desperate resistance continued. Black and Indian refugees dispersed to the west and south of Florida, joining others who had anticipated the attacks at Prospect Bluff and at the Suwannee and had already resettled in traditional hunting villages near Tampa Bay.⁶⁰ The American Captain James Gadsden described Tampa Bay as "the last rallying spot of the disaffected negroes and Indians and the only favorable point from whence a communication can be had with Spanish and European emissaries."⁶¹

From Tampa the desperate Seminoles and their black allies sent repeated diplomatic missions to the British in the Bahamas and the Spaniards in Cuba and St. Augustine. Although the Spaniards in St. Augustine gave them substantial food supplies and muskets, the British sent only nominal gifts, not wanting to alienate the Americans who by the Adams-Onís Treaty were soon to take possession of Florida.⁶²

In 1821 General Andrew Jackson became governor of the new United States territorial government of Florida and recommended removing the fugitive Creeks, Seminoles, and free blacks from the peninsula. As he awaited a response to his proposal, several hundred Coweta warriors sponsored by Georgia speculators raided the Tampa Bay and Sarasota Bay settlements and carried northward a number of blacks, cattle, and horses. Once again, escaping Seminoles and blacks were forced to flee—this time to the tip of the peninsula at Cape Florida. There, Cuban fishermen and Bahamian wreckers with whom they had long conducted trade carried hundreds "in a famishing state" to safety in Cuba and to Andros Island and Bimini Island in the Bahamas.⁶³

Other blacks and Seminoles stayed on in Florida and attempted to rebuild their lives in new locales. When the former slave trader turned settler Horatio Dexter visited Peliklikaha in that decisive year of 1823, he reported that "about 100 Negroes belonging to Micanope [sic] and his family of different ages and sexes" had planted approximately 120 acres

in corn, peanuts, and rice there. Peliklikaha was, in fact, a free black village ruled by Abraham, an ally to and advisor of the Seminole chief Micanopy. Abraham had fought at Prospect Bluff and probably at most of the main battles of the First Seminole War and was married to Chief Bowlegs' widow. It is doubtful any blood or black Seminole considered him property, although a former slave trader would have.

Archaeologist Terry Weik has uncovered evidence of the material life at Peliklikaha, including a variety of glass beads, metal earbobs, iron stone China pottery, spirit bottles, and other tools—items resembling the assemblage Weisman found at Boggy Island, which Dexter also visited. Dexter reported that at the latter site blacks allied to Seminole leader Sitarky had planted corn, rice, and sugar cane—the latter from plants Dexter had provided during an earlier visit to the village.⁶⁴

Abraham and his men probably participated in the attack on a U.S. army command (the so-called Dade Massacre) less than ten miles from Peliklikaha that triggered the Second Seminole War in 1835. This bloody war was costly to all involved, and in 1838 Abraham bowed to the inevitable and turned himself in to U.S. forces. He wrote commanding general Thomas Jessup

We will go with the Indians to our new home, and wish to know how we are to be protected, and who is to have the care of us on the road. We do not live for ourselves only, but for our wives and children who are as dear to us as those of any other men. When we reach our new home we hope we shall be permitted to remain while the woods remain green and the water runs. I have charge of all the red people coming out to Pease's Creek, and all are satisfied to go to Arkansaw.⁶⁵

After one final war other remnant groups of Seminoles and blacks were finally removed westward to join the black and blood Seminoles who had preceded them there.⁶⁶

As this brief history makes clear, the Seminole Nation since almost its earliest days has incorporated the histories of blacks and Indians. Black Seminoles in Florida assumed roles of equality with their blood Seminole

allies and provided them with invaluable military service and intelligence against their enemies. Although some blacks chose to live in the traditional Seminole villages at La Chua, Bowlegs Town, and Chiscochate, others expanded into areas beyond to create their own villages—Peliklikaha, Mulatto Girl's Town, and King Heijah's Town—where they broke in new homesteads, husbanded animals, and produced agricultural surplus sufficient to enable the Seminoles to enter a larger world market.

If the United States recognizes the property rights of Seminoles, whose tenure in the state dates only to the middle to late eighteenth century, then it must also recognize those of the blacks who laid claims to and improved vacant lands in Florida at the same time. If the Seminole Nation is to be defined as it was in 1823, when Florida was “still an Indian country,” one must ask who is doing or who did the defining. The country that had just fought two long wars against the mixed Seminole Nation and was determined to take the latter's land deliberately and with full knowledge lied and categorized blacks as chattel, thus denying them any property rights—even in themselves. The present government sustains the lie by relying on dated histories that do not recognize black humanity, freedom, and agency.

7. My Friend Nicolas Mongoula

Africans, Indians, and Cultural Exchange in Eighteenth-Century Mobile

DAVID WHEAT

In the eighteenth century European and African immigrants to what is now Alabama found themselves living in close proximity not only to one another but also to the region's substantial and heterogeneous Amerindian populations.¹ Like other colonial ports along the Gulf of Mexico, the social interactions in and around colonial Mobile often defy the clear-cut notions of racial identity commonly held in more recent times.² An understanding of the ways in which Africans and their descendants encountered Amerindians, and vice versa, is particularly relevant to the history of Mobile.³ Amerindians and Africans there came into contact with one another to a great extent through the shared experiences of slavery, and a variety of cross-cultural, interpersonal relationships testify to their abilities to negotiate this encounter.

With these daily interactions in mind, this chapter examines the life of Nicolas Mongoula (1720–98), a free black man whose last name meant “my friend” in the Amerindian pidgin language known to scholars as Mobilian Jargon. Given the social context in which he lived, Nicolas Mongoula's identification with Mobilian Jargon fits well into larger patterns of cultural exchange between Africans and Amerindians in colonial Mobile.

Among the many Choctaw villages found upriver from the settlement of Mobile, two were known as Mongoulacha—a place name translated by one contemporaneous French official as “our friends who are there” (*nos amis qui sont la*).⁴ As shown by both James Crawford and Emanuel Drechsel, the word *mongoula* itself meant “my friend” in Mobilian Jargon.⁵

11. Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels*, 41–43, 61–65, 78–80. For a recent treatment of economic and social adaptation among Native Americans, see Murphy, *Gathering of Rivers*.
12. Corkran, *Creek Frontier*, 107, 121, 124–25, 165; Hawkins, *Sketch of the Creek Country*, 45.
13. Conversation with George S. Gaines in “Notes Upon the History of Alabama,” section 14, pt. 1; and “Notes taken from the lips of Hiram Mounger,” section 19, no. 1, Albert J. Pickett Papers, Alabama Department of Archives and History. The Choctaw and Chickasaw names entered the Creek Nation through the marriage of former traders’ children to Creek women.
14. Alexander McGillivray to Charles McLatchy, 4 October 1784, Caughey, *McGillivray of the Creeks*, 83; O’Neill to the Marquis de Sonora, 11 July 1787; O’Neill to Sonora, 157; O’Neill to Miró, 23 July, 1788, all in AGI/PPC, legajo 38, reel 191, frame 234; and O’Neill to Miró, 29 December 1788, AGI/PPC, legajo 38, reel 191, doc. 675.
15. Romans, *Natural History*, 322; Bartram, “Observations,” 323–28.
16. Miró to Pedro Favrot, 18 July 1785, AGI/PPC, legajo 38, reel 154, doc. 784. Miró emphasized the point by insisting that slaves and dependants were included in his prohibition. For a biography of Farmar see Rea, *Robert Farmar*.
17. Green, “Alexander McGillivray.”
18. Even the optimistic Bernard Romans, who traveled through the area in 1777 to survey the area for British interests, complained about the lack of good soil on the Gulf Coast. See Romans, *Natural History*, 115.
19. Creek Treaty with the Spanish, May 31–June 1, 1784, *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, 1:278–79.
20. Treaty of Augusta, 11 November 1783, *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, 1:23.
21. Miró to McGillivray, 7 August 1788, in Caughey, *McGillivray of the Creeks*, 188; and Francisco Cruzat to Miró, 6 June 1789, PLP, reel 5.
22. Coker and Watson, *Indian Traders*, 81–82.
23. O’Neill to José de Ezpeleta, 19 October 1783, in Caughey, *McGillivray of the Creeks*, 62–63. At this time de Ezpeleta was Spanish governor of Mobile.
24. See Waselkov and Smith, “Upper Creek Archaeology”; and Worth, “Lower Creeks.”
25. Brims, Malatchi, and Mary Musgrove were probably Wind Clan. Spalding, *Oglethorpe in America*, 18, 23. For accumulation of property, see “Memoir pour Louisiane,” ANP/AC, B33, C13A, fols. 26–39, 1746, in LOC transcripts, cited in Corkran, *Creek Frontier*, 114. For the most recent treatment of Mary Musgrove’s life, see Green, “Mary Musgrove,” 30, 32, 35. Green argues that Musgrove’s “mediated identity” led her to remake what it was to be a Creek woman and that her negotiating skill allowed her to become “Oglethorpe’s Indian agent.” Her position as an intermediary between the Creeks and Georgia made her powerful, but it also put her in a difficult situation since both sides demanded adherence to their laws.

26. Caughey, *McGillivray of the Creeks*, 10–12.
27. Ezpeleta to Galvez, 8 February 1784, AGI/PPC, legajo 2351, reel 436, doc. 13; O’Neill to Navarre, 5 April 1784, AGI/PPC, legajo 613A, reel 208, frame 73; and Miró to O’Neill, 23 December 1787, AGI/PPC, legajo 3B, reel 154, doc. 1187.
28. McGillivray to McLatchey, Oct. 4, 1784, in Caughey, *McGillivray of the Creeks*, 82; McGillivray to O’Neill, 20 November 1784, PLP, reel 1; and McGillivray to Miró, 12 June 1788, in Caughey, *McGillivray of the Creeks*, 184.
29. For a biography of Alexander McGillivray’s father and a discussion of Tory efforts in the Indian trade, see Cashin, *Lachlan McGillivray*.
30. McGillivray to O’Neill, 5 February 1784, in Caughey, *McGillivray of the Creeks*, 69.
31. McGillivray to O’Neill, 5 February 1784, in Caughey, *McGillivray of the Creeks*, 69.
32. McGillivray to O’Neill, 1 January 1784, PLP, reel 1; McGillivray to O’Neill, 8 November 1785, in Caughey, *McGillivray of the Creeks*, 99; and Miró to Favrot, 31 December 1785, AGI/PPC, legajo 3B, reel 155, doc. 1145.
33. Miró to Favrot, 18 July 1785, AGI/PPC, legajo 3B, reel 154, doc. 784 (nose establern mas arriba de la hacienda de Farmar ni esclavos o dependentes); Miró to Conde de Galvez, 2 March 1786, AGI/PPC, legajo 3B, reel 155, doc. 1150; and O’Neill to Miró, 11 January 1786, AGI/PPC, legajo 37, reel 169, doc. 58, band 2.
34. McGillivray to Miró, 28 August 1788, PLP, reel 4.
35. O’Neill to Sonora, 11 July 1787, in Caughey, *McGillivray of the Creeks*, 157; and O’Neill to Sonora, 20 February 1787, in *McGillivray of the Creeks*, 144.
36. O’Neill to Ezpeleta, 1783, in Caughey, *McGillivray of the Creeks*, 62–63.
37. McGillivray to O’Neill, 1785, in Caughey, *McGillivray of the Creeks*, 99.
38. O’Neill to Miró, 17 February 1787, AGI/PPC, legajo 37, reel 169, doc. 148, band 5; and Hawkins, *Sketch of Creek Country*, 73.
39. Grant, *Letters, Journals and Writings of Benjamin Hawkins*, 21–22, 28.

6. A Nation Divided?

1. Richter, *Facing East*, 236. A number of important works that also explore the grim, centuries-long efforts of southeastern Indians to hold their lands include Claudio Saunt, *New Order of Things*; Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels*; Dowd, *Spirited Resistance*; and Martin, *Sacred Revolt*.
2. Sam Lewin, “Black Seminoles See Case Dismissed,” *Native American Times*, July 7, 2004; Johnston, “Resisting a Genetic Identity,” 262; Brent Staples, “The Black Seminole Indians Keep Fighting for Equality in the American West,” *The New York Times*, November 18, 2003; William Glaberson, “Who Is a Seminole, and Who Gets to Decide?” *New York Times*, January 29, 2001; Scott McCabe, “Black Seminoles ‘Back in the Fight’ for Indian Benefits, Payout Money”; and McCabe, “Lawsuit Against U.S. Seeks Eligibility for Indian Benefits,” *Palm Beach Post*, July 25, 1999.
3. Muskogee/Muscogee/Mucogulges is the self-designation for many groups who

lived in what is now modern-day Georgia and Alabama, and many, though not all, of the southeastern indigenous groups spoke languages of the Muskogean linguistic family. English traders designated the peoples living along the Chattahoochee and Flint rivers as Creeks. The people discussed here came to be known as Lower Creeks, as opposed to the Upper Creeks living on the Alabama, Coosa, and Tallapoosa rivers. See Martin, *Sacred Revolt*, 6–13. A detailed ethnohistorical genealogy of the various groups is found in Wright, *Creeks and Seminoles*, 1–40.

4. Schafer, *St. Augustine's British Years*, 76–77. Schafer argues that, by tightly controlling Indian traders, Governor Grant avoided disastrous wars such as his fellow Englishmen had experienced in Carolina and Georgia.

5. Mahon and Weisman, "Florida's Seminole and Miccosukee Peoples"; and Weisman, *Like Beads on a String*.

6. Bartram, *Southeastern Indians*, 52.

7. Covington, *Seminoles of Florida*, 29.

8. Weisman, "Plantation System."

9. Cline, *Florida Indians*. Cline worked from lists created by the Mikasuki chief Neamathla and by Captain John Bell at an Indian conference convened by Andrew Jackson on September 18, 1821.

10. Weisman argues that the agricultural labor of blacks and their expansion into previously unexploited ecological zones enabled the creation of a surplus and thus Seminole entry into a true plantation economy. See "Plantation System."

11. Giddings, *Exiles of Florida*; Porter, *Negro on the American Frontier*; Amos and Senter, *Black Seminoles*; Klos, "Blacks and the Seminole Indian Removal"; and Landers, *Black Society*, 235–37.

12. Parker, "Men Without God"; and report of Nicolás Grenier, 10 November 1784, cited in Lockett, *East Florida*, 307.

13. Residents of St. Marys to Vicente Manuel de Zéspedes, 24 October 1787, BFP, reel 45; and residents of the St. Johns River, 8 October 1789, BFP, reel 46, cited in Parker, "Men Without God," 151.

14. Carlos Howard to Luis de Las Casas, 2 July 1791, AGI/PPC, legajo 1439.

15. Giddings, *Exiles of Florida*; and Porter, *Negro on the American Frontier*. See also Klos, "Blacks and the Seminole Indian Removal."

16. Cimarrones visited St. Augustine on January 4, 1786, February 28 and July 31, 1787, and August 31, 1788. See Caleb Finegan, "Notes and Commentary on the East Florida Papers: Lists of Gifts to Indians, 1785–1788," unpublished research notes, BFP, reel 160.

17. Wright, *William Augustus Bowles*, 13. Claudio Saunt argues persuasively that Creek *mestizos* who had European fathers and adopted European ideas about the market economy, gender relations, and race had a "profound and disruptive impact on Creek society." Saunt, *New Order of Things*, 2.

18. One of Bowles's Bahamian supporters was Lord Dunmore, who had also effectively used black troops in the Southeast during the American Revolution. Wright, *William Augustus Bowles*; McAlister, "William Augustus Bowles"; White, "Spaniards

and William Augustus Bowles"; and James Seagrove to Juan [John] McQueen, 24 July 1800, BFP, reel 41.

19. The raiders did not respect international borders and also raided into Georgia. Seagrove to McQueen, 24 June 1800, BFP, reel 24.

20. Cited in McAlister, "Marine Forces," 10–11.

21. Enrique White, War Orders for Picolata, 1 July 1800; Instructions for General Biasou, Matanzas, 1 July 1800, both in BFP, reel 55; and Petition of Jorge Jacobo, 9 February 1802, AGI/PPC, legajo 357.

22. Francis Fatio to Enrique White, 25 June 1800; and Fernando de la Puente to White June 24, 1800, both in BFP, reel 55.

23. Junta de Guerra, 29 January 1802, AGI/PPC, legajo 357.

24. Report of Sergeant Martin Oderiz, 19 February 1802; and Report of John McQueen, 7 April 1802, both in BFP, reel, 56; bundle 137G11, container 207, LOC.

25. BFP, reel 56.

26. John Kinard to the Spanish governor, 8 May 1802, BFP, reel 56.

27. Order of Governor Enrique White to various army posts, 11 June 1802, BFP, reel 56.

28. Expenses of the Free Black Militias, 4 August and 24 September 1802, AGI/PPC, legajo 433.

29. The Spaniards had arrested Bowles once before in 1788, but at that time he managed to escape while en route from the Philippines to Madrid to resume his southeastern intrigues. This time Bowles was not so lucky, and he died in the Morro Castle in Cuba. Wright, *William Augustus Bowles*, 16.

30. Suit by Juan Bautista Collins against Don José Antonio Yguáñiz, notarized instruments, 16 January 1810, BFP, reel 167.

31. Landers, *Black Society*, 220–28.

32. Sergeant Felipe Edimboro and fourteen men served among the Seminoles. Among Edimboro's troops were his son-in-law Corporal Second Class Benjamin Wiggins (the mulatto son of English planter Job Wiggins and the Senegalese Ana Gallum), who served as an interpreter. Review Lists of the Free Black Militia of St. Augustine, 12 October 1812, AGI/PPC, legajo 357. The Spanish/Seminole alliance held despite the fact that Kindelán had not been able to present them gifts in over three years. Sebastián Kindelán to Juan Ruíz de Apodaca, 29 July 1812, AGI/PPC, legajo 1789.

33. Kindelán to Apodaca, 12 August 1812, AGI/PPC, legajo 1789; Porter, "Negroes and the East Florida Annexation Plot."

34. On the important role of black linguists in the Seminole Wars see Klos, "Blacks and the Seminole Removal." Even after the Spaniards left Florida, Seminoles and blacks among them maintained trade and contacts with Spanish Cuba.

35. Edward Wanton to Kindelán, 3 July 1812, Correspondence Between the Governor and Subordinates on the St. Johns and St. Marys Rivers, BFP, reel 61; The grateful Kindelán felt "obligated to reward the service and loyalty of this miserable slave." In the name of the government he paid Proctor's owner 350 pesos and granted the translator

his liberty. Kindelán to Apodaca, 13 August 1812, AGI/PPC, legajo 1789. Four years later, on March 8, 1816, Governor José Coppinger also awarded Tony Proctor a military service grant of 185 acres. *Spanish Land Grants in Florida*, Works Progress Administration, State Library Board, 4 (1941): 226–27.

36. Kindelán to Apodaca, 2 August 1812, AGI/PPC, legajo 1789; Although mortally wounded by eight bullets, Marine captain John Williams lived long enough to describe the night battle and the death and scalping of his sergeant (Captain John Williams to Lieutenant Samuel Miller, 15 September 1812, letters received, no. 44, Marine Corps 1812 Archives, NARA). The Patriot accounts (and therefore, most historical treatments based on the English-language sources) reported that the ambush at Twelve Mile Swamp was the work of the Indians, but Kindelán wrote that the “Indians” were actually “our parties of blacks, whom they [the rebels] think are Indians because they wear the same clothing and go painted.”

37. Alexander, “Ambush of Captain John Williams.”

38. In the name of the captive king Fernando VII, the Spanish Junta offered the insurgents a general amnesty. Looking for a graceful out, the United States asked Kindelán to honor the offer, and he did, granting rebels three months within which to register for pardon. Major General Thomas Pinckney to Kindelán, 20 March 1813, and Kindelán to Pinckney, 31 March 1813, cited in Davis, “United States Troops.”

39. During the Creek War (1813–14) Americans under the command of Andrew Jackson waged a series of pitched battles against the nativist Creeks, or Red Sticks. On March 27, 1814, at Horseshoe Bend, the already decimated Red Sticks lost approximately eight hundred warriors, or half their remaining force. Survivors, including the Prophet Francis, fled to Spanish Florida, where some made a final stand at Prospect Bluff. Dowd, *Spirited Resistance*, 185–90.

40. Covington, “Negro Fort,” 79; Coker and Watson, *Indian Traders*, 309.

41. Covington, “Negro Fort”; Milligan, “Slave Rebelliousness.”

42. To protect Georgia settlers, Jackson ordered Fort Scott built at the juncture of the Flint and Chattahoochee Rivers. Vessels supplying the fort from New Orleans had to pass by the Negro Fort. Milligan, “Slave Rebelliousness,” 11.

43. Spaniards living in Pensacola gave Pintado lists of 136 runaways. These lists gave the names, age, color (black or mulatto), and family status of the runaways and in some cases the circumstances by which they arrived at Prospect Bluff, their occupations, and their stated value. Don Antonio Montero claimed to be the owner of the black commander at the fort, Garçon (Garson), who was a thirty-year-old carpenter, as well as of four other men and three women. Pensacola’s former governor, Vicente Folch, also claimed two of the runaways—the thirty-year-old carpenter Tom, valued at seven hundred pesos, and twenty-three-year-old Agustín, valued at five hundred pesos. List of the Slaves Belonging to Owners in Pensacola, 30 December 1814 and 4 March and 6 May 1815, AGI/SD, legajo 2580.

44. John Innerarity to Commander Gonzalo Manrique, 16 May 1814, cited in “Documents Relating to Colonel Edward Nicholls and Captain George Woodbine in Pensacola,

1814,” *Florida Historical Quarterly* 10 (July 1931): 51–54; List of the Slaves Belonging to Owners in Pensacola, 30 Dec., 1814 and 4 Mar. and 6 May, 1815, AGI/SD, legajo 2580; Edmund Doyle to John Innerarity, April 6, 1815, cited in “The Pantón, Leslie Papers, Letters of Edmund Doyle,” *Florida Historical Quarterly* 17 (Jan. 1939): 237–42.

45. List of the Slaves Belonging to Owners in Pensacola, 4 March and 6 May 1815, AGI/SD, legajo 2580.

46. List of the Slaves Belonging to Owners in Pensacola, 4 March and 6 May 1815, AGI/SD, legajo 2580; Aptheke, “Maroons.”

47. Doyle signed his letter “In hopes that you may yet hang the Scoundrel.” Edmund Doyle to Captain R. C. Spencer [of the Royal Navy], undated, cited in “Pantón, Leslie Papers,” 242. Despite Doyle’s negative assessment, which was shared by the United States Indian agent, Benjamin Hawkins, Nicolls demonstrated concern for the black and Indian allies on a number of occasions. He offered to pay the remaining two hundred pesos that the mulatto Carlos owed his owner for his freedom, but Pintado felt he had no authority to accept it. List of the Slaves Belonging to Owners in Pensacola, 30 December 1814, and 4 March and 6 May 1815, AGI/SD, legajo 2580.

48. Colonel Edward Nicolls to Colonel Benjamin Hawkins, 28 April and 12 May 1815; Hawkins to Nicolls, 28 May 1815; *Niles Weekly Register*, June 10, 1815.

49. Alexander Arbuthnot to Nicolls, 26 August 1817, in Parton, *Andrew Jackson*, 1:414–16.

50. Admiral Alexander Cochrane’s offer of freedom was issued in Bermuda on April 2, 1814. Vicente Sebastián Pintado to José de Soto, 29 April 1815; and List of the Slaves Belonging to Owners in Pensacola, 6 May 1815, both in AGI/SD, legajo 2580.

51. Pintado confronted Captain Woodbine about the slaves he allegedly lured from East Florida, and Woodbine stated that seventy-eight slaves belonging to the Indians accompanied him to Prospect Bluff but that none came directly from St. Augustine. Pintado to de Soto, 29 April 1815, AGI/SD, legajo 2580.

52. Colonel D. L. Clinch to Colonel R. Butler, 2 August 1816, cited in Forbes, *Sketches Historical and Topographical*, 202.

53. “Report by a Gentleman from New Orleans,” *Niles Weekly Register*, September 14, 1816; “Report of the Attack of Major M’Intosh,” *Niles Weekly Register*, August 31, 1816. Colonel Clinch described the action in graphic, yet exculpatory, terms: “The explosion was awful, and the scene horrible beyond description. Our first care, on arriving at the scene of the destruction, was to rescue and relieve the unfortunate beings who survived the explosion. The war yells of the Indians, the cries and lamentations of the wounded, compelled the soldier to pause in the midst of victory, to drop a tear for the sufferings of his fellow beings, and to acknowledge that the great Ruler of the Universe must have used us as his instruments in chastising the blood-thirsty and murderous wretches that defended the fort.” Clinch to Butler, 2 August 1816, record group 45, U.S. Navy, 1775–1910, subject file J, box 181, NARA.

54. Clinch to Butler, 2 August 1816, record group 45, U.S. Navy 1775–1910, subject file J, box 181, NARA. Colonel Clinch’s letter describing the events at the Negro Fort was

reprinted in the *National Intelligencer*, November 15, 1819. The author thanks Stephanie Cole for this reference. Covington, "Negro Fort," 87.

55. Alexander Arbuthnot to John Arbuthnot, 2 April 1818, cited in *Narrative of a Voyage*, 216–18.

56. Heijah, also known as Hachy, in fact did have blacks among his people. General Edmund P. Gaines to the Seminoly Chief, and King Hachy to Gaines, August 1818, cited in *Narrative of a Voyage*, 221–22.

57. Robert Ambrister to Edward Nicolls, 1818, cited in *Narrative of a Voyage*, 260.

58. Wright, "A Note on the First Seminole War"; Coker and Watson, *Indian Traders*, 310–29. From Bowlegs Town Jackson exulted prematurely, "I have reached and destroyed this and the other town in its vicinity, and having captured the principal excitors of the war I think I may safely say, that the Indian war, for the present, is terminated." Jackson to Governor Rabun of Georgia, 20 April 1818, cited in *Niles Weekly Register*, May 23, 1818.

59. Renamed Polidore, Fernando married one of Jackson's slaves at the Hermitage, and when his Spanish owner sought his recovery, Jackson paid five hundred dollars to retain him in Tennessee. Catalina Satorios to Jackson, 16 April, 7 and 14 June 7 and 8 July 1822; Jackson to Satorios, 16 and 22 May 1822. The author thanks Dr. Larry McKee, former archaeologist at the Hermitage, and Sharon Macpherson of the Andrew Jackson Papers Project at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, for this reference. An account of Polidore can also be found in Parton, *Andrew Jackson*, 1: 483–84.

60. Brown, *Florida's Peace River Frontier*, 9–10; and Brown, "Sarrazota." Arbuthnot had written, "Tell my friend Bowlegs, that it is throwing away his people to attempt to resist such a powerful force as will be down on Sahwahnee." Alexander Arbuthnot to John Arbuthnot, 2 April 1818, cited in *Narrative of a Voyage*, 217.

61. "Defences of the Floridas." Creeks and Seminoles traditionally migrated to hunting grounds in southern Florida from November to March of each year, and because the Seminole hunters traveled with their families, they established permanent villages around Tampa Bay, Brown, *Florida's Peace River Frontier*, 4–5.

62. Brown, "Sarrazota," 16.

63. United States secretary of war John C. Calhoun denounced the raid and blamed it on the Creek nation (Nassau's *Royal Gazette and Bahama Advertiser*, March 20, 1822), cited in Brown, "Sarrazota," 16.

64. In 1823 Horatio Dexter visited a number of Seminole villages, including Peliklikaha. Horatio Dexter's Report on South Florida, 20 August 1823, James David Glunt Papers, P. K. Yonge Library, University of Florida. Peliklikaha is currently being excavated by Terry Weik, an assistant professor of anthropology at the University of South Carolina. Scott McCabe, "Searching for Peliklikaha, Land of the Forgotten Seminoles," *Palm Beach Post*, August 20, 2001.

65. Abraham to General Thomas Jessup, 28 April 1838, manuscript box 5, Miscellaneous Manuscript Collection, P. K. Yonge Library, University of Florida, Gainesville. For a detailed discussion of the sad removals westward of both blacks and Seminoles, see Littlefield, *Africans and Seminoles*. While useful, this work depends almost wholly

upon English-language sources and thus makes some serious errors about early black/Seminole alliances.

66. Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War*; Mulroy, *Freedom on the Border*; and Porter, *Black Seminoles*.

7. My Friend Nicolas Mongoula

1. The author thanks Richard Chastang for his invaluable assistance in the Archives of the Archdiocese of Mobile. He also thanks Ginger Gould, Jennie LaMonte, and Ariana Hannum Moore for helpful references and Emanuel Drechsel for helpful comments and suggestions. In addition to small Indian villages settled nearby, Mobile was only a short distance away from much larger Amerindian populations, notably the Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Upper and Lower Creeks. For a broad overview of large colonial Indian populations in the region, see Wood, "Changing Population," 66–72. On the smaller Indian groups located next to Mobile, the 1721 census of Mobile, for example, lists neighboring villages of Alibamons, Apalaches, Mobilians, Muniaba, Taensas, and Tomes. See Maduell, *Census Tables*, 25–27. See also Usner, *Indians, Settlers, and Slaves*, 60–65.

2. Important general works for the study of colonial Mobile include Brown, "Colonial Mobile"; Hamilton, *Colonial Mobile*; and Higginbotham, *Old Mobile*.

3. Several recent works have focused specifically on interactions between Africans and Amerindians in and around the colonial Gulf of Mexico; a number of references to this topic may be found in older works as well. Some examples include Landers, "Black-Indian Interaction"; Usner, "Indian-Black Relations"; and Littlefield, *Africans and Creeks*. See also Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana*, 97–100, 115–18, 171; Carroll, *Blacks in Colonial Veracruz*, 88–89; and Wright, *Early History of Cuba*, 174–75, 192–94, 347.

4. "Voyage de la Louisiane dans l'intérieur des terres [1732]," in Documents on French Colonial Louisiana, Acadia, the Antilles, and the Yucatan [manuscript], [ca. 1760], ed. Chrétien Guillaume de Lamoignon de Malesherbes. Rudy Lamont Ruggles Collection, Newberry Library, 140–42. Place names in the census were transcribed phonetically by a French official; it seems probable that the names of these fifty-three Choctaw villages were given to the census taker in Mobilian Jargon rather than in Choctaw. See also Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives: French Dominion* (hereafter cited as MPAFD) 1:136–54; and Swanton, *Source Material*, 58–75.

5. Crawford, *Mobilian Trade Language*, 85; Drechsel, "Towards an Ethnohistory of Speaking," 170–71; and Drechsel, "An Integrated Vocabulary," 284.

6. Drechsel, *Mobilian Jargon*, xix, 5–14, 250–324. See also Crawford, *Mobilian Trade Language*, ii–iii, 3–8, 16–62.

7. Usner, *Indians, Settlers, & Slaves*.

8. Drechsel, *Mobilian Jargon*, 255, 257–60. "The community of non-Indian speakers of Mobilian Jargon," Drechsel writes, "included explorers, interpreters, traders, settlers, missionaries, Indian agents, plantation owners, store clerks, and others who regularly interacted with Native Americans of the area" (255). See also Drechsel, "Towards an Ethnohistory of Speaking," 168; and Usner, *Indians, Settlers, and Slaves*, 258–59.