

The African American Experience and
the Creek War, 1813-14: An Annotated Bibliography

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INTRODUCTION

This project sought to identify primary, secondary, and tertiary sources related to the experience of African-Americans prior to, during, and after the Creek War (1813-1814) and the War of 1812. For the period immediately following the Creek War, the project also sought information on Creek activities in the First Seminole War as well as the period between the Creek War and Removal. Following Removal, information was sought on the rise of a slave society in Tallapoosa County, Alabama, on former Creek land.

Over the decades, African Americans encountered and lived among Creeks in a variety of circumstances as interpreters, laborers, adopted family members, husbands and wives of Creeks, and as enslaved people. The nature of these relationships changed over time, as did perceptions of race and enslavement among the Creeks. This bibliographic essay comprises a review of the most pertinent secondary works related to the topic as well as an overview of the broad categories of primary documents that yield information on African-Americans and their experiences among the Creeks. The period just prior to the war, the period of warfare from 1813-1814, as well as the period that follows to Indian Removal are privileged in the acquisition of primary material.

African American Experience and the Creek War:

A Bibliographic Essay

Horseshoe Bend National Military Park protects and interprets the site of the last major battle of the Creek War. That battle, fought on March 27, 1814, pitted Red Stick Creeks from several towns against a coalition force of American militia, volunteers, regulars and Creek and Cherokee forces. The decisive defeat of the Red Sticks, and the loss of over 800 warriors, marks the battle as a pivotal moment in the history of the Creek people and the United States. Following Red Stick defeat, the Creek Nation lost over 21,000,000 acres of land, opening their former land west of the Coosa-Alabama River system to American settlement and the development of a cotton economy based on African American chattel slavery.

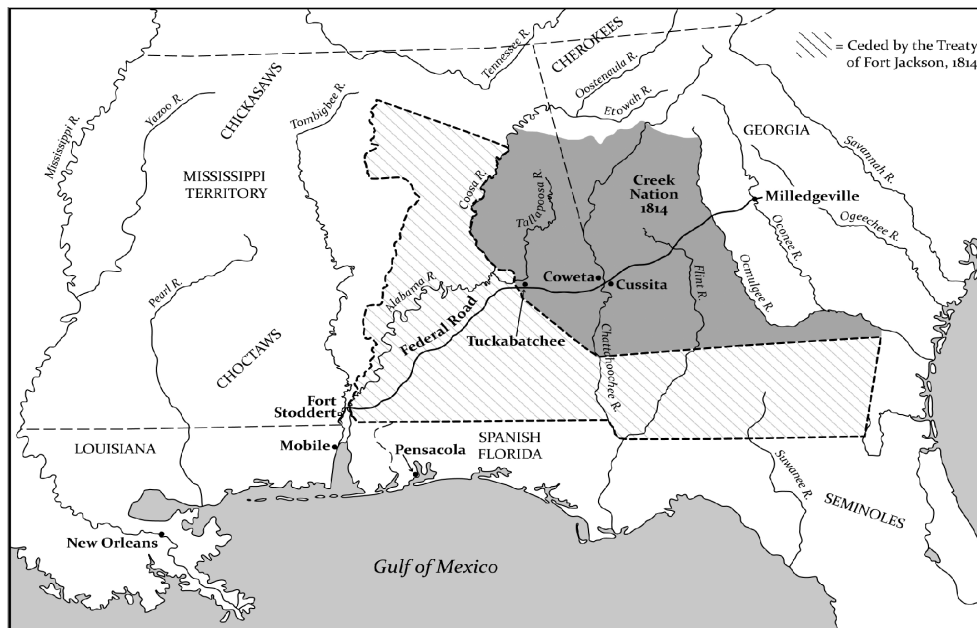


Figure 1. The Creek Nation in 1814. Map Courtesy of Kathryn Braund.

As the region's white and black population soared in the years after the war eclipsing that of the Creeks, calls for the complete removal of the Indians reached a fever pitch. Ultimately, Creek removal was carried out by a series of voluntary migrations culminating in the Treaty of Washington (1832), which dissolved the authority of the Creek Nation east of the Mississippi and called for the allotment of Creek land to individual tribal members.¹ With the destruction of Creek national sovereignty and the outbreak of another War in 1836, most Creeks had left the state either voluntarily or in forced marches by 1840.

The transformation of sovereignty from Creek to American hands also transformed the region from an ethnically and culturally diverse subsistence society with slaves to a biracial slave society. While scholars have, in recent decades, given more attention to the presence of African Americans in Creek society during the tumultuous decades of the early nineteenth century, little effort has been made to date to integrate their experiences fully into the narrative concerning the Creek War. Indeed, this author noted the absence of any substantial discussion of African Americans participation in the war in a published volume of essays commemorating the establishment of Horseshoe Bend National Military Park and

¹ Not a removal treaty *per se*, the 1832 Treaty of Washington granted 320-acre allotments of Creek land to individual heads of family (as well as orphans) and 640 acres to all headmen. The remaining Creek national domain—some five million acres—was ceded to the United States. Creeks could retain their individual allotment or sell and move to Indian Territory, where the Creek Nation was reestablished. The best study of the negotiation for Creek land is Michael D. Green, *The Politics of Indian Removal: Creek Government and Society in Crisis* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982).

the bicentennial of the battle.² This essay will review the types of sources available to better understand the African American experience in the period just prior to, during, and immediately following the Creek War and the War of 1812. This cannot be accomplished without an understanding of the Creeks themselves or their relationship with the United States.

Estimates of Creek population vary widely due to scanty records available for extrapolation of data. But at least 14,000 and more likely up to 20,000 Creeks claimed territory that reached from the Savannah to the Tombigbee River by the time of the American Revolution. Georgia's population, by the first census of 1790, had reached 52,886 whites, with 29,264 enslaved and 398 free African Americans.³ The Creeks were not a monolithic entity but rather a collection of over sixty towns situated over a vast territory. Their confederacy was primarily Muskogean-speaking, but included remnant tribal groups who had joined the Creeks for protection as Mississippian societies failed. Prominent among these were the so-called Alabama towns at the junction of the Coosa and Tallapoosa Rivers, the Uchee who lived in a single town on the Chattahoochee, and the Natchez or Nauchee, who lived in the northern part of the Creek domain, near modern Talladega. These diverse groups were fully integrated into the Creek governing hierarchy, which, by the late eighteenth century saw the development of a "national council" of leading

²Kathryn E. Holland Braund, ed., *Tohopeka: Rethinking the Creek War & the War of 1812* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2012), 6.

³ Peter A. Wood, "The Changing Population of the Colonial South: an Overview by Race and Region, 1685-1790," in *Powhatan's Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast*, ed. Gregory A. Waselkov, Peter H. Wood, and Tom Hatley, rv. ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 86.

headmen who purported to speak for all the Creek towns in matters of diplomacy, including alliances, trade, and border negotiations. Different outlooks and interests among the Creeks towns—and indeed within Creek towns—complicated their relations with outsiders. There was seldom a single “Creek” response to either opportunity or adversity.

The wellspring of Creek identity was the matrilineal clan into which one was born. Clan membership carried rights and responsibilities and established a complex series of relationships among fellow clan members and those in other clans. Any person born to a Creek mother inherited her clan. Clans were matrilineal, meaning that those people related to a single woman (a lineage) lived in close proximity to each other. A series of ceremonial, social, and political rituals tied individuals closely to their town, another essential element of Creek identity. Those born outside the Creek world, lacking a clan and town connection, were, as the eighteenth-century writer James Adair observed, considered “nothings.”⁴

Alliance could bring outsiders into the Creek orbit as “friends” while the conferral of fictive kinship made them “brothers.” In the same way that Creeks allied with outsider polities, they also concluded more intimate relationships by marriage alliances that brought outsiders into Creek society as peripheral members, although children of any ethnicity or race born to a Creek mother were full members of Creek society due to their clan membership. Race, at least in the eighteenth century, was not a significant marker of identity for the Creeks. That

⁴ James Adair, *The History of the American Indians*, Rpt., ed. Kathryn E. Holland Braund (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2005), 89.

changed in the last decades of the eighteenth century as the number of African Americans living among the Creeks rose and the Creeks responded to and adopted the racial ideology of the white America.⁵ Scholars have debated the degree to which Creeks and other Indians were influenced by and responded to a growing awareness of racial difference.⁶

SECONDARY SOURCES

Captivity, Race, and the Development of Chattel Slavery

In the same way that understanding Creek identity and evolving notions of race are essential to an understanding of their relations with African-Americans, so too is an understanding of Creek captivity practices. As historians have documented, the capture and temporary enslavement of enemies evolved to the commodification of enslaved people and the development of chattel slavery among the Creeks by the end of the eighteenth century. The result of these factors was a variety of experiences for African-Americans who lived among Creek Indians. Thus, this project examines African-Americans in light of Creek notions of identity, racial attitudes, captivity and enslavement. It will also consider works that examine the

⁵ Claudio Saunt, "The Graysons' Dilemma: A Creek Family Confronts the Science of Race," in *Powhatan's Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast*, ed. Gregory A. Waselkov, Peter H. Wood, and Tom Hatley, rv. ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 515-16.

⁶ Theda Perdue maintains that it was only after removal that the racialization of southern Indian society began. Saunt posits an earlier date for the rise of a racial ideology among the southeastern Indians, including the Creeks. See Claudio Saunt, Barbara Krauthamer, Tiya Miles, Celia E. Naylor, and Circe Sturm, "Rethinking Race and Culture in the Early South," and Theda Perdue, "A Reply to Saunt et al.," *Ethnohistory* 53(Spring 2006):399-405 and 406.

practice of enslaving Creek Indians, especially in the context of the Creek War.

As April Lee Hatfield aptly observed in her review of "Colonial Southeastern Indian History," historians did not immediately take up Gary B. Nash's call for the integration of both red and black into the dominate white narrative of early American history following the publication of his groundbreaking work, *Red, White and Black: The Peoples of Early America* (1974).⁷ And, for the most part, neither have ethnohistorians. Since the last quarter of the twentieth century, while the number of serious academic studies on southeastern Indians has increased significantly, most of the works focused on diplomacy, economics, and gender while only recently has attention turned to the exploration of black-Indian relations.

Daniel Littlefield, Jr. was the first to explore the topic in detail. His *Africans and Creeks: From the Colonial Period to the Civil War* (Westport, CT, 1979), a chronological survey, largely concentrated on the period after the American Revolution. In a 1982 article, Martha Condray Searcy, traced the rise of African-American chattel slavery among the Creeks. Her work was the most significant of the early works on African American slavery among the Creeks.⁸ J. Leitch Wright, Jr.'s *Creeks and Seminoles: The Destruction and Regeneration of the Muskogulge People* (1986) focused on ethnic differences among Creeks (Muskogee vs. non-Muskogee divisions), but the most significant part of his work focused on race. He

⁷ April Lee Hatfield, "Colonial Southeastern Indian History," *Journal of Southern History* 73(August 2007):567; Nash, *Red, White and Black: The Peoples of Early America*. 2nd Ed (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1974).

⁸ Martha Condray Searcy, "The Introduction of African Slavery into the Creek Indian Nation," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 66(Spring 1982):21-33.

noted that "representatives of the three 'races' were readily discernible among eighteenth-century Muscogulges" and devoted a chapter to "Black Muscogulges" with most of the emphasis on African Americans among the Seminoles following the Creek War.⁹ My own work, "The Creek Indians, Blacks, and Slavery," (1992) examined Creek attitudes toward African Americans and charted the development of chattel slavery among the Creek Indians in the late eighteenth century.¹⁰ Joshua Piker has also explored the multifaceted way in which Creeks and Africans interacted in the late colonial South.¹¹

Alan Gally, *The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South, 1670-1717* (2002) provides a broad overview of the trade in Indian slaves that developed concomitantly with Anglo-American colonization and expansion. The trade in enslaved Indians (purchased from Indians allied to the English, including the Creeks) brought wealth to the colonizers and instability and warfare to the Southern interior. More recently, in *Indian Slavery in Colonial America* (2015) Gally situates the enslavement of native people in historical context, both before and after European contact. The essays that follow explore the enslavement of Indians in various areas and provides background on the early trade in Indian

⁹ J. Leitch Wright, Jr., *Creeks and Seminoles: The Destruction and Regeneration of the Muscogulge People* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986), 74.

¹⁰ Kathryn E. Holland Braund, "The Creek Indians, Blacks, and Slavery," *Journal of Southern History* 57(November 1991):601-36.

¹¹ Joshua A. Piker, "Colonists and Creeks: Rethinking the Pre-Revolutionary Southern Backcountry," *Journal of Southern History* 70 (August 2004):503-40.

slaves.¹² My own work on the Creek deerskin trade chronicles the use of slaves by deerskin traders as well as the way in which Creeks actively participated in the slave trade by pursuing enemies to sell to the British as well as capturing runaways for rewards.¹³

Christina Snyder's *Slavery in Indian Country: The Changing Face of Captivity in Early America* is the best book length work on southeastern Indian captivity and slaveholding available. Snyder begins with a discussion of the practice of taking war captives during the Mississippian period. From there, she shows the transformation of captivity practices into racialized enslavement of Africans in the nineteenth century. This ethnohistorical examination places the rise of African slavery and racial identity within the context of tribal culture. Though not specific to the Creek people, many of her examples and much of her focus is on the Creek people. The book features research from her earlier "Conquered Enemies, Adopted Kin, and Owned People." (2007).¹⁴

¹² Alan Galloway, *The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South, 1670-1717* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002) and *ibid.*, ed., *Indian Slavery in Colonial America* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2015).

¹³ Kathryn E. Holland Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels: The Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-america, 1685-1815* (Norman: University of Nebraska Press, 1996).

¹⁴ Christina Snyder, *Slavery in the Indian Country: The Changing Face of Captivity in Early America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010), "Conquered Enemies, Adopted Kin, and Owned People: The Creek Indians and Their Captives," *Journal of Southern History* 73(May 2007):255-88. Claudio Saunt provided an early exploration of the impact of settler slave societies on economic and political developments in the Creek Nation. See "'The English has now a Mind to make Slaves of them all': Creeks, Seminoles, and the Problem of Slavery," *American Indian Quarterly* 33 (Winter/Spring 1998):157-80.

The Early National Period and "Civilization"

The period after the war of the American Revolution has received considerable attention from scholars over the past two decades, with emphasis on the changing economy, as the American "civilization" policy promoted the adoption of commercial agriculture and domestic industry to replace the declining deerskin trade. Status, as in the eighteenth century, increasingly came to be expressed by the acquisition of exotic material goods, such as clothing and accessories. And in a society in which all land was held in common, housing, livestock, horses, and enslaved people became the means by which wealth and status could be displayed during the nineteenth century.

The most nuanced study of the Creek landscape and the changes precipitated by the civilization program is Robbie Ethridge's *Creek County: The Creek Indians and their World* (2003).¹⁵ Claudio Saunt, in *A New Order of Things. Property, Power, and the Transformation of the Creek Indians, 1733-1816* (1999) covered much the same period as Ethridge, with more emphasis on the Seminoles. Saunt's main thrust was the divisive nature of acquisitiveness as some Creek leaders sought to aggrandize themselves with material wealth and centralized power.¹⁶ For all the recent emphasis on captivity, slavery, and the development of racial consciousness and identity among the Creeks prior to removal, there still exists no counterpart in

¹⁵ Robbie Ethridge, *Creek Country: The Creek Indians and their World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003). See also her "Creeks and Americans in the Age of Washington," in *George Washington's South*, 278-312, edited by Tamara Harvey and Greg O'Brien (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2004).

¹⁶ Claudio Saunt, *A New Order of Things. Property, Power, and the Transformation of the Creek Indians, 1733-1816* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

Creek historiography to Theda Perdue's work on slavery among the Cherokee.¹⁷

African-American Experience and the Creek war

Not a single contemporary document recounting the Battle of Horseshoe Bend mentions the presence of African Americans at the battle. And very few others illuminate the matter. A number of scholars have noted the various roles of African Americans in the war. H. S. Halbert and T. H. Ball's classic study of the war, *The Creek War of 1813-1814* (1895) made passing reference to the enslaved killed and captured at Fort Mims and the support of some liberated slaves for the Red Sticks at the Battle of Holy Ground.¹⁸ The largest presence of enslaved African Americans was in the Tensaw, the property of both Tensaw Creeks and citizens of the Mississippi Territory. Gregory A. Waselkov's detailed account of the multi-ethnic community at the Tensaw and the horrific opening battle at Fort Mims is the best account of the ill-fated residents there, included the numerous enslaved people who were killed or captured by the Red Sticks.¹⁹ In "Reflections on 'Shee Coocys' and the Motherless Child: Creek Women in a Time of War," this author explores captivity both by and of Creeks through the lens of gender and discusses the capture of enslaved African Americans at Fort Mims.²⁰ Christina Snyder's latest work on captivity and

¹⁷ Theda Perdue, *Slavery and the Evolution of Cherokee Society, 1540-1866* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1987).

¹⁸ Halbert and Ball's work continues to be a leading secondary work on the war. It is available as Southern Historical publications No. 15, edited with Introduction and Notes by Frank L. Owsley, Jr. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1969).

¹⁹ Gregory A. Waselkov, *A Conquering Spirit: Fort Mims and the Redstick War of 1813-1814* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2006).

²⁰ Kathryn E. Holland Braund, "Reflections on 'Shee Coocys' and the Motherless Child: Creek Women in a Time of War," *Alabama Review* 64 (October 2011):255-84.

enslavement focuses on Lyncoya, the Creek infant "adopted" by Andrew Jackson after the destruction of Tallushatchee during the Creek War.²¹

In *Ties that Bind*, Tiya Miles tells the story of a unique Cherokee family: Shoe Boots and his African American slave wife, Doll. Her analysis of the complex relations between Cherokees and African Americans, as both slaves and family, also illuminates the Creek experience.²² It is especially pertinent for this project since Shoe Boots was among the Cherokees who fought the Red Sticks at Horseshoe Bend.

The Removal Era

The Creek War brought profound changes to Creek Country. The sizeable loss of land under the Treaty of Fort Jackson resulted in the rapid rise in a slave society driven by "King Cotton" in adjoining Alabama and Georgia. The Creeks not only lost land, but that they retained was devastated by the war. In addition to the horrific loss of life through combat and starvation among military men and civilians, the destruction of towns, homes, and private property impoverished the Creek people. Only those who managed to adjust to the rapidly changing conditions—which included participation in the new slave economy—prospered. Daniel Usner chronicled the changes wrought in the region in a 1985 article and noted "The Creek War, more than any other action, accelerated the physical confinement of Indians into ethnic enclaves." He notes the irony apparent as most Indians were reduced to

²¹Christina Snyder, "Andrew Jackson's Indian Son: Native Captives and American Empire" in *The Native South: New Histories and Enduring Legacies*, ed. Tim Alan Garrison and Greg O'Brien (University of Nebraska Press, 2017):84-106.

²² Tiya Miles, *Ties that Bind: The Story of an Afro-Cherokee Family in Slavery and Freedom* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).

"marginal participants in the emerging cotton economy" while still others were able "to accumulate their own property in cotton lands and Negro slaves."²³

New scholarship by James Eyre Wainwright posits that the slave economy of the Deep South arose not from American sources, but was "a grassroots phenomenon forged by Indians and other native inhabitants as much as by Anglo-American migrants" into the region. His work examines the shift from cattle to cotton in the region and the rise of chattel slavery among the Creeks. The work begins with an introduction to Alexander Cornels, a Creek slaveholder, noting that he "was both an inhabitant and a creator of the American Deep South." When published, this dissertation will have a profound impact on the way we view race, identity, and the rise of slavery in Alabama. "African Americans," Wainwright observes, "could be slaves and town headmen and they occupied every status in between."²⁴

Angela Pulley Hudson explored mobility through the Creek Nation along the Federal Road in her *Creek Paths and Federal Roads* (2010). Especially pertinent to this project is her discussion of the impact of travelers (both free and enslaved) as a precipitating cause of the Creek War and the resultant flood of emigrants following the Creek War. She is one of the few to examine experience of the journey for the

²³ Daniel H. Usner, Jr., "American Indians on the Cotton Frontier: Changing Economic Relations with Citizens and Slaves in the Mississippi Territory," *Journal of American History* 72(September 1985): 317 & 315.

²⁴ James Eyre Wainwright, "Both Native South and Deep South: The Native Transformation of the Gulf South Borderlands, 1770-1835," (Ph.D. Diss. Department of History, Rice University, 2013). Quotations: abstract, 2, 13.

enslaved moving into the new cotton country in Alabama and Mississippi.²⁵

A number of scholars have written about the experiences of Creek Indians as slaveholders in this period. Andrew Frank's analysis of slaveholder William McIntosh (2002) only peripherally addresses McIntosh's slaveholding, but is useful for the development of Frank's analysis of biculturalism and his attempt to abandon racial categorization. As he notes "terms like 'half-breed' and 'mixed-blood,' which connote racial categories and partial Indianness, betray the ways in which native peoples determined kinship and identity in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries." In this article and his book, *Creeks and Southerners* (2010), he strongly posits those of mixed cultural backgrounds were not alienated from their native communities but able to use their cross cultural backgrounds to their advantage.²⁶

A number of recent books on the removal are helpful in understanding the broad challenges faced by the Creeks during the period. None of them specifically target African Americans topically, but do contain useful information about racial antagonism, slavery among the Creeks, and the plight of the enslaved during Removal.²⁷

²⁵ Angela Pulley Hudson, *Creek Paths and Federal Roads: Indians, Settlers, and Slaves and the Making of the American South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010).

²⁶ Andrew Frank, "The Rise and Fall of William McIntosh: Authority and Identity on the Early American Frontier," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 86(Spring 2002):22 (quotation) and *Creeks and Southerners: Biculturalism on the Early American Frontier* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press 2010).

²⁷ See John T. Ellisor, *The Second Creek War: Interethnic Conflict and Collusion on a Collapsing Frontier* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press 2010), Christopher D. Haveman, *Rivers of Sand: Creek Indian Emigration, Relocation, and Ethnic Cleansing*

Creeks and Black Seminoles: Slave and Free

A plethora of works on Florida are pertinent to this project. Following the Creek War, many Red Stick Creeks became refugees in Florida and the region was a refuge for runaway slaves from American states as well as from Creek owners. Creek involvement in the Seminole Wars and as slave catchers for the United States also elucidate the African American experience in relationship to the Creeks.

Matthew Clavin's *Aiming for Pensacola* (2015) offers an overview of the British period in West Florida as well as the War of 1812 and later events at Prospect Bluff—the so-called "Negro Fort" at Apalachicola where fugitive slaves and Red Sticks gathered after the Creek war.²⁸ Among the best sources for the First Seminole War is *Old Hickory's War* by David and Jeanne Heidler. The book details events at Prospect Bluff as well as the many raids against Seminole and Red Sticks and their slaves.²⁹ An earlier article by the pair, focused more closely on the Creeks, was published in 1997.³⁰

A review of all material related to the First Seminole War and the development of black Seminole communities is not possible for this project, but a

in the American South (University of Nebraska Press, 2016) and William W. Winn, *The Triumph of the Exunnau-Nuxulgee: Land Speculators, George M. Troup, State Rights, and the Removal of the Creek Indians from Georgia and Alabama, 1825-38* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 2015).

²⁸ Matthew J. Clavin's *Aiming for Pensacola: Fugitive Slaves on the Atlantic and Southern Frontier* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015).

²⁹ David S. Heidler and Jeanne T. Heidler, *Old Hickory's War: Andrew Jackson and the Quest for Empire* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1996).

³⁰ David S. Heidler and Jeanne T. Heidler, "Between a Rock and a Hard Place: Allied Creeks and the United States, 1814-1818," *Alabama Review* 50(October 1997):267-89.

few items do warrant mention. Among the many offerings of Kenneth Wiggins Porter, his dated essay “The Negro Abraham,” (1946) provides a good summary of Abraham’s life as he became one of the leading Black Seminoles who lived among the Seminole/Creek Red Stick refugees and was significantly involved in the Seminole Wars.³¹ Daniel R. Littlefield's *Africans and Seminoles* (1977) is likewise a starting point for the topic.³² More sophisticated analysis of maroon sites, including archaeological research, is now being employed to examine Black Seminole settlements in Florida. Rosalyn Howard recently published work documents the archaeological investigation at “Angola,” a maroon community in the vicinity of Tampa Bay, Florida. The community of free blacks and escaped slaves grew after the Creek War and particularly after the destruction of the fort at Apalachicola during the First Seminole War.³³

The most prolific scholar associated with Florida and African-Americans is Jane Landers. One of her most influential articles (1990) focused on Fort Mosa, a community built by escaped slaves from the British colonies near St. Augustine.³⁴ Continuing her community approach, she explored other maroon settlement in an

³¹ Kenneth W. Porter, “The Negro Abraham,” *Florida Historical Quarterly* 25 (July 1946):2-43.

³² Daniel R. Littlefield, *Africans and Seminoles: From Removal to Emancipation* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1977).

³³ Rosalyn Howard, “‘Looking for Angola’: An Archaeological and Ethnohistorical Search for a Nineteenth Century Florida Maroon Community and its Caribbean Connections,” *Florida Historical Quarterly* 92(Summer 2013):32-68.

³⁴Jane Landers, “Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mosa: A Free Black Town in Spanish Colonial Florida,” *American Historical Review* 95(February 1990):9-30.

1998 article.³⁵ More recently, in *Atlantic Creoles in the Age of Revolutions* (2010) she traces a number of people of African descent in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Of interest to this study is her work on Abraham.³⁶ In “Southern Passage: The Forgotten Route to Freedom in Florida” she explores the flight of southern slaves to Spanish Florida, noting that in contrast to the “underground railroad” with ushering enslaved people north in search of freedom just prior to the civil war, the earlier route to Spanish Florida resulted in three centuries of refuge for escapees.³⁷

The American Experience

Part of the project's mandate was to document slavery as it developed around Creek Country and in Tallapoosa County after the dissolution of the Creek Nation in the 1830s. "Alabama Fever" swept across the nation in the wake of the Creek War, sending emigrants eager to turn a quick profit from cheap cotton to the land opened up by the Treaty of Fort Jackson. Areas south and west of the Coosa River, included in the cession, were part of Alabama's black belt, with fertile soil suited for large-scale cotton production. But from 1815 until the mid-1830s the land associated with the park remained in Creek hands. The land was held in common, although some Creeks in the vicinity of Horseshoe Bend did hold slaves. Following the Treaty of

³⁵ Jane Landers, “Black Community and Culture in the Southeastern Borderlands” *Journal of the Early Republic* 18(1998):117-34.

³⁶ Jane Landers, *Atlantic Creoles in the Age of Revolutions* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press 2010).

³⁷ Jane Landers, “Southern Passage: The Forgotten Route to Freedom in Florida” in *Passages to Freedom: The Underground Railroad in History and Memory*, ed. David W. Blight, 117-31 (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 2004).

Washington in 1832, whereby the Creeks ceded claim to all their territory except for individual allotments, Tallapoosa County was created by the Alabama legislature. The county originally included parts of modern Elmore and Macon counties. The lower reaches of the Tallapoosa River boasted more fertile, flat land suited for plantation agriculture. It was in that section of the county, which includes some of the present Elmore County and Macon counties, that plantation agriculture thrived.

The Tallapoosa county seat was established in 1833 near the abandoned Creek town of Okfuskee. It soon moved to the current location of Dadeville. The area's clay piedmont soil was less well-suited for cotton production, and, generally speaking, the farms were smaller. The small villages of Dadeville, Dudleyville, and Youngsville were hubs for these small farmers. By 1850, white slaveholders in the area around Horseshoe Bend owned about 400 slaves who worked former Creek land. At least six planters, white men who owned 20 or more slaves, lived in the region around HOBE's current boundaries³⁸ Ransom Meadows, who settled near Young's Ferry (formerly near the Creek town of Okfuskee) in 1860, was perhaps the largest slaveholder in this part of the county. But the 1860 census, he owned thirty-seven people. Other known slaveholders were John M. Pearson (near Dadeville) and the Slaughter family of Camp Hill.³⁹ The community's

³⁸ "United States Census (Slave Schedule), 1850," database with images, *FamilySearch* (<https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.3.1/TH-267-11595-154552-48?cc=1420440> : accessed 4 May 2016), Alabama > Tallapoosa > Tallapoosa county > image 16 of 49; citing NARA microfilm publication M432 (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, n.d.). Data extrapolated by Keith Hebert for the Horseshoe Bend Administrative History project.

³⁹ Tallapoosa County Bicentennial Committee, *Tallapoosa County: A History* (Alexander City: Service Printing, 1976), 11-12.

American bicentennial publication, *Tallapoosa County: A History*, offers the best glimpse of the region between removal and the civil war, and is based on primary work in local sources, but the contributors failed to document their work.⁴⁰

Scholarly studies of the development of Tallapoosa County are lacking, as scholars have concentrated on the areas with more desirable land, namely the Alabama and lower Tallapoosa and Chattahoochee river valleys.

The best modern study of slavery in Alabama is Anthony Gene Carey's *Sold Down the River: Slavery in the Lower Chattahoochee River Valley of Alabama and Georgia*.⁴¹ In his work, Carey surveys the former homeland of Lower Creeks to document the explosive rise of a slave society in this rich agricultural area following Indian Removal. Following a discussion of slavery among the Creeks, he moves topically to discussions of the slave trade, slave life and labor, resistance, and religion. A similar study for other regions of the state is sorely needed.

The Post Removal Era

Although beyond the scope of the current project, several works on African Americans and Creeks in Indian Territory deserve inclusion. David Chang's exceptional work, *The Color of the Land: Race, Nation, and the Politics of Land Ownership in Oklahoma, 1832-1929* begins with an overview of the period prior to

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Carey's book was published by the University of Alabama Press in 2011. Other studies of slavery in Alabama listed in the bibliography are dated, very general, or concentrate on the politics of slavery. See works by James Sellers, William Warren Rogers and his coauthors, and J. Mills Thornton.

1865.⁴² Gary Zeller's *African Creeks: Estelvste and the Creek Nation* (2007) likewise begins with a discussion the long history of African American Creeks (Estelvste means "black people"). Zeller notes that both enslaved and free blacks among the Creeks "spoke the same language, ate the same foods, held the same worldview, and shared kinship ties with the Creek people."⁴³

Claudio Saunt's *Black, White, and Indian* (2005) traces the complicated history of the Robert Grierson family (later known as Grayson). The offspring of Grierson and his Hillabee Creek wife forged new identities as bicultural and biracial families in the years following Indian Removal, with those of Creek-white descent cutting themselves off and denying the family connection to their Creek-black kin. Like the other works, this volume also tells the essential pre-Removal story of the family. Saunt also offered a compelling look at racism and Indian-African American relations in "The Graysons' Dilemma: A Creek Family Confronts the Science of Race."⁴⁴ Although not as sophisticated as Saunt's work on the Graysons, Judith McArthur's essay on Rebecca Hagerty, the slaveholding daughter of William

⁴² David A. Chang, *The Color of the Land: Race, Nation, and the Politics of Land Ownership in Oklahoma, 1832-1929* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010). Particularly appropriate for pre-Removal is the first chapter: "Owning and Being Owned: Property, Slavery, and Creek Nationhood to 1865." See also his "Where Will the Nation be at Home?: Race, Nationalisms and Emigration Movements in the Creek Nation," Tiya Miles and Sharon P. Holland, eds. *Crossing Waters, Crossing Worlds: The African Diaspora in Indian Country* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 100-20.

⁴³ Gary Zeller, *African Creeks: Estelvste and the Creek Nation* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007), xvii.

⁴⁴ Claudio Saunt, *Black, White, and Indian: Race and the Unmaking of an American Family* (New York: Oxford Press, 2005).

McIntosh, is useful for the western Creek experience.⁴⁵ The Moore family, who owned land near the site of the Horseshoe Bend battlefield after removal, were also considerable slaveholders. Their story is not generally known, although published primary accounts of their efforts to emigrate with their slaves are available.⁴⁶

David Chang explores the reality of freedmen in the Creek Nation following the civil war in "An Equal Interest in the Soil." His essay explores the way in which the communal land ownership helped shape tribal membership and details the rise of "racial fissures" at the end of the nineteenth century as allotment was again forced on the Creek people.⁴⁷ On a related note, Makaela M. Adams's *Who Belongs?* (2016) explores how six southern Indian nations determine tribal membership. Though the Poarch Band Creeks and the Muscogee/Creek Nation are not considered, her examination of federal Indian policy, the development of racial ideology, and a concept of legal tribal citizenship though "blood quantum" applies to the Creeks as well.⁴⁸

Tertiary sources (encyclopedia entries, etc.) touching this topic are rare. There

⁴⁵ Judith N. McArthur, "Myth, Reality, and Anomaly: The Complex World of Rebecca Hagerty," *East Texas Historical Journal*, vol. 24, Iss 2 (1986): 18-32. Less useful is Benjamin W. Griffith, Jr., *McIntosh and Weatherford, Creek Indian Leaders* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1988), although it does cover McIntosh's career as a slave catcher in the Seminole Wars.

⁴⁶ Stanley Hoole edited these family documents for publication in the *Alabama Review*.

⁴⁷ David A. Chang, "'An Equal Interest in the Soil': Creek Small-Scale Farming and the Work of Nationhood, 1866-1889," *American Indian Quarterly* 33(Winter 2009):98-130.

⁴⁸ Makaela M. Adams's *Who Belongs? Race, Resources, and Tribal Citizenship in the Native South* (2016). She does discuss the Seminole and Miccosukee tribes of Florida.

is one outstanding exception, the entry "African-Americans in Indian Societies," in the *Handbook of North American Indians: Southeast*.⁴⁹ The short essay provides an overview of the entire region that is helpful for readers unfamiliar with the topic. Online encyclopedias for the states of Oklahoma and Alabama also provide pertinent entries.

PRIMARY SOURCES

There is no one collection of primary source material that details the African-American experience among the Creeks. Their presence in primary sources is sporadic, scattered, and superficial. For the late eighteenth-century the single best source for evidence of African-American presence among the Creeks are the records of the British Colonial Office. Bits and pieces of evidence regarding runaway slaves and the use of Creeks as slave catchers can be found. A comprehensive search of these voluminous files was unrealistic for the current project, but exemplary documents are detailed in the annotated bibliography.

Georgia and Tennessee state records from the American revolution through the Creek War detail raids by Creeks against American property, including the theft of slaves. For this project, documents from state archives in Alabama, Mississippi, North Carolina, and Georgia were collected. Two Alabama counties—Macon and Tallapoosa—also provided records related to Indians and African Americans. The

⁴⁹ Tiya Miles and Celia E. Naylor-Ojuronbe, "African-Americans in Indian Societies," in *Southeast*, ed. Raymond D. Fogelson, vol. 14 of *Handbook of North American Indians*, William C Sturtevant general editor (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 2001).

largest collection of primary documents for this study were found in the National Archives, where several branches of government have retained original correspondence as well as produced published reports that were useful for this project. Manuscript collections held at the University of Alabama and the Wisconsin Historical Society, as well as the Georgia Historical Society also own pertinent documents. In the case of the last three repositories, all the documents appropriate for this study have been published.

The published correspondence of individuals also was important for this project. Alexander McGillivray was the leading spokesman for the Creeks in the late eighteenth century and a slaveholder. A collection of his correspondence provides some information on the late eighteenth century with a few references of African Americans.⁵⁰ The writings of Benjamin Hawkins, the first federal agent to the Creeks, are available in a variety of published and unpublished formats. His letters and essays provide keys to the transition of some Creeks from slave catchers and traders to slaveholders involved in plantation style agriculture.⁵¹ Two compilations of federal records, the *American State Papers* and the *Territorial Papers of the United States* provides passing references to African Americans among the Creeks and in the region during the period. Selected documents were included for this project.⁵²

⁵⁰ John Walton Caughey, *McGillivray of the Creeks* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1938).

⁵¹ See the editions by Thomas H. Foster, III and C. L. Grant in the bibliography for details.

⁵² *American State Papers, Class II, Indian Affairs*, 2 vols., edited by Walter Lowrie (Washington, DC: Gales and Seaton, 1832-1834) are very valuable for the study of the Creek War. Clarence Edwin Carter compiled and edited 28 vols. for the *Territorial Papers of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing

For the Creek War and its aftermath, the Andrew Jackson Papers, both published documentary edition volumes and manuscript collections proved valuable.⁵³ Numerous journals and other primary documents have been published that contain references to African Americans among the Creeks. These were consulted and included in this project.

Newspaper articles provided some key evidence for the project. The most important is the *Wetumpka Argus and Commercial Advertiser*, Jun 26, 1839, which contains an account of the removal of Major Lemuel Montgomery's remains from the Horseshoe Bend battlefield with references to an enslaved man present at the battle and burial of the major afterwards. Other articles provide evidence of slavery in early Tallapoosa County while one important published letter details the Creek-American raid on the fort at Apalachicola where runaway slaves were congregating. A full survey of early newspaper accounts, which generally contain only fleeting references to Creeks and virtually no references to African Americans among Indians, was outside the scope of this project. Poor quality of microfilmed newspapers and inaccessibility of surviving originals provided further obstacles to the effort. Runaway slave advertisements, usually a solid source for slavery studies, were problematic in this case due to the lack of newspapers for the area until well

Office, 19134-1962) The volume for the *Alabama Territory*, Vol. 18, was examined for this project and selected documents copied.

⁵³ Many of Jackson's papers, selected and edited, are available in published form in two separate editions. A microfilm edition of all documents located by the modern Papers of Andrew Jackson project is also available. The Library of Congress contains the bulk of Jackson's correspondence. Long available in microfilm (and included in the Papers of Andrew Jackson project as well), these documents are now available online through the Library of Congress website.

into the 1840s. As more newspapers are added to searchable databases, they will become easier to search and perhaps provide more useful material.

With the rise of slaveholding Creeks, who were an important and influential minority, there is a commiserate rise in the legal records. The bibliography contains wills, bills of sale, and other documents associated with Creek slaveholding. These records are lodged among the voluminous records of county courthouses and present opportunities for additional research for the period after 1832. The comprehensive federal census of the Creek Nation in 1832 (Parsons and Abbott Census) is an underutilized resource for the study of Creek settlements and, more specifically, the practice of slaveholding.⁵⁴

Travelers' accounts of the federal road which cut through Creek territory are replete with references to enslaved African Americans and the institution of slavery among Creeks and Americans. The pertinent parts of these accounts—the majority of which have been published—are included.⁵⁵ Reminiscences and memoirs of Indian countrymen, such as David Crockett and Thomas Woodward, were also searched.

⁵⁴ Census of Creek Indians Taken by Parsons and Abbott, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Record Group 75, National Archives and Records Administration, M275. The census is available as a government publication and also is found in several websites.

⁵⁵ Many of these travelers were foreign. For travel accounts, consult works by Margaret Austill, William Bartram, Carl Bernhard, James Buckingham, Robert P. Collins (editor of Lukas Vischer's account), George W. Featherstonhaugh, Thomas Hamilton, Ethan Allen Hitchcock, Alan R. Hoffman (editor of Auguste Levasseur's account), Alex Mackay, Harriet Martineau, and Joseph G. Smoot (editor of William S. Pott's account).

Repositories and agencies, as well as commercial services, are increasingly making primary material available online. The most significant for this project was "Galileo," the Digital Library of Georgia which contains a collection of documents related to Southeastern Indians from 1730-1842. The documents come from a variety of private holdings, including collections held by the University of Georgia Libraries, the University of Tennessee, and the Tennessee State Archives. The site provides access to images of the original document as well as an accompanying transcript. Documents related to this project were downloaded and converted to a single pdf file, including the transcript. The transcripts are of variable quality. A link to the document is also included in the Bibliography.⁵⁶

In some cases, primary source material is now scanned and available digitally either through the repository or in special collections of material gathered topically by scholarly or commercial services. For this project, the documents are described under their owning repository, with links given to the document or website of the repository. In some cases, such as ANCESTRY (ancestry.com), the link for the document is included in a separate section under "Internet Resources." For the union database by Georgia libraries, GALILEO, all material is listed under Internet Resources rather than individual repository. ANCESTRY and FAMILYSEARCH (familySearch.org) also have numerous primary documents available for researchers. For this project, links are provided for ANCESTRY's excellent census database. FAMILYSEARCH provides access to many records as well, including the

⁵⁶ For information on the project, see <https://www.galileo.usg.edu/scholar/databases/zlna/?Welcome&Welcome>.

Territorial Papers of the United States. A link to those records is provided in the bibliography under Internet Resources. HATHITRUST DIGITAL LIBRARY (hathitrust.org) is a partnership of academic and research institutions and offers access to numerous early published works, including the *American State Papers*, the *Territorial Papers of the United States*, and many published early works and travel accounts. Google (books.google.com) likewise offers access to many early books, government documents, and pertinent sources.

FUTURE RESEARCH

While efforts were made to locate material from Alabama and Georgia newspapers from the late 1830s to the 1860s regarding slavery, a more comprehensive effort might yield greater results. The relatively late start to plantation slavery in Tallapoosa County, combined with lack of early newspapers makes this a less promising source than for other regions. For example, there are no pre-civil war newspapers for Tallapoosa County in the Auburn University newspaper collection. NEWSPAPERS.COM (newspapers.com) contains papers from the collection of the Alabama Department of Archives and History, including a short run of the *Wetumpka Argus*, which was searched for this project. But here too, the selection of newspapers covering Tallapoosa County after its establishment in 1832 until 1860 are meager.

Analysis of the agricultural census data along with land records and biographical information on those who moved into the region would increase our understanding of the rise of slavery in Tallapoosa County following American

takeover of the area. Virtually nothing exists in the secondary literature on this topic for Tallapoosa County. The 1850 and 1860 federal census included separate slave schedules. In most cases, only the name of the slave owner is given and the slaves enumerated by age, sex, and color. An analysis of this data and research on the specific landholdings of the slaveholders would be a work of dedication and time but would be a worthwhile effort to elucidate the situation regarding African American bondage in Tallapoosa County at the outbreak of the civil war.

The Record Room of the Tallapoosa County Courthouse contains a variety of records pertinent to Creek Indian history, although the records from the earliest period (ca. 1835) are fragmentary and unorganized in unlabeled bound volumes. Records of marriages, death and probate records, births, and wills as well as land transaction records can be found. A survey of the record room was made for this study and two early documents relating to sale of slaves were located, including one by the Grayson family, one of the largest slaveholding Creek families in the vicinity of Horseshoe Bend. These fragmentary records might be augmented by a survey of the wills and other bound volumes—an effort that would require considerable effort given the unorganized nature of the records for the earliest period. The repository also contains a selection of bound Tallapoosa County newspapers. The volumes are unorganized and while there is no record of the complete holding, they seem to all date from the late nineteenth century. Future research in these records, as well as surrounding county courthouses, might yield documents of value. Unfortunately, many early county records have been lost, as is the case in Macon County where lack of care, and in some cases vandalism, has destroyed records relating to the project.

Following the Creek War, many Red Stick refugees sought refuge in Florida. American efforts to root out and destroy these settlements, which included large numbers of runaway and captive slaves, culminated in the First Seminole War. Efforts were made to locate records related to the Creek effort in Florida to capture and return runaways. More thorough examination of British records might yield additional information. Creek raids continued sporadically through the Second Seminole War, and research for that time period and location would shed additional light on the Creek role in the American conquest of Florida.

African Americans at War

During the Creek War, African Americans served as fighting men and as servants for both the Red Sticks and Americans. Their roles are obscured by the fragmentary and incomplete records. In the case of the 39th Regiment, which stormed the barricade during the battle at Horseshoe Bend, four names on the muster roll of Captain George Hallam's Company have "Reported/a Negroe" in the "Remarks" section of the roll. Such a remark strongly suggests these men were African Americans or had African American ancestry (mulatto in the parlance of the day). The present search could find no reference to African Americans as soldiers at Horseshoe Bend aside from this intriguing record. The author discussed these "Remarks" with Creek War scholar Tom Kanon, particularly the semantics of the word "reported." It might mean that the soldier was reporting for duty and was African American. But since "reported" is lacking on remarks regarding most of the other members, perhaps it was reported that these men were either a free person of

African American ancestry or that they were or were believed to be "passing" as white men and were "reported" as African American. It seems unlikely that they were servants since all four are listed as privates. Of interest is Hallam himself. He is the only commander to include such remarks. Perhaps since recruiting was difficult Hallam recruited free blacks and then singled them out on the muster roll—a possibility suggested by Kanon. Of the four men, only Ezakiah Kirkpatrick and William Moasley, who both joined the unit in January 1814 for an enlistment of one year, appear in the *Register of Enlistments for the U.S. Army*. At that time, Moasley was listed as six feet high and age 20. It seems likely that if he were African American, his race would have been noted at that time. No information was given regarding Kirkpatrick.⁵⁷ Thus, the remarks raise questions that allow no firm answers at present. Additional research on these men certainly is warranted.

Gregory A. Waselkov's analysis of the service records of Mississippi troops revealed that one battalion listed 22 men as either waiters or servants. The presence of these enslaved African Americans in the Mississippi forces is virtually unknown.⁵⁸ One other extant roll, that of the company at Fort Jackson copied for this project, also listed men as servants and waiters.⁵⁹ Thus, a full examination of all muster rolls and related service records available might reveal the presence of

⁵⁷ Personal correspondence with Tom Kanon, July 12, 2017. Author's Personal correspondence files.

⁵⁸ See Gregory A. Waselkov, *A Conquering Spirit*, 322n4. The records cited are Compiled Service Records of volunteer Soldiers Who Served during the War of 1812 in Organizations from Mississippi (M678, rolls 13-15), RG 94, NARA.

⁵⁹ See U. S. Congress, House Report of the Committee on Military Affairs, *The Proceedings of a Court Martial Ordered for the Trial of Certain Tennessee Militiamen*. Report No. 140, House of Representatives, 20th Congress, 1st Session (Washington, DC: Gales and Seaton, 1828).

African Americans at Horseshoe Bend as either servants or possibly as enlisted men.

It does seem certain that one African American was with Jackson's army at Horseshoe Bend. The unnamed man was first described in a letter to the editor of the *Wetumpka Argus* a quarter century after the battle. The letter to the editor noted that the militia for several counties had met and determined to find the remains of Major Lemuel Montgomery and remove them to a more suitable burial spot. The committee sent to find the grave took along "a soldier who had fought in the battle, and a negro who acted as a drummer at the funeral of the unfortunate young officer."⁶⁰ The July 21, 1839, issue of the *Alabama Journal* also reported on the removal of Montgomery's remains. This account, signed by six men, provides additional details. Their report noted that the soldier (unnamed in the *Argus's* account) was Samuel Barrett "who stated he was in the battle and saw the burial of Major Montgomery: and also a negro, who stated he was in the battle and was owned by a gentleman in Tennessee at the time—that he came with the Tennessee troops, and saw the major Montgomery buried."⁶¹ The more detailed and precise account in the *Alabama Journal* does not mention the enslaved man as a musician. Samuel Barrett was a Corporal in Copeland's Regiment of West Tennessee Militia. The enslaved man was not identified by name until the twentieth century through oral tradition. This information came from George W. Vines of Dadeville, who said the man's name was Americus Hammock and that he was a "drummer or fifer" in the army. Unfortunately, the only record of Vines' letter found to date is an old

⁶⁰ *Wetumpka Argus and Commercial Advertiser*, June 21, 1839.

⁶¹ *The Alabama Journal*, July 21, 1839.

transcription in the Horseshoe Bend files.⁶² A letter to the editor of the *Prattville Progress* from W. L. Andrews in 1905 relayed substantial information about the second burial site of the major, and identified the enslaved man as "the body servant who helped to bury his master."⁶³ A survey of Major Montgomery's will and private correspondence revealed no references to his owning slaves. None were listed in his will.⁶⁴ It seems unlikely that the man was the slave of Major Montgomery. More likely is that he was the "body servant" of some other officer, the "gentleman in Tennessee" mentioned in the *Alabama Journal* article. The muster rolls for the Tennessee militia does include two men with the surname "Hammock." Further research on these individuals is needed.

The question of the enslaved man's role as a musician is equally clouded. The muster roll for the 39th Regiment (Montgomery's unit) indicates that the unit had the services of a Drum Major, as well as a private who was a fifer and drummer and several others are listed as musicians. All these men were enlisted in the regular army. There are also references to musicians accompanying other units. So it seems unlikely that the enslaved would have been utilized for this role, although certainly

⁶² The typed transcript implies the letter was published in the *Montgomery Advertiser*, December 15, 1901. Repeated searches of the newspaper for that date in both microfilm and digital format have failed to find the published version.

⁶³ *Prattville Progress*, April 7, 1905.

⁶⁴ Some of Montgomery's private papers are owned by the Alabama Department of Archives and History. His will is found among the Probate Records of Lincoln County, Tennessee, and conveys only land to his siblings. There is not mention of a "servant."

not out of the question.⁶⁵

Future research on all these men, and a closer examination of muster rolls and census data to track them following the war seems warranted to discover more about the intriguing possibility that four African American men were in Jackson's ranks at Horseshoe Bend along with at least one enslaved man who was either a servant or musician or perhaps both. The muster rolls for units at Horseshoe Bend are available for viewing at the National Archives. The NARA also holds muster rolls for various state militias in the series "Muster Rolls of Volunteer Organizations: War of 1812" (entry 55).⁶⁶ Copies of all muster rolls pertinent to Horseshoe Bend and the Creek War should be obtained by HOBE for research, education, and display purposes. Currently, HOBE owns only negative photocopies.

CONCLUSION

A survey of extant documentary record reveals the many roles in which African Americans found themselves in the Creek Nation: enslaved and free and as Creek Indians by birth or adoption. Prior to the war, the largest concentration of enslaved African Americans among the Creeks was in Tensaw Region; around

⁶⁵See compilation of the muster rolls by HOBE staff. "East and West Tennessee Militia Muster Roll, Battle of Horseshoe Bend" at <http://www.nps.gov/hobe/upload/tennessee%20militia.pdf> and "United States Army 39th Infantry Muster Roll," available at <http://www.nps.gov/hobe/upload/39infantry.pdf>.

⁶⁶ The rolls for the 39th Infantry are in the "flattened segment" Boxes 390, 390A, 390B, and 390C of the series "Muster Rolls of Regular Army Organizations, 1784-1912" (entry 53).

Tuckabatchee at the residences of Big Warrior, the leader of the National Council; at Hillabee, where the Grierson family's establishment was located; and at Coweta, where William McIntosh had a plantation; and at other establishments of Creek slaveholders, such as the Moniacs, Cornells, and a few others. During the Creek War, like other civilians, African Americans suffered from the horrific violence of total war, becoming captives as well as casualties. Many took an active part in war—on both sides—as pilots, linguists, messengers, and sources of intelligence. We know that at least one battle, Holy Ground, African Americans from Fort Mims fought with the Red Sticks either willingly or by coercion. After the Creek War, the number of African Americans—now largely enslaved—rose. Although the record is clear that free blacks were present too. Tustunnuggee Emathla or Jim Boy, a chief who rose to prominence in the post war period, was almost certainly of African American descent: most likely the result of intermarriage between a Creek woman and an African American. The famous Grayson (Grierson) family also had an African American line. The census of the Creek people just prior to removal reveals the extent and location of most African Americans among the Creeks. Future research and analysis of population data should reveal more fully the extent of slavery among the Creeks prior to removal. A cursory reading of records reveals that most Creeks were not slaveholders. And removal records also indicate the presence of free African Americans among the Creeks. Here too, research is needed to provide information on these handful of men and women who are identified as "free Negroes" in the removal records.

The effort to reveal the African American presence will be substantial but worthwhile. The complex multicultural and multiracial world of the Creeks led in great measure to two bitter wars in the nineteenth century, as notions of identity, government, and property among Creeks underwent dramatic change. The resulting arguments over what it meant to be Creek and what kind of social and economic structure was culturally appropriate are directly related to their interactions with both black and white people living alongside as well as outside of their society.

The African American Experience
and the Creek War, 1813-1814

Annotated Bibliography

An asterisk (*) at the beginning of an annotation indicates that the item has been copied for this project. A dagger (†) signifies that the item is already in the HOBE book collection or files and was not been copied for this project. Items with no designation are either available on-line or of tangential interest and are described but were not copied. Digital as well as hard copies are provided for primary sources. Only digital copies are provided for selected secondary sources.

MANUSCRIPT PRIMARY SOURCES

Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, AL

*Alabama State Census.

Alabama State Census for 1855. The state has census enumerations for Alabama for selected years. The 1855 state census included Tallapoosa County and lists head of household by name, number of inhabitants per household by gender and age, number enslaved, slave and free persons of color broken down by age. Careful analysis of these records would provide valuable demographic information relative to the growth of slavery in the region following Indian removal. The Tallapoosa County section of the census was copied for this project. The census is available on microfilm and online at ANCESTRY. There is also a transcribed, printed version by Carolyn Price, listed under Published Primary Sources.

*Austill, Margaret Ervin. "Memories of Journeying through the Creek Country and Childhood in Clarke County, 1811-1814," SPR237.

Margaret Austill's relation regarding her family's migration from Georgia to the Mississippi Territory just prior to the Creek War and the family's experiences during the war. She mentions the family's slave Hannah. The ADAH copy is a typescript made from the manuscript said to have been in family hands in the early 20th century. The location of the original is presently unknown. Another typed copy is in the Jeremiah Austill Papers, Library of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, along with a longhand copy. These copies were not collected for this project. See also the article on Austill published in the *Alabama Historical Quarterly*, listed under published primary sources. The date the reminiscence was composed is unknown.

*Manac, Samuel. Deposition, August 2, 1813, SPR 26.

Manac's statement to American authorities in August 1813, taken by Judge Harry Toulmin of the Mississippi Territory. Sam Manac was a Creek Indian who served as a U.S. interpreter on occasion and operated a stand on the Federal Road. In the statement, he recounts the tension in the Creek Nation, including the looting of his plantation when members of his immediate family who had joined the war party "came and got off a number of my horses and other stock and thirty six of my Negroes." The statement highlights the tension in the Creek Nation and also the fate of enslaved African Americans, who were

viewed as property by the Creeks and liable for capture and sale by enemies.

*Mississippi Territory. Governor's Correspondence, 1789-1819.

Jeremiah Downs to David Holmes. January 1, 1814. The letter relays intelligence on a march by the territorial militia into the Creek Nation, and the report is designated Weatherford's Bluff. The letter provides an account of the attack on Holy Ground (December 23, 1813) and notes "there were ten Indians killed & seven negroes on the ground a good many were wounded & made their escape." These were supposedly the captured slaves from Fort Mims who died defending the town, along with Red Sticks, from the American attack. Later, the letter notes that at another place, another African American was captured. This letter is a typescript of an original held by the Mississippi Department of Archives and History.

*Montgomery County Records. Record of Conveyance. Book 1.

Records of slave transactions by the family of Robert Grierson. Grierson, a deerskin trader prior to the American Revolution, was married to Sinnugee, a Hillabee woman. This slave-holding family is among the most prominent Creek families. The records here document their transactions in the Mississippi territory in 1817-1818, just following the Creek War. The documents speak not only to slaveholding practices of a Creek family, but also their literacy and use of the American legal system. The documents list the family slaves by name and include the conveyance of slaves to his children by Robert Grierson as well as sale and recovery of slaves and one manumission.

Pickett, Albert J. Papers. Pickett Family Papers (1779-1904), LPR 185.

*"Notes furnished by Col. Jeremiah Austill in relation to the 'Canoe Fight' & other engagements in which he was concerned in the Memorable years 1813 & 1814." Austill's first-hand account of the "canoe fight" including the role of Caesar, with his description. This is Section 1 of the Pickett Papers. Available online at: <http://digital.archives.alabama.gov/cdm/singleitem/collection/voices/id/3093/rec/6>

*"Notes furnished by Col. G. M. Creagh of Clarke County Alabama in relation to the Battle of 'Burnt Corn' the 'Canoe Fight' and other engagements in which he was connected in 1813." This is an account of the canoe fight. This narration relates that "Capt Dale then took with him James Smith Jeremiah Austill and a negro man Caesar." Caesar famously held the Indian canoe while Dale and Austill killed

the Creeks on board. The document is also available online at the ADAH website as Section 2 of the Albert J. Pickett Papers:
<http://digital.archives.alabama.gov/cdm/singleitem/collection/voices/id/3094/rec/7>

*"Notes of Doctor Thomas G. Holmes of Baldwin County, ALA. in relation to the 'Burnt Corn Expedition,' 'the Massacre of 553 Men, Women & Children at Fort Mims' and other things which happened in the trying times of 1813.1814." Holmes's graphic description of the carnage at Fort Mims includes mention of the various roles African Americans played in the events, including as agricultural labor, pilots, and informants. His testimony includes information on two of John Randon's slaves and one belonging to Josiah Fletcher sent to mind beef cattle. The young men reported they had seen Indians but when a search failed to find them, the officer in charge of the search "demanded of Randon that his boy should be punished for having given a false report." Randon and Fletcher agreed and the slaves were "severely punished" by being tied to a stake and given 100 lashes. Holmes also reported that the Red Sticks has been informed by "a very intelligent negro named Joe, belonging to Capt Zacharia McGirt" [Zachariah McGirth] that they should attack around noon when everyone would be eating. The account also relates Tom, an enslaved man in charge of Dixon Bailey's son Ralph, carried the young boy out of the fort on his back, as per Bailey's orders. After Bailey was killed, Tom returned to the Red Sticks, who promptly dispatched young Bailey. The original and transcript are available at the ADAH website as Section 4 of the Albert J. Pickett Papers:
<http://digital.archives.alabama.gov/cdm/singleitem/collection/voices/id/3096/rec/2>

*"Very Curious Old. M.S. furnished me by Mr. Edward Hamrick of Montgomery—being Bills of Sale and other business papers made by the wealthy Creek Indians many years since." Included are several bills of sale for "Negroes" in the late eighteenth century. The original quality is poor and the date is early for this project, but they testify to slavery among the Upper Creeks at an early period. They are available online at the ADAH website as Section 8 of the Albert J. Pickett Papers:
<http://digital.archives.alabama.gov/cdm/singleitem/collection/voices/id/3100/rec/16>

*"Notes taken from the Lips of Col. Robert James of Clarke County Ala by A. J. Pickett in relation to Zachariah McGirt & Weatherford." Relates the activities of Zachariah McGirth as he attempted to locate his family after the Fort Mims massacre. Some of the family slaves, who were with him and rowed the boat across the river, are mentioned in

passing. It is also available online at the ADAH website as Section 12 of the Albert J. Pickett Papers:

<http://digital.archives.alabama.gov/cdm/singleitem/collection/voices/id/3104/rec/12>

*"Notes taken from the lips of Abram Mordicai....." Another long document that is the transcript of conversations between A. J. Pickett and Abram Mordicai and James Moore, both Indian traders. For this project, the most interesting portions relate to Milly, a woman from Georgia who fled to the Creek Nation during the American Revolution with a British soldier who deserted. After his death, she married a Creek man, and when that husband died, "she then married a mulatto a very clever man. She had several negroes and a large stock of cattle and horses." Her story testifies to the diversity of the Creek Nation as well as the fluid nature of enslavement as we can presume that the "mulatto" she married was one of her slaves. The document is available online at the ADAH website as Section 15 of the Albert J. Pickett Papers:

<http://digital.archives.alabama.gov/cdm/singleitem/collection/voices/id/3108/rec/31>

*"Notes furnished A. J. Pickett by the Rev Lee Compere of Mississippi relating to the Creek Indians among whom he lived as a missionary." This long document mentions that Big Warrior owned "some 50 to 60 slaves." The document is also available online at the ADAH website as Section 24 of the Albert J. Pickett Papers:

<http://digital.archives.alabama.gov/cdm/singleitem/collection/voices/id/3116/rec/37>

Smith, Neal. Letter to James Smiley. SPR 8.

*A letter from Neal Smith, who served as the physician to the army at Holy Ground. The letter reports on the results of the battle, including the information that "they killed about twenty Indians and Negroes on the ground." African Americans famously helped defend the Red Stick town. Presumably they were some of the enslaved taken prisoner at Fort Mims who decided to fight with the Red Sticks. The document (with an inaccurate transcript) is available online at:

<http://digital.archives.alabama.gov/cdm/singleitem/collection/voices/id/1726/rec/12>

Weatherford v. Weatherford et al. Case 1299. Alabama Supreme Court.

This case, argued before the Alabama Supreme Court in 1851, revolved around an inheritance dispute among the heirs of William Weatherford, the celebrated Red Stick. The disputed property primarily involved the family slaves. The extensive case, including interrogatories, has been transcribed and edited. The original—a difficult to read and fragile bound document—was not copied for this project given the exacting (and easier to read) published account. See Paredes, J. Anthony and Judith Knight. *Red Eagle's Children: Weatherford vs. Weatherford et al.* Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2012 below, in Published Primary Sources.

Georgia Archives, Morrow, GA

Creek Indian Letters, Talks and Treaties, 1705-1839; in Four Parts, compiled, copied and bound with the authority of John B. Wilson, Secretary of State, under direction of Mrs. J. E. Hays, State Historian. W. P.A. Project. Atlanta, 1939. A collection of transcribed documents from various collections in the Georgia Department of Archives and History.

*Big Warrior and all of the friend Chiefs to Colonel Benjamin Hawkins agent of the Creek nation, October 4, 1813. Big Warrior sends an update from intelligence he has received from the Upper Towns. He also reports that they expect an attack from the "Seminolies" and that "the Uchees ran off and we have burnt their Town and got some of their negroes." Vol. 3, 285-6.

Horseshoe Bend National Military Park, Daviston, Alabama.

National Military Park Subject Files

Folder 9B: Montgomery's Disinterment—Accounts of.
This folder contains a collection of photocopies and records related to Major Lemuel Montgomery and his burials. The most important for this project is:

†"Americus Hammock: Black Soldier at Horseshoe Bend?" Undated typescript. This two-page document summarizes and quotes from known sources and provides all evidence gathered to date about the

only known enslaved African American present at the Battle of Horseshoe Bend. Copies of other material not generated by park personnel in the folder related to Hammock are filed in appropriate places in this bibliography.

Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Jackson, Andrew. Papers. Microfilm Edition. 78 rolls. 1961. These records are now available online at the Library of Congress website as well.

*Andrew Jackson to Thomas Pinckney, February 5, 1814 [carries date of February 5th at the head of the letter]. Reports intelligence information concerning "a large number of the war party with their women, children & Negroes, are advancing above the Hickory Ground," as well as intelligence that the Red Sticks have abandoned the site of Coosa Old Town and other Coosa towns, the fish traps on the Coosa, and were concentrating forces at Tuskegee. Jackson is convinced that "the greatest force of the hostile Creeks will be found on the Tallipoose near new Yayca." Series 3, Roll 61: Volumes A-E. "Letters and Orders, January-March 1814."

*Robert Grierson to Andrew Jackson, February 11, 1814. Grierson describes his efforts to communication with Jackson (he sent one of his slaves as a courier). He also related the action by General Cocke and the Cherokees in taking possession of his slaves. This letters is in very poor condition. Series 1, Dec. 23, 1813 – Feb. 11, 1814, Roll 8.

*Robert Grierson to Andrew Jackson, February 13, 1814. Names of Negroes Taken from Robt. Grierson by the Cherokees. This is Grierson's list of those taken by the Cherokees. Series 3: Vols. A-E, Roll 61.

*Andrew Jackson to Col. John Brown. February 17, 1814. Jackson orders Brown to gather men and "scour" the countryside from the Coosa River to the Black Warrior. He is instructed to "kill and destroy all warriors you meet with, burn all houses & villages & take all women & children prisoners," to take Indian corn and livestock to feed his troops and "capture all negroes found on your rout." Series 3, Roll 10: Volumes A-E. "Letters and Orders, January-March 1814."

*Andrew Jackson to Pathkiller. February 18, 1814. Regarding theft of slaves (46 negroes) and property from Robert Grierson. Series 3, Roll 61: Volumes A-E. "Letters and Orders, January-March 1814."

*Andrew Jackson to Stockley Donelson Hays. May 26, 1814. Information on the sale of slaves captured from Bob Cataula (Catauler) a Creek man captured earlier in the war. Jackson related that "Cato is a slave, that the grandmother of Cato's wife was a Choctaw and was taken prisoner by the creeks and enslaved. her mother held as a slave and she (Cato's wife) bought by Bob Catauler for 300 Dollars and married by him to his negro man Cato. her and her children with therefore be sold subject to the decision of government on their cases." Series 1, Roll 10.

*Benjamin Hawkins to Tate, Order to receive Mrs. O'Ruly's Negroes & Tate's receipt for same. August 7, 1814. A note from Hawkins regarding "Sarah and two children who were near Fort Mims with James Cornells and went to Pensacola. They are the property of Betsy Oruley (or O'Riley) a relation of the Big Warrior and wife of Barney O'Ruly a half breed of Kailigae." The next page is a receipt dated Nov. 15, 1814 noting that David Tate has received Sarah and her children Will and Andrew. Series 1, roll 11.

*Little Prince and Big Warrior to Benjamin Hawkins, August 25, 1814. The heads of the Lower and Upper Creeks report on affairs in the Lower Chattahoochee and indicate there are "300 negros of the Nation under arms at Forbes's store" with additional information about British support. They indicate that McIntosh will head a party against them "if you will say the word." Series 1, roll 11.

*Thomas G. Holmes to Andrew Jackson, September 28, 1814. Reports his negroes were first taken by Red Sticks and then retaken by the Jackson's men and transported to Tennessee. Series 1, roll 12.

*Harry Toulmin to Andrew Jackson, July 3, 1815. A long report on the activities around Apalachicola (the Negro Fort). Series 1, roll 18.

*William Harris Crawford to Andrew Jackson, March 15, 1816. Crawford reports that the fort at Apalachicola is "now occupied by between two hundred and fifty and three hundred blacks, who are well armed, clothed and disciplined." He claims "secret practices to inveigle negroes" from Georgia, and the Creek and Cherokee nations is carried on "by the negroes, and hostile Creeks." Series 1, roll 20.

*Edmund Pendleton Gaines to Andrew Jackson, May 14, 1816. Gaines reports that Little Prince and other Creeks "have engaged to take the Negro Fort on the Apa'la'cha'co'la, and deliver the negroes at 50\$ each." He says he has little faith they will carry through, but Hawkins thinks they will. He describes the fort. Series 1, roll 20.

*Edmund Pendleton Gaines to Andrew Jackson, November 21, 1817. Reports that he has dispatched men to Fowltown, where they engaged with "red sticks & seminolas. . .besides the blacks amounting to near four [hu]ndred men & increasing by runaways from Georgia." Series 1, roll 23. The letter is damaged.

U.S. Works Progress Administration, Federal Writers Project. Francois L. Diard, "A

Slave Interviews a Slave, April 20, 1937." WPA Slave Narrative Project,

Alabama Narratives, 1:286-88. ([http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=mesn&fileName=010/mesn010.db&recNum=291)

[bin/ampage?collId=mesn&fileName=010/mesn010.db&recNum=291](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=mesn&fileName=010/mesn010.db&recNum=291))

*An unusual WPA slave narrative: an interview by former slave Jim Thomas of Uncle Tony Morgan conducted Oct. 1, 1884 when Uncle Tony was 105 years old. The recollections of the interview were collected in April 1937 and recorded by Francois L. Diard of Mobile. The obvious issues of the age of Uncle Tony at the time he spoke with Jim Thomas and the lapse of over fifty years from the time of the "interview" until it was recorded by another party provide room for caution. There are also obvious errors of fact (Washington did not visit Frankfort, Kentucky). Uncle Tony claimed to have been at Fort Mims, spared and taken captive by the Red Sticks. He reports "the half-starved Negroes lived in constant dread that they would be butchered by the war-inflamed Creeks." There is no doubt they were likely half starved (as were the Creeks), but other reports indicate that African Americans liberated by the Red Sticks fought with them when the Americans attacked Holy Ground. More interesting is his testimony of serving as a mail carrier and a wagoner when Jackson left Mobile for Pensacola. He seems to have conflated the surrender of the Spanish in Pensacola (November 7, 1814) with the surrender of the British. Although fraught with problematic issues, still a valuable document that points to the role of enslaved African Americans in the American army as wagoners.

U.S. Works Progress Administration, Federal Writers Project. Preston Klein, "She

Just Can Remember Her Husband's Name." WPA Slave Narrative Project,

Alabama Narratives, 1:87-89.

*This interview features Sara Colquitt, living in Opelika, Alabama, in 1937. Born in Virginia, she was sold and sent to Camp Hill (no date given). She recounts life under slavery, including working all day in the fields and tying her young babies in a tree to keep them from ants and bugs while she worked. She recalls a variety of jobs she performed, including field work, preparing food, spinning and dying cloth. She also recalls dances and fun during corn-shucking and also attending church and mentions "Yankees" coming through Dadeville. This is the only narrative from Alabama that seems to be from Tallapoosa County.

Macon County Archives, Tuskegee, AL

Will of George Cornells. Macon County Orphans Court Book 1.

*The 1835 will of prominent Creek man George Cornells, from Tuckabatchee. In the will, Cornells indicates the disposition of the family slaves to his children and wife during her lifetime. Transcribed copy by Glen Drummond, archivist, in 2008. The original book has since been vandalized and is not available.

Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson, MS

Claiborne, J.H.C. Papers. Letterbook F: Letters and Papers Relating to the Indian Wars.

*Deposition of James Cornells. August 1, 1813. Cornells reports that he accompanied General Wilkinson, who was traveling from New Orleans east along the federal road. He provides intelligence on the growing unrest among the Creeks, passing along the rumor that the Creeks had a "letter from a British General in Canada" authorizing the Spanish to provide them with ammunition. Significant for this project is the fact he reports meeting "a Free Negro who was then an express from Josiah Francis" reporting the Spanish government had provided "a very large supply" and men were needed to get it.

*Daniel Beasley to General Claiborne, August 14, 1813. He reports an alarm by "a boy of Mr. Manac's" that hostile Indians were in the vicinity but Beasley determined that it was false.

*Daniel Beasley to General Claiborne, August 30, 1813. Beasley's final report, dispatched a few hours before the Red Stick attack at Fort

Mims. He reports two of John Randon's slaves sent to tend to cattle reported seeing "Indians Painted, running and hallooing" and further reported that Randon's plantation was "full of Indian committing every kind of Havoc." Beasley dismissed the reports. Compare with Dr. Holmes account, Alabama Department of Archives and History, above.

National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.

*"Extract from the Notebook of Michael Johnstone Kenan." n.d. Typescript with MS. notations. #4914 Creek. Collected by John R. Swanton.

The extract includes an account of the author's [Kenan] participation in the investigation of William McIntosh's execution, as well as a description of Creek ceremonies. For this project, the main point of interest is a description of "Jim Boy" who, Kenan recounts "had negro blood." Jim Boy was a Red Stick and his participation in the Creek War is very lightly documented. He was one of the leaders of the Creek regiment during the Second Seminole war.

National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC

Record Group 29. Records of the Bureau of the Census.

**Seventh Census of the United States, 1850.* Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, 1850. M432, 1,009 rolls. The "free schedules" for Tallapoosa County are found on roll 15; the slave schedule is found on roll 24. The slave schedule provides an enumeration of slaves, by owner's name, followed by the age, sex, and color of the slave. Slave names are generally not given. The Slave Schedule Tallapoosa County is provided for this project. A link to the ANCESTRY on-line database for the entire census is given below, under Internet Resources.

**Eighth Census of the United States, 1860.* Washington, D.C. National Archives and Records Administration, 1860. M653, 1,438 rolls. The "free schedules" for Tallapoosa County are found on roll 35; the slave schedule is found on roll 25. The slave schedule provides an enumeration of slaves, by owner's name, followed by the age, sex, and color of the slave, disabilities if any, and number of slaves. Slave names are generally not given. The records Tallapoosa County were collected by "beat" in 1860. The Tallapoosa County Slave Schedule is

provided for this project. A link to the ANCESTRY on-line database for the entire census is given below, under Internet Resources.

Record Group 49. Records of the Bureau of Land Management. General Land Office.

Original Patents, copies of land surveys, and related maps and documents are maintained by the federal government. States also maintain surveys maps of public lands, field notes of land surveyed, and keep records of those who received original patents for federal lands. GLO records are now available online at glorerecords.blm.gov This searchable database contains Land Patents, Survey Plats, and Field Notes for over five million Federal land title records issued since 1788. Images are available for download. Patents related to African Americans among the Creeks include those who received grants under the Treaty of Washington, 1832.

*Land Patent AL5020_.141 for "John McQueen a free negro of the 'Tuck-a-batcha Town' as the head of a Creek family."

*Land Patent AL5020_.101 for "Juba of the Tuck-a-batcha Town, as the Head of a Creek family."

*Land Patent AL5020_.102 for "Mary, of the Tus-Kee-ga Town, as the Head of a Creek Family."

*Land Patent AL5110_.092 for "Betsy (a free negro Woman) of the Creek Tribe of Indians."

Record Group 75. United States Bureau of Indian Affairs. Office of Indian Affairs.

*Census of Creek Indians Taken by Parsons and Abbott, 1832. T275.

This census of the Creek Indians was undertaken as part of the 1832 Treaty of Washington, which called for the allotment of Creek land to individual heads of family, with the "excess" going to the United States. Thus, a census was necessary to determine the population and the heads of families—as well as orphans—who were due allotments of land under the treaty. The census takers, Major B. S. Parsons and Thomas J. Abbott, divided the tribe into Upper and Lower towns with Parsons compiling the Upper Towns and Abbott taking the Lower Towns. The list is organized by towns. While it is the most comprehensive census of the Creek people available, it is clear that not all Creeks are listed. Many had already moved west, a sizable number were living in the Tensaw region and thus not included, and

others simply failed to report for enumeration. The document lists the individual head of household by name, then denotes number of males, females and slaves in each household. The results are then tallied by town, and finally by regional division. The census makes it possible to ascertain the names and towns of Creek slaveholders still in the east in 1832 and is one of the most important documents for assessing slavery among the Creeks in the period just prior to removal. There are also a number of Creeks designated as or married to "free Negro" or "free black" in the list. A version of the document was published as Senate Doc. 512, 23d Congress, 1st sess. IV: 235-394. There are some transcription errors in the published version. There are also a number of on-line versions of the document. The following link has the best transcription at the time this report was compiled: freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~texlance/1832census/index.htm. There is also a version at <https://www.accessgenealogy.com/native/parsons-abbott-roll.htm>

Records of the Cherokee Indian Agency of Tennessee, 1801-1835. 14 rolls. M208.

*Return J. Meigs to Robert Grierson. 9 March 1814. "Substance of a letter to Robert Grierson relating to his Negroes being taken by Cherokee Officers." M208 (roll 6). A response to Robert Grierson's complaint that Cherokees had taken possession of some of his slaves. The document includes a reference to a letter Grierson sent to Big Warrior on the same subject, as well as a document signed by Alexander McGillivray in October 1790 referring to "26 negroes said [to] belong to the estate of Thomas Scott deceased," as well a bill of sale and other documents relating to Grierson's slave property. The document notes Jackson's attitude that "the negroes ought to be returned to you."

Special Files of the Office of Indian Affairs, 1807-1904, M574.

*"Schedule of Slaves, Money, and other Property alleged to have been lost. . .in the Sinking of the Steam Boat Moumouth...." File 207, roll 61. List includes 34 slaves, belonging to 9 Creeks. These people presumably drowned with the sinking of the Moumouth in 1838. Among the slave holders making claims was Jim Boy, who lost three slaves as well as family members in the accident.

Record Group 94. United States Adjutant General's Office.

Compiled Military Service Records, War of 1812.

†Orders, Muster Rolls, and Returns. Muster Rolls of the Thirty-Ninth Regiment. United States Army. Four intriguing notes appear in the "Remarks" section of the roll of Captain George Hallam's company. [HOBE's transcript version of the roll has misspelled his name "Hallum."] Four men (Bryan Currell, Ezakiah Kirkpatrick, William Moasley, and Francis Scott) have "Reported/a Negroe" in the "Remarks" following their name. All four men are listed as present when the roll was taken. Since it is unlikely that African Americans were enrolled in the company, former park ranger Ove Jensen posits that someone reported that they had African American ancestry. Another possibility is that they reported for duty with a servant, which seems unlikely for privates. No additional information could be found regarding these men. The copies of these important rolls owned by the park are negative photocopies. The originals are available for viewing and may be photographed (without flash) in the "flattened segment" Boxes 390, 390A, 390B, and 390C of the series "Muster Rolls of Regular Army Organizations, 1784-1912" (entry 53). The NARA also holds muster rolls for various state militias in the series "Muster Rolls of Volunteer Organizations: War of 1812" (entry 55). Copies of all muster rolls pertinent to Horseshoe Bend and the Creek War should be obtained by HOBE for research, education, and display purposes. The oversized nature of the rolls dictates that a professional photographer should be used.

Compiled Service Records of Volunteer Soldiers Who Served During the War of 1812 In Organizations from the Territory of Mississippi. 22 rolls. M678. See *Mississippi, Compiled Service Records of Volunteer Soldiers, 1812-1815* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2012.

This database contains an index and images of compiled service records (CSRs) for volunteer soldiers who served the United States government in the War of 1812. The Mississippi troops served from 1813-1815, and saw action at Holy Ground. Captain Thomas Hind's Battalion of Cavalry lists 22 African American slaves who served as waiters or servants. The voluminous cards from this compilation are available online at ANCESTRY. They were not downloaded for this project. The database is found at:

<http://search.ancestry.com/search/db.aspx?dbid=2126>

Record Group 107. Records of the Office of the Secretary of War.

Letters Received by the Office of the Secretary of War relating to Indian Affairs, 1800-1823. M271.

*List of Claims of "Friendly Indians" for claims for damage by Red Sticks. (roll 1) Included in these lists, compiled by Assistant Indian Agent Christian Limbaugh in August 1815, are also claims by enslaved and free African Americans. It is reasonable to presume that the property claimed by Harry, Primus, and Jupiter of Cussita, all listed as "belonging to" David Carr, was their private property not their value, given the disparity of the amounts. Likewise, "Andrew a negro belonging to the Big Warrior," also has a claim listed. Moses and Tom both carry the designation "Negro of Thlacotchcau" presumably indicating their free status.

*Documents pertaining to a raid by Creek Indians into Florida to capture runaway slaves. (roll 4) The Creeks claimed these people as property, as did some Georgians. Included in this collection is a list of the men in the detachment as well as a detailed chart providing a "Description of the negroes brought into the Creek nation." Transcripts of these documents are found in Rosalyn Howard's "'Looking for Angola': An Archaeological and Ethnohistorical Search for a Nineteenth Century Florida Maroon Community and its Caribbean Connections." *Florida Historical Quarterly* 92(Summer 2013):32-68, in Secondary Sources, below. The documents point to the practice of Creek slave-catching, slaveholding, and continuing hostility with Seminole Creeks and runaways from the Creek Nation living among them.

Letters Received by the Secretary of War. Registered Series, 1801-1870. M221.

*James Neely to Secretary of War Eustis, May 13, 1812. (roll 47) Neely, the Chickasaw agent, reports "stragling Creeks. . . are hovering about the country stealing horses & committing depredations." They claim to have "joined the Shawanoe Prophet." The letter is to inform Creek leaders and directs them to call the stragglers home. In addition to horses and household goods and food stolen by the Creeks, "one Negro man" is listed and is reported to now be in Hancock County, Georgia.

*June 6, 1812. Deposition of Nathan Lott and Deposition of William Lott. In James Caller to Governor David Holmes, June 13, 1812. (roll

45) Arthur Lott, who was traveling with his family on the federal road, was killed by Creeks on May 22, 1812. Nathan Lott, recalls the fatal shooting of his father by a group of Indians. After his father fell mortally wounded, Nathan got guns from the wagon and "gave one of the guns to a negro fellow and told him to get behind a tree" [for protection from the Indian fire]. "The negro wanted to shoot at the Indians," but Mrs. Lott "desired him not to shoot—with that the Indians went off." William Lott mentions "negroes" who were driving cattle. The depositions reveal the nature of emigrants through the Creek Nation on the eve of war: a small family group with a small number of slaves and livestock making their way to the Mississippi Territory. Such traffic along the federal road was on the leading causes of the Creek War.

*June 1, 1814. "Report of Col Pearsons Expedition Against the Hostile Creeks on the Alabama, Camp Ho-to-wa Ninety four miles from Fort Jackson, East bank of the Allabama [sic] and half a days journey below the mouth of the Ka-ha-ba, June 1st 1814." Enclosed with a cover letter from General Joseph Graham to Major General Pinckney, May 21, 1814 in General Thomas Pinckney to Secretary of War, June 28, 1814. (roll 65) The report by Pearson of his mixed expeditionary force of 300 American and 70 Creek troops, led by William Weatherford, on a mopping up expedition down the Alabama River. The report of enslaved African Americans (all women and children) taken by the Red Sticks at Fort Mims, is found in the Graham Papers, listed below. The long document mentions that the prisoners, particularly "a negro woman, Milley, who says she belongs to the Heirs of Reuben Dyer of Tensay" provided intelligence on refugee Creeks.

*James Barnard to Benjamin Hawkins, July 25, 1815. (roll 62) James Barnard writes from the Flint River to report that two of his "cowhunters" found "several of the red Stick Class sculking about." He reports that a Yuchi (Uche) Indian reported that "all the black people that was said to be gone of have returned." He mentions "marshals negroes" and Hawkins's "two black men phill and ham." The letter seems to be in reference to concerns of enslaved men escaping to the Apalachicola fort. He provides other information concerning some Creeks who have also headed that way to "inquire into the maneuvers of the British and the red people in that Quarter."

North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, NC

Graham, Joseph. Papers. 1780-1836.

*Negroes taken during the expedition down the Alabama." June 1, 1814. These individuals were collected by the expedition of Colonel John Pearson in late June, 1814. Accompanying Pearson's detachment was William Weatherford, attempting to convince Creeks to surrender to the United States. Among those listed is Milly, who Pearson mentions in his report as providing intelligence for the expedition. All the enslaved listed are women and young children. Their owners are all Creeks. A notation about Hannah, "the property of Capt. Isaacs," who was one of the leaders of the National Council, indicates "the wench talks Indian entirely."

Tallapoosa County Records, County Courthouse Record Room, Dadeville, AL.

*A bill of sale recording a payment of \$640 by John M. Pearson to Washington C. Cleveland and Archibald Kendrick, acting for the estate of William Armstrong, for "a negro girl slave of Mulatto complexion named Adeline about the age of fifteen years." The record is dated January 4, 1843. Found on page 4 of a bound volume that contained the earliest recorded transaction in the County entitled "Marks and Brands."

*Deed of Gift, dated March 4, 1834 between Wat Grayson "an Indian of the Creek tribe residing in the county and state of Alabama" and Robert Grayson "an Indian of the Creek Tribe residing in Arkansas Territory and his sons Sandy and Walter Grayson. This deed conveys young slaves girls (Diana, Rosey, Nelly, and Campbell) from Wat Grayson to his heirs and designates that the cost of "getting possession" of their property, then in the hands of Thomas Grayson in Arkansas should be "in proportion to the value of the property received under the deed." Found on pages 58-59, bound volume titled "Marks and Brands."

University of Alabama, W. Stanley Hoole Special Collections Library

Hoole, William Stanley Papers.

Documents recounting the experiences of part of the James Moore family. Moore, who spied for the Georgians in the Creek War, was the trader living near Horseshoe Bend at the outbreak of the Creek War.

After the war, the Moore family continued to live near their former homes and at allotment, received title to land near Dudleyville. The letters detail the trials of the family during volunteer emigration to the west. Of interest to this project is the copy of the deed of sale for three slaves purchased to accompany the Moore children west and sporadic mention of the slaves in the letters that follow. The copies of the published documents (copied for this project), edited by Hoole, are included with this project and listed under published primary sources. The Hoole collection copies are negative reverse and virtually unreadable so were not duplicated for this project.

Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, WI

Draper Manuscript. Tecumseh Papers. Series YY, vol. 10, roll 199, microfilm.

Stiggins, George. "A Historical narration of the Genealogy traditions and downfall of the Isocaga or Creek tribe of Indians, written by one of the tribe," 60. Lyman Draper Manuscript Collection, vol. 1, series 5: Georgia, Alabama, and South Carolina Papers, Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, WI. This long, handwritten document was drafted by the brother-in-law of William Weatherford just prior to his own death in 1845. The manuscript was incomplete and carries the Creek War up to the end of 1813, ending with the frustrating sentence: "I shall fall back two or three months and revive the history of the upper towns of the Coosa and Tallapoosa in their different attitudes and collision in war." The manuscript has been published in two formats. The one copied for this project was transcribed and edited by Theron Nunez and is listed in Published Primary Sources. Another version, edited by Virginia Pounds Brown, is likewise discussed at that entry.

PUBLISHED PRIMARY SOURCES

American State Papers, Class II, Indian Affairs. 2 Vols. Edited by Walter Lowrie.

Washington, DC: Gales and Seaton, 1832-1834.

A collection of selected, edited letters from various government agencies, arranged in chronological order, by tribal group. The following documents have references to African Americans during the Creek war.

Volume One

*28 July 1813. Benjamin Hawkins to Secretary of War Armstrong. Reports on activities of "the Prophet's party," including the fact that they had taken from Robert Grayson [Grierson] "all his negroes, (seventy-three) and every eatable living thing." (*ASPIA*, 1:849-50, quotation p. 850).

*16 September 1813. Extract of a communication from the chiefs at Coweta to Colonel Hawkins. One of the most significant documents relating to Fort Mims, recounted by a survivor of the attack. The chiefs note they "have a negro, which we will send to you." This man survived the Red Stick attack on Fort Mims and was taken prisoner after the battle, but aided in his escape and told to get to Coweta to report the attack. The unnamed man, presumably a slave of one of the Tensaw Creeks at the fort, reported that "Siras, a negro man, cut down the pickets," implying cooperation with the attackers. The day following the attack, the informant reports that the attackers "were busy hunting negroes, horses, and cattle, and brought off a great many." (*ASPIA*, 1:853)

*17 September 1813. Untitled extract of a report from Mr. O'Riley to Benjamin Hawkins. Regarding the report by the escaped slave mentioned above. Having repeatedly questioned the man, the agents and traders were convinced his report was "substantially true." Provides additional evidence about the attack, including that "Jo, and two other of McGirth's negroes, had been sent up to this plantation, in a boat, after corn, and taken by the Indians, and probably communicated where the half-breeds were, and the situation of the place." (*ASPIA*, 1: 853)

*30 September 1813. Benjamin Hawkins to General Floyd. A report on the activity of the war party while in Pensacola with other intelligence. Three men from Eufaula and three from Kialijee had arrived at the agency under a flag of truce with news that the war

party planned an attack on Coweta about the beginning of October. This intelligence was "corroborated by a negro from the Coolooma." (ASPIA, 1:854)

*16 August 1814. Benjamin Hawkins to Secretary of War Armstrong. Reports that the British are furnishing clothing and military supplies and "are training the Indians and some negroes" at Apalachicola. (ASPIA, 1:860)

Volume Two

*March 3, 1817. Copy of a letter from R. Arbuthnot to the officer commanding at Fort Gaines.

A letter from [Alexander] Arbuthnot relaying a request from Red Stick leader Peter McQueen asking for assistance in the recovery of "a negro man, named Joe, (taken away from him since the peace,) whom he states to be in Fort Gaines." The letter goes on to note before he fled the Creek Nation he had considerable property in "negroes and cattle" including ten adult men taken and sold by a "half-breed man, named Barney," a female still in Barney's possession, and "about [twenty] negroes" taken by "a chief named Colonel, or Auchi Hatchee, who acts also as an interpreter." [Alexander Cornells or Oche Haujo was also a slave-holder and the interpreter for Benjamin Hawkins.]

*January 25, 1825. Talk from the McIntosh Faction to John Crowell. These are the chiefs who signed the Treaty of Indian Springs. They dismiss all their opposition as "red sticks." This was not true. But they point particularly to "Gun Boy, whom we took prisoner before Fort Gaines, during Jackson's campaign against the Seminole Indians." Gun Boy is Jim Boy, Tustenuge Emathla. Jim Boy was, according to two sources, of Creek-African ancestry. He is listed on the 1832 Parsons and Abbot Census at the headman of Cle walla Town (Hoithlewaule). That town was a Red Stick town during the Creek War and the capture to which McIntosh refers is the raid on the Seminoles in the First Seminole War in which Creeks fought Red Stick refugees in Florida. Jim Boy was a youth at the time.

**American State Papers, Military Affairs*. Class V. Vol. 1. Edited by Walter Lowrie and

Matthew St. Clair Clarke. Washington, DC: Gales and Seaton, 1832.

A collection of selected, edited letters from various government agencies, arranged in chronological order, by tribal group. The following documents have references to African Americans during the First Seminole War, which included participation by Creek Indians and involved fighting by former slaves as well as the capture of

African American by American forces. The documents are not cataloged individually here, but in sum, point to the importance of Indian-African American alliance as well as the view of African Americans as commodities by Americans and Creeks.

*Austill, Margaret Ervin. "Life of Margaret Ervin Austill." *Alabama Historical Quarterly* 6 (Spring 1944): 92-98.

The published version of Margaret Austill's memoir. Significant for this project due to several mentions of slaves and the labor demanded of slaves in early settlements around the Creek Nation just prior to the Creek War. She mentions the slaves making log bridges to cross rivers, and, once settled, planting crops and building settler cabins. One enslaved woman is mentioned by name: Hannah, "our cook, a tall black handsome woman" (95) who dealt with Indians demanding food from the party. The memoir, although undated and a copy, still is an important source and sheds light on the experiences of early settlers and the enslaved and their relations with Creeks.

Baird, W. David, ed. *A Creek Warrior for the Confederacy: The Autobiography of Chief G. W. Grayson*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988.

Useful for information on the Grayson (Grierson) family. This published version of the manuscript is notable for the fact that information on the African-American branch of the family was withheld from publication at the insistence of the family. For more on this issue and the Grayson family, see Claudio Saunt's *Black, White and Indian*.

†Bartram, William. *William Bartram on the Southeastern Indians*. Edited by Gregory A. Waselkov and Kathryn E. Holland Braund. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995.

This volume excerpts the Indian writings of William Bartram and provides annotations. Bartram traveled through the South on the eve of the American Revolution and his observations about Creek life are particularly strong. In regard to this project, the following passages are particularly appropriate. From Bartram's *Travels: an account of an enslaved Choctaw woman* (97), another mention of a Choctaw slave girl among the Creeks (124), a description of "slave posts"

where captives were tortured (131). From "Observations on the Creek and Cherokee Indians": more details on slave posts (154-5), more on the chunky yard and slave posts (168-86).

†Bassett, John Spencer, ed. *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*. 7 Vols. Carnegie Institute of Washington series, no. 371. Papers of the Department of Historical Resource. Washington, DC: Carnegie Institute of Washington, 1926-1935.

An early collection of Jackson correspondence still valuable as a source for events during the Creek War and the Seminole War. Later editions have supplanted the work, but Bassett's volumes includes some documents omitted from the modern editions.

•Bernhard, Carl, Duke of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach, *Travels through North America, During the Years 1825 and 1826*. 2 Vols. Philadelphia: Carey, Lea & Carey, 1828.

Bernhard's travels took him from the Chattahoochee through the Creek Nation. He provides limited observations touching on African Americans among the Creeks but did note that the Roly McIntosh family had seventy slaves (2:27) while Big Warrior possessed "above three hundred negroes whose wooden dwelling-house stand in the centre of his property" (2:29). He noted that African Americans continued as interpreters in the nineteenth century, writing that the Indians who possessed slaves found it "very acceptable to live with them, since they are treated with more equality than by the whites. Some of these negroes were very well clothed in the Indian manner, they drank and jumped about with the Indians. One of them was of colossal stature, and appeared to be in great request among the Indians, to whom he served as interpreter." (2:24) It is possible he mistook Creeks of African American ancestry for slaves. He included observations on the new plantations on adjoining American territory past "Line Creek" and noted emigrants and their "negroes, wagons, horses, and cattle" moving into Alabama through the Creek Nation. (2:31). Selected pages were copied for this project. The original has been digitized and is available online at

<https://books.google.com/books?id=2mkFAAAAQAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=Carl+Bernhard+travels&source=bl&ots=309i3Xnm71&sig>

memorable accounts of slavery in this region detail the treatment of slaves at a hotel in Columbus and the situation he endured at lodgings twelve miles west of Tuskegee during a rainy night. Pertinent pages from volume one were provided for this project. His entire account is available online at

http://books.google.com/books?id=_yc3mldxge4C&printsec=frontcover&dq=editions:P8qw37cD8bkC&source=bl&ots=hasJxEkLj&sig=M7hggvCpYrdZ_Z-9eOhteTc17sw&hl=en&sa=X&ei=-SwlUIG7LYqY9QTtnYD4Bw&ved=0CFUQ6AEwBw-v=onepage&q&f=false

Carter, Clarence Edwin, comp. and ed. *The Territory of Alabama, 1817-1819*. Vol. 18,

The Territorial Papers of the United States: Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1962.

* Daniel Hughes to Thomas L. McKenney, May 28, 1817. The storekeeper at the United States factory at Fort Hawkins reports to the head of the Indian Department on matters related to the factory. He notes that cotton prices are high and that slaves are in demand.

*Granville Leftwich to Edmund P. Gaines, July 28, 1817. A report on an attack by Indians on settlers near Burnt Corn Springs and the theft of a horse and slave, supposedly by the same group.

*David B. Mitchell to the Secretary of War, February 3, 1818. The Creek Agent, Mitchell, reports on activity in the Creek Nation, including views on the federal factory, ferries, the need for a school, and the situation near the international boundary with Spain. He mentions a report that "Negro Speculators" had been bringing slaves "to the vicinity of the [Indian] Agency."

*"Newspaper Clipping Concerning an Indian Attack," dated September 26, 1818, detailing the presence of hostile Indians near Tuscaloosa where they killed an enslaved African American woman and three white children.

*Petition to Governor Bibb by Inhabitants of Tuscaloosa County." October 7, 1818. These settlers report the murder of three children and "one negro woman" as well as the destruction of "considerable" stock by Indians. They ask for military assistance.

†Caughey, John Walton. *McGillivray of the Creeks*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1938.

†Alexander McGillivray was the leading spokesman for the Creeks at the end of the eighteenth century. His relocation of his father's considerable slave population during the Revolutionary War represented the single largest influx of African Americans into the Creek Nation. His wide-ranging letters to his business partners and government officials occasionally touch on runaway slaves, theft of slaves, and sale of slaves. Most of the documents published here are from the Spanish archives (Archivo General de Indias, Papeles de Cuba, Seville).

Clements, Paul. *Chronicles of the Cumberland Settlements, 1779-1796*. Knoxville, TN: Foundation of William and Jennifer Frist, 2012.

A collection of documents and excerpts relating to the Cumberland River settlements. Many of the documents pertain to raids by Creeks and Cherokees against settlers, victimizing them and their slaves and destroying property. The documents provide evidence of horse and slave raiding by Creeks in the period following the American Revolution: the so-called Cumberland War.

†Collins, Robert P. , Ed. "A Swiss Traveler in the Creek Nation: The Diary of Lukas Vischer, March 1824." *Alabama Review* 59(October 2006):243-84.

Like most travelers through the Creek Nation, Vischer encountered slaves at taverns or inn. He noted the Flint River ferry, owned by the Indians, was "operated by Negroes." (253), reported slaves being moved into Alabama along the Federal Road, and observed that the stand run by Big Warrior is "run by Negro slaves" (269). He also noted many African American and Indians were intermarried. There are numerous references to African Americans in his account.

†Crockett, David. *The Autobiography of David Crockett*. Originally printed as *A Narrative of the Life of David Crockett, of the State of Tennessee*. 1834. Reprint, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1923.

Crockett's autobiography mentions enslaved men on an expedition into Creek territory in the late fall of 1813. They approached Crockett's party "well mounted on Indian ponies, and each with a good rifle. They had been taken from their owners by the Indians, and were running away from them, and trying to get back to their masters again. They were brothers, both very large and likely, and could talk Indian as well as English. One of them I sent on to Ditto's Landing, the other I took back with me." (78-79) The fact that they could "talk Indian" suggests that the masters they were returning to were Creeks. The man who stayed with Crockett later warns the camp about approaching Indians and serves as an interpreter (80-83). The author later recounts the news from Fort Mims regarding the young slave who was whipped for reporting he'd seen hostile Indians. According to Crockett, the "small negro boy. . . was actually getting badly licked at the very moment when the Indians come in a troop." (104) Holmes's account in the Pickett Papers (Manuscript Primary Source) also provides information on this incident.

*Doster, James F., ed. "Letters Relating to the Tragedy of Fort Mims: August-September, 1813." *Alabama Review* 14 (October 1961): 269-85.

Letters relating to the attack on Fort Mims from the Papers of J. F. H. Claiborne (Mississippi State Department of Archives and History), edited and annotated by Professor Doster. Included are Beasley's letters to Claiborne of August 14 and August 30, 1813 relating to "false" alarms by enslaved children. These two documents are included in the Claiborne Papers under Manuscript Primary Sources.

*Doyle, Edmund. "The Panton, Leslie Papers: A Letter of Edmund Doyle, Trader, 1817." *Florida Historical Quarterly* 18(July 1939):61-63.

One of six installments of Doyle's letters published in this journal. This letter discusses the events as Americans (and Creek allies) are closing in on the region. He also mentions Josiah Francis and Cyrus, the leader at the Negro Fort.

*Featherstonhaugh, G. W. *Excursion through the Slave States, from Washington on the Potomac to the Frontier of Mexico; with Sketches of Popular Manners and Geological Notices*. 2 Vols. London: John Murray, 1844.

Featherstonhaugh's account is valuable for his observations on the state of affairs following the removal treaty, as he made it through the Creek Nation in 1835. He traveled west to east (Montgomery to Fort Mitchell). Like Basil Hall, his carriage through the Creek Nation was driven by a "black fellow." (2:285) There are occasional mentions of enslaved African Americans, owned by Creeks, as when he saw "a negress" cooking breakfast for some Indian women (2.313). Like other writers, he noted emigrants and their slaves, walking toward the Alabama cotton lands and observed that "the negroes suffer very much in these expeditions conducted in the winter season, and upon this occasion must have been constantly wet, for I am sure we forded from forty to fifty streams this day. . .very much swollen with rain. We passed at least 1000 negro slaves, all trudging on foot, and worn down with fatigue." (2:317) Selected pages were reproduced for this project. The original has been digitized and is available online at https://books.google.com/books?id=F3UFAAAAQAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=editions:i05eIQS0BKoC&source=bl&ots=jtU_Mm1P_Z&sig=9M8972Kmn55s_LHvndnH2p0bBvE&hl=en&sa=X&ei=pj0YUJa3PIo9ASR8oHgAQ&ved=0CDoQ6AEwAg#v=onepage&q&f=false

*Hamilton, Thomas. *Men and Manners in America*. 2 vols. Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1833.

Hamilton crossed through the Creek Country on the Federal Road and encountered a black ferryman at Line Creek (the boundary between the Indian Nation and Alabama) and recorded his impression of the slaves owned by Indians, declaring they were ""far handsomer than any I had yet seen, partly perhaps from some slight admixture of Indian blood." They "described their bondage as light, and spoke of their master and his family with affection." He noted they usually spoke English and acted as interpreters for their masters. He also noted that Indians did not beat their slaves, lived in houses of their own and that "Negro and Indian children are brought up together on a footing of perfect equality." (2:260). A digital copy is available online at <https://books.google.com/books?id=GxQIAAAAQAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=men+and+manners+in+america&source=bl&ots=zGfKGTxtYw&sig=STOM4jBFhRwodsYYHzVbxGalJQ8&hl=en&sa=X&ei=VuwOUOefBYWy8QT87YCQAw&ved=0CFMQ6AEwBg#v=onepage&q=men%20and%20manners%20in%20america&f=false>

†Hawkins, Benjamin. *The Collected Works of Benjamin Hawkins, 1796-1810*. Edited and with an Introduction by H. Thomas Foster, III. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2003.

This volume includes three major works to represent Hawkins's writings. The most substantial collection of correspondence is the "Letters of Benjamin Hawkins," originally published in 1916 as volume 9 of *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society*. The letters cover the period from 1796 to 1806. Hawkins's "A Sketch of the Creek Country, in the Years 1798 and 1799" also appears in facsimile as it was published by the Georgia Historical Society in 1848. Foster also included a previously unpublished "Viatory" or field log (the original is now in the Library of Congress) kept by Hawkins as he traveled throughout the Southeast between 1797 and 1810. The transcriptions of the early GHS volumes appear to be more faithful to the originals than Grant's in a few cases. These documents all contain sporadic references to slavery, slaves, and African Americans among the Creeks.

†____. *Letters, Journals, and Writings of Benjamin Hawkins*. 2 Vols. Edited by C. L. Grant. Savannah: Beehive Press, 1980.

This is one of the most frequently cited editions of Hawkins's works and, unlike the collection of correspondence issued by the Georgia Historical Society, it covers the Creek War years. References to all aspects of Creek society, including the presence of enslaved African Americans, are scattered throughout both volumes. The following documents are of interest for this project:

Hawkins's letter to John Armstrong, 21 September 1813, detailing the African American who brought reports from Mims as appears in *ASPIA*, listed above. (2:664-6)

Letter to Edward Nicolls, May 24, 1815, regarding hostilities in Florida in which Hawkins asserts that he "did not enroll any Indians into the service of the United States until after the negroes of Marshall, Stedham, and Kinnard, three half-breeds, were taken from them, by force or stratagem, by British officers." (2:728-9)

Letter to Andrew Jackson, August 12, 1815, concerning the "negro force at Apalachicola are about 80 under the command of a negro Cyrus from Pensacola who can read and write." (2:748)

Letter to William H. Crawford, February 16, 1816, regarding continuing issues over escaped slaves who have joined the Seminole Creeks and "join the [Red Stick] dance." (2:773-4)

Letter to William H. Crawford, April 2, 1816 stating that "The Chiefs of this nation are about taking measures of themselves to recover if practicable the negroes in West Florida run from the United States." Hawkins discusses the fact that the Creeks claim all of Florida and asks "why was not a stop put" to the establishment of the fort at Apalachicola. (2:779-80)

Letter to Andrew Jackson, April 21, 1816 noting that the "Chiefs are making an effort. . .to aid the Seminole Chiefs in destroying the negro establishment in that country, capturing and delivering up Negro's belonging to Citizens of the United States, to me, or some of our military establishment. The Little Prince and some warriors are by the last report on the march for effecting this object." (2:781-2)

Talk by Hawkins to Tustunnuggee Hopoie, April 30, 1816 urging the Creeks to support the United States and recover runaways in Florida and return them to their rightful owners. (2:784-5)

Letter to Maurico de Zuniga, May 24, 1816 complaining about the "runaway negro establishment in East Florida." He notes the Creeks intend to recover these people. (2:789-90)

†____. *A Sketch of the Creek Country in the Years 1798 and 1799*. Collections of the

Georgia Historical Society, Vol. 3, Part 1. 1848. Reprint, Americus, GA:

Americus Book Company, 1938.

The most comprehensive description of the Creek people at the end of the eighteenth century. Hawkins's Sketch is highly prized by historians and ethnohistorians for its careful description of town location and situation, observations on leading men and their families, economic development and cultural traditions. African Americans (primarily enslaved) are mentioned throughout the "Sketch."

Hitchcock, Ethan Allen. *A Traveler in Indian Territory: The Journal of Ethan Allen*

Hitchcock. Edited and annotated by Grant Foreman. Foreword by Michael D.

Green. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968.

This work, a rambling journal kept by Hitchcock, contains scattered references to Creeks slaves. He is one of the sources for Jim Boy's mixed heritage, calling him "a colored mixed." (152)

*Hoffman, Alan R., Ed. and Trans. *Lafayette in America in 1824 and 1825: Journal of a*

Voyage to the United States by Auguste Levasseur. Manchester, New

Hampshire: Lafayette Press, 2006.

The Marquis de Lafayette made a triumphal tour of America as "the Nation's guest," making his way through the Creek Nation April 1825. Auguste Levasseur, his private secretary, recorded observations on Indian life, including slavery among the Creeks, as they passed along the Federal Road from Fort Mitchell to Montgomery, Alabama. He discusses at length their encounter with Hamley, whose household included multiple wives and "some negroes. . .they were some fugitives to whom he had given asylum, who paid for his hospitality with their work." (344)

* Hoole, Stanley, Ed. "Notes and Documents: Echoes from the 'Trail of Tears,' 1837."

Alabama Review 6(April 1953):135-52 and "Notes and Documents: Echoes

from the 'Trail of Tears, 1837, Part II." *Alabama Review* 6(July 1953):222-

231.

This two-part series of documents, edited by W. Stanley Hoole, recounts the experiences of part of the James Moore family. Moore, who spied for the Georgians in the Creek War, was the trader living near Horseshoe Bend at the outbreak of the Creek War. After the war, the Moore family continued to live near their former homes and at allotment, received title to land near Dudleyville. The letters detail the trials of the family during volunteer emigration to the west. Of interest to this project is the copy of the deed of sale for three slaves purchased to accompany the Moore children west (p. 139-40) and sporadic mention of the slaves in the letters that follow. The copies of

the original documents (not copied for this project) are part of the W. Stanley Hoole papers housed at the University of Alabama Special Collections Library.

*Lackey, Richard S., Comp. *Frontier Claims in the Lower South: Records of Claims*

Filed by the Citizens of the Alabama and Tombigbee River Settlements in the

Mississippi Territory for Depredations by the Creek Indians during the War of

1812. Introduction by John D. W. Guice. New Orleans: Polyanthos, 1977.

The edited and transcribed version of "Sworn statements with accompanying exhibits of sundry inhabitants of the Mississippi Territory, September-November, 1815, praying for relief from Indian depredations, 14th Congr., 1st sess., January 2, 1816, Other Select Committees (HR 14S-F16.7) from Record Group 233, National Archives and Records Administration. In addition to claim statements concerning depredations by Indians, there are accompanying letters. Among property lost, stolen, or destroyed are enslaved African Americans. Some are listed by age and name, others simply noted by gender and value. Some of the enslaved were claimed by citizens of the Mississippi Territory, others by residents of Pensacola, and some by Creeks living in the Tensaw. The document provides documentation for the developing slave economy based in the region.

*Mackay, Alex. *The Western World; or, Travels in the United States in 1846-47.* 3 Vols.

London: Richard Bentley, 1849.

Mackey traveled through the old Creek Nation from Columbus to Montgomery in 1846. Near Montgomery, he briefly described the plight of the enslaved, who he saw working on each side of the road, noting that their condition "betokening, at a glance, the character of their owner, some being well clad, apparently well fed, and hilarious in their disposition; and others in rags, with their physical frame but poorly supported, and their spirits seemingly much depressed."

(2:265) Selected pages were copied for this project. The work is available in digital format at

http://books.google.com/books?id=KplPAAAAYAAJ&pg=PR1&lpg=PR1&dq=alexander+mackay+the+western+world&source=bl&ots=3KWp8pPESZ&sig=pcc1b_vplzHoYu9Kmcnjuq00A-Q&hl=en&sa=X&ei=f1QIUJGJCobI9gTZ-

[oHoCQ&ved=0CEMQ6AEwAw#v=onepage&q=alexander%20mackay%20the%20western%20world&f=false](http://www.gutenberg.org/files/19111/19111-h/19111-h.htm)

*Martineau, Harriet. *Society in America*. 2 Vols. New York: Saunders and Otley, 1837.

Martineau, an avowed abolitionist, provided descriptions of the droves of enslaved people being sent "Into Yellibama." (1:216) She also noted that "Negroes are anxious to be sold to Indians, who give them moderate work, and accommodations as good as their own. Those seen among the Indians, were sleek, intelligent, and cheerful-looking, like the most favoured house-slaves, or free servants of color, where the prejudice is least strong. (1:217) Selected pages were provided for this project. Her entire work is available online at: <http://books.google.com/books?id=WnMFAAAAQAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=harriet+martineau+society+in+america&hl=en&sa=X&ei=lzfrUMLzKYOo9gSZ6oGwAw&sqi=2&ved=0CDEQ6AEwAA>

*Mauelshagen, Carl, and Gerald H. Davis, Eds. *Partners in the Lord's Work: The Diary*

of Two Moravian Missionaries in the Creek Indian Country, 1807-1813.

Research Paper Number 21, Georgia State College.

The translated and edited diary of the Moravian missionaries at the U.S. Indian Agency on the Flint River, in modern Georgia. The diary details their interactions with leading Indians in the period just prior to the Creek War, as well as mentions the African Americans who attended their services and worked around the mission. The diary covers the period from late 1807 through the spring of 1812. The original is located at the Moravian Archives in Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

†Moser, Harold D., et al., eds. *The Papers of Andrew Jackson*. 10 volumes. Knoxville:

University of Tennessee Press, 1980-2007.

The definitive edited edition of Andrew Jackson's Papers. The following documents were NOT copied or supplied digitally. Instead, pages to the appropriate volume and page in the collection, accessible from the HOBE library, are included with a description of the letter. The letters are arranged here chronologically. Volumes 2 & 3 were surveyed for this project.

October 31, 1813. Andrew Jackson to Leroy Pope. Jackson notes that among the prisoners he has sent to Pope in Huntsville is "a choctaw woman who many years ago was made a prisoner and a slave purchased by Cotala whose village we have destroyed, and given to his negro fellow for a wife her & her three children are considered slaves." Jackson notes that he will attempt to send the Choctaw woman and her children back to her family and that they will not be considered as prisoners. The African American husband was likely sold. Cotala is Bob Cotalla, who was captured and sent with his villagers to Nashville as prisoners. One of the Indian children captured here was sent on to the Hermitage as a playmate for one of Jackson's wards. (Theodore) The child died shortly afterwards. (2:443)

November 4, 1813. Andrew Jackson to Rachel Jackson. Informs his wife that he is sending "a little Indian boy" for his ward, Andrew. This is Lyncoya. (2:444)

November 13, 1813. Robert Grierson (Hillabee) to Andrew Jackson (at Camp Strother). Details murders and destruction of property by Hillabee and Fish Pond Indians. Notes the Hillabee Indians are ready to surrender and urges Jackson to attack. The letter is notable for this project because Grierson sent the letter from Hillabee to Jackson "by my negro man (Pompey) and beg you to send him with the Indian safe back to me." (2:451-2)

November 17, 1813. Andrew Jackson to Robert Grierson. Jackson advises Grierson. He states that all Indians who wish to make peace must restore property taken and deliver up "the Instigators of the present war." He also required they show a flag (of surrender) at his arrival and furnish the Americans with supplies and unite with his forces to put down the Red Sticks. He closes by noting that "the indian you sent on with Pompey came no farther than the Talledega." The presumption is that Pompey had to return to Hillabee alone. (2:456-7)

December 29, 1813. Andrew Jackson to Rachel Jackson. In this letter, Jackson inquires if Lyncoya, (the infant taken at Tallushatchee) had arrived at the Hermitage and instructs his wife to "Keep Lyncoya in the house," an indication that Jackson did not want him housed with his African American slaves. (2:516)

*Nunez, Theron A., Jr. "Creek Nativism and the Creek War of 1813-1814 [George Stiggins's manuscript]." *Ethnohistory* 5, no. 1 (1958): 1-47; 5, no. 2 (1958): 131-75; 5, no. 3 (1958): 292-301.

This is the manuscript history written by George Stiggins. It was transcribed and published in three parts, along with commentary by Theron A. Nunez, Jr. Nunez focuses on Stiggins' account of Red Stick religious activities. Stiggins, who was a descendant of the Natchee Indians of the Creek Confederacy, was a practicing Christian and the brother-in-law of William Weatherford. His descriptive and eloquent prose details from memory and, presumably from discussions with his relatives, important details about the Creek War, including the presence of escaped or captured African Americans at Holy Ground and in other action during the war. Stiggins, like many nineteenth-century writers, was loathe to use punctuation and his narrative is sometimes confusing due to long, unpunctuated sentences. Nunez littered his transcription with bracketed punctuation. The result is unsightly, but easier to read than the original.

Paredes, J. Anthony and Judith Knight. *Red Eagle's Children: Weatherford vs.*

Weatherford et al. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2012.

The edited legal proceedings of the inheritance dispute among the heirs of William Weatherford. The disputed property primarily involved the family slaves. The extensive case, including interrogatories, is transcribed and edited. The document has interested scholars primarily for the information it contains about leading Creek families and cultural traditions regarding marriage, kinship, and inheritance. It also catalogs the extensive estate of a former Red Stick who died as a slave-holding plantation owner. The original document is held by the Alabama Department of Archives and History. The original—a complex and fragile bound document—was not copied for this project given the exacting (and easier to read) published account.

Price, Carolyn. *Tallapoosa County 1855 Census*. Genealogical Society of East Alabama, 1994.

This is a transcribed version of the 1855 Alabama State Census. A copy of the original document, housed at the Alabama Department of Archives and History, is included with this project. The original is also available online at [Ancestry.com](https://www.ancestry.com)

*Rippon, John. "An Account of the Life of Mr. David George, from Sierra Leone in

Africa; given by himself in a Conversation with Brother Rippon of London,

and Brother Pearce of Birmingham." In *The Baptist Annual Register for 1790, 1791, 1792, & Part of 1793, Including Sketches of the State of Religion Among Different Denominations of Good Men at Home and Abroad*, pp. 473-484.

The only account of enslavement among the Creek Indians recorded by an African American during the colonial period. This lengthy document has the barest reference to George's time among the Creeks. He notes that after escaping from slavery in Virginia and heading into Indian territory, he was captured by Blue Salt of Cussita on the Okmulgee River. According to the account, Blue Salt "could talk a little broken English. He took and carried me away about 17 or 18 miles into the woods to his camp, where they had bear meat, deer meat, turkies, and wild potatoes. I was his prize, and lived with him from the Christmas month till April, when he went into his town Augusta, in the Creek nation. I made fences, dug up ground, planted corn, and worked hard; but the people were kind to me." Blue Salt sold George back to his former master's son for "rum, linnen, and a gun" but before the man could take possession of George, he escaped to live among the Nauchee Indians where "King Jack," their chief "employed" George for "a few weeks." He was eventually sold to George Galphin and worked as a packhorseman before requesting transfer to Galphin's plantation in Silver Bluff, South Carolina.

*Smoot, Joseph G. "An Account of Alabama Indian Missions and Presbyterian Churches in 1828 from the Travel Diary of William S. Potts," *Alabama Review* 18 (April 1965):134-52.

Smoot worshipped with the congregation at the Methodist Asbury Mission near Fort Mitchell, where he noted that whites, enslaved blacks and Indians worshipped together, with the "blacks" making up the majority of the congregation. (entry for Sunday 23, p. 139)

*U. S. Congress. House. *Committee of Claims. Heirs of Joshua Kennedy. To accompany bill H. R. No. 159.* 30th Cong., 1st sess., 1848. H. Rpt. 155.

Testimony on behalf of the Kennedy family to obtain compensation for the family's saw and cotton mills destroyed by the Red Sticks shortly after the destruction of Fort Mims. See p. 7 for information on the evacuation of an enslaved family belonging to the Kennedys. Other

testimony notes the evacuation of white families with slaves after the fall of Mims. (p.12)

*U. S. Congress. House. *Indemnity for Damages by Creek Indians: Letter from the Secretary of the Treasury. . .Relative to the Execution of An Act for the Relief of Samuel Manac. . .Also, of an Act for the Relief of Certain Creek Indians.* 20th Cong., 1st Sess., 1828. H. Doc. 200. Washington, DC: Gales and Seaton, 1828.

This document details the property lost by Samuel Manac (or Moniac), a Creek Indian whose victualing house on the Federal Road and his residence were early targets of the Red Sticks. As an ally of the National Council and a man who worked with the United States during the war, he was eligible for compensation of losses due to hostile action. Of interest is his claim for eight enslaved African Americans, who are listed by gender and age and assigned a value. See p. 8. Further, he notes that he unsuccessfully attempted to recover two others in 1816 from Apalachicola. (p. 11) It appears he did recover some of his slaves in Pensacola after the war. (12) Of interest is a letter from Colonel Gilbert C. Russell who provided information on behalf of Moniac and referred to the battle at Holy Ground noting that "It was customary with the hostile Indians to make the negro men, with them, fight against the white people. On one occasion, near the mouth of the Tallapoosa, on the 23d day of December 1814 [sic], the negroes were the last to quit the ground, and ten or twelve of them were killed. Thus, in engagements, Manac's negroes, as is believed, were killed, and some were murdered by the Indians." (12)

*U. S. Congress. House. *Report of the Committee on Military Affairs, The Proceedings of a Court Martial Ordered for the Trial of Certain Tennessee Militiamen.* 20th Congress, 1st sess., 1828. H. Rpt. 140. Washington, DC: Gales and Seaton, 1828.

This is the published report of the court martial proceeding of a group of Tennessee militiamen. The trial was held in Mobile, Alabama, in December 1814. The trial itself is not significant for this project, but the "Pay Roll of the Field and Staff of the First Regiment of the Tennessee Militia, in the service of the United States, commanded by Colonel Philip Pipkin, from the 20th of June, 1814, to the 27th January,

1815," lists "waiters" and servants of the officers. No such list has been found for the militia regiments that served earlier in the war. The roll indicates that the senior officers and doctors retained the services of enslaved men and received "pay" for their services. See Roster immediately following p. 63. A version was also published in *American State Papers: Military Affairs*. Vol. 3. Only the accompanying muster rolls were printed for this project. The entire report is provided in digital format.

U. S. Congress. Senate. *Correspondence on the Subject of the Emigration of the Indians, Between the 30th November, 1831, and 27th December, 1833, With Abstracts of Expenditures by Disbursing Agents in the Removal and Subsistence of Indians, &c. &c.* 23d Congress, 1st Sess., IV: 235-394.

This document contains the published version of the Parsons and Abbott Census of the Creek people, 1832. It should be compared with the original document, as there are transcription errors. The census was undertaken as part of the 1832 Treaty of Washington, which called for the allotment of Creek land to individual heads of family, with the "excess" going to the United States. Thus, a census was necessary to determine the population and the heads of families—as well as orphans—who were due allotments of land under the treaty. The census takers, Major B. S. Parsons and Thomas J. Abbott, divided the tribe into Upper and Lower towns with Parsons compiling the Upper Towns and Abbott taking the Lower Towns. The list is organized by towns. While it is the most comprehensive census of the Creek people available, it is clear that not all Creeks are listed. Many had already moved west, a sizable number were living in the Tensaw region and thus not included, and others simply failed to report for enumeration. The document lists the individual head of household by name, then denotes number of males, females and slaves in each household. The results are then tallied by town, and finally by regional division. The census makes it possible to ascertain the names and towns of Creek slaveholders still in the east in 1832 and is one of the most important documents for assessing slavery among the Creeks in the period just prior to removal. There are also a number of "free Negro" listed. The manuscript version of this document is also included in this document collection. This version of 161 pages is provided as a digital copy only.

*U. S. Congress. Senate. *Report: The Committee of Claims to whom were referred the memorial of John Phillips, as administrator of Jeremiah Phillips, and also of W. Walker.* 27th Congress, 2d Sess., 377.

A report on a rejected claim by Phillips and Walker, who with their slaves, were at Fort Mims. The men claimed that when they were at Mims, "the slaves, or some of them, were required to work on the fort, probably in strengthening, and rendering it more secure from hostile attack." These slaves were "afterward taken and destroyed by the Indians, and the negroes either killed or carried into captivity." The committee ruled that since their work on the defenses was expected by all at the garrison, their work and loss could not be compensated.

*United States. State Department. *Agriculture of the United States in 1860; Compiled from the Returns of the Eighth Census, under the Direction of the Secretary of the Interior by Joseph C. G. Kennedy.* Washington: Government Printing Office, 1863.

This publication provides information on schools, professions, agriculture, stock, newspapers, and other pertinent information. The statistics document the increase in land under cultivation as well as rising white and "slave" population. The raw data on livestock, agricultural productivity and other matters provide the basis for reconstructing the local economy. The section for Alabama is included digitally and in print. The entire document is available online at <http://agcensus.mannlib.cornell.edu/AgCensus/censusParts.do?year=1860>

*United States. State Department. *Compendium of the Enumeration of the Inhabitants and Statistics of the United States, as Obtained at the Department of State, from the Returns of the Sixth Census, by Counties and Principal Towns, Exhibiting the Population, Wealth, and Resources of the Country.* Washington, Thomas Allen, 1841.

This publication—the first agricultural census—provides tables, devised for the purposes of apportioning representation in the House of Representatives, that break down the population by slave and free persons, then by gender and age. An Appendix also provides abstracts for each preceding census. The entire publication is included in digital format for this project while only the pages relating to Alabama (52-55) are included in print. The census is available online at <http://usda.mannlib.cornell.edu/usda/AgCensusImages/1840/1840.pdf>.

*United States. Department of State. *The Seventh Census of the United States: 1850;*

Embracing a Statistical View of Each of the States and Territories, Arranged by Counties, Towns, Etc. Washington: Robert Armstrong, 1853.

This publication is more comprehensive than that available for 1840 and also provides information on schools, professions, agriculture, stock, newspapers, and other pertinent information. The census found the population of Tallapoosa County as follows: 11,511 "white" and 4,073 "slave" for total population of 15,584. The census reported 76,207 acres of improved farmland and 194,950 unimproved acres. The section for Alabama is included digitally and in print. The entire document is available online at <http://agcensus.mannlib.cornell.edu/AgCensus/censusParts.do?year=1850>

*Waring, Antonio J. *Laws of the Creek Nation*. University of Georgia Libraries

Miscellanea Publications, no. 1. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1960.

An edited, annotated version of the 1824 "laws" of the Creek Nation attributed to Chilly McIntosh. The circumstances surrounding the laws are unclear and in the introduction, Waring focuses on the law that calls for the execution of any Creek headman who cedes Creek land. For purposes of this project, the 3rd Law, which deals with the murder of or by an African American, is the most significant. That law directs that "the negro shall suffer death" if he kills an Indian, with the implication that circumstances (self defense, accident) do not matter. On the other hand, should "an Indian Kill a negro he shall pay the owner the value. If person not able to pay the value shall suffer death—". (17-18) Thus, according to these laws, the lives of the enslaved were commodified and the "negro" was presumed to have an owner. Laws 20, 21, 22, and 23 are also pertinent, dealing with

intermarriage, property rights, manumission, and war captives. An earlier version of the laws (manuscript) is housed at the Newberry Library. The original document presented here is included with this project and listed under Galileo Digital Library of Georgia. *Southeastern Native American Documents, 1730-1842.*

*Willcox, Joseph Morgan. *A Narrative of the Life and Death of Lieutenant J. M. Willcox.*

Marietta, OH: R. Prentise, 1816. Reprinted in *The Garland Library of Narratives of North American Indian Captives*, vol. 33, edited by Wilcomb E. Washburn. New York: Garland Publishing, 1978.

This memoir relates the experiences of West Point graduate Joseph M. Willcox, who served with the 3d Regiment of United States Infantry. During the Creek War, he participated in the Battle of Holy Ground. In a letter to his father, he reported of that battle that "the town was defended by 120 Indians and Negroes (the latter the most desperate foe.) See page 5. The entire narrative is copied here.

†Woodward, Thomas S. *Woodward's Reminiscences of the Creek or Muscogee Indians.*

American Old West Edition. Montgomery, AL: Barrett and Wimbish, 1859.

Reprint, Mobile, AL: Southern University Press, 1965.

This collection of letters, from Thomas S. Woodward to Edward Hanrick (i.e. Horseshoe Ned) and others and published in the *Montgomery Mail* was collected and published in 1859 by Johnson J. Hooper. Woodward's cranky and colorful descriptions of those he knew in the Creek Nation and Alabama are standard sources for family connections and insight into major events and personalities connected with the Creek and Seminole wars. Though not without error, his work is useful and essential for historians of early Alabama. Woodward knew African American as well as Indian residents of the Creek Nation and his work is filled with references to them and their activities during the Creek War. A digital copy of the book is included for this project. HOBE owns a hard copy of the book. A searchable file is available on-line at <https://archive.org/stream/woodwardsreminis00wood#page/54/mode/2up>

PRIMARY SOURCES: INTERNET DATABASES

ANCESTRYY.COM

Alabama State Census, 1820-1866 [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc., 2010.

Original data: Alabama State Census, 1820, 1850, 1855 and 1866. Montgomery, Alabama: Alabama Department of Archives & History. Rolls M2004.0008-M2004.0012, M2004.0036-M2004.0050, and M2008.0124. Link to database:

<http://search.ancestry.com/search/db.aspx?dbid=1576> This database records the name of the head of household and number of other inhabitants, according to gender and age. Some records also include race and distinguish enslaved people. The raw data is of poor quality but a valuable supplement to the United States Census data.

1850 United States Federal Census: Slave Schedules. [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc., 2004. Original data: United States of America, Bureau of the Census. *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850.* Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, 1850. M432, 1,009 rolls. Link to Tallapoosa County, Alabama schedule:

<http://search.ancestry.com/search/db.aspx?dbid=8055>. This on-line database provides images of the slave schedules for the 1850 United States census. The enumeration merely includes the name of the owner, listed by township location, followed by the age, sex, and color of the slaves. Slave names are generally not given. See also entry under Primary Sources: National Archives and Records Administration.

1860 United States Federal Census: Slave Schedules. [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, 2010. Original data: United States of America, Bureau of the Census. *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860.* Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, 1860. M653, 1,438 rolls. Link to Tallapoosa County, Alabama schedule:

<http://search.ancestry.com/search/db.aspx?dbid=7668> This on-line database provides images of the slave schedules for the 1860 United States census. The slave schedule provides an enumeration of slaves, by owner's name, followed by the age, sex, and color of the slave, disabilities if any, and number of slaves. Slave names are generally not given. See also entry under Primary Sources: National Archives and Records Administration, M678, 22 rolls.

This online database provides links to many records.

**The Territorial Papers of the United States.* Compiled and Edited by Clarence Edwin Carter. 28 Vols. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1934-1962. Digital versions of all volumes are available at: <https://familysearch.org/search/catalog/42234?availability=Family%20History%20Library>

GALILEO DIGITAL LIBRARY OF GEORGIA. *Southeastern Native American Documents, 1730-1842.* <https://www.galileo.usg.edu/scholar/databases/zlna/?Welcome>

NOTE: The documents are listed here in chronological order.

*Letter, 1787 Aug. 18, Flint River, [to Governor of Georgia, George Mathews?] / Tim[oth]y Barnard. Document TCC675.

This letter discusses the current situation among the Creeks. Barnard is an Indian trader and soon-to-be assistant to the federal Indian agent. The contents of the letter are unremarkable but the note that Barnard's "negroe" has delivered the express is significant and provides evidence of the use of African Americans as runners carrying messages to and from the Creek Nation.

<http://metis.galib.uga.edu/ssp/cgi-bin/tei-natamer-idx.pl?sessionid=c1355176-fd8cbf4f60-5588&type=doc&tei2id=TCC675>

*[Correspondence] 1788 Apr. 20 - 1788 May 27, [Georgia to] General James Jackson / Colonel Jacob Weed, Colonel James Maxwell, James Dunwoody ... [et al.]. Document TCC929.

This is a series of extracts detailing various problems between the Creek Indians and Georgia—the border war—that was the impetus for George Washington negotiating the Treaty of New York in 1790. The document mentions the attempted abduction of eight African Americans (See page 5). One man was killed. The document illustrates that enslaved African Americans were viewed as property by both Creeks and Americans and considered fair game during warfare as captives or victims. <http://metis.galib.uga.edu/ssp/cgi-bin/tei-natamer-idx.pl?sessionid=c1355176-fd8cbf4f60-5588&type=doc&tei2id=TCC929>

*[Deposition given by] Mrs. Elizabeth Munro [to] William Johnston J. P., 1796 May 31. Document TCC134.

*A 1796 deposition by Elizabeth Munro, from Liberty County, Georgia, noting that Creek Indians stole three of her slaves but only returned two. Such raids against property were not uncommon but illegal under terms of the Treaty of New York which required the return of stolen property. Other documents in the series request return of stolen property (horses, slaves, etc.) and provide other details on the complex diplomacy of the period. <http://metis.galib.uga.edu/ssp/cgi-bin/tei-natamer-idx.pl?sessionid=c1355176-fd8cbf4f60-5588&type=doc&tei2id=TCC134>

*Letter, 1812 Dec. 7, Creek Agency [to David B. Mitchell], Governor of Georgia / Colo[nel] Benjamin Hawkins. Document TCC871. A letter from Hawkins to the Georgia Governor reporting the recapture of a escapee who was captured while attempting to reach the Seminoles. The man was no doubt captured by Creeks and returned for a reward. <http://metis.galib.uga.edu/ssp/cgi-bin/tei-natamer-idx.pl?sessionid=c1355176-fd8cbf4f60-5588&type=doc&tei2id=TCC871>

*[Letter] 1813 May 31, Creek Agency [to] Capt[ain Cook?], Fort Hawkins, [Georgia] / Col[onel] Benjamin Hawkins. Document TCC872. A letter from Hawkins at the end of the war reporting that two escaped slaves captured by the Creeks at the confluence of the Flint and Chattahoochee Rivers. The Creeks were paid \$25 for their return and Hawkins indicates that the owner of the enslaved men should reimburse the expense. <http://metis.galib.uga.edu/ssp/cgi-bin/tei-natamer-idx.pl?sessionid=c1355176-fd8cbf4f60-5588&type=doc&tei2id=TCC872>

*Letter, 1814 Nov. 5, Fort Hawkins [to] Peter Earley [i.e., Early], Governor of Georgia / Colo[nel] Benjamin Hawkins. Document TCC882. This letter relays communications about Creek units preparing to go to war against the Seminoles. One of the aims was to destroy the remaining Red Stick resistance there and recapture or capture African Americans among the Seminoles, including escapees from Creek masters. In the letter, Hawkins notes that James Marshall, an allied Creek who was wounded early in the war and "lost his negroes" (due to Red Stick action during the war) had sent intelligence to Hawkins. <http://metis.galib.uga.edu/ssp/cgi-bin/tei-natamer-idx.pl?sessionid=c1355176-fd8cbf4f60-5588&type=doc&tei2id=TCC882>

*[Statement Relative to] Creek Agent D[avid] B. Mitchell [and the smuggling of] African Negroes at the Creek Agency." ca. January 1818. Document KRC123.

And undated and unsigned statement regarding accusation that Creek Agent Mitchell is abetting the smuggling of slaves. The slaves were eventually taken into custody. The slaves were obviously bound for the transportation through the Creek Nation to the Mississippi Territory. Insufficient context prevents a full understanding to the episode, but it does point to the active transportation and sale of enslaved people to and through the Creek Nation in the period after the Creek War. <http://metis.galib.uga.edu/ssp/cgi-bin/tei-natamer-idx.pl?sessionid=c03f557e-fd86bf4c50-1856&type=doc&tei2id=KRC123>

*[Letter] 1820 Nov. 29, Oakfuskee, Creek Nation [to] Gen[eral] David B. Mitchell, Agent for Indian Affairs / Robert Grierson. Document KRC003. A letter from Robert Grierson to U. S. Agent to the Creeks David B. Mitchell. Grierson complains of efforts by Creek leadership and two of his sons to take possession of his slaves. This letter is directly related to the documents found in the Montgomery County papers regarding the Grierson slaves. <http://metis.galib.uga.edu/ssp/cgi-bin/tei-natamer-idx.pl?sessionid=c1355176-fd8cbf4f60-5588&type=doc&tei2id=KRC003>

*[Article concerning the dismissal] of General [David B.] Mitchell by the President of the United States [for] having been engaged in the illicit introduction of African Negroes into Georgia and Alabama, 1821. Document KRC132. Two newspaper clippings concerning the illegal trade in African slaves. One article, dated May 26, 1820, anticipates that the charges are false. The second, dated 1821, reports Mitchell's dismissal as Creek agent. <http://metis.galib.uga.edu/ssp/cgi-bin/tei-natamer-idx.pl?sessionid=c1355176-fd8cbf4f60-5588&type=doc&tei2id=KRC132>

*Copy of Laws of the Creek Nation. Document KRC026.

The original document edited by Antonio J. Waring. See annotation under Waring. Note that the Galileo headnote provides the date of January 7, 1825. The document carries the date 15 March 1824 while the cover, written in another hand, notes document is a copy and is dated 7 January 1825.

<http://metis.galib.uga.edu/ssp/cgi-bin/tei-natamer-idx.pl?sessionid=c03f557e-fd86bf4c50-1856&type=doc&tei2id=KRC026>

*[Roll of] Negro[e]s [captured and returned to] citizens in the Indian country [for] reward to the Indian captors, 1837. Document CIM007. A list of black freedmen and slaves captured by the Creek Indians during the action against the Seminoles. The captives are listed by name, sex, age, height, where and by whom captured, as well as the date and the name of the owner if known. There are also occasional miscellaneous notes. The back of the document is signed by General Thomas Jesup, who states that each slave handed over to the Americans resulted in a \$20 reward and that he offered the reward to spare the lives of the captives. <http://metis.galib.uga.edu/ssp/cgi-bin/tei-natamer-idx.pl?sessionid=c1355176-fd8cbf4f60-5588&type=doc&tei2id=CIM007>

HATHITRUST DIGITAL LIBRARY. hathitrust.org

A searchable database that provides excellent search and download capabilities for early published works, including the *American State Papers*, the *Territorial Papers of the United States*, and many early books.

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS

Alabama Journal (Montgomery, Alabama).

*Vol. 13. July 24, 1839. Newspaper account of the 1839 disinterment and reburial of Major Lemuel Montgomery. The various newspaper accounts are the only reference located to date of an African American at the Battle of Horseshoe Bend. The account notes the presence of "a negro, who stated he was in the battle and was owned by a gentleman in Tennessee at that time—that he came with the Tennessee troops, and saw major Montgomery buried. . . .the negro proceeded to show where the cannon was planted—and gave a short account of how the battle was conducted—how the charge was made, and where Montgomery fell."

Montgomery Advertiser (Montgomery, Alabama).

†December 15, 1901. "Maj. Montgomery's Remains." Typed transcript. A letter to the newspaper by George W. Vines of Dadeville, answering a request for information on Major Montgomery's remains. He claims to have been conducting research on the issue and provides information on the expedition to move the remains to Dudleyville. This letter is the source for the name of the African American, who Vines was told was a "drummer or fifer" in Jackson's army who helped located the grave. This is the only reference to "Americus Hammock" I have been able to locate. Transcript of this article is in the HOBE file and attached here. I was unable to locate the letter as published in the newspaper.

*July 18, 1909. "When the Bones of Major Montgomery were Moved in 1839." A reprint of the article that appeared in the *Wetumpka Argus and Commercial Advertiser*. This story lists the date of the original of June 21, 1839. The correct date is June 26, 1839.

Nashville Whig (Nashville, Tennessee).

*June 7, 1814. An order from Andrew Jackson to William Berkeley Lewis to apply proceeds from the sale of captured Creek property, including the slaves of Bob Cotalla, to a fund for soldiers' widows and orphans. These enslaved people were captured when Jackson's forces took the town of Littafuchee in the fall of 1813.

Niles' Register (Baltimore, Maryland).

*November 20, 1819. Published letter from Duncan L. Clinch to Robert Butler detailing the destruction of the fort, which included "two hundred Cowetas, under the gallant major McIntosh." (188) He reported that most of the "negroes belonged to the Spaniards and Indians. The American negroes had principally settled on the river, and a number of them had left their fields and gone over to the Seminoles, on hearing of our approach. Their corn fields extended nearly fifty miles up the river, and their numbers were daily increasing." (187) In addition to McIntosh, he praised the bravery of other Creeks in the action, including "captains Noble, Kanard, George Lovett Blue, and lieut. Billy Miller, (all from Coweta,) for their distinguished conduct during the whole expedition."

Prattville Progress (Prattville, Alabama).

*April 7, 1905. Letter to the Editor from W. L. Andrews regarding "Major Montgomery's Grave." This letter mentions the removal of Montgomery's body from the battlefield and declares the remains (at that time) were in the "yard of Mr. A. H. McIntosh at old Dudleyville, near the Tallapoosa and Chambers country line." He further states that "universal tradition of the country round about" relates that having decided to move the remains, the veterans "learning that the body servant who helped to bury his master had carefully marked the grave at the time, and that this body servant was still alive they sent for him." This account does not mention the servant as a musician and claims the man was Montgomery's personal servant—a claim not made elsewhere.

Wetumpka Argus and Commercial Advertiser (Wetumpka, Alabama).

*Wednesday, June 12, 1839. "Notice." A notice that S. Heydenfeldt of Dadeville intends to ask the Tallapoosa County court to issue a decree of emancipation for two slaves: a "mulatto girl about twenty five years of age, named Eliza, and her infant child, a mulatto boy, named John."

*Wednesday, June 26, 1839, P. 2. "Editorial Correspondence, Dadeville, Alabama." An account by one of the participants of the expedition of officers and volunteers of the "Brigade" of state militia composed of men from Coosa, Chambers, and Randolph counties. They camped about twelve miles from Horseshoe Bend, and proceeded to the site to locate the burial site of Major Lemuel Montgomery. Their guides were a veteran of the battle, who is unnamed, and "a negro who acted as drummer at the funeral of the unfortunate young officer."

*December 25, 1839. "Notice." This is the notice of the sale of "A NEGRO BOY, named Isaac, about 13 or 14 years old, by Bird H. Young. The child was to be sold on January 1, 1840 on the steps of the Tallapoosa County Court House in Dadeville. Bird H. Young was among the first settlers into the region. He was the inspiration for Johnson J. Hooper's notorious character Simon Suggs.

ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, AND PHOTOGRAPHS

MANUSCRIPT SKETCHES OR UNPUBLISHED PHOTOGRAPHS

NOTE: Permission is required for display or publication of these images. Permission for use has not been obtained.

Alabama Department of Archives and History.

*Map of Fort Mims. 1813. Manuscript map [widely known as the "Claiborne Map"]. The sketch, made by the burial party, provides a layout of the Mims compound. "Negro cabins" near a potato patch are shown outside the fortified area. These would have been housing for the Mims' slaves.

Library of Congress.

*Photograph of Sara Colquit, age 100, taken September 1937. Federal Writers Project. U.S. Work Projects Administration. Slave Narrative Project: Container, 1917, vol. 1. Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. Photo available online at <https://www.loc.gov/item/mesnp010087/>. The photograph shows Ms. Colquitt sitting in her rocking chair on her front porch in Opelika, Alabama.

Lily Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.

Hall, Basil. Sketches Made in North America in 1827 and 1828. Hall, B. Mss., 1815-1838.

* Sketch 69. Two slave drivers and a backwoodsman with his rifle. A manuscript sketch, using the Camera Lucida, by Basil Hall, who traveled the federal road in the late 1820s. Two African American slave drivers flank a backwoodsman.

*Sketch 92. Carriage in which we traveled from Darien to Montgomery with Middleton on the box, 4th Apr. 1828. Hall's sketch of the carriage which along the Federal Road took him through Creek territory. Middleton, the carriage driver, was an African American.

National Archives and Record Administration.

*"Map of Macon County, State of Alabama, Exhibiting Creek Lands in the State of Alabama, Exhibiting the Locations of Creek Reservations, Treaty of March 24th, 1832. By James Abert." Map #256-1. Manuscript Map 24" x 25." The NARA description of this map lists it as Chambers County. This map fragment shows the names of Creeks who have taken up allotments, including "Jn. McQueen, free black" in Section 13 at the top of the map (Township 16, Range 23, Section 13), and in other sections, Juba "free negro," and Mary "a free negro" as well as others. It is possible that the Jn. McQueen shown on the map was the "celebrated negro interpreter" mentioned by Thomas Woodward in his *Reminiscences*. John McQueen was with the party of law menders who executed the murderers of Arthur lot in 1813.

PUBLISHED ENGRAVINGS

Frost, John. *A Pictorial Biography Of Andrew Jackson, embellished with numerous Engravings (many of which are colored by hand by the best artists.) Representing Battle Scenes, etc. etc...* New York: Henry Bill, 1860.

*"Bringing in Prisoners and Cattle." This engraving accompanies text describing Jackson's East Tennessee troops returning to camp and "bringing with them, besides some corn and beeves, several negroes and Indians, prisoners of the war party." (Image Courtesy of Kathryn Braund)

Hall, Basil. *Forty Etchings from Sketches Made with the Camera Lucida in North America in 1827 and 1828*. Edinburg, 1829. (Image Courtesy of Alabama Department of Archives and History)

*Plate XX. Two slave drivers and a backwoodsman with his rifle. The manuscript sketch from which this engraving was made, is owned by the Lily Library.

†McKenney, Thomas L. and James Hall. *History of the Indian Tribes of North America, with Biographical Sketches and Anecdotes of the Principal Chiefs*. 2 Vols.

Philadelphia: Frederick Greenough, 1838.

*"Justen Nuggee Emathla or Jim Boy A Creek Chief." Tustunnuggee Emathla, the headman of Hoithlewaulee, like many other Indians

visiting Washington, D. C., posed for Charles Byrd King. From King's portraits, McKenney had lithographs produced to illustrate his history. Jim Boy, who was involved as a very young boy in the Creek War, was reportedly of mixed Creek-African ancestry, although McKenney states in his work that the chief was not of mixed ancestry.

SECONDARY SOURCES

NOTE: Secondary Books and articles are combined in this section for the convenience of the reader in locating all works by a single author. Items marked with an asterisk () are provided as digital copies either full or in part.*

*Adams, Mikaela M. *Who Belongs? Race Resources, and Tribal Citizenship in the Native South*. Cambridge: Oxford University Press, 2016.

Adams explores how six southern Indian nations determine tribal membership. Though the Muscogee Creek Nation and Poarch Band Creeks are not included, her examination of federal Indian policy, the development of racial ideology, and a concept of legal tribal citizenship though "blood quantum" applies to Creeks as well. A digital copy of the chapter devoted to the Seminole Tribe of Florida and Miccosukee Tribe of Indians of Florida was produced for this project.

*Boyd, Mark F. "Events at Prospect Bluff on the Apalachicola River, 1808-1818: An Introduction to Twelve Letters of Edmund Doyle, Trader." *Florida Historical Quarterly* 16 (October 1937): 55-96.

Edmund Doyle was an employee of John Forbes and Company, the successor firm to Panton, Leslie, and Company. He ran the company's store at Prospect Bluff, which was established in 1808. The complex including a residence, store, "skin house," slave housing and substantial cleared land for cattle. William Hambly, who was his interpreter, may have been of Indian ancestry. The article here details the tense time from just prior to the Creek War through the First Seminole War. After the battle of New Orleans the British, with sizeable numbers of enslaved African Americans, fled to Apalachicola, and erected a fortification. Upon its abandonment by the British, it became known as the "Negro Fort" and a prime target for Anglo-Creek activity during the First Seminole War. For a time, Doyle was the fort's storekeeper. This article was followed by a six part series of Doyle's letters, one of which is included in Published Primary Sources.

*Brannon, Peter A. "Grierson Records in the Montgomery County Court House." *Arrow Points* 13(1931):72-74.

In this short article, Brannon provided excerpts from various deeds regarding the sale and/or recovery of stolen or runaway slaves by the Grierson family (later Grayson), a prominent Creek family from the town of Hillabee. The Griersons are among the best documented slaveholders in the vicinity of Horseshoe Bend. The original records excerpted here are filed under Primary Sources, Alabama Department of Archives and History.

†Braund, Kathryn E. Holland. *Deerskins and Duffels: The Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-america, 1685-1815*. Norman: University of Nebraska Press, 1996.

This work explores the origin and development of the deerskin trade among the Creeks, including the trade in captured enemy slaves, the Creeks as slave catchers for reward, and their use of personal property, which included people, as status symbols. The work also chronicles the efforts of the British to establish barriers to the use of enslaved African Americans by deerskin traders.

* _____. "The Creek Indians, Blacks, and Slavery." *Journal of Southern History* 57 (November 1991): 601-36.

This article explores the institution of slavery among the Creek Indians in the eighteenth century, including the development of chattel/racial slavery from the early captivity/adoptive practices of the Creeks. The article explores Creek attitudes toward African Americans they encountered on the frontier, as employees of Indian traders, and the role of Creeks as slave-catchers for colonial authorities. It also examines the rise of slaveholding among the Creeks following the American Revolution. The article is based on a variety of published and manuscript sources.

* _____. Reflections on 'Shee Coocys' and the Motherless Child: Creek Women in a Time of War." *Alabama Review* 64(October 2011):255-84.

This article explores captivity both by and of Creeks through the lens of gender. Many Creek women and children were enslaved during the Creek War by Cherokees who took them as war captives and Americans, who retained Creek children as "pets" for their children. The article also discusses the capture of enslaved African Americans at Fort Mims, most of whom were killed but some taken into captivity by the Red Sticks. The article is based on primary sources.

†____, ed., *Tohopeka: Rethinking the Creek War & the War of 1812* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2012.

†This collection of essays on the Creek War lacks a chapter devoted to African American life and participation in the war. It is still useful for background and references to African Americans in the various chapters.

Carey, Anthony Gene. *Sold Down the River: Slavery in the Lower Chattahoochee Valley of Alabama and Georgia*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2011.

This is the best modern study of slavery in Alabama, with a focus on the Chattahoochee River corridor. Carey's study begins prior to removal, examining Creek slave-holding practices then moves on chronologically to explore the development of the institution in the region—all formerly Creek territory. The book relies heavily on diaries, newspaper aids, letters, and church minutes in addition to official documents. The work is notable for treatment of the slave experience, which was varied and changed over time.

*Chang, David A. "'An Equal Interest in the Soil': Creek Small-Scale Farming and the Work of Nationhood, 1866-1889," *American Indian Quarterly* 33(Winter 2009):98-130.

Using interviews from the Indian Pioneer Collection of the Oklahoma Historical Society and a variety of government reports and documents, this essay explores the fate of Creek freedmen after emancipation in the Indian Territory. Granted the right of usufruct in regard to land they farmed, black Creeks and conservative Creeks shared a nationhood based on common land and a nonracialized concept of tribal membership. American colonialism, and the dissolution of common land resulted in "racial fissures in Creek society, ultimately breaking apart not only the political alliance but the notion that the Creek Nation bridged the boundaries between black and nonblack." (123)

____. *The Color of the Land: Race, Nation, and the Politics of Land Ownership in Oklahoma, 1832-1929*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010.

Examines the transformation of enslaved African Americans into freedmen after the Civil War. The book examines race and class through the lens of land ownership. Based on a wide variety of primary sources, particularly court decisions and government records. The first chapter, "Owning and Being Owned: Property, Slavery, and Creek Nationhood to 1865" is particularly appropriate for this project.

* _____. "Where Will the Nation be at Home?: Race, Nationalisms and Emigration Movements in the Creek Nation." In Tiya Miles and Sharon P. Holland, Eds. *Crossing Waters, Crossing Worlds: The African Diaspora in Indian Country*, 100-20. Durham: Duke University Press, 2006.

An examination of the nationalist and emigrationist movement among Creek "freedmen" via the Inter-national Afro-American League, founded in Wewoka, the capital of the Seminole Nation in 1898. While outside the scope of the project, the article is useful for tracing the history of those enslaved by Creeks.

*Cherry, F. L. "The History of Opelika and Her Agricultural Tributary Territory." *Alabama Historical Quarterly* 15, No. 2 (1953): 176-339 and 15, Nos. 3-4(1953):383-537.

This long manuscript, pieced together by a staff member at Alabama Department of Archives and History, originally appeared as a series of newspaper articles in the *Opelika Times*. The articles began in the October 5, 1883 issue and concluded in the April 17, 1885 issue. The entire collection of articles was printed in two issues of the *Alabama Historical Quarterly*. The information is compiled from personal knowledge, family stories, and other reminiscences. For purposes of this project, it devotes considerable space to early settlers and settlements and the developing economy, particularly along streams suitable for mills, notes areas of "piney woods" suitable primarily for cattle, and also mentions slavery—all scattered throughout the essays. Such information is a good starting place for further research, which would be required to corroborate Cherry's information.

Claiborne, John Francis Hamtramck. *The Life and Times of General Sam Dale: The Mississippi Partisan*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1860.

Claiborne knew Sam Dale and claims that his adventures "were taken down from his own lips" by various people, who turned their notes over to the author. The work details Dale's involvement in the famous "Canoe Fight," in which the enslaved man Caesar played such a prominent role. Throughout the work, there are references to African American during the Creek War and after. The book is available in digital format at:

<https://books.google.com/books?id=ZUcDAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=Life+and+Times+of+General+Sam+Dale&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjBx83XkKrVAhWE4iYKHYouD-YQ6AEIKDAA#v=onepage&q&f=false>

*Clavin, Matthew J. *Aiming for Pensacola: Fugitive Slaves on the Atlantic and Southern Frontier*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015.

Examines the presences of fugitive slaves in Pensacola and why they were drawn to this relatively isolated location. Important topics include urban slavery, slave resistance (by flight to the town), and relations with Indians. The bulk of the book is the post-Seminole War period and not as pertinent to HOBE as the first two chapters. Chapter One provides an overview of the colonial era, encompassing both Spanish and British periods. Chapter Two covers the War of 1812 and the attack on the "Negro Fort" at Apalachicola, tracing the fugitive slaves who took refuge there and the relationship of that activity to the Creek War. The book provides a convenient overview of the topic, and is based on research in both secondary and primary sources. Two chapters were scanned (through the First Seminole War) for this chapter.

Cusick, James G. *The Other War of 1812: The Patriot War and the American Invasion of Spanish East Florida*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003.

Cusick details the American invasion of Spanish East Florida just prior to 1812. The war led to conflict with Spain as well as the Seminoles. Although the "Patriot" war was a failure, it resulted in guerrilla warfare following the failed American invasion, throwing Florida into chaos. Enslaved African-Americans, whose flight to Spanish territory was a leading cause of US-Spanish tension, continued to be central to the story after reaching freedom in Spanish territory.

†Ellisor, John T. *The Second Creek War: Interethnic Conflict and Collusion on a Collapsing Frontier*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2010.

†This masterful study of the Second Creek War details the full horror of that brief and frequently overlooked conflict. Central to the story of Creek Removal, the war is also central to understanding the rise of the plantation south and the nature of racial antagonism and slavery in the Creek Nation and Alabama in the decade prior to removal.

†Ethridge, Robbie. *Creek Country: The Creek Indians and Their World*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003.

Ethridge examines Creek landscape in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in this study based largely on Benjamin Hawkins' descriptions. She describes the manner in which the environment was shaped and altered by cultural and political factors, including the development of commercial agriculture and ranching. The rise of chattel slavery is an essential part of this economic and environmental transition.

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

In this study, Frank takes on "race" and "blood" as a means of understanding Creek history and focuses rather on culture. Thus, rather than speaking of "mixed-bloods," he insists on describing those of mixed ancestry as bicultural. He focuses on key individuals and their roles in straddling two cultures as well as their place in Creek society. With a focus on the diversity of experience, he examines their roles as interpreters, diplomats, and spokesmen for the Creeks. He concludes that Creeks had a "nonracial worldview" until the early nineteenth century. He largely omits an examination of bicultural Creeks with African American heritage.

*Frank, Andrew. "The Rise and Fall of William McIntosh: Authority and Identity on the Early American Frontier." *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 86(Spring 2002):18-48.

In this essay, Frank explores the life of William McIntosh and his rise to power. Positing that McIntosh's initial source of authority was his kinship connections in Creek society (his clan and lineage), Frank also explores how his connection to his American kin, as well as his bicultural identity, augmented his power and authority in both Creek and American contexts.

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

This book is more properly an examination of South Carolina Indian trade policies than a comprehensive investigation of the slave trade—for which there is scant documentation. Gallay examines the trade in Indian slaves that developed concomitantly with Anglo-American colonization and expansion. The trade in enslaved Indians (purchased from Indians allied to the English) brought wealth to the colonizers and instability and warfare to the Southern interior.

_____, Ed. *Indian Slavery in Colonial America*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2015.

In the introduction to this collection of essays, Alan Gallay discusses the enslavement of native people in historical context, both before and after European contact. The essays that follow explore the enslavement of Indians in various areas and provides background on the early trade in Indian slaves. Of interest to understanding the early enslavement of Indians in the historic period (related to the Creeks) would be Gallay's chapter on the South Carolina Indian slave trade, Joseph Hall's examination of the effect of slave-raiding on the Apalachicola Indians in the seventeenth century, and Denise Bossy's look at Indian slavery in the southeast, 1670-1730. These chapters were not photocopied as having only tangential bearing on slavery among the Creeks during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

†Griffith, Benjamin W. *McIntosh and Weatherford, Creek Indian Leaders*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1988.

This dual biography has little to say about African Americans, slavery, or the changing world of these two prominent Creek men. Rather, this is an outdated examination of Creek-American relations. Moreover, the author views the Red Sticks as "fanatics," a term he lifted from his biased nineteenth-century sources.

†Halbert, Henry S., and Timothy H. Ball. *The Creek War of 1813-1814*. Southern Historical Publications 15, edited by Frank L. Owsley Jr. 1895. Rpt. Ed.

Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1969.

Amazingly, this book is still one of the standard accounts of the Creek War. The authors were remarkably unbiased for their time (the late nineteenth-century) and provide a very good overview of the war, which includes scattered mention of African Americans and their roles during the war. The original is available online as a digital copy at

<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015003690586;view=1up;seq=9>

†Haveman, Christopher D. *Rivers of Sand: Creek Indian Emigration, Relocation, and Ethnic Cleansing in the American South*. University of Nebraska Press, 2016.

This book length study of Creek Removal—both voluntary and involuntary—focuses on the actual experience of removal as opposed to the politics. The experiences of Creek slaves as well as people of mixed African American-Creek ancestry caught up in the removal process are discussed throughout the work, which is based on extensive research in federal records.

*Heidler, David S. and Jeanne T. Heidler. "Between a Rock and a Hard Place: Allied Creeks and the United States, 1814-1818." *Alabama Review* 50(October 1997):267-89.

This article examines the Creek situation following the Creek War up through the First Seminole War. Topics covered include the problem of refugee Creeks and runaway slaves at the British fort at Apalachicola, American insistence that the slaves be captured and their settlement destroyed, and the tough choices that Creeks faced when pressed by Americans on settling these issues. The Heidlers' conclude that Creek participation in the raids against Seminole and black settlements simply strengthened America's position and hastened their own destruction.

†____. *Old Hickory's War: Andrew Jackson and the Quest for Empire*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2003.

One of the best examinations of the First Seminole War available. The Heidlers discuss the problems of runaway slaves among the Seminole, the activities of Creeks and their roles as American auxiliaries and slave-catchers during the war. While their focus is on Jackson and his snubbing of civilian authority, their work is valuable for discussion of the attack on the Negro Fort as well as other actions against Seminole settlements and the capture of both free and runaway African Americans.

*Henderson, T. R. "The Destruction of Littafuchee, and a Brief History of American Settlement." *Alabama Review* 67(July 2014):233-53.

The essay pulls together scattered primary references to Jackson's initial campaign against the Creeks in late 1813, focusing on the action by Colonel Robert Dyer's troops against the small settlement of Littafuchee. In addition to working out the army's route, the author provides biographical data on several prominent Creeks, including Bob Cataula, a Creek slaveholder whose slaves were taken by the Americans. One of the captive Creek children from the town was sent to the Jackson's home as a "pett" for one of his wards.

*Howard, Rosalyn. "'Looking for Angola': An Archaeological and Ethnohistorical Search for a Nineteenth Century Florida Maroon Community and its Caribbean Connections." *Florida Historical Quarterly* 92(Summer 2013):32-68.

This paper documents the archaeological investigation at "Angola," a maroon community in the vicinity of Tampa Bay, Florida. The community of free blacks and escaped slaves grew after the Creek War and particularly after the destruction of the fort at Apalachicola during the First Seminole War. The settlement was destroyed in 1821 by Creek raiders. The appendix to the paper includes the list of slaves captured and returned to the Creek Nation. The article bears caution. Though a report of the archaeology, there are several errors noted in the documentary portion transcriptions.

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

Carolina Press, 2010.

This work explores mobility and expansion through the Creek Nation via the Federal Road, which bisected Creek territory and was a prime cause of the Creek War of 1813. The book explores the explosion of emigrants—including enslaved labor—after the war, and is one of the few books to examine the condition of enslaved African-Americans as they traveled to the new cotton plantations opened up by the loss of Indian land following the Treaty of Fort Jackson.

*Landers, Jane. *Atlantic Creoles in the Age of Revolutions*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010.

This work, based on extensive research in American and Spanish archives, traces a number of people of African descent in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Of interest to this study is her work on Abraham, in which she posits his career in sustaining Spanish Florida as a bulwark against American enslavement. Chapters 4 of the book was scanned for this project.

* _____. "Black Community and Culture in the Southeastern Borderlands" *Journal of the Early Republic* 18(1998):117-34.

A review essay by Landers which surveys the historiography of Spanish Florida, including the work of Herbert Eugene Bolton, Verner W. Crane, and Amy Turner Bushnell among others. She examines how the work of modern archaeologists has served to distinguish Spanish culture in the Floridas from that of the Caribbean, primarily due to the presence of Indian nations on the hinterland. Most of the essay examines the way in which Seminole and black Seminole villages provided protection from Anglo-American expansion in the early nineteenth century. She points to the growing free black population during the second Spanish period and examines the impact of this racial and cultural diversity on the region's history prior to the American takeover of Florida in 1821.

_____. *Black Society in Spanish Florida*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999.

This work by Landers explores three centuries of African American experience in Spanish Florida—particularly East Florida. She

examines the communities of both free and enslaved blacks and examines the way in which these people managed to work within and manipulate the Spanish legal system—as well as the geopolitical system—to their advantage. She begins with a review of slavery in Spain and its implementation in the Caribbean before moving to the Floridas. The community of Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mosa is covered, as is military service by African Americans who made it to Florida. Less well examined, for purposes of this study, were Creek efforts to undermine and end this situation, although Creek and Seminoles are touched upon. While an essential work for Southern History, it is not particularly vital to understanding the situation in the Creek Nation in the early nineteenth century.

* _____. “Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mosa: A Free Black Town in Spanish Colonial Florida,” *American Historical Review* 95(February 1990):9-30.

This essay is essential reading for the colonial period. Landers's was the first to outline the significance and role of the community of escaped British slaves who sought refuge in Spanish Florida. When, in 1738 the Spanish Governor of St. Augustine authorized the construction of a fortification at the site, just north of St. Augustine, the community found its purpose as the front line in defense against British incursion. The community maintained itself until, with most of the other Spanish inhabitants of East Florida, they evacuated to Cuba in 1763 at the end of the Seven Years' War. Landers's work is based on extensive research in Spanish archives.

* _____. “Southern Passage: The Forgotten Route to Freedom in Florida.” In *Passages to Freedom: The Underground Railroad in History and Memory*. Edited by David W. Blight, 117-31. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 2004.

Landers explores the flight of southern slaves to Spanish Florida, noting that in contrast to the “underground railroad” with connotations of slaves heading north in search of freedom just prior to the civil war, the earlier route to Spanish Florida resulted in three centuries of refuge for escapees. She includes a discussion of free town of Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose, just north of St. Augustine, as well as the Africanization of East Florida as Loyalist slaveholders sought refuge in the colony during the American Revolution. The essay concludes with an examination of the

relationship between free blacks and Seminoles in the period between the American Revolution and the creation of the Florida territory.

Littlefield, Daniel F., Jr. *Africans and Creeks: From the Colonial Period to the Civil War*.

Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1979.

The first book-length treatment of the topic, Littlefield's work is generally stronger for the period following the Revolution, but is still a good starting place for a general introduction to the presence of African Americans among the Creeks and an examination the rise of African slavery among the Creeks. Later works by Alan Gallay on the colonial slave trade and Christina Snyder's studies have supplanted his work. His book details the development of slaveholding among the Creeks concurrently with the rise of racial prejudice. The work is based on both secondary and primary sources. Early reviewers pointed out a superficial use of sources.

_____. *Africans and Seminoles: From Removal to Emancipation*. Westport, CT:

Greenwood Press, 1977.

This work preceded Littlefield's *Africans and Creeks* and, like that work, was groundbreaking. It has since been supplanted by more extensive research in Spanish records as well as archaeological research.

†McKenney, Thomas L. and James Hall. *History of the Indian Tribes of North America*,

with Biographical Sketches and Anecdotes of the Principal Chiefs. 2 Vols.

Philadelphia: Frederick Greenough, 1838.

McKenney, the head of the Indian Office in the War Department, knew most of the men he wrote about in his history. Of particularly interest for this project is his sketch of "Tustennuggee Emathla," or Jim Boy. Unlike two other sources, McKenney describes the man as "a full blooded Creek" and provides other specific details. His assertion that Jim boy accompanied Jackson during the First Seminole War is at variance with McIntosh's version. Thus, there is no agreement among the sources over Jim Boy's ancestry or participation in the First Seminole War. He fought with the U.S. forces against the Seminoles in the Second Seminole War. Four of his children drowned with the

Monmouth sank and Jim Boy asked for compensation for three of his slaves who also drowned. McKenney's book includes a biographical sketch of the chief and a lithograph based on a portrait by Charles Bird King.

*McArthur, Judith N. "Myth, Reality, and Anomaly: The Complex World of Rebecca Hagerty." *East Texas Historical Journal*. Vol. 24 Iss 2(1986):18-32.

This article explores the life of Rebecca McIntosh, the daughter of William McIntosh. Born in 1815, she was only ten when her father was executed. In 1828, she moved with the McIntosh family to Indian Territory. She grew up in a family of slave owners and became a substantial one herself during the antebellum period. Primarily of interest due to the McIntosh family, as the focus is on post-removal.

Miles, Tiya. *Ties that Bind: The Story of an Afro-Cherokee Family in Slavery and Freedom*. 2nd Edition. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2015.

This work examines the family history of Shoe Boots, a Cherokee man, and his African American slave wife, Doll. Shoe Boots served with the Cherokee forces during the Creek War and fought at Horseshoe Bend. Miles' analysis of the complex relations between Cherokees and African Americans, as both slaves and family, also illuminates the Creek experience. Her primary topics are racial and tribal identity, gender, and the legal aspects of enslavement in both Cherokee and white societies and the way in which both Cherokees and African Americans were held in bondage. The book takes the family's story into the twentieth century. The second edition of the book includes some new material as well as copies of many of the documents cited in the text.

*Perdue, Theda. "A Reply to Saunt et al." *Ethnohistory* 53(Spring 2006): 406.

This short piece is Perdue's answer to critics of her "Race and Culture" essay, listed below. In her response, Perdue notes that her purpose was to "demonstrate how history has 'whitewashed' native societies by attributing cultural change to 'mixed-bloods,' that is, to Indian people of European ancestry." She concludes with a brief defense of her rebuttal of the "language of blood" in describing Indians and notes "to focus on one is not to deny the existence of others—or the interconnectedness of them all." This response is filed with Saunt et al's "Rethinking Race and Culture."

†____. *Mixed-Blood Indians: Racial Construction in the Early South*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2003.

This short book is a series of three essays in which Perdue explores mixed ancestry and the rise of race as a category for identity in native societies. While the focus is primarily the offspring of white men and Indian women (the usual combination) she also explores admixtures with African Americans and white women. She explores the increasing racialization of Indian societies and the way in which Americans came to characterize bicultural Indians as essentially untrustworthy and incapable of blending into American society.

*____. "Race and Culture: Writing the Ethnohistory of the Early South." *Ethnohistory* 51(Fall 2004):701-23.

Perdue argues against the use of the "language of blood" to describe Indians. The use of "mixed-blood" and "full-blood" in her view privilege racial difference rather than cultural factors, conflating race and culture.

†____. *Slavery and the Evolution of Cherokee Society, 1540-1866*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1987.

In her pioneering work, Perdue examines the changes wrought in Cherokee society by the transformation of Cherokee captivity and enslavement through the arrival of Europeans and enslaved African Americans through the establishment of plantation slavery among the Cherokee. The brief study, based on primary materials, was the first to thoroughly examine the topic in light of Cherokee culture and the impact of this not only on the development of slaveholding, but on Cherokee society. Later works have expanded Perdue's initial work on the topic, but it is still essential reading and provides insight into the workings of enslavement among both the Cherokees and Creeks, whose experiences were similar, particularly the rise of plantations and slaveholding Indians.

*Piker, Joshua A. "Colonists and Creeks: Rethinking the Pre-Revolutionary Southern Backcountry." *Journal of Southern History* 70 (August 2004):503-40.

This article explores Creek-colonial interaction across two broad periods, arguing that interaction was neither "rare or hazardous" in the "backcountry" or thinly settled parts of Britain's colonies. (503) The first period, roughly before 1750 examines interaction via the exchange economy and examines the shifting pattern of face-to-face exchange as colonies grew. The period after 1750 witnesses a proliferation of economic opportunities for exchange (in addition to the deerskin trade), including the capture of fugitive slaves. The article is based on extensive research in British colonial records and is useful for an understanding of the eighteenth-century Anglo alliance and economic partnership.

*Porter, Kenneth W. "The Negro Abraham." *Florida Historical Quarterly* 25(July 1946):2-43.

This article details the life and influence of Abraham, an escapee from slavery, who likely joined the garrison at the Apalachicola Fort following the Red Stick War. Though dated in approach and attitudes, the article is a good summary of Abraham's life as he became one of the leading Black Seminoles who lived among the Seminole/Creek Red Stick refugees and was significantly involved in the Seminole Wars.

Rothman, Adam. *Slave Country: American Expansion and the Origins of the Deep South*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007.

One of the best recent studies for understanding the rise and domination of slave societies in the Deep South, this work focuses on how the response to global economic forces led to the boom in cotton and sugar production from 1790 to 1820. He examines how both national policies (such as land survey and sale) and entrepreneurial activities spread slavery, which, at the same time, led to demand for land and the removal of Indians.

*Rogers, William Warren, Robert David Ward, Leah Rawls Atkins, and Wayne Flynt.

Alabama: The History of a Deep South State. Chapter 7: "The Cotton Kingdom" 93-112. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1994.

A basic introduction to slave society in Alabama. This general history of Alabama is one of the few specifically devoted to the institution in Alabama.

†Saunt, Claudio. *A New Order of Things: Property, Power, and the Transformation of the Creek Indians, 1733-1816*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Saunt traces the transformation in Creek society, particularly among the elite, which resulted from increasing consumerism and the display of status through ownership of enslaved people and cattle. He notes the divisive nature of acquisitiveness, and the devastating result through explorations of gender, race, and class among the Creeks. The work is notable for extensive use of Spanish sources. And, in that regard, is a very strong source detailing the importance of fugitive slaves and free blacks in the outbreak of Payne's War in Florida, at the outset of the War of 1812.

†_____. *Black, White, and Indian: Race and the Unmaking of an American Family*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2005.

This volume traces the complicated history of the Robert Grierson family (later known as Grayson). The offspring of Grierson and his Hillabee Creek wife forged new identities as bicultural and biracial families in the years following Indian Removal, with those of Creek-white descent cutting themselves off and denying the family connection to their Creek-black kin. The family's history offers a compelling look at racism and Indian-African American relations. Saunt's work is based on documentary sources and interlaced with observations about the continuing issue of race and the Grayson family. For purposes of the current project, the opening chapters detailing the family's slaveholding practices in the years just prior to and after the Creek War are particularly important.

*_____. "Taking Account of Property: Stratification among the Creek Indians in the Early Nineteenth Century." *William and Mary Quarterly* 57(October 2000): 733-760.

In this article, Saunt examines property claims by Creeks following the Creek War. Under the terms of the Treaty of Fort Jackson, "loyal" Creeks could make claims for losses suffered at the hands of Red Sticks. Saunt sees the claims as evidence of "the seductive wealth and

power that come from adopting Euroamerican traditions such as slavery, market exchange and coercive government." (733) The rise of a propertied class among the Creeks, which he examined in his 2000 book *A New Order of Things*, continues here with a statistical analysis of the claims to understand "economic stratification" in various towns. Some of the lost property included African American slaves. He concludes by noting that "the emergence of marked stratification based on new kinds of private property and the formation of a compromised and self-interested elite played too great a role in Creek history to be ignored." (760)

* _____. "'The English has now a Mind to make Slaves of them all': Creeks, Seminoles, and the Problem of Slavery." *American Indian Quarterly* 22(Winter/Spring 1998): 157-80.

An early exploration of the impact of settler slave societies on economic and political developments in the Creek Nation. It provides a superficial account of the rise of slavery among the Creeks. This early article is supplanted by Saunt's later work and that of Christian Snyder.

* _____. "The Graysons' Dilemma: A Creek Family Confronts the Science of Race." In *Powhatan's Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast*, edited by Gregory A. Waselkov, Peter H. Wood, and Tom Hatley, 503-20. Rev. ed. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006.

A review by Saunt of the Grayson family applied to the larger issue of race and racism among southern Indians. As Saunt concludes "the choices Indians made based on skin color were at times based on hard calculation and dictated by the desire to survive. At other times the choices surely crossed into the realm of unreason and reflected a deep-seated prejudice against Africans, or, in the case of some light-skinned Indians, an aversion toward 'full-bloods,' to use Samuel George Morton's term." (516).

*Saunt, Claudio, Barbara Krauthamer, Tiya Miles, Celia E. Naylor, and Circe Sturm.

"Rethinking Race and Culture in the Early South." *Ethnohistory* 53(Spring 2006):399-405.

A response to Theda Perdue's "Race and Culture: Writing the Ethnohistory of the Early South," this essay challenges Perdue's assertion that race "did not play a major role in the internal affairs of the five southern tribes until long after their removal west." (Quoted from Perdue's article *op. cit.* and here, p. 399). The debate raised by Perdue and these scholars is a central one in modern ethnohistorical studies which seek to understand the rise of racial awareness among native peoples, the development of racist attitudes by Indians regarding African Americans, and the variety of ways in which individuals and tribes dealt with these complex issues and how Indian responses varied and changed over time. This essay is followed by a response from Perdue, discussed under her name, above.

*Searcy, Martha Condray. "The Introduction of African Slavery into the Creek Indian Nation." *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 66(1982):21-33.

In this article, Searcy traces the rise of African-American chattel slavery among the Creeks. Focusing on the late eighteenth-century, the author first examines the British practice of paying Indians to hunt down and return runaway slaves. She then examines the flight of enslaved Georgians to the Creek Nation as the war of the American Revolution heated up in the late 1770s and the practice of Creeks working with the British cause to capture slaves and keep them as booty. These slaves, known as "the King's gifts," along with refugee slaves of the McGillivray family mark the beginning of a small but important community of enslaved African Americans among the Creeks.

Sellers, James Benson. *Slavery in Alabama*, Library Alabama Classics. 2nd edition.

Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1994.

This work, first published in 1950, remains the sole study of slavery for the entire state of Alabama. It covers slave trafficking, legal aspects of slavery, runaways, opposition and the defense of slavery and the status of free blacks. Though outdated, it is still a starting point for slavery studies in the state.

*Snyder, Christina. "Andrew Jackson's Indian Son: Native Captives and American Empire." In *The Native South: New Histories and Enduring Legacies*. Edited by Tim Alan Garrison and Greg O'Brien, 84-106. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2017.

An exploration of the American practice of taking Indian children into captivity. Often deemed "petts" for white children, the unfree status of these Indian children taken from the families varied. The most famous of the Creek War captives, Lyncoya, was one of three Creek children sent to the Hermitage by Jackson during the Creek War as "companions" for his children. Their status in the household is unclear. Two died early and Lyncoya also died before reaching adulthood. Snyder observes that Lyncoya's story "exposes the cultural exchanges and social complexity that characterized borderland regions." (100) And, more specifically, points out the lack of study on "white" families and notions of kinship during this period.

*____. "Conquered Enemies, Adopted kin, and owned people: The Creek Indians and Their Captives." *Journal of Southern History* 73(May 2007):255-88.

*This essay features research that was incorporated into her larger work, *Conquered Enemies, Adopted Kin, and Owned People*. In this essay, Snyder concentrates on the eighteenth century as a critical transition period from captive-taking to slave-holding with the result that captives, formerly eligible for adoption increasingly because chattel property to be bought and sold as commodities rather than people.

†____. *Slavery in Indian Country: The Changing Face of Captivity in Early America*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010.

†The best single work on Creek captivity and slaveholding available. Snyder traces the practice of taking war captives from the Mississippian period to the transformation of the practice to racialized African enslavement in the nineteenth century. This ethnohistorical examination places the rise of African slavery and racial identity within the context of tribal culture. Essential reading for this topic.

*Tallapoosa County Bicentennial Committee. *Tallapoosa County: A History*.

Alexander City: Service Printing, 1976.

This series of essays was completed by local residents as part of the American bicentennial commemoration. The opening essay notes that most of the people who settled the county after Indian removal were "plain folks" with small farms and that the best land was taken early on land speculators. Included, without attribution to the source, is a list of "Tallapoosa County Planters Who Owned 18 or More Slaves in 1860," (12) a summary of early roads to and through the county, a chapter that examines the early settlers (including a compilation of "The First Census of Tallapoosa County" on pp. 52-56), and individual entries on the dates of establishment of early communities. The book also includes a chapter by Hallie Harper on "The Negro in Tallapoosa County." This short, general chapter primarily concentrates on the period after emancipation. Portions were scanned for this project.

Thornton, J. Mills. *Politics and Power in a Slave Society: Alabama, 1800-1860*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978.

The essential and groundbreaking study of politics in Alabama prior to the civil war. Thornton concentrates on the period after 1850 pondering the question of support for secession. While essentially a study of the politics, it ranks as one of the best studies of Alabama during the period and attitudes of the population toward leading issues of the day, including race and slavery.

*Usner, Daniel H., Jr. "American Indians on the Cotton Frontier: Changing Economic

Relations with Citizens and Slaves in the Mississippi Territory." *Journal of American History* 72 (September 1985):297-317.

Usner coined the term "frontier exchange economy," in his work on the Lower Mississippi Valley. In this article, which applies the concept to the "Cotton South," he examines the broad patterns of interaction and exchange in the South after the American Revolution. This period of rapid expansion by Americans also witnessed the change in the economic base of the region as the old deerskin trade economy of the leading Indian nations ceased to be economically viable on the world market while the demand for cotton rose exponentially. The rise of slave societies with legally structured racism together with military

power reshaped the region. Usner surveys the activities of U. S. "factories" or trading establishments to evaluate the impact of the deteriorating deerskin trade. And, noting the climate and the soil of the region were especially well-suited to the cash cow of the nineteenth century, he lays out the efforts of the American government, in cooperation with the large trading firm of Panton, Leslie, and Company, to aggressively force land cessions on various tribes. He concludes by discussing ways in which Indians attempted, with limited success, to adapt to the changing economic and political environments. He concludes by noting that with loss of land and economic power, "The Creek War, more than any other action, accelerated the physical confinement of Indians into ethnic enclaves." (317)

*Wainwright, James Eyre. "Both Native South and Deep South: The Native Transformation of the Gulf South Borderlands, 1770-1835." Ph.D. Diss. Department of History. Rice University, 2013.

According to Wainwright's abstract: "This dissertation argues that these ostensibly separate societies [Indians and Southerners] were in fact one and the same for several decades. It significantly revises the history of the origins of antebellum America's slave-based economy and shows that the emergence of a plantation society in Alabama and Mississippi was in large part a grassroots phenomenon forged by Indians and other native inhabitants as much as by Anglo-American migrants. This native transformation occurred because of a combination of weak European colonial regimes; the rise of cattle, cotton, and chattel slavery in the region; and the increasingly complex ethnic and racial geography of the Gulf South. " The work is especially pertinent to this study, and covers the rise of trading companies through the transformation of the economy to cattle and cotton.

†Waselkov, Gregory A. *A Conquering Spirit: Fort Mims and the Redstick War of 1813-1814*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2006.

A detailed account of the opening of the Red Stick war, which focused on the multi-ethnic community at the Tensaw. The book details the events at Mims, including the fate of enslaved African Americans caught in the engagement and the larger war. An Appendix of those killed at Mims includes African Americans. The best modern account of the Creek War to date, based on extensive documentary and archaeological research.

†Wilson, William Gregory. *Soldiers of the Southern Cross: The Confederate Soldiers of Tallapoosa County, Alabama*. Dadeville, AL, 2011.

This work begins with a solid overview of the economy and situation in Tallapoosa County on the eve of the civil war. Regarding early settlement, Wilson notes that the largest plantations "were in the southwestern part of the county situated in the old Creek fields which border the Tallapoosa River." (3) His research found "on the eve of war, there were dozens of wealthy Tallapoosa Countians with upwards of twenty or more slaves, with an even lesser number owning as many as seventy-five or more—their extensive slave holdings were the exception and not the norm in the hill country." (5)

*Weisman, Brent R., "The Plantation System of the Florida Seminole Indians and Black Seminoles during the Colonial Era." In *Colonial Plantations and Economy in Florida*. Edited by Jane L. Landers, 136-49. Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2000.

Weisman examines the manner in which "Black Seminoles" working in Seminole agriculture provided a bulwark for the colony's agricultural economy after the American Revolution and acted as intermediaries between the colony's Indian and white population. Weisman's evidence is largely drawn from secondary works and archaeological excavations at Paynestown (Paynes Prairie State Preserve), Pilaklikaha, and other sites. Though not directly tied to the purpose of this study, the article provides insight into the lives of runaway communities among the Seminole.

†Winn, William W. *The Triumph of the Ecunnau-Nuxulgee: Land Speculators, George M. Troup, State Rights, and the Removal of the Creek Indians from Georgia and Alabama, 1825-38*. Macon: Mercer University Press, 2015.

Winn's study of the removal era focuses on the Chattahoochee Valley and the politics involved as Georgia's governor and leading citizens sought to extinguish Indian title to all land claimed by Georgia, and

ultimately, Alabama. His sound research is based on primary sources. His emphasis on politics and political maneuvering results in an easy to read narrative, but not one that is especially illuminating regarding Creek society or the place of African Americans in either societies. Still, the work is highly useful in understanding the removal era and the role of individuals (Georgians and well as Creeks) in the process.

†Wood, Peter A. "The Changing Population of the Colonial South: an Overview by Race and Region, 1685-1790." In *Powhatan's Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast*, edited by Gregory A. Waselkov, Peter H. Wood, and Tom Hatley, 57-132. Rev. ed. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006.

In this essay, Wood took on the task of extrapolating population data for the entire South, from 1685 to 1790. Using documentary evidence based on counts of "gun men" and other observations, he hoped to better understand the demographic shift in the eighteenth century as Indian populations declined while those of white settlers and their slaves dramatically increased. He divides the South into seven regions, provides an explanation of his methodology, and then provides population tables and, for each region, a discussion of the results of his enumeration. The essay is a useful and unique contribution and aids in an understanding of demographic trends. For the Creeks—as for other Indians—the figures seem low. Wood generally uses a ratio of four civilians per gunman, a rate I believe that undercounted senior citizens and widows. That said, his is the most comprehensive attempt at a regional demography available.

†Wright, J. Leitch, Jr. *Creeks and Seminoles: The Destruction and Regeneration of the Muscogulge People*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986.

In this work, published posthumously, Wright focused on ethnic differences among Creeks (Muskogee vs. non-Muskogee divisions), but the most significant part of his work focused on race. He noted that "representatives of the three 'races' were readily discernible among eighteenth-century Muscogulges" and devoted a chapter to "Black Muscogulges" with most of the emphasis on African Americans among the Seminoles following the Creek War. His findings regarding the Creek War, in which he attributes the Red Stick rebellion to non-Muskogee speakers, is unsubstantiated by the evidence presented and has been widely discounted.

* _____. " A Note on the First Seminole War as Seen by the Indians, Negroes, and Their British Advisers." *Journal of Southern History* 34(November 1968):565-75.

In this short piece, Wright focused on the objects of American-Creek interest in Florida: the "Seminoles" and Creek Red Stick refugees, the African Americans both slave and free among them, and the handful of British who sought to use these people against American expansion. The essay is a good survey of events that others have since explored more fully.

†Zeller, Gary. *African Creeks: Estelvste and the Creek Nations*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007.

This work's primary focus is on the post-Removal period but is a very well-researched study that explores the role of *Estelvste* (the Muscogee word for "black" people) among the Creeks, including their role as diplomats and preachers, the way in which slaveholding created wealth for Creek masters, and racial attitudes.

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* In this piece of the federal government's "civilization plan," Ethridge notes that commercial agriculture and the use of enslaved labor was encouraged .

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*A brief biography of William McIntosh, one of the largest Creek slaveholders in the nineteenth century.

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<http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/article/h-2013> (accessed June 24, 2017).

*Haveman's overview of the removal process, which included relocation of slaves and free blacks among the Creeks, as well as Creeks of African-American heritage.

Hebert, Keith S. "Slavery." *Encyclopedia of Alabama*,

<http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/article/h-2369> (accessed June 24, 2017).

* This essay provides an overview of the development of slavery in the state of Alabama from the territorial period through the civil war.

Krauthamer, Barbara. "Slavery." *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*,

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*This short piece provides an overview of slavery among southeastern Indians after removal.

Miles, Tiya and Celia E. Naylor-Ojurongbe. "African-Americans in Indian Societies. In

Southeast. Edited by Raymond D. Fogelson, Vol. 14 of *Handbook of North*

American Indians. William C Sturtevant ,general editor. Washington:

Smithsonian Institution, 2001.

*A compact survey of African-Indian interaction and experiences across the South from ca. 1500 through the twentieth century. Topics covered include African and Indian slavery, Indians as slaveholders, free blacks in Indian communities, and the varied experience of African Africans after Removal.

Note on Accompanying Documents

Documents and other material copied for this project are provided in two formats: as digital copies (pdf files) on a Lacie USB 3.0 1 TB hard drive and hard copies printed on archival quality paper and filed in folders that follow the organization of the Annotated Bibliography.

All items in the annotated bibliography marked with an asterisk (*) are included as pdf files or TIFF or JPEG images on the external hard drive. All primary sources, both manuscript and printed, marked with an asterisk were also printed for this project. Secondary sources marked with an asterisk are only provided as a digital copy and were not printed for this project.

Items on the bibliography marked by a dagger (†) are available as printed primary source volumes or secondary works in the Horseshoe Bend National Military Park book collection.