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ABSTRACT

The history of the lives of non-white peoples in the United States largely has been neglected although the Spanish bureaucrats kept meticulous records of the Spanish Mission period in Florida. These records represent an important source for the cultural history of these groups and offer new perspectives on the tri-racial nature of frontier society. Africans as well as Indians played significant roles in Spain's settlement of the Americas. On arrival in Florida the Africans ran away from their captors to Indian villages. The Spanish, perceiving an alliance of non-white groups, sought to separate them, and passed special legislation forbidding living or trading between the two groups. There were continuous episodes of violence by the Indians who resisted Spanish labor and tribute demands, efforts to convert them, and changes in their social practices. Villages were reduced to mission sites where they could more readily supply the Spaniards with food and labor. Indian and black surrogates were used to fight the English and helped build the massive stone fort at St. Augustine. The end of the Spanish Mission system came with the war of 1700, English forces from the Carolinas raided mission sites killing thousands of Indians and taking many into slavery. The Spaniards lacked regular troops and relied heavily on Indians and Africans during these raids. The Seven Years War ended with the Treaty of Paris that required Spain to deliver Florida to England. The entire Spanish population including the black villagers of Mose, Yamassees, and other nations evacuated to Cuba. After centuries of warfare, dislocation, and disease, the native population was decimated. (NL)

BLACK/INDIAN INTERACTION IN SPANISH FLORIDA

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Organization of American Historians

by

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The popular image of encounters between Europeans and peoples of the so-called New World is of whites meeting aborigines. The Spaniards, who first undertook to build an empire in the western hemisphere, developed a colonization model based upon two republics--that of the Spaniards and that of the Indians, as they mistakenly called the native peoples.[1] Spain was required by papal donation to evangelize and convert the "New World" peoples, and dedicated priests worked to expand the spiritual, as well as territorial sway of Spain. Guided by an urban model, Spanish conquerors sought to promote public order and righteous living by establishing towns and missions throughout their new empire. They instituted protective legislation for their "charges" and a theoretical segregation of whites and Indians. Africans were not at first considered in this schema, although they were present in Spain from at least the Moslem period (711-1492) and had achieved rights and even access to freedom through a legal system based on Roman law and customary practice.

In fact, Africans played significant roles in Spain's exploration and settlement of the Americas. First introduced into Hispaniola, Blacks also took part in later expeditions to Puerto Rico (1508), Jamaica (1509), Cuba (1511) and Florida (1513). Almost as soon as they landed however, Africans began running away from their captors, and many found refuge among Indian villages. As early as 1503 officials of Hispaniola were complaining that the runaways, known as cimarrones, were teaching the Indians "bad customs", a theme that would be reiterated many times in other

areas of Hispanic conquest. [2] The Spaniards understood the danger of any alliance of the non-white groups and sought to separate them. Special legislation forbade Blacks from living in Indian villages or trading with them. The frequency with which such legislation appears however, is testimony to its failure. [3] The encounters, then, were actually among three races, not two, and the non-white races often found common ground in the face of European exploitation. This paper will address the changing relations formed by Blacks and Native Americans in the Spanish Southeast, and focus on the cooperation forged between Africans and Yamassees in the eighteenth century.

In the Southeast Native Americans, Europeans, and Africans had extensive contact for over three centuries. This contact meant the rapid decimation of the native populations, the destruction of many of their traditional ways of life, the enslavement and exploitation of both Indians and Blacks, and chronic warfare engendered by European territorial and commercial rivalry. Although whites of one nationality or another were eventually the victors, the non-whites pursued their own advantage when possible, and because they could either be sorely needed support or dangerous foes, they enjoyed a certain leverage. Embroiled in the struggles of the European "superpowers" of their day, Indians and Blacks became adroit and pragmatic diplomats. And when diplomacy did not serve, they often took up arms.

European intrusions in the Southeast began in 1513 when Ponce de Leon "discovered" Florida. The first Spanish contact with the

natives of Florida was hostile, but Spain thereafter claimed exclusive sovereignty over an area stretching from the Florida Keys to Newfoundland and west to Mexico. Eight years later Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon took Guale slaves from the South Carolina coast and in 1526 returned to attempt a settlement at a place he called San Miguel de Gualdape. The colony consisted of 500 Spanish men and women and the first known contingent of African slaves to be brought to the present-day United states. Disease, starvation and mutiny undermined the enterprise, and as winter bore down, the Africans set fires and joined a Guale rebellion which completed the destruction of that outpost.[4]

Subsequent conquistadores were no more successful in establishing a foothold in Florida. Chronicles of their explorations are replete with episodes of violence toward and by the Indians who resisted Spanish labor and tribute demands as well as the efforts of friars to convert them and change their social practices. The first permanent settlement in the Southeast was not accomplished until 1565 whe `edro Menendez de Aviles established St. Augustine in the lands of the Timucuan Indians.

White manpower was in short supply, as it was in other areas of the Caribbean, and the Spaniards considered Florida's Indians to be too weak, lazy and transient to be a dependable labor force. Moreover, the native populations were extremely vulnerable to the European diseases which had already ravaged their counterparts in the Antilles. For all those reasons, and because there were no mines or plantations requiring intensive labor, the abusive system

of encomienda which allocated Indian labor or tribute to Spaniards was never instituted, although the illegal practice sometimes occurred. In recognition of the shortage of European and native laborers, a royal charter granted Menendez permission to import 500 slaves, but evidence suggests that fewer than one hundred may have accompanied the first settlers. [5] Some of these ran to join the fierce Ais nation to the South, but those that remained cleared the land, planted the fields and built the new structures at St. Augustine. Skilled Blacks were later sent to build fortifications at Spain's northernmost settlement at Santa Elena (present-day Parris Island) where they also came into contact with the Guale of the area.[6]

The Guale resisted Spanish control through most of the sixteenth century, but epidemic disease and warfare were their undoing. A major revolt erupted in 1576 and was only ended in 1580 when the Spaniards killed many Indians and put nineteen towns and many granaries and fields to the torch. The Black labor force which arrived from St. Augustine in 1583 witnessed the aftermath of that tragedy. After another serious revolt was brutally suppressed in 1597, the Guale coastal settlements went into a long period of decline, and survivors were gradually relocated to the barrier islands. In an all too common scenario, the remnants of many different villages were "reduced" to mission sites where they could more readily supply the Spaniards with food and labor. [7]

In 1670 English planters from Barbados challenged Spain's claim to exclusive sovereignty in the Southeast by establishing a

colony at Charles Town in South Carolina, "but ten days journey" from St. Augustine. This event dramatically altered the geopolitics of the Southeast as well as the inter-ethnic relations of the frontier. An undermanned Spanish garrison made a feeble attempt to eject the usurpers but failed, and almost a century of conflict ensued over the so-called debatable lands.[8]

Each side used Indian surrogates to do much of their fighting, and both the English and the Spaniards recognized that African-Americans were also critical to the political equation in the Southeast. While fewer in number, Blacks were significant for their linguistic and cultural abilities, so vital to trade, diplomacy and intelligence gathering, their knowledge of the frontier, and their military skills. [9]

To defend Florida the Spaniards launched the construction of the massive stone fort at St. Augustine, the Castillo de San Marcos. This project increased the labor and food demands on nearby Indians whose numbers had been "thinned" by recurring epidemics of typhus, yellow fever, smallpox, measles and unidentified "pests and contagions". [10] Indians from the western province of Apalache were recruited to finish the fort, and additional slaves, some of them expert stonecutters, were imported from Havana. Thus Africans and Indians labored together and lived in close proximity in St. Augustine, although efforts were still made to keep Blacks from staying longer than three days in any Indian village.[11]

The new balance of power in the Southeast required a flexible response, and despite prohibitions against arming Indians and

Blacks, the Spaniards in Florida armed both groups and demanded their military service. A Black militia was formed by at least 1683 and in 1686 a combined force of Spaniards, Blacks and Indians attacked Carolina in retaliation for a Yamassee slave raid against Christian Timucuan villages. The polyglot forces of the Spanish burned plantations, killed some of the settlers and carried off slaves and other portable booty. [12] The Carolinians, in turn, instigated more raids against the Spanish Indians and inter-tribal warfare among interior tribes to supply their growing trade in slaves. The Spaniards were unable to defend the island missions and tried to relocate their inhabitants southward, but many revolted, among them the Yamassee, and fled instead to the interior and the English. When the Spaniards complained about Yamassee raids, Carolina's governor disclaimed responsibility, noting that the Yamassee were "a people who live within our bounds after their own manner taking no notice of our Government".[13]

The final blow to the Spanish mission system came with the outbreak of Queen Anne's War (the war of the Spanish Succession) in 1700. In 1702 and 1704 Governor James Moore led Carolina forces, augmented by Yamassee allies and Black cattle-hunters, in repeated raids of the Spanish mission sites. They slaughtered thousands of mission Indians and carried many more thousands into slavery. The Black and Indian militias fought bravely to defend St. Augustine, but the inability of the Spaniards to protect even the missions outside their walls led many of their once-loyal allies to defect

to the English. After 1704 only as pitiful group of refugee Indian camps bordered St. Augustine.[14]

The repeated cross-currents of raids and migrations across the Southeast acquainted many Blacks and Indians with the routes to St. Augustine and in 1687 the Spanish governor reported the arrival of the first fugitive slaves from Carolina--eight men, two women and a nursing child, who had escaped to St. Augustine in a boat. Despite an early ambiguity about their legal status, the Spaniards welcomed the labor and the military services the runaways offered. Although the English demanded their return, Spanish officials sheltered them, instructed them in Catholic doctrine and put them to work. The men became ironsmiths and laborers on the Castillo and were paid a peso a day, the wage paid to Indian laborers. The women were employed as domestics and paid half as much. The runaways claimed to be seeking religious conversion, and after lengthy deliberations, the Spanish King decided in 1693 to free them "granting liberty to all....the men as well as the women...so that by their example and by my liberality...others will do the same."[15]

In the next decades more slaves sought asylum in Florida and they were frequently aided in their escapes by Indians. Although the Carolinians set up a patrol system and placed scout bouts along water routes to St. Augustine, they were unable to completely staunch the flow of runaways. The planters complained bitterly of the provocation inherent in this sanctuary policy, for not only did each runaway represent an economic loss and a threat to the

plantation economy, but by the beginning of the eighteenth century African-Americans outnumbered whites in the English colony. Chronic fears of slave uprisings were not baseless. Carolina experienced slave revolts in 1711 and 1714 and the following year many slaves joined the Yamassee War against the English.

Peter Wood asserts that "in simple proportional terms, Negroes may never have played such a major role in any earlier or later American conflict as they did in the Yamassee war of 1715." The dangerously outnumbered Carolinians incorporated 400 Blacks and about one hundred free Indians into their militias. Despite these measures, the Yamassees and their Creek allies struck with such force that only reinforcements from Virginia and North Carolina, and a last-minute alliance with the Cherokee, saved the English from extermination. A minister of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts saw the war as a visitation from God and claimed that it was caused by "the gross neglect of the poor slaves among us", "the poverty of the Indians and the wealth of the English", "the extortion and knavery of the (Indian) traders" and the "vast debts" of the Indians.[16] The Yamassees later confirmed that view when they told the Spaniards that Indian traders had charged them exorbitant prices for arms, munitions, and other goods and that when they were unable to pay their debts, the traders killed their casique and seized their wives and children and sold them as slaves. In 1715 four Yamassee chiefs representing 161 villages pledged their allegiance to the Spaniards whom they had once terrorized. The Yamassee were sheltered at new mission

villages, under Franciscan tutelage, and subsidized by the Spanish government.[17] Spanish censuses indicate that the new villages were actually composed of many Indian nations including the Yamassee, Guale, Timucuan, Apalachee, Casapuya, Ibaja, Mocama, Ocute, and Jororo, but the related Yamassee, Guale, and Ibaja predominated. Apparently the governor blended the inhabitants of existing refugee camps with the new influx of Yamassee, making at least an attempt to keep related language groups together. The villages were placed at a considerable distance from St. Augustine, and two of them had forts to which were posted Spanish garrisons. It seems clear that Spaniards intended these villages of new converts to help them hold the frontier. [18]

Although the worst fighting of the Yamassee War was over by 1716, hostilities continued through the 1720s, and in these long years Yamassees and African-Americans gained military experience, increased geographic awareness, and many new contacts among the Indians and other Blacks. The turmoil of the war allowed slaves added opportunities for escape. Some probably fled to remote woods and swamps to form maroon communities. Others joined the Yamassee, and some followed them to Florida.

In 1724 a group of ten Blacks accompanied the Yamassee Chief Jorge to seek religious sanctuary in St. Augustine. The Africans had escaped from plantations in Carolina and fought for three years alongside Jorge and his warriors, against their mutual enemy, the English. After their war went badly, the group headed for the Spanish settlement. There the Africans were betrayed and sold into

slavery by another Yamassee war captain, Yfallaquisca, also known as Perro Bravo, or Mad Dog. The acknowledged leader of the Blacks was a Mandingo who took the name of his new Spanish owner, Francisco Menendez, when he was baptized. For years Menendez led a determined struggle to gain the freedom promised by the Spanish King for himself and his followers. He filed repeated petitions with the governors and with the Auxiliary Bishop of Cuba who toured the province. Chief Jorge also filed a petition in support of Menendez and denouncing the Spaniards who bought the unfortunate men and women who had been his loyal allies. Still Spanish officials claimed that since the fugitive slaves arrived during a time of truce with the English, they were not eligible for sanctuary.[19]

Although the governor refused to free Menendez, he nevertheless recognized his military skill and leadership qualities by appointing him to the captaincy of the slave militia. This militia served with distinction when Colonel John Palmer of Carolina attacked St. Augustine in 1728. Palmer's forces concentrated the attack against the Yamassee mission village of Nombre de Dios where they killed thirty Yamassee, wounded many more and took fifteen prisoners, including the wife and children of the chief, Francisco Tospogue. The Spaniards refused to engage Palmer's forces and remained within the Castle walls. The Yamassee were sorely disappointed in the Spaniards, but they no doubt appreciated the bravery of their Black defenders.[20]

Finally, in 1738, a new governor, Manuel de Montiano, reviewed the case of the re-enslaved Blacks and decided to free them over the heated protests of their Spanish owners. Shortly thereafter the governor granted the freed men and women lands to homestead and they were established in a town of their own two miles north of St. Augustine. In gratitude the Blacks swore to be "the most cruel enemies of the English" and to shed their "last drop of blood in defense of the Great Crown of Spain and the Holy Faith." [21] And who better to protect the frontiers than grateful ex-slaves carrying Spanish arms?

The Africans were considered "new converts", and their town, Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose, was modeled after the nominally Yamassee villages near St. Augustine. Like those villages it lay on the periphery of Spanish settlement and was to serve as a defensive outpost and produce food for the Spaniards. The villages also seem to have followed the same design. They consisted of enclosed forts in which were the guard and storehouses, the church and sacristy. Even the houses at Mose, although built by the Africans, were said to resemble those of the Indians. Franciscan priests were posted at the villages of both Africans and Indians to instruct the inhabitants in "good customs" and catechism, but the villagers were governed by their own leading men. The government provided the African village with the same items it provided the Indians and the cost of these subsidies was deducted from an annual allotment of $6.0000 for "Indian gifts." Indians and Africans were expected to plant the fields the government

assigned them, and they grew maize and vegetables. Faunal analysis indicates that the Indians and Africans had much the same diet, relying heavily on estaurine resources and wild foods. In addition to net-caught fish and shellfish, they consumed deer, raccoon, opossum and turtle to supplement the occasional government gifts of beef and corn.[22]

Africans and Indians performed similar economic functions for the Spanish community which used their skills to best advantage. They tracked predators and prisoners in the wilderness, rounded up wild cattle and horses, and worked on cattle ranches. They also performed skilled and hard labor on public construction projects such as the Church and fortifications, scouted and piloted boats, delivered the mails, operated ferries across waterways, and caught, collected and trapped food and pelts for trade in the city. [23]

One of the most important roles shared by Africans and Indians in the community however, was military. The Spanish garrison at St. Augustine was almost consistently understrength. Theoretically it was to be manned by a complement of 350 men, but a force of less than 200 was the norm. The ranks of active troops were depleted by illness, desertion, old age and the Spanish practice of putting widows and orphans and slaves on the payroll in vacant positions. This continual shortage of adequate regular troops in a period of almost constant conflict meant that the Spanish governors had to rely heavily on Indians and Africans to supplement their force. Both groups formed their own militias, which were commanded by their leading men and which exercised considerable autonomy on the

frontier. These were cavalry units which served in reconnaissance and guerrilla operations and their role in the defense of the Spanish colony has not yet been fully appreciated.[24]

We have seen that major expeditions were launched against Spanish-held territory in 1702, 1704, and 1728 and that these had succeeded in destroying the mission system and seriously reducing Spain's effective control of the province. Indians supplied by the English continued to raid forts and villages outlying St. Augustine through the 1730s and Spanish attempts at negotiation with Governor James Oglethorpe of Georgia were largely ineffective in controlling the violence. Moreover, the Carolinians continued to encourage Indian raids on Florida. The Spaniards began to prepare their defenses for yet another expected attack which came in 1740 when General Oglethorpe commanded a combined force of Carolinians, Georgians, and Indians in conjunction with a naval assault on St. Augustine. Lacking sufficient trade goods or money to buy alliances, the Spaniards used their only available tool--diplomacy--to try to persuade the Lower Creeks to assist them, or at least not to assist the English.[25] Loyal Indians were essential in these diplomatic efforts and Governor Manuel de Montiano depended heavily on their assistance. Trusted Indians were his eyes and ears and could go where neither Spaniards or Africans could. They ranged throughout the Southeast on Spanish missions and even went back and forth to Cuba to make reports. The Spanish records of the activities of one important Indian ally are illustrative.

Juan Ygnacio de los Reyes was an Ibaja Indian who lived at the village of Pocolalaca. Described as "perspicacious", he accompanied a Spanish expedition into the Lower Creek country in 1737 to seek alliances and trade. The following July a group of Uchise Indians attacked the Spanish fort at Pupo and Montiano sent Juan Ygnacio and twenty-two of his Indian militia to reconnoiter and bring back intelligence. In August he wrote his superiors that "Juan Ygnacio has not returned and I am very anxious about him, as I fear he may have fallen into the hands of those who came to Pupo: if he has escaped them, I trust he will bring me very sure news." Juan Ygnacio did escape and the same month Montiano sent him to Saint Simon as he had previously planned, "to try, using his native wit, to slip in... and discover as much as he could of the plans of the English, and of their condition." Juan Ygnacio pretended to be an escaping murderer chased by the Spaniards, and was interviewed at Saint Simons by Lieutenant Colonel Cochran. Cochran claimed to have enlisted between 5,000 and 6,000 Indians to the English cause and bragged that all of Florida would soon be English, all of which Juan Ygnacio reported upon his return to St. Augustine. When the next ship sailed for Cuba Montiano asked Juan Ygnacio to go deliver his report to the Captain General in Havana, but "(Juan Ygnacio) having declared to me that he had made a certain promise of vow, in case of happy issue, to our Lady of 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." [26] Although imbedded in a military report, this is a particularly

interesting bit of cultural information for Nuestra Senora de la Caridad del Cobre was the black patron saint of Cuba and the syncretic symbol for Ochun, the Yoruba goddess of pleasure and fertility.[27] It is clear that Juan Ygnacio understood the saint's function (to insure happy issue) as well as the Spanish respect for religious vows. It is less sure if he was truly converted to the Catholic religion or whether it was a convenient way to postpone the trip to Cuba, but Montiano, who trusted him and thought well of him, obviously believed Juan Ygnacio's show of faith. It is also interesting to wonder how much Juan Ygnacio's contact with Africans in Florida and Cuba may have influenced his choice of a patron.

Juan Ygnacio was not the only Indian of importance to the Spaniards. Other appearing frequently in the records of these years and in similar roles are his companion, Geronimo, Juan Savina, and the Cacique Chislala. African scouts and cavalry troops performed many of the same important functions as the Indians during the Oglethorpe invasion. Governor Montiano maintained patrol boats on the waterways which were manned by Blacks and he sent Black cavalry groups out on joint patrols with the Indians. Although the Black village of Mose had to be evacuated and was occupied by the invaders, its militia fought bravely in the only real Spanish victory of the war--the surprise attack and recapture of their own fort. This event appears in English records as "Bloody Mose" or "Fatal Mose" and it is generally acknowledged to have demoralized the English forces and to have been a significant factor in

Oglethorpe's withdrawal. Mose's African captain, Francisco Menendez, later petitioned the Crown for remuneration for his military services, and although the governor wrote a supporting letter detailing the many dangerous missions Menendez and his men undertook, there is no evidence the Crown responded.[28] Still, it is evident from his reports that Montiano respected and valued the Africans in his service as he did the Indians. In fact he used both groups in his retaliatory attack on Georgia which followed and failed in 1743. [29] For the remainder of the Spanish tenure African and Indian militias conducted joint operations in defense of the Spanish frontier.[30]

As we have seen, the Africans and Indians allied to Spaniards in St. Augustine were in frequent contact and it is not surprising that in some cases they also married, as reflected in the Catholic parish registers. Francisco Garzia, a Black, and Ana, an Indian of unstated nation, fled together from Carolina in the 1720s and were among the first homesteaders at the Black village of Mose.[31] Other inter-racial couples resided in Indian villages. Maria Luisa Balthazar, an Indian from the village of Palica, married Juan Chrisostomo, a slave of the Carabali nation, living in St. Augustine. Juan later gained his freedom and joined the Mose militia. One of the couple's daughters, Maria Magdalena married a free mulatto from Venezuela. The other, Josepha Candelaria, married an Indian from the village of Punta and made her home there.[32]

The last decades of Spanish rule in Florida were marked by declining levels of metropolitan support, poverty and attacks by

corsairs and English-sponsored Indians. Life was hard for all, but probably hardest for the colony's non-white peoples, most of whom were consigned to the dangerous frontiers. In 1752 a census listed five Indian villages, Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe de Tolomato, with a population of twenty-six people, Pocotalaca, with thirty-three, Costas, with eleven,and Palica, with twenty-nine. By 1759 yet another consolidation had taken place and the census of the outlying villages showed a Yamassee cacique, Juan Sanchez, headed the village of Nuestra Senora de la Leche, which consisted of fifty-nine individuals. Thirty-three of these belonged to the Yamassee nation and the rest were Timucuans, Chickasaws, Creeks and Costas. Bernardo Espiolea was the Yamassee cacique of the only other remaining village of Tolomato, which incorporated twelve Yamassee and eighteen other individuals of the Chickasaw, Creek and Uchize nations. The indomitable Francisco Menendez still led the village of Mose, which had a population of sixty-seven individuals and was larger than either of the Indian villages. Males predominated at the Black village, for many of the men had slave wives and children living in St. Augustine. At the Indian villages, however, there were many widows. [33] Some Blacks and Indians linked to these villages lived in St. Augustine with the governor's permission and had property and occupations, but these were the exception.

In 1763 European conflicts once again altered the lives of Spain's Black and Indian allies in a dramatic and unforseen way. The Treaty of Paris ended the Seven Years War and required Spain

to deliver Florida to her arch enemy, England. The entire Spanish colony was evacuated to Cuba, including the Black villagers of Mose and the Yamassees and other nations from the villages of Nuestra Senora de la Leche and Tolomato. The exodus was the sad conclusion to a violent period in Southeastern colonial history. After centuries of warfare, dislocations and disease, the native populations of Florida were decimated and the pitiful mission Indians who left for Cuba died there.[34] Neither the free Black village or the Indian mission villages were reestablished when by another European treaty Spain regained Florida.

But the history of African/Indian alliance in Florida did not end in 1763. Although the indigenous nations were extinct, Lower Creek groups known as Seminoles had moved into the vacuum in Florida and established flourishing villages in the interior savannas. There they grew plentiful crops of corn and vegetables and raised large herds of cattle. Runaway slaves from the Anglo colonies found refuge among the Seminoles and became the vassals of powerful chiefs such as Payne, Micanopy and Bowlegs, providing yearly portions of their crops and their military services in exchange for their freedom. These Blacks intermarried with the Seminoles and became their trusted interpreters and advisors in war councils.[35] Other escaped slaves went to St. Augustine and until 1790 could still claim the religious sanctuary promised by the Spanish Crown a century earlier. Following earlier precedents, these free Blacks organized militias commanded by their own which the Spaniards posted on the frontiers and among the Indians. During

its second and last tenure in Florida the sovereignty of the weak Spanish government was under almost constant attack from land hungry Georgians, assorted plotters such as William Augustus Bowles, and so-called Patriots covertly supported by the United States government. The Spaniards stood to lose their colony, the Blacks their freedom and the Indians their rich lands. This convergence of interests meant that Blacks and Indians once again became formidable allies of the Spaniards and guerrilla forces of Black militias, Seminoles and their Black vassals helped Spain stave off the inevitable until 1821. The United States territorial government which took Florida instated chattel slavery and waged a long and bloody war against the Seminoles and their Black vassals which ended when most were shipped westward.[36]

It has accurately been noted that those who write history, shape it, and it is our obligation to do a better job of incorporating in our histories, the lives of the non-white peoples so long neglected and unappreciated. The meticulous records kept by Spanish bureaucrats, while not without bias, are an important source for the cultural history of these groups. Used judiciously they can offer new perspectives on the tri-racial nature of frontier society and we can begin to reshape the history of Native Americans and Africans in the Southeast.

ENDNOTES

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5. The travails of early explorers and missionaries in Florida are reviewed in Michael V. Gannon, The Cross in the Sand: The Early Catholic Church in Florida, 1513-1870 (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1965). See too, Eugene Lyon, The Enterprise of Florida: Pedro Menendez de Aviles and the Spanish Conquest of 1565-1568 (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1965).

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7. Grant D. Jones, "The Ethnohistory of the Guale Coast Through 1684, " in David Hurst Thomas et. al, The Anthropology of St. Catherines's Island: 1. Natural and Cultural History, vol. 55, part 2, (New York, 1978), 178-179.

8. Herbert E. Bolton and Mary Ross, The Debatable Land (Berkeley, 1925).

9. Peter H. Wood, Black Majority, Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion (New York, 1974), 35-62.

10. Bushnell, King's Coffer, 12-14. The most controversial estimates of Florida's pre-contact populations and their subsequent decline are those of Henry Dobyns who argues Florida once was home to 200,000. Henry Dobyns, Their Number Become Thinned.

11. General Visitation of the provinces of Guale and Mocama made by Captain Don Juan de Pueyo. It should be noted that the English

also attempted to prevent Blacks from visiting among the Indian villages, and they were as unsuccessful as the Spaniards. In fact, it seems both the English and the Spaniards depended upon the Blacks as linguists and culture brokers.

12. Roster of the Free Pardo and Moreno Militia of St. Augustine, 20 September 1683, Santo Domingo 226, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain (hereinafter cited as SD). Verner E. Crane, The Southern Frontier, 1670-1732 (New York, 1981) 31-33.

13. Ibid.

14. Charles W. Arnade, The Siege of St. Augustine in 1702 (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1959). The Spanish force defending St. Augustine in 1702 consisted of 174 army men, 44 White militiamen, 123 Indians from Apalache, Guale and Timucua and 57 African-Americans. Arnade, op.cit., 35. See too John J. TePaske, The Governorship of Spanish Florida, 1700-1763 (Durham ; Duke University Press, 1964), 110-113, and 196-197.

15. "William Dunlop's Mission to St. Augustine in 1688," South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine, 34 (January 1933): 1-30. Diego de Quiroga to the King, 2 February 1688, 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. Royal Edict, 7 November 1693, SD 58-1-26 in the John B. Stetson Collection (hereinafter cited as ST), P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville (hereinafter cited as PKY).

16. Wood, Black Majority, 124-130. Frank J. Klingberg, "The Mystery of the Lost Yamassee Prince," South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine, 13 (1962): 25.

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18. John Hahn, "St. Augustine's Fallout From the Yamassee War," Florida Historical Quarterly, 68 (October, 1989): 180-200.

19. Manuel de Montiano to the King, 3 March 1738, SD 844, on microfilm reel 15, PKY.

20. Memorial of Francisco Menendez, included in Montiano to the King, 3 March 1738, SD 844, on microfilm reel 15, PKY. TePaske, Governorship of Spanish Florida, 131, 209.

21. Memorial of the Fugitives, 1724, SD 844, fol.530, on microfilm reel 15, PKY. Memorial of Chief Jorge, Ibid., fols. 536-37. Manuel de Montiano to the King, 16 February 1739, SD 845, fol. 700, on microfilm reel 16, PKY. Fugitive Negroes of the English Plantations

to the King, 10 June 1738, SD 844, on microfilm reel 15, PKY. For an in-depth study of Mose see, Jane Landers, "Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose: A Free Black Town in Spanish Colonial Florida," American Historical Review, 95 (February, 1990): 9-30.

22. Manuel de Montiano to the King, 16 February 1739, SD 845, fol. 701, on microfilm reel 16, PKY, and 16 September 1740, SD 2658, AGI. Also personal communication from Kathleen Deagan, October, 1989. Descriptions of the Black and Indian villages can also be found in Father Juan de Solana to Don Pedro Agustin Morel de Santa Cruz, 22 April 1759, SD 516, on microfilm reel 28K, PKY.

23. Michael C. Scardaville and Jesus Maria Belmonte, "Florida in the Late First Spanish Period: The Grinan Report," El Escribano, 16 (1979): 10.

24. Ibid.

25. TePaske, Spanish Governorship, 193-226.

26. "Letters of Montiano, Siege of St. Augustine," Collections of the Georgia Historical Society (Savannah, Ga., 1909): 20-43. An Impartial Account of the Late Expedition Against St. Augustine Under General Oglethorpe, facsimile of 1742 edition, introduction and indexes by Aileen Moore Topping (Gainesville, 1978), xv-xvi.

27. On the syncretic traditions of African Americans see Robert Farris Thompson, Flash of the Spirit: African and Afro-American Art and Philosophy (New York, 1974).

28. On Black militia activities see "Letters of Montiano," 20-64. See also Montiano to the King, 17 January 1740, SD 2658, AGI and 31 January 1740, SD 2658, AGI. For Montiano's account of Oglethorpe's siege and the victory at Mose see, Montiano to the King, 9 August 1740, SD 845, fols. 11-26, on microfilm reel 16, PKY. Memorials of Francisco Menendez, 21 November 1740, SD 2658, AGI and 12 December 1740, ibid.

29. Montiano specified that he would take Africans of all nations, including the English-speaking group from Carolina, so that they could spread through the countryside fomenting rebellion and gathering slave recruits. Manuel de Montiano to the Captain General of Cuba, Juan Francisco de Guemes y Horcasitas, 13 March 1742, SD 2593, AGI.

30. In 1759 Cacique Bernardo Lachiche commanded a unit of twenty-eight men by election of the other caciques, and Francisco Menendez retained command of the thirty-five member militia of Mose. Report of Don Lucas de Palacios on the Spanish Indian and Free Black Militias, 30 April 1759, SD 2604, AGI.

31. Memorial of the Fugitives, 1724, SD 844, fols. 593-94, on microfilm reel 15, PKY.

32. Black Marriages, Cathedral Parish Records, Diocese of St. Augustine Catholic Center: Jacksonville (hereinafter cited as CPR), on microfilm reel 284C, PKY.

33. Censuses of the Towns of Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose, Nuestra Senora de la Leche and Tolomato, 10-12 February 1759, SD 2604, AGI.

34. Evacuation Reports of Juan Jospeh Eligio de la Puente, 22 January 1764, SD 2595, AGI. See too Robert L. Gold, Borderland Empires in Transition; The Triple Nation Transfer of Florida (Carbondale and Edwardsville, 1969).

35. Kenneth Wiggins Porter, The Negro on the American Frontier (New York, 1971). Also see George Klos, "Blacks and the Seminole Removal Debate, 1821-1835," Florida Historical Quarterly, 68 (July 1989): 55-78.

36. For more on Black/Indian alliance under the second Spanish government see Jane Landers, "Black Society in Spanish St. Augustine, 1784-1821" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida, Gainesville, 1988).