

THE YAMASEE INDIANS

From Florida to South Carolina

Edited and with an introduction by DENISE I. BOSSY

Foreword by ALAN GALLAY

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Dedicated to Yamasee peoples, past, present, and future.

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Yamasee-African Ties in Carolina and Florida

JANE LANDERS

This essay examines the relations Yamasee Indians formed with enslaved Africans in early Carolina, their alliance in the Yamasee War that erupted in 1715, and their subsequent ties in Spanish Florida. English narratives and scholarship about the Yamasee War pay little attention, if any, to Africans in this history.¹ Africans were still relatively few in number in Carolina, and English proprietors, traders, and missionaries were naturally more focused on indigenous geopolitics. The Spanish, however, were long used to reporting on indigenous and African groups in their colonies and produced much more detailed records on each, of both a secular and religious nature. During decades of English oppression in Carolina abused Yamasee and enslaved Africans found common cause, and finally in 1715 they rose together in revolt. When their uprising ultimately failed, they fled southward to seek promised sanctuary in Florida and to become part of the Spanish community.

Spanish officials in St. Augustine considered the Yamasee returning converts and allies and allotted lands on the city's periphery on which the Yamasee chiefs formed new villages. Despite a 1693 order requiring Florida's governors to shelter runaway slaves from Carolina seeking the "True Faith," however, African veterans of the Yamasee War allies had a different outcome. "Heathens" among the Yamasee retained some Africans as their own slaves until Spanish officials purchased them, incorporated them into black militia units, and deployed them alongside Indian counterparts on repeated guerrilla raids against Carolina. In 1738 the Yamasee Chief Jospo (as he was known in Spanish

records) joined in the still enslaved Africans' legal efforts to secure a long sought freedom, which the Spanish Crown ultimately confirmed.²

Other scholars in this volume provide important new information on the earliest origins of the Yamasee and their amalgamated nature, the indigenous politics of the Southeast in which they were embroiled, and their initial conversion to Catholicism. Drawing on a variety of sources from colonial Carolina and Spanish Florida, I focus instead on the little known African engagement with the Yamasee and the implications for both groups. Africans proved valuable allies to the Yamasee during their war and their southward flight to Spanish sanctuary. Once reaching Florida, wartime alliances seem to have fractured, with Christian Yamasee remaining loyal to the African warriors who aided them, and non-Christian Yamasee (infidels, in Spanish terminology) treating them as disposable property, much as the English had.

The Yamasee first begin to appear in European records in the mid-seventeenth century, and scholars theorize they were remnants of earlier groups displaced multiple times across the Southeast by Chichimeco/Westo slave raiders, armed by Virginia traders.³ In 1670 English planter-proprietors from Barbados launched the new colony of Carolina in Yamasee lands still claimed by Spain, "but 10 days journey" from St. Augustine, further destabilizing the geopolitics of the Southeast. The region's diverse Indian nations were soon swept into a terrible international contest that would ruin most of them.⁴

Although the 1670 Treaty of Madrid recognized England's settlements in Carolina and promised peace, Spanish settlers in St. Augustine were threatened by Protestant competitors on their borders and repeatedly tried to eliminate them. In 1670 Governor Guerra y Vega launched the first failed attempt against Carolina, and in 1676 Florida's royal treasurer, Don Juan Menéndez Márquez, commanded a small flotilla of three ships and fourteen *piraguas* in another abortive attempt to eject the "usurpers." That expedition, which probably included both Africans and Indians, was undone by a storm.⁵ Thereafter more than a century of conflict ensued over the "debatable lands."⁶ Anglo-Spanish hostilities triggered waves of migration, raids, and counter-raids that engulfed indigenous groups and African slaves alike in imperial contests for control of the Southeast.

Free and enslaved Africans had formed part of every Spanish exploration of the Southeast and also helped build Spain's earliest Atlantic coast settlements of St. Augustine and Santa Elena.⁷ Carolina's earliest settlers also brought small numbers of enslaved Africans with them from Barbados to begin the hard work of clearing forests and building a new settlement. Over the next years the English colonists periodically imported more "seasoned" slaves from their sugar colonies of Barbados and Jamaica. As their counterparts in Virginia were also doing, Carolina settlers enslaved local Indians as well. But the increasing demand for labor proved greater than local indigenous supply, and in 1674 the Lords Proprietors of Carolina ordered Andrew Percival to "begin a Trade with the Spaniards for Negroes." No evidence survives that this plan was ever realized.⁸

Given their early numeric weakness, both the English and the Spaniards meanwhile used Indian and African surrogates to do much of their fighting on this unstable Atlantic frontier.⁹ This, of course, was standard practice for Spanish colonizers. In 1681 Florida's governor, Juan Márquez Cabrera, followed the lead of short-handed governors across the Spanish Atlantic and created a new *pardo* (mulatto) and *moreno* (black) militia in St. Augustine. A 1683 roster of the forty-two men and six officers who composed this unit offer little more than names. Two members are known from other sources. The negro Juan Merino, an ironsmith from Havana sentenced to exile in Florida for some unstated crime, later became free and served as second lieutenant in the black militia. Merino owned an ironsmithing shop and repaired weaponry for the military. Christin de Tapia, a mulatto storeowner in St. Augustine involved in a trial of indigenous counterfeiter, was a corporal in the unit. They and the other black militia members swore before God and the cross their willingness to serve the king. While their pledge may have been formulaic, it was also an effort to confirm their status as members of the religious and civil community and as vassals of a king from whom they might expect protection or patronage in exchange for armed service.¹⁰ These black militiamen and their successors proved an important asset for Florida's governors, who benefited from their linguistic and cultural abilities, their knowledge of the frontier, and their military skills.

In 1684 Scottish settlers established Stuarts Town, closer still to St. Augustine, and shortly afterward its founder, Lord Cardross (Henry Erskine), wrote to the Lords Proprietors in London, "Wee thought fitt to acquaint you that yesterday some more of the nation of the Yamasees arrived at St. Helena to settle with those of their nation formerly settled there having come from about St. Augustine." This report speaks to the historic geopolitical mobility of the Yamasee as they attempted to navigate between contending European powers.¹¹

As Amy Bushnell describes in this volume, the newly settled Yamasee wasted no time in launching a series of attacks on the Spanish missions. In March 1685 they hit the Timucuan village of Santa Catalina de Afuyca, killing eighteen mission residents and taking twenty-five others as slaves back to Carolina. As an added insult, the former converts also sacked the mission's church.¹² Attacks, rebellions, and shifting alliances continued.¹³

The following August Governor Juan Márquez Cabrera retaliated for the Yamasee attack on Santa Catalina de Afuyca by sending a Spanish raiding party of fifty-three unnamed Indians and members of St. Augustine's black militia to attack Carolina settlements.¹⁴ At Governor Joseph Morton's plantation on Edisto Island they recovered the mission ornaments stolen by the Yamasee the previous year and seized "money and plate and eleven slaves to the value of £1500" before turning southward to burn down the Scottish settlement of Stuarts Town on their way home to St. Augustine. It is tempting to wonder if some among the black and Indian militias might actually have known the enslaved they "liberated" on Edisto.¹⁵ As noted, the repeated cross-currents of raids and migrations past Edisto and across the Southeast acquainted many blacks and Indians alike with the routes to St. Augustine as well as with the enmity existing between the English and Spanish colonies.¹⁶ Africans enslaved in Carolina also learned, perhaps from St. Augustine's black militia raiders, that Spanish religious and legal systems offered a path to freedom.

Such valuable information could also have come from the twenty-three black and mulatto "prizes" sold in Charleston by the French pirate Sieur Nicolas de Grammont following his spectacular 1683 raid on the Spanish ports of Vera Cruz and Campeche. Grammont's multiracial

crew included a black corsair, Diego, and a mulatto named Thomas who served as a translator during Diego's interrogation by Governor Juan Márquez Cabrera. Diego and Thomas were the only two from Grammont's crew to survive several days of pitched battles against the Spaniards.¹⁷ They, too, would have understood that freedom was possible among the Spanish. Carolina's "charter generation" of slaves was thus perhaps as diverse as the confederated Yamasees. It did not take long for those Africans ensnared in English chattel slavery to attempt to reach that freedom. And their numbers were growing.

Carolina's earliest settlers brought only small numbers of enslaved Africans from Barbados to begin the hard work of clearing forests and building housing and could not afford to let this policy go unchallenged. Although the Trans-Atlantic Slave Voyages Database lists no voyages from Africa to the North American mainland for the years 1670-1720, reports from Carolina indicate a larger volume of Africans imported into Carolina than earlier supposed. Carolina planters initiated a direct trade with Africa as early as 1697, when Barbadian merchant George Peters sent slaves to Charles Town on his ship *Turtle*, but naval officials there seized them before they could be sold because the captain was a "Scots man borne."¹⁸ In 1699 English traders established Fort James in the Gambia River as their headquarters and Captain W. Rhett brought slaves directly from Guinea to Charles Town aboard the *Providence*.¹⁹ The same year Edward Randolph reported to the Board of Trade and Plantations that there were only 1,100 families in the province and that there were "four negroes to one white man."²⁰ Over the next years Carolinians also imported more "seasoned" slaves from their sugar colonies of Barbados and Jamaica, Martinique, and Guadeloupe as well as from Madeira, where the Carolinians regularly traded.²¹

Many of the newly imported Africans were destined for work in the dense pine forests and swamps of Carolina, where, encouraged by British bounties on tar, pitch, rosin, and turpentine, settlers early established critical timber and naval stores industries.²² As Peter H. Wood has shown, early Carolina's "black pioneers" also became "Cattle-hunters" in the Carolina forests. Africans came to know the Carolina landscape by serving as "path-finders" and linguists for Indian trad-

ers. All these occupations allowed even recently imported Africans a certain amount of autonomy and mobility as well as access to Native peoples and their knowledge of the geopolitics of the region.²³

In 1687 eight black men and two women, one nursing a baby girl, stole a canoe and fled southward from Carolina to St. Augustine. On reaching the Spanish capital they requested baptism into the "True Faith."²⁴ Given the multicultural nature of the Gambia region, early missionary reports of Portuguese-speaking slaves in Carolina, and the 1683 arrival of enslaved blacks from Vera Cruz, it is quite possible that some of the runaways reaching Florida had already been exposed to Roman Catholicism.²⁵ This group then may have known of the protections and opportunities the Catholic Church offered, possibly even manipulating confessional politics to their own advantage in making a shared request for religious sanctuary.²⁶ As required of a good Christian ruler, Governor Diego de Quiroga y Losada saw to the African runaways' Catholic instruction, baptism, and marriage and refused to return them to Captain William Dunlop, the Indian trader who arrived from Carolina to recover them the following year.²⁷

Spanish officials reported additional groups of Carolina fugitives arriving in St. Augustine in 1688, 1689, and 1690. Carolina's governor, James Colleton, complained that slaves ran "dayly to your towns." Unsure about how to handle the refugees, St. Augustine's officials repeatedly solicited Spain for guidance and finally, on November 7, 1693, Charles II issued a royal proclamation "giving liberty to all . . . the men as well as the women . . . so that by their example and by my liberality others will do the same."²⁸

English colonists still trying to stabilize Carolina could not afford to allow this policy to stand unchallenged. With the outbreak of the War of Spanish Succession, or Queen Anne's War, as it is known in English records (1702-13), Governor James Moore organized a combined force of about 1,000 men, including 600 Yamasee and Lower Creek (Uchise) warriors to wage war against the Spaniards. In September 1702 Governor Moore and Colonel Robert Daniel launched a combined naval and land attack on St. Augustine. Governor José de Zúñiga y Cerda (1699-1706) gathered his multiracial subjects into the Castillo de San Marcos during the fifty-two-day siege, and when

support finally arrived from Cuba, Governor Moore burned the town and withdrew. But Moore's raid did produce results; he returned to Carolina with approximately 500 enslaved Timucuas gathered along the coast.²⁹ Altamaha and other Yamasee chiefs involved in Moore's raid later complained that Carolina trader John Cochran stole their plunder from St. Augustine, and the Commons House of Assembly ordered that they be given powder and shot in compensation.³⁰

Although he failed to take St. Augustine, Governor Moore launched repeated raids on the Spanish colony. By 1705 Moore's forces had destroyed thirty-two Native towns, and Florida's new governor, Francisco de Córcoles y Martínez, gathered his remaining 401 indigenous subjects into six new towns: Nuestra Señora de Rosario (Apalachees), Nombre de Dios, Tolomato, Santa María, San Francisco Potano, and Costa (said to be a town of infidels).³¹ Spanish accounts from the Archive of the Indies, which may have been inflated, record that thousands of Florida Indians were slaughtered and thousands more became slaves in Carolina or the Caribbean. English sources, which probably sought to minimize the carnage and the profits in their missives to the proprietors in London, put the number of killed and enslaved in the hundreds.³²

In retaliation for these English raids, French allies joined Governor Francisco de Córcoles y Martínez's triracial forces in a counter-attack on Charles Town in August 1706. An English account of the event noted: "In 1706 the Spaniards at St. Augustine joined the French from Martinico in making up a fleet of ten Sail, with eight hundred Men, Whites, Mustees and Negroes, and two hundred Indians, to invade this province." This reference to mustees again recognizes the Indian-African intermixture common in Spanish worlds. Despite some initial success, this retaliatory expedition failed, but once again blacks and Indians in Carolina would have learned more about the multiracial military of Spanish Florida, and the Anglo-Spanish enmity that offered them an alternative alliance.³³

Spanish accounts state that Carolina raiders had been incorporating blacks into their largely Indian forces for some time, but during the course of the War of Spanish Succession, Carolina officials created a militia of 950 "freemen," each of whom was to present for service "one

able slave armed with gun or lance."³⁴ By 1709 Governor Edward Randolph reported to the Board of Trade that there were "four negroes to one white man" in Carolina.³⁵ This points again to large numbers of enslaved men in the colony, despite their invisibility in the Trans-Atlantic Slave Voyages Database.³⁶ Unlike the Spanish, however, the Carolinians did not offer freedom for military service or create a militia of free black men. The newly armed, but still enslaved, black men Carolina officials sent into service against St. Augustine's black and Indian militias would surely have recognized the differences between Spanish and Anglo slave systems and that Spanish Florida offered them a refuge. It is tempting to wonder if any of those men later fought in the Yamasee War and subsequently fled to Spanish Florida.

Many studies of the Yamasee War have blamed that conflict on Carolina's Indian traders who exploited the local indigenous groups, enmeshing them in ruinous debt. But the Yamasee had many other complaints as well. The *Journals of the Commissioners of the Indian Trade* reported that in 1711 a number of traders, including Thomas Jones, John Whitehead, Joseph Bryan, Robert Steale, John Palmer, and Barnaby Bull, were all settled in Yamasee lands.³⁷ The Yamasee filed repeated complaints against these traders with the Carolina Commissioners of Indian Trade but usually to no avail. They charged that John Wright, the Indian agent posted at the paramount Upper Yamasee village of Pocotaligo forced them to carry burdens, demanded that they build a house for him next to that of the council house, and debauched their young girls.³⁸ "Lewis King of yr Pocotaligo Town," who Alexander Sweeney theorizes may once have been baptized as Luis, also complained against traders Cornelius MacKarty (sic) and Samuel Hilden for "stripping and beating Wiggasay and Haclantoosa, two of his people att one of their playes."³⁹ The Carolina Commissioners of Indian Trade finally convicted trader John Fraser of misconduct at Pocotaligo for having violently beaten the Tomatly king, but still trader abuses continued. The "Altamahaw King" and several of his warriors complained that trader Alexander Nichols "lately beat a Woman that he kept as his wife so that she Dyed and the child within her . . . he also beat "the Chasee King's Wife who is very ill & another Woman being King Altimahaws Sister." The Yamasee threatened to

leave their towns if Nichols were not punished, which led commissioners to issue a warrant for his arrest. But attempts by authorities to try to curb the worst of these abuses were largely ineffective, and the traders lived almost as rulers in their host towns.⁴⁰ In an oft-cited complaint the Huspah king reported to Governor Charles Craven: "Mr. Wright said that the 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 Country."⁴¹

While English traders were abusing and alienating the Yamasee, Governor Francisco de Córcoles y Martínez (1706–16) was gifting delegations of Yamasee in St. Augustine and attempting to win back Spain's former allies. Traders living in Yamasee villages noted the visits of the caciques to St. Augustine and the gifts with which they returned.⁴² The same traders also lost some of their own slaves to the Spanish sanctuary of St. Augustine. Indian traders Joshua Bryan and William Bray, like William Dunlop before them, tracked their runaway slaves to St. Augustine, but Spanish officials refused to hand them over.⁴³

Black slaves continued to run from Carolina, and it was possible they were treated even more brutally by these traders than were the Yamasee. After an alleged slave conspiracy in 1711, Carolinians enacted a harsh new slave code in 1712 that permitted planters to punish slaves using mutilations like castration and amputation, and also execution. Reverend Francis Le Jau, who was sent to Carolina by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts in 1701, documented the abuse from which slaves ran, horrified at some of the tortures and mutilations he witnessed and protested. He reported that one slave from Martinique launched an abortive rebellion and was executed, while others sought divine protection and remedy. Le Jau noted that some of the slaves could read and that one had reputedly received a book from an angel's hand, had heard voices and seen fires and predicted "there would be a dismal time and the moon would be turned into blood."⁴⁴

On April 14, 1715, that slave prophet's dire prediction seemed to come true. In an effort to resolve long simmering tensions and hostilities with their Yamasee trading partners, Carolina's Indian com-

missioners sent a delegation to Pocotaligo. Among them were the traders William Bray, who had tracked some of his runaway slaves to St. Augustine earlier in the year; Thomas Nairne, Samuel Warner, and John Cochran; and John Wright, against whom the Yamasee had filed numerous complaints. The Yamasee at Pocotaligo received the traders and even feasted with them the night before, but on Good Friday, they launched a well-coordinated attack against their English oppressors. Painted in red and black stripes (for war and death), the Yamasee and other Indians who joined the war killed ninety English traders over the course of the war, including traders John Wright, John Ruffy, and John Cochran, and they tortured Thomas Nairne for three days, burning lightwood splinters under his skin until he expired.⁴⁵

Upon hearing of the massacre at Pocotaligo, Governor Craven sent Colonel John Barnwell and Captain Robert Mackey by water to retaliate. Within a week Governor Craven and a hastily raised force that included 400 black slaves battled an estimated 500 Yamasee engaged in a "hot engagement" at Sadketché town. After heavy fighting Sadketché's war captain, Yfallaquisca, and the Yamasee dispersed into the nearby swamps.⁴⁶ Soon after, another group of Yamasee attacked a small garrison of about twenty Carolinians, killing all but one. Captain George Chicken pursued this group and killed several. In late July 1715 the Yamasee launched another offensive, proving as Steven Hahn argues that this long war was not over. An estimated five hundred attacked St. Paul's parish, burning some twenty plantations. They also attacked Reverend William Treadwell Bull's parsonage, where they broke the church windows and tore the lining off the pews. These actions by the Yamasee might have been a repudiation of the evangelization efforts of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, one of their few advocates. But the Yamasee also killed cattle and horses they might have used, which is reminiscent of the millenarian Pueblo Revolt some years earlier, when rebels also sought to erase all evidence of the oppressors.⁴⁷ Like Reverend Francis Le Jau, Reverend Bull regarded the Yamasee War as God's punishment for the traders' abuse of the impoverished Yamasee and for the planters' equally horrific abuse of their African slaves.

Recognizing the chance for their own liberation, enslaved Africans

living nearby joined in the Yamasee uprising. Unwilling to recognize such agency, Carolinians reported that their slaves had been "taken."⁴⁸ Initially it seemed they might succeed in eliminating the English colony. After military reinforcements from Virginia and North Carolina helped turn the tide for the embattled Carolinians, the Yamasees sought refuge among the very Spaniards they had once harried. Yamasee Chiefs Jospo (Huspah) and Yfallaquisca (Perro Bravo) and their African allies fled southward together to Spanish Florida, where they hoped to claim the religious sanctuary others had earlier received. The Reverend Francis Le Jau's letter of October 5, 1715, to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, reported that the father of the famed Yamasee Prince George, about whom Denise Bossy writes, was by that time safe in St. Augustine.⁴⁹

Apparently not recognizing the irony, the Carolinians complained, "Their refusal to Deliver up these slaves has encouraged a great many more lately to run away to that Place, and what is still more Barbrous in ye Spaniards is, that they Suffer ye Yamasees to keep Divers of our white Women & Children as Slaves amongst them of which we have certain intelligence of captive hence by Hugh Brian, confirmed by ye Master of a New York Sloop, who actually saw none but two Children whom ye Spaniards have Got, in order to make good Christians as they call their Proselytes."⁵⁰ Perhaps in retaliation for the repeated enslavement of Yamasee women and children Chief Jospogue had captured Brian, the son of Indian Agent Joshua Bryan, but later released him in an abortive peace effort. The Carolinians reported, "At length his Master, being called the Woospau (Huspah) King, having under his command about Fifteen Men, sent him in to us, to desire a Peace with us."⁵¹

The Yamasee War once again shifted the indigenous geopolitics of the Southeast, and Spanish documentary sources pick up the Yamasee narrative in Florida. Only a month after the outbreak of the war, and in response to the perceived weakness of the English, Coweta's Chief Brims urged his subjects to switch their allegiance to the Spaniards. He sent a delegation of four chiefs to St. Augustine to relay this offer: Istopoyole, "heathen" cacique of Nicunapa, in the province of Apalachicola; Yfallaquisca, "heathen" war captain of Sadketché, in the same province of Apalachicola; Alonso, Christian mico and governor

of Ocuté in Tama; and Gabriel, "heathen" son of the Christian Yamasee, Santiago Sule. On May 28, 1715, they met with Governor Francisco de Córcoles y Martínez, the royal accountant Captain Francisco Menéndez Márquez, and the royal treasurer Don Salvador Garzía at the Nuestra Señora de Tolomato mission. Through translator Antonio Perez Campaña of the Guale nation, who was also able to speak Uchise and Yamasee, Yfallaquisca, known in Spanish records as the "heathen" Perro Bravo, related the reasons for Coweta's political realignment.⁵²

Through his interpreter Perro Bravo told the Spanish officials that for more than three years the governor of San Jorge (Charles Town) had taken Yamasee children from their parents and shipped them away to be sold as slaves. Perro Bravo cast the Yamasee slaughter of the English traders at Pocotaligo as proactive self-defense, repeating an oft-cited report the Huspah king had made to Charles Craven that white settlers intended to kill their head men, enslave the rest of the Yamasee and send them away from their homes.⁵³ In an interesting inversion of the story told in English narratives, Perro Bravo also stated that English trader William Bray's indigenous wife had alerted the caciques of Sadketché and Pocotaligo to this danger.⁵⁴ Perro Bravo's account supports William L. Ramsey's supposition that Bray's wife was indigenous, and it is possible, even probable, if Bray's wife had relatives living at Pocotaligo, she did not share Cuffy's warning with her husband. Perro Bravo's account did not mention Cuffy, but as Ramsey notes since Cuffy or Kofi is an Akan day name for a man born on Friday, the alleged "Indian Cuffy" may well have been one of the Africans allied with the Yamasee confederacy.⁵⁵ William Bray's account from English records stated that because of "his great love for her and her two sisters," a "Yamasee" man warned his wife that the Creeks were going to attack Charles Town, that he would return right before the event, and that "they must goe (sic) immediately to their town," probably either Pocotaligo or Sadketché. Despite this warning, Bray left for St. Augustine "after some of his slaves." For his supposed loyalty in warning of the forthcoming attack, as Ramsey recounts, Carolina's Commons House of Assembly rewarded "the Indian Cuffy with 10 lbs of Carolina currency and a coat."⁵⁶

Continuing his narrative, Perro Bravo told that Spanish officials that fearing for their own lives, the Yamasee decided to kill the English

traders and an Englishman who arrived the next day allegedly bearing their execution orders. Perro Bravo did not name that Englishman nor the person able to read the English letters, but the Spanish reported that the Yamasee were "capaces en la idioma ynglesa por la frecuencia del trafico" (capable in English for the frequency of their exchanges).⁵⁷ As Reverend Le Jau had earlier reported, some enslaved Africans were also able to read English and may have translated this letter for the Yamasee. Perro Bravo stated that the English governor's letter was also said to divulge his plans to lead troops to Pocotaligo, so the Yamasee hid their women and children inland near the Ysabel River, deployed groups of warriors to lie in wait, and were able to rout the English forces. Perro Bravo added that once the war began, Spanish prisoners "and other blacks and mulattos" as well as some Spanish women held prisoner on English plantations fled to Yamasee towns and subsequently joined their exodus to Spanish Florida.⁵⁸ Some of the "blacks and mulattos" may have been the later founders of Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose in Spanish Florida, but I have found no other reference to Spanish women held prisoner by the Carolinians.⁵⁹ This reference to blacks and mulattos confirms Chief Jospo's testimony some twenty years later, that Africans, like other indigenous groups, had been incorporated into the multicultural Yamasee confederacy prior to their removal to Florida. The reputedly warlike Yamasee must have recognized and respected the military skills of these escaped slaves, as did the Spanish, who formed them into frontier militias. In this manner the Mandinga man who became Francisco Menéndez and led the first free black town in what is today the United States, Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose, escaped enslavement in Carolina.

Governor Córcoles welcomed his new allies with gifts, firearms, and foodstuffs and also sought and received a significant increase in the annual subsidy for Indian gifts.⁶⁰ During their parlay Perro Bravo laid eight chamois cords full of knots before the Spaniards, telling them that each knot denoted a town promising to switch allegiance to the Spaniards (a total of 161 towns) and that towns of fewer than 200 persons were not even represented on the cords. Perro Bravo thus offered the Spaniards approximately 32,000 new indigenous allies, and he asked that the cords be sent to the king of Spain as a missive from Chief Brims.⁶¹

As was customary when Native delegations visited St. Augustine, Yfallaquisca or Perro Bravo and the others were housed among the city residents, and Perro Bravo and his subjects stayed in the house of Sergeant Juan de Ayala y Escovar. In Perro Bravo's retinue were four African "slaves," who after fighting with the Yamasee for several years surely considered that they had liberated themselves. Perro Bravo gifted Sgt. Ayala with one of his black slaves as compensation for the food and expenses of his stay, but he stated in subsequent complaints that he expected to be paid for the three others.⁶² The African Perro Bravo "gifted" to Ayala may have been the most significant of them, later to be baptized as Francisco Menéndez, and the remaining three may have been Menéndez's later subordinates at Mose, Antonio Eligio de la Puente, Francisco Escovedo, and Pedro Graxales, whose names always appear right after his on Spanish village lists.⁶³

Spanish officials settled their new Indian allies in ten villages on the periphery of St. Augustine, generally grouping them by language. A census of 1717 conducted by Joseph Primo de Rivera shows that 430 Yamasee were grouped into three villages: Nuestra Señora de Candelaria de la Tamaja, Pocosapa, and Pocotalaca. Chief Jospogue was assigned to Nuestra Señora de Candelaria de la Tamaja along with other Yamasee caciques, while Perro Bravo, now don Francisco Yfallaquisca, ruled the Yamasee village of Pocotalaca (after Pocotaligo).⁶⁴

All did not go smoothly in this resettlement. In December 1716 Chief Jospogue and other chiefs petitioned for Governor Córcoles, their old patron, who had gifted them and treated them with affection (*carino*), to be returned to office. The caciques stated that Chief Brims had told them to obey Córcoles and that they did not like either don Pedro de Olivera y Fullana, who served only briefly before dying in 1716, or Juan de Ayala y Escobar, who became interim governor (1716–18). Translating for the recently arrived Chief Jospogue was the Spanish woman María Garzia de Labera (La Vera), who had been captured by unidentified Indians as a little girl and spent more than twelve years living among them. María's captors may have been Yamasee since she translated for Chief Jospogue, but she earned a soldier's *plaza* (salary) serving as interpreter of five or six indigenous languages.⁶⁵

More complaints from the Yamasee followed. In the fall of 1717

Spanish officials held a hearing at the Mission of Nombre de Dios to investigate the ongoing complaints of the Yamasee cacique Perro Bravo. Present were Father Phelipe Osorio Maldonado, caciques Juan Rodríguez de Espinosa, don Joseph de Fuentes, and Francisco Navarro, and St. Augustine's public notary, Juan Solana. Cacique Bernardo de Yspolea, who headed the nearby village of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Tolomato, composed of remnants of the Yamasee, Guale, Chiluque, and Uchise nations, served as translator at this session. Yspolea was said to speak Perro Bravo's language so may have been Yamasee, but he also spoke good Castilian and could sign his name. Don Bernardo reported that he had heard Perro Bravo say many times that he still had not been paid for the African slaves he had brought into Florida years earlier. Perro Bravo had also told him he had asked Governor Pedro de Olivera y Fullana many times for payment, but because the governor was a friend of Ayala's, Ayala was not made to pay. Perro Bravo threatened that if this debt were not satisfied, he would kill the slaves and that he had many other lands in which he could live. Next, Spanish officials also took the testimony of cacique don Joseph de Fuentes at Ayachin, where Perro Bravo had a *bohio* and slept although he was by then cacique of the mission town of Capuaca. Don Joseph swore on the cross and by God to tell the truth and repeated don Bernardo's account, adding that Ayala also owed Perro Bravo for an arroba and a half weight silver bar.⁶⁶ Finally, on August 31, 1718, in the presence of Father Osorio, cacique don Joseph de Fuentes, and various soldiers and residents of St. Augustine, the then acting governor of Florida, Juan de Ayala y Escovar, paid Perro Bravo the 600 pesos owed him in corn and liquor.⁶⁷

Among the slaves whom Perro Bravo claimed and for whom the Spanish paid were Francisco Menéndez and his Mandinga wife, who had fled with him from Carolina three years earlier. Spanish slavery was not what either sought, but it would be different than the slavery they had experienced in Carolina. And although their purchase by the governor seems to have made them Crown slaves, Menéndez and his wife must have lived for some time with Ayala since Menéndez's wife took the name Ana Maria de Escovar.⁶⁸ Thus the soon to be Spanish governor acquired valuable intermediaries.

Meanwhile, in Carolina an ever growing African population and the fear that slaves might ally with Spaniards in Florida led planters to obsess about slave rebellion. Carolinians discovered alleged slave plots in 1711 and 1714, leading the Colonial Assembly in that year to establish a new Act for Governing Negroes that read: "the number of negroes do extremely increase in the Province, and through the afflicting providence of God, the white persons do not proportionately multiply, by reason whereof, the safety of the said Province is greatly endangered." The new act placed duties on all slaves imported from Africa "twelve years and upward."⁶⁹ Despite their efforts at control, in 1720 the townspeople of Charles Town uncovered a major slave conspiracy in which at least some of the participants "thought to gett to Augustine." Fourteen got as far as Savannah before being captured and executed.⁷⁰ In 1724 ten more runaways reached St. Augustine, assisted again by English-speaking Yamasee Indians, and they stated they knew that the Spanish king had offered freedom for those seeking conversion and baptism.⁷¹

Following the precedent first set in 1687, in 1725 Florida's new governor, Antonio de Benavides (1718-34), offered to purchase the runaways for two hundred pesos apiece, and he sent Don Francisco Menéndez Márquez and Captain Joseph Primo de Rivera to Charles Town to negotiate with their owners, who angrily rejected the offer as insufficient.⁷² Although Governor Benavides wrote to his superiors to determine if sanctuary was still in force, since the runaways had appeared during a time of truce between Spain and England, as often happened, he received no reply, and after the English threatened to reclaim their lost slaves by force, Benavides sold the unlucky fugitives at public auction to the leading creditors of the St. Augustine treasury. In this way don Francisco Menéndez Márquez acquired the Mandinga namesake for whom he served as godfather during Catholic baptism.⁷³

Don Francisco Menéndez Márquez was sent on repeated diplomatic and military missions to Carolina, and it seems likely he would have taken with him the slave who had fought his way through that terrain and who also knew so well the Yamasee and English geopolitics. In 1725 he was sent to Charleston to demand the destruction of Fort King George, and the following year Governor Benavides

named don Francisco Menéndez's slave and namesake the captain of St. Augustine's black militia. Thereafter the Mandinga Captain Francisco Menéndez led important military engagements against the English from whom he had fled, each of which would have enhanced his status in the Spanish community.⁷⁴

In 1728 the Spanish governor named Menéndez the captain of the slave militia, and the same year planters near Stono "had fourteen Slaves Runaway to St. Augustine." Governor Arthur Middleton of Carolina complained to London that the Spaniards not only harbored their runaways but had "found a New way of sending our own slaves against us, to Rob and Plunder us."⁷⁵ Yamasees from St. Augustine joined the former slaves in these operations, and Middleton reported that "Six of our Runaway slaves and the rest Indians" in two canoes attacked near Pon Pon in the fall of 1727 and carried away white captives. A second account of that raid added that "Ten Negroes and fourteen Indians Commanded by those of their own Colour, without any Spaniards in company with them" had been responsible and that they had also taken one black man and a mulatto boy back to St. Augustine. That year Florida's multiracial raiders hit again at a plantation on the Edisto River, carrying away seven more slaves.⁷⁶ In fact, Governor Antonio de Benavides had offered thirty pieces of eight for every English scalp and one hundred pieces "for every live Negro" the multiracial raiders brought back to St. Augustine.⁷⁷

The repeated raids from Florida triggered an English response, and in 1728 Colonel John Palmer led a retaliatory attack against St. Augustine. By this time the Yamasee village of Pocotalaca had moved from a location at Ayamón, six leagues south of St. Augustine, to "the distance of a rifle-shot," and people were living in their *bohios* only during the day and sleeping within the Castillo at night. Palmer's forces, which included approximately two hundred Indians of unstated nation, set fire to the mission village of Nombre de Dios and "did some nasty damage to the statues" of the village church.⁷⁸ On that occasion the black militia led by Captain Francisco Menéndez proved one of the city's most effective defense forces. By this time Governor Antonio de Benavides was so convinced of the black militia's ability that in 1733 he proposed sending the runaways north to foment rebellion in

Carolina and, once again, planned to pay them for English scalps, but the Council of the Indies rejected this design.⁷⁹ The Spanish Crown commended the enslaved forces for their bravery in the 1728 invasion and in 1733 also issued a new decree reiterating its offer of freedom to runaways from Carolina.⁸⁰

Despite his repeated military service Captain Francisco Menéndez, however, was still a slave and so he persisted in his efforts to achieve the freedom repeatedly promised by the Spanish king. On behalf of his community, he presented several petitions to the governor and to the auxiliary bishop of Cuba, who toured Florida in 1735, but uncertain of the legalities, these officials wrote to Spain seeking guidance, as had Governor Benavides, and Menéndez and his community remained enslaved.⁸¹

The Africans' fortunes changed in 1737 with the arrival of the new governor, Manuel de Montiano, and the advent of renewed hostilities with the English. Once more Captain Francisco Menéndez solicited freedom for himself and others in a petition that listed thirty-one individuals unjustly enslaved, including some who had been taken to Havana, and the names of the persons who claimed ownership over them. This time Menéndez's petition was supported by another from an indigenous ally, the Yamasee chief Jospo. Jospo claimed to be the chief who had led the Yamasee uprising against the British in 1715 and stated that he and the other Yamasee chiefs "commonly" made "treaties" with the slaves. The use of the terms *allies* and *treaties* implies Yamasee recognition of the slaves' autonomy and utility. Jospo confirmed that Menéndez and three other Africans (probably those who at baptism became Antonio Eligio de la Puente, Francisco Escovedo, and Pedro Graxales) had fought bravely with him until they were ultimately defeated and headed to St. Augustine, hoping to receive the Christian sanctuary promised by Spain. Jospo also testified that in St. Augustine Perro Bravo had betrayed the Africans by selling them into slavery, but Jospo excused Perro Bravo, saying that as a "heathen" he knew no better. Instead, Jospo blamed the Spaniards who bought the unlucky blacks, who in his estimation had been patient and "more than loyal."⁸²

Governor Montiano was expecting war with England at any moment, and the combined petitions and stated alliance of Africans and Yama-

sees must no doubt have made an impression on a governor in need of their services. He wisely chose to investigate. After reviewing all relevant documentation on the issue, on March 15, 1738, Governor Montiano granted unconditional freedom to all fugitives from Carolina. The powerful men, like the royal accountant don Francisco Menéndez who had received the slaves in payment for loans to the cash-strapped government, vehemently protested their emancipation, but Governor Montiano ruled that the men had ignored the royal determination expressed in repeated decrees, and therefore all deals were null and void and all the enslaved were free.⁸³ After reviewing Governor Montiano's actions, the Crown approved and ordered that not only all the blacks who had come from Carolina to date "but all those who in the future come as fugitives from the English colonies" should be given prompt and full liberty in the name of the king. Further, so that there be no further pretext for selling them, the royal edict should be publicly posted so that no one could claim ignorance of the ruling.⁸⁴

Following the preexisting model for Indian towns, Governor Montiano assigned the newly emancipated Spanish subjects lands two miles north of St. Augustine and recognized the Mandinga Captain Francisco Menéndez as leader of the new free black town of Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose. Further, in his official correspondence the governor described the almost one hundred residents of the new town, composed of nations as diverse as Mandinga, Carabalí, and Congo, as Menéndez's "subjects."⁸⁵ Menéndez was, in effect, the cacique, or natural lord, of Mose. His newly freed subjects promised to be "the most cruel enemies of the English" and to spill their "last drop of blood in defense of the Great Crown of Spain and the Holy Faith," and Captain Francisco Menéndez headed the new Mose militia that would carry through on that vow.⁸⁶

The War of Jenkins' Ear (or the Guerra del Asiento) broke out in 1739, raged through 1742, and only concluded in 1748. Throughout this era of conflict African and Indian militias proved crucial assets to the defense of the Spanish colony. Together they patrolled the frontier, gathering information on the encroachments of hostile English and Indian attackers, rounding up cattle and horses, and herding them to the safety of Anastasia Island. Governor Montiano offered them

rewards of twenty-five pesos for every Indian or English person captured. On some of the larger expeditions don Pedro Lamberto Horruitiner commanded twenty-five Spanish cavalry, an equal number of Spanish infantry, thirty Indians, and "free blacks of the fugitives from the English colonies." On others, don Romulado Ruiz del Moral commanded twenty-five Spanish cavalymen, twenty-five Indians, and twenty-five free backs. But the Indian and black militias also operated independently, and among the most active Indian leaders were the Caciques Chislala, Juan Savina, Geronimo, and Juan Ygnacio de los Reyes, of Nuestra Señora de la Concepción de Pocotalaca, about which Amanda Hall writes in her essay in this volume.⁸⁷

Reyes offers an example of the cultural exchanges taking place in Spanish Florida in these years. After his return from a successful mission to assess Charleston's defenses, Governor Montiano ordered Reyes to Havana to report to the captain general, but "Juan Ygnacio having declared to me that he had made a certain promise or vow, in case of happy issue, to Nuestra Señora de la Caridad de Cobre, I was unwilling to put him aboard with violence, and I let him go at his own free will to present himself to Your Excellency." La Caridad de Cobre was and still is the black patron saint of Cuba, whose miraculous discovery was attributed to two Cuban Indians and an African who were fishing together, and was also the syncretic symbol for Ochun, the Yoruba goddess of fertility. That Reyes prayed to her on such an important issue offers tangible proof of the cultural assimilation between Africans and Yamasees on the Florida frontier.⁸⁸

Over the next two decades, Africans and Indians reinforced their military, political, and sociocultural ties, some of which had origins stretching back to Carolina. They also formed families together. In 1745 Francisco Buenaventura y Texada, the bishop of Tricale, reviewed St. Augustine's ecclesiastical records from 1640 to 1707 for examples of racial intermarriage, both between Spaniards and Indians and between Indians and Africans. Father Pedro Lorenzo de Asevedo's notations show that Catholic marriages between men of African descent and indigenous women become more frequent after 1670. In 1690 Francisco Joseph, the drummer and black slave of Captain Antonio de Argüelles, married Micaela, a Native of Mayaca. The following year

another of Argüelles's slaves, Pedro Aponte, married María Lucia, a Native of Santa Catalina in Guale, and in 1702 Juan de los Santos, the slave of Ayudante Geronimo Rexidor, married Marta Maria, described as an "yndia ladina y natural de Guale." The priest reported many other examples, concluding approvingly that by "marrying Spaniards, blacks or mulattos, slowly their children will stop being Indians" and more easily enter into the "true knowledge of the mysteries of our Catholic faith."⁸⁹

As newly introduced Africans or *bozales* escaped from Carolina or Georgia to claim religious sanctuary in Florida in the 1750s, Spanish officials considered them "new Christians" in need of evangelization, as Indians continued to be. In 1752 Governor Fulgencio García de Solís reestablished the free black town of Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose, near its original location, and Father Andres de Vilches, formerly assigned to the Yamasee village of Pocotalaca, now worked to evangelize these newcomers.⁹⁰

Although Florida continued to attract runaway slaves from Carolina, its Indian populations continued to dwindle in the final years of Spanish dominion. Spanish censuses of 1752, 1759, and 1763 record this decline and the resulting amalgamation of Indian towns. To illustrate, by 1759 the Yamasee cacique Juan Sánchez, who in 1752 had headed the Yamasee village of Pocotalaca, had been relocated with his subjects to Nuestra Señora de la Leche, there joining cacique Antonio Matichaiche, who in 1752 had lived at La Punta serving as captain of Florida's Indian troops. And Miguel de los Santos, who in 1752 lived at Palica, by 1759 lived at Tolomato.⁹¹

When the English enemy finally acquired Florida by the Treaty of Paris in 1763, Spain relocated all its subjects, including its diverse Indian and African allies, to Cuba at royal expense. Captain Francisco Menéndez and the black villagers of Mose received new lands to settle on the Matanzas frontier, at San Agustín de la Nueva Florida. Florida's amalgamated Indians were instead settled at Guanabacoa, a former Indian reserve across the bay from Havana. Sadly, Spanish census lists show that many of the Yamasee did not survive this final relocation, and their deaths are recorded in Spanish parish and treasury records in Cuba.⁹²

Notes

1. Important accounts of the Yamasee and the 1715 War from which I draw include among others Steven J. Oatis, *A Colonial Complex: South Carolina's Frontiers in the Era of the Yamasee War, 1680-1730* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004); William L. Ramsey, *The Yamasee War: A Study of Culture, Economy, and Conflict in the Colonial South* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008); Verner W. Crane, *The Southern Frontier, 1670-1732* (New York: Norton, 1981), ch. 8.
2. Jane Landers, *Black Society in Spanish Florida* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999), ch. 2. English records use variants of Huspaw, Huspah, and Jospogue for the Yamasee village and its chief, or "king" as they sometimes called village chiefs, but as Susan Parker does in this volume, I use Jospo.
3. John E. Worth, "Yamasee Origins and the Development of the Carolina-Florida Frontier," paper delivered at the Omohundro Conference, Austin, Texas, 1999.
4. Steven C. Hahn, "The Mother of Necessity: Carolina, the Creeks, and the Making of a New Order in the Southeast, 1670-1763," in *The Transformation of the Southeastern Indians, 1540-1760*, ed. Robbie Ethridge and Charles Hudson (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2002); Oatis, *A Colonial Complex*; Ramsey, *The Yamasee War*; Alan Galloway, *The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South, 1670-1717* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002).
5. John E. Worth, *The Struggle for the Georgia Coast: An Eighteenth-Century Spanish Retrospective on Guale and Mocama*, Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, no. 75 (Athens GA: University of Georgia Press, 1995), 23, 181.
6. Herbert E. Bolton and Mary Ross, *The Debatable Land: A Sketch of the Anglo-Spanish Contest for the Georgia Country*, repr. (New York: Russell and Russell, 1968). See also Crane, *The Southern Frontier*, 6-10, and John J. TePaske, *The Governorship of Spanish Florida, 1700-1763* (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 1964).
7. Landers, *Black Society*, ch. 1.
8. Elizabeth Donnan, *Documents Illustrative of the Slave Trade to America* (Washington DC: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1931), vol. 4, 242.
9. Peter H. Wood, *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1974), 95-130.
10. Roster of Black and Mulatto Militia for St. Augustine, September 20, 1683, Archivo General de Indias, Santo Domingo (hereafter cited as AGI SD), 226, legajo 157A, John B. Stetson Collection, microfilm, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville hereafter cited as SC, PKY. On the history of black military service in Florida and the Spanish circum-Caribbean see Luis Arana, "Military Manpower in Florida, 1670-1703," *El Escribano* 8, no. 2 (1971): 40-63; Jane Landers, "Transforming Bondsmen into Vassals: Arming the Slaves in Colonial Spanish America," *Arming Slaves in World History*, ed. Philip Morgan and Christopher Brown (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 120-45; and Paul Lokken, "Useful Enemies: Seventeenth-Century Piracy and the Rise of Pardo Militias in Spanish Central America," *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 5, no. 2 (2004).
11. Indian trader Caleb Westbrooke reported in more detail the following month that more than one thousand Yamasee accompanied by "3 nations of the Spanish Indians that are Christians, Sapella, Soho, and Sapicbay" had also moved into Carolina's orbit. W. Noel Sainsbury, *Records in the British Public Record Office Relating to South Carolina*, Sainsbury transcripts, 36 vols. (Columbia: Historical Commission of South Carolina, 1928-47), 2: 8-9 (hereafter cited as BPRO-SC).
12. David Hurst Thomas, "The Archaeology of Mission Santa Catalina de Guale: Our First 15 Years," *The Spanish Missions of Florida*, ed. Bonnie G. McEwan (Gainesville: University Press

- of Florida, 1993), 1-34; John H. Hann, *Summary Guide to Spanish Florida Missions and Visitas, Americas* 46, no. 4 [1990]: 417-13 (repr., Oceanside CA: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1990), 471-72.
13. William Green, Chester B. DePratter, and Bobby Southerlin, "The Yamasee in South Carolina: Native American Adaptation and Interaction along the Carolina Frontier," in *Another Country: Archaeological and Historical Perspectives on Cultural Interactions in the Southern Colonies*, ed. J. W. Joseph and Martha Zierden (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press,), 11-29; Rebecca Saunders, "Architecture of the Missions of Santa María and Santa Catalina de Amelia," in McEwan, ed., *Spanish Missions of Florida*, 35-61; Hann, *Summary Guide to Spanish Florida Missions*, 1990, 472.
14. John Worth has gathered, translated, and published the most pertinent documents for this Spanish attack on Carolina. Worth, *Struggle for the Georgia Coast*, 146-71.
15. Morton's "stolen" slaves included Peter, Scipio, Doctor, Cushi, Arro, Emo, Caesar, and Sambo. The women were Frank, Bess, and Mammy. "William Dunlop's Mission to St. Augustine in 1688," *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 43 (January 1933): 1-30. For unknown reasons, two of the thirteen captured slaves escaped the Spaniards and returned to their English masters. Landers, *Black Society*; Crane, *Southern Frontier*, 31-33; Wood, *Black Majority*, 50; Worth, *Struggle for the Georgia Coast*, 146-71; Edward Randolph to the Board of Trade, March 16, 1699, BPRO-SC, 2: 88-95.
16. Helen Hornbeck Tanner, "The Land and Water Communications Systems of the Southeastern Indians," in *Powhatan's Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast*, ed. Peter H. Wood, Gregory A. Waselkov, and M. Thomas Hatley (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), 6-20; Larry E. Ivers, "Scouting the Inland Passage, 1685-1737," *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 73, no. 3 (July 1972): 117-29.
17. Interrogation of the black corsair, Diego, by Governor Don Juan Márques Cabrera, St. Augustine, Florida, 1686, in the John Tate Lanning papers, Thomas Jefferson library, University of Missouri, St. Louis, 13-18. I am indebted to John H. Hann, of the San Luis Archaeological and Historical Site in Tallahassee, Florida, for this reference and his generosity. Royal Officials of Florida to the crown, St. Augustine, September 30, 1685, cited in Luis Arana, "Grammont's Landing at Little Matanzas Inlet, 1686," *El Escribano* 9, no. 3 (1972): 107-12.
18. Case of the *Turtle*, 1697, Elizabeth Donnan, *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America* (Washington DC: Carnegie Institution, 1931), vol. 4, 245, 135.
19. Donnan, *Documents*, 4: 242-43.
20. Cited in Donnan, *Documents*, 4: 243; Edward Randolph reports to Board of Trade, 1699, *Calendar of State Papers*, 104. I am indebted to both Denise Bossy and Steven Hann for copies of the South Carolina Shipping Records, C05/508, Public Record Office, London, that document additional black slaves imported to Charles Town from the Caribbean and from Africa in the years following the Yamasee War.
21. Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1699, cited in Donnan, *Documents*, 4: 104, 243, 249; Frank J. Klingberg, *An Appraisal of the Negro in Colonial South Carolina* (Washington DC: Associated Publishers, 1941), 13-19, 24-25.
22. Census reports for Carolina indicate a significant increase in slave imports between 1709 and 1711. By 1713 St. John's parish planter William Cantey Jr. and a crew of thirteen slaves produced two hundred barrels of pitch per year. Wood, *Black Majority*, 108-10.
23. Wood, *Black Majority*, ch. 4. Steven C. Hann in this volume describes a Yamasee Indian attack on William Stead's cowpen near the Edisto River in 1717 that resulted in Stead's death.
24. The men were named Conano, Jessie, Jacque, Gran Domingo, Cambo, Mingo, Dicque, and Robt. Dunlop did not name the women. Samuel Bordieu claimed Mingo, his wife, and daugh-

ter; John Bird claimed two of the men; Joab Howe claimed another; John Berresford claimed one woman; Christopher Smith claimed one man, and Robert Cuthbert claimed three other men. "William Dunlop's Mission," 1-30.

25. On June 13, 1710, the Reverend Francis le Jau reported, "There are 3 or 4 Portuguese slaves in this parish very desirous to receive the communion among us." Later he specified that the Portuguese-speaking slaves were from Madeira. Klingberg, *An Appraisal of the Negro*, 13-19.

26. Among the acts of charity that a good Catholic was urged to perform were to offer protection to the miserable and to shelter fugitives. Maureen Flynn, "Charitable Ritual in Late Medieval and Early Modern Spain," *Sixteenth-Century Journal* 16 (Fall 1995): 1-30; on Catholicism in Kongo see Linda M. Heywood and John K. Thornton, *Central Africans, Atlantic Creoles, and the Making of the Foundations of the Americas, 1585-1660* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

27. The governor assigned the men to work as ironsmiths and laborers on the new stone fort, the Castillo de San Marcos, and the women became domestics in the governor's own household. He claimed to have paid all of them wages; the men earning a peso a day, the wage paid to male Indian laborers, and the women earning half as much. Royal officials to Charles II, March 3, 1699, cited in Irene Wright, "Dispatches of Spanish Officials Bearing on the Free Negro Settlement of Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose," *Journal of Negro History* 9 (1924): 151-52. In April 1687 Captain Dunlop had tried to convince the Altamaha king to attack the Spanish at Amelia, but Altamahaw refused, saying the Spanish had never killed his people. Green, DePratter, and Southerlin, "The Yamasee in South Carolina."

28. Royal decree, November 7, 1693, AGI SD 58-1-26, SC, PKY. Despite the royal decree of 1693, in 1697 Governor Laureano de Torres y Ayala returned six newly arrived blacks and an Indian "to avoid conflicts and ruptures between the two governments." Joseph de Zúñiga to Charles II, October 10, 1699, AGI SD 844 on microfilm reel 15, PKY.

29. TePaske, *Governorship*; and John H. Hann, *A History of the Timucuan Indians and Missions*, Florida Museum of Natural History, Ripley P. Bullen Series (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996).

30. Green, DePratter, and Southerlin, "The Yamasee in South Carolina."

31. TePaske, *Governorship*, 197.

32. The inability of the Spaniards to protect even the Nombre de Dios mission outside their very walls led many of their once loyal Indian allies to defect to the English. Charles W. Arnade, *The Siege of St. Augustine in 1702* (University of Florida Monographs, Social Sciences, no. 3, Summer 1959), 35; TePaske, *Governorship of Spanish Florida*, 110-16, 130-32, 196-97.

33. Kenneth R. Jones, "A 'Full and Particular Account' of the Assault on Charleston in 1706," *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 83, no. 1 (January 1982): 1-11; TePaske, *Governorship*, 116-22; Hahn, *Invention of the Creek Nation*, 460. "Mustee" was a term used for persons of mixed African and Indian heritage. William L. Ramsey, "A Coat for Indian Cuffy: Mapping the Boundary Between Freedom and Slavery in Colonial South Carolina," in Rosemary Brana Shute and Randy J. Sparks, *Paths to Freedom: Manumission in the Atlantic World* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2009).

34. Governor and Council to Proprietors, Board of Trade, September 17, 1708, in *The Colonial South Carolina Scene: Contemporary Views, 1697-1774*, ed. H. Roy Merrens (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1977), 32.

35. Governor Edwards reported only 1,100 families (presumably white) in the province in 1709. Calendar of State Papers, 1708-1709, cited in Donnan, *Documents*, 255, 259, 444-54. A colonial census of 1719 reported the same black:white ratio with a colonial population of "9580 souls including 1360 freemen, 900 free women, sixty white servant men, sixty white servant women,

1700 slaves, 500 Indian men slaves, 600 Indian women slaves, 1200 negro children slaves and 300 Indian children slaves." The report added that "negro men slaves [are increased in the last five years] by importation 300, negro women slaves 200 and negro children 600." Edward McCrady, *The History of South Carolina under the Proprietary Government, 1670-1719* (New York: Macmillan, 1897). McCrady cited what seem to be low slave import figures of 24 in 1706, 22 in 1707, 33 in 1708, 131 in 1709, 170 in 1710, 419 in 1711, and 81 in 1712. <http://www.slavevoyages.org/tast/database/search.faces>.

36. Governor and Council to Proprietors, Board of Trade, September 17, 1708, 32.

37. *Journals of the Commissioners of the Indian Trade: Sept. 20, 1710-August 29, 1718*, ser. 2, The Indian Books, vol. 1 ed. W.L. McDowell Jr. (Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department, 1955), 11; hereafter cited as JCIIT.

38. Chapman J. Milling, *Red Carolinians* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1940), 137.

39. On April 17, 1712, John Cochran and William Bray reported to the Commissioners of the Indian Trade that Samuel Hilden had intercepted and bought slaves from the Yamasee Indians before they got to their towns, in JCIIT 1: 23.

40. Milling, *Red Carolinians*, 137; Hewatt on Carroll, *Historical Collections*, Alexander Hewatt, *An Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia*, 2 vols. (London, 1779), 1: 192-94.

41. Huspah King to Charles Craven, 1715, quoted in William L. Ramsey, "Something Cloudy in Their Looks: The Origins of the Yamasee War Reconsidered," *Journal of American History* 90, no. 1 (June 2003): 44-75, and *The Yamasee War*, 228; Denise I. Bossy, "Godin & Co.: Charleston Merchants and the Indian Trade, 1674-1715," *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 114, no. 2 (April 2013): 96-131.

42. TePaske, *The Governorship of Spanish Florida, 1697-204*; Hewatt, *An Historical Account*, 1: 215.

43. Ramsey, "A Coat for Indian Cuffy"; Ramsay, "Something Cloudy in Their Looks"; Ramsay, *Yamasee War*.

44. Klingberg, *An Appraisal of the Negro*, 16-19.

45. George Rodd, "Relation," BPRO-SC, 6: 74; Milling, *Red Carolinians*, 141-42. Also see Ramsey, "Something Cloudy in their Looks," and "A Coat for Indian Cuffy."

46. On the body of one of the enemy dead, a man named Smith, who may have been of mixed race, Carolinians found a letter warning Governor Craven to leave the country and boasting that all the nations on the continent were united to take it. Charles Rodd to his employer in London, May 8, 1715, Calendar of State Papers, 1714-1715, 28: 166-68.

47. Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, Series, vol. 4, 23, cited in Edgar Legaré Pennington, "The South Carolina Indian War of 1715, as Seen by the Clergymen," *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 32, no. 4 (October 1931): 251-69. On millenarian aspects of the Pueblo Revolt see David J. Weber, ed., *What Caused the Pueblo Revolt of 1680?* (Boston: Bedford-St. Martin's, 1999).

48. Landers, *Black Society*, ch. 1.

49. A report by Commissary Johnston, however, reported that George's father and family were "taken and sold as slaves." Pennington, "The South Carolina Indian War."

50. BPRO-SC, 6: 236-37, cited in Milling, *Red Carolinians*, 153.

51. BPRO-SC, 6: 239, cited Milling, *Red Carolinians*, 153.

52. Testimony of the four caciques, May 28, 1715, and subsequent report by Governor Francisco de Córcoles y Martínez to the king, January 25, 1716, AGI SD 843 (SC 58-1-30), PKY. In Spanish records Sadketchie (Salkahatchie) is also spelled Satiquicha, Salquicha, or Salaquiche.

53. Testimony of the four caciques, May 28, 1715; Huspah King to Charles Craven, 1715, quoted in Ramsey, "Something Cloudy in Their Looks," and *The Yamasee War*, 228; Bossy, "Godin & Co."
54. Testimony of the four caciques, May 28, 1715.
55. John C. Inscoe, "Carolina Slave Names: An Index to Acculturation," *Journal of Southern History* 49, no. 4 (November, 1983): 527-54.
56. George Rodd, "Relation"; Ramsey, "Something Cloudy in their Looks," and "A Coat for Indian Cuffy."
57. Testimony of the four caciques, May 28, 1715.
58. Testimony of the four caciques, May 28, 1715.
59. Testimony of the four caciques, May 28, 1715.
60. To secure the allegiance of their new subjects, the Spanish government almost tripled the Indian gift allotment from 2,063 pesos to 6,000 pesos annually. TePaske, *Governorship*, 198.
61. TePaske, *Governorship*, 198; Mark F. Boyd, "Diego Peñal's Expedition to Apalachee and Apalachicola in 1716," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 28 (July 1949): 1-27; John H. Hann, "St. Augustine's Fallout from the Yamasee War," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 68 (October 1989): 180-200; Alejandra Dubkovsky, "One Hundred Sixty-One Knots, Two Plates and One Emperor: Creek Information Networks in the Era of the Yamasee War," *Ethnohistory* 59, no. 3 (Summer 2012): 489-513.
62. Governor Francisco de Córcoles y Martínez to the king, January 25, 1716, AGI SD 843 (sc 58-1-30), PKY.
63. See Census of Father Ginés Sánchez, February 11, 1759, AGI SD 2604, and Landers, *Black Society*, Appendix 5.
64. The variants of this name in English and Spanish records include Yaquisca and La Quisca. John H. Hann, "St. Augustine's Fallout"; April 1717 Census of Captain Joseph Primo de Rivera, included in Governor Juan de Ayala y Escobar to the King, April 18, 1717, AGI SD 843, sc, PKY. In the 1718 hearing regarding his African slaves, Perro Bravo is described as the cacique of the Yamasee Pueblo de Capuaca. Susan R. Parker has described the frequent relocations of these Indian villages and also of their inhabitants. She theorizes that Chief Francisco Jospogue was born on or near St. Catherines. In 1702 he was chief of Nombre de Dios Chiquito. His loyalty to Spain and Christianity cost him dearly when the English attacked and enslaved his family in 1715. He was then assigned to "shepherd" the Yamasee refugees at Nuestra Señora de Candelaria. Don Francisco Yospogue, Cacique del Pueblo de el Nombre de Dios Chiquito, October 18, 1728, AGI SD 2584; Susan R. Parker, "The Second Century of Settlement in Spanish St. Augustine, 1670-1763," PhD diss., University of Florida, 1999, ch. 3.
65. Testimony of Cacique Jospo de los Yamasees, December 12, 1716, included in Governor Juan de Ayala y Escobar to the King, January 18, 1717, AGI SD 843, sc, PKY.
66. Governor Antonio de Benavides to the King, August 25, 1718, Buckingham Smith Papers, Reel 1, frames 747-66, PKY. I am indebted to James Cusick for a copy of this material. Franciscan census and copy by Gelabert, January 10, 1752, Havana, AGI SD 2604.
67. Franciscan census and copy by Gelabert, January 10, 1752. Domingo, of the Chachis nation, also held a black woman in slavery for whom he demanded 200 pesos.
68. Crown slaves in Cuba were primarily single males assigned to public works who lived in communal barracks. Evelyn Powell Jennings, "War as the 'Forcing House of Change': State Slavery in Late-Eighteenth-Century Cuba," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., vol. 62, no. 3: The Atlantic Economy in an Era of Revolutions (July 2005): 411-40. This couple, however, were always listed together, and the Spanish seem to have recognized their union. They later lived together in Cuba. List of individuals from the presidio of St. Augustine housed in Regla in the house of Don Gonzalo de Oquendo; AGI, Cuba 1076, f. 395.

69. Donnan, *Documents*, 257.
70. The following year Carolina enacted a new and harsher slave code. Wood, *Black Majority*, 298-99, 304.
71. Memorial of the fugitives, 1724, AGI SD 844, on microfilm reel 15, PKY.
72. For the exchange on this mission see the letters of Governors Arthur Middleton (Carolina) and Antonio de Benavides (Florida) in *Documentos históricos de la Florida y la Luisiana, Siglos XVI al XVII* (Madrid, 1912), 252-60.
73. The governor gave the proceeds to the envoy from Carolina who would have preferred to reclaim the former slaves. Other buyers included several military officers and even some religious officials. Governor Antonio de Benavides to Philip V, November 11, 1725, cited in *Documentos históricos*, 164-66. Carolinians charged that the Spanish governor "Makes Merchandize of all our slaves, and ships them off to Havanah for his own Profit," and they were at least partially correct. Accord, June 27, 1730, AGI SD 844, on microfilm reel 15, PKY; Wood, *Black Majority*, 305. Some of the slaves sold at the 1729 auction were taken to Havana by their new owners. Nine years later Governor Manuel de Montiano would try to retrieve them. Decree of Manuel de Montiano, March 3, 1738, AGI SD 844, on microfilm reel 15, PKY.
74. Francisco Menéndez to the king, January 1, 1740, AGI SD 2658.
75. June 13, 1728, BPRO-SC, 12: 61-67, cited in Wood, *Black Majority*, 305.
76. Four slaves who fled or were taken from a plantation near Port Royal in 1726 were later spotted in St. Augustine. Governor Arthur Middleton, June 13, 1728, BPRO-SC, 13: 61-67, and John Pearson, October 20, 1727, BPRO-SC, 19: 127-28, cited in Wood, *Black Majority*, 305.
77. Wood, *Black Majority*, 305.
78. Fray Joseph de Bullones to the King, October 5, 1728, AGI SD 865 (58-2-16/8), sc, PKY.
79. Governor Antonio de Benavides to King Philip V, April 27, 1733, AGI SD 833.
80. The crown actually issued two separate edicts in 1733. The first, on October 4, 1733, forbade any future compensation to the British, reiterated the royal offer of freedom, and specifically prohibited the sale of fugitives to private citizens, no doubt in response to the auction of 1729. The second, on October 29, 1733, commended the blacks for their bravery against the British in the invasion of 1728 but also stipulated that the enslaved would be required to complete four years of royal service as an indenture prior to being freed. Royal decree, October 4, 1733, AGI SD 843 (58-1-24), sc, PKY; Royal decree, October 29, 1733, AGI SD 843 (58-1-24), sc, PKY.
81. Report of the Visita of Bishop Francisco de San Buenaventura, April 29, 1736, AGI SD 5543, PKY; TePaske, *Governorship*, 167-69. Memorial of the Fugitives, included in Governor Manuel de Montiano to King Philip V, March 3, 1738, AGI SD 844, on microfilm reel 15, PKY.
82. Memorial of Chief Jospo, included in Governor Manuel de Montiano to Philip V, March 3, 1738, AGI SD 844, on microfilm reel 15, PKY. In earlier works I misread this very blackened microfilm to read Jorge. Jospo is also spelled Jospe and Jospogue in other Spanish documents. Since Chief Francisco Jospo, about whom Susan R. Parker writes, was already deceased by 1737, this is a different Chief Jospo. It is still possible, however, that this Jospo was father of the Yamasee youth educated in England to be a native missionary for the Society for the Gospel in Foreign Parts who returned to Carolina with Commissary Gideon Johnston in 1715 in the midst of the Yamasee War. The young Prince George returned and later wrote, "I have had noos that my Father as gone in Santaugustena and all my Friends." A later account reporting that the father had been killed proved untrue, and another report that he had been captured, returned to Charles Town and then sold with the rest of his family as slaves was unconfirmed. There are no further reports about the young Prince George after Commissary Johnston's death in 1716. Frank J. Klingberg, "The Mystery of the Lost Yamasee Prince," *South Carolina Historical*

The Long Yamasee War

Reflections on Yamasee Conflict in the Eighteenth Century

STEVEN C. HAHN

The massacre of South Carolinians at the Yamasee town of Pocoligo on April 15, 1715, has been unambiguously recognized as the beginning of the Yamasee War. In contrast, the war's end point remains difficult to identify with similar precision. South Carolina's restoration of peace with the Creeks in 1717, along with John Palmer's 1728 raid against Yamasees near St. Augustine, are commonly cited as final acts, but what of the violence that persisted for decades more? While some South Carolinians may have been eager to declare the war terminated as early as 1716, Indian peoples like the Yamasees experienced no such decisive moment of closure. Rather, conflict remained a persistent feature of Yamasee life, thereby requiring us to take a longer view of the war bearing their name. Divisive from the start among Natives who fought against the South Carolinians, the necessity for Native communities to redefine their alliance commitments with regional European powers gradually widened this breach further, particularly as the British extended their settlements southward into the "debatable land" that became Georgia. One result was a decades-long war of attrition between Yamasees, particularly those who lived near St. Augustine, and certain groups of Creeks and their British allies. Yamasee-Creek conflict, in fact, was one of the war's most durable legacies, making it plausible that the war did not so much conclude as gradually burn out following the War of Jenkins' Ear. This was not a quarrel between entire Indian nations but rather the kind of reciprocal small-scale warfare between clans and towns rooted in southeastern kinship systems. That the Yamasee and Creek