

Becoming Spanish in Florida: Georges Biassou and his “Family” in St. Augustine

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Georges Biassou was fifty-five years old when he relocated to St. Augustine, Florida in 1796. Born and raised as a slave on the sugar plantations of the North Province of French Saint-Domingue, Biassou became a leader early in the Haitian Revolution (1791-1804).¹ After France and Spain went to war in Europe in 1793, the Spanish offered freedom to the black and colored Haitian revolutionary leaders and their families, as well as positions in their military in Santo Domingo to battle the French in the western half of the shared island of Hispaniola. The rebel leaders would join a specially created unit, the Black Auxiliaries of Carlos IV.² Biassou accepted, remaining loyal to Spain even after the French declared universal emancipation in Saint-Domingue less than a year later. With the Treaty of Basel in 1795, Spain ceded eastern Hispaniola to the French. Consequently, the Spanish disbanded the Black Auxiliaries, and its members, including Biassou, had to leave the island. After a stop in nearby Spanish Cuba, he and his “family”—a group of twenty-four followers consisting of his immediate family, other non-relative dependents, fellow military servicemen, and a few slaves—ended up in Spanish West Florida.

Historian Jane Landers has conducted extensive research on Biassou and black society in Spanish Florida, and her various historical works provide most of what is known about Biassou’s experiences there and the perceptions Spanish officials and Anglo-American planters had of him.³ However, Biassou has not been examined as French (or as a creole of Saint-Domingue). No doubt spending the majority of his life in France’s prized Caribbean colony influenced his expectations when he became free, affected his transition into the Spanish military, and shaped his adjustment to life in a frontier settlement in Spanish West Florida. Building upon Landers’ work, I approach Biassou as a free man of color from a French colony

adapting to life in a Spanish colony to further expand historical understanding of him and others like him.

The colonists and administrators feared Biassou, a former slave who fought for his freedom, might bring the horrors of the Haitian Revolution to Spanish West Florida. They had real reason to fear a slave uprising, as a revolt broke out in Pointe Coupée in Spanish Louisiana in 1795.⁴ A connection between the Haitian Revolution and slave insurrections elsewhere in the Americas was a common suspicion in the United States and the Caribbean.⁵ For example, Cuban administrators did not want to allow the former Black Auxiliaries into the colony, because they were familiar with the French revolutionary concepts of liberty and equality and might introduce the republican ideals to the free and enslaved people of color in Cuba.⁶ While this was, indeed, true, Biassou had not personally embraced these notions while in Saint-Domingue or Santo Domingo, where he had more than enough chances. First, when he engaged the French in negotiations early in the Haitian Revolution, he only sought freedom for himself and the other rebel leaders, not liberty for all slaves.⁷ After negotiations failed with the French, Biassou joined the Black Auxiliaries of Carlos IV, which offered him freedom and a military rank with the Spanish. Second, when the French revolutionary commission in Saint-Domingue and government in France declared general emancipation, Biassou remained loyal the Spanish king.⁸ A royalist, Biassou proved to be a man of Old Regime Saint-Domingue. His goals and ambitions from 1791 until his death in Florida were those of a man of color in a French Caribbean slave colony, not a revolutionary republican of the French Atlantic.

Biassou's struggles as a man with a French colonial background while living in Spanish Florida offers a comparison of the free colored populations in French and Spanish colonies, which is absent from the historiography. Extant comparative studies on the status and treatment of free people of color in slave societies have tended to focus on "Anglo-Protestant and the Iberian Catholic societies."⁹ The most well known of these comparative works, Frank Tannenbaum's *Slave and Citizen* from 1946, contrasted slave systems established by the Portuguese and Spanish with those founded by the British and the United States.¹⁰ Over the years, numerous scholars have expanded on his original comparative study. For example, in 1985, H. Hoetnik compared racial systems in Hispanic and non-Hispanic Caribbean societies. While he suggested there is no exact model for either type, he argued for a striking distinction between Spanish Santo Domingo and French Saint-Domingue. He suggested that Santo Domingo had a "color continuum," but Saint-Domingue had sharp racial divisions.¹¹ More recently, Trevor Burnard and John Garrigus examined the similarities between British Jamaica and French Saint-Domingue during and after the Seven Years' War.¹² However, scholars still need to write a comprehensive comparative study of the racial hierarchies in Spanish and French slave societies in order to understand the experiences of refugees and exiles of all colors of the Haitian Revolution—like Biassou—in various locations within Spanish America, such as Cuba, Louisiana, and Florida.¹³

Biassou's story, while in no way definitive, provides a case study in which to compare free people of color in Spanish and French colonies in the late eighteenth century. Biassou was already advanced in age when he arrived in St. Augustine, having lived most of his life in bondage in a French slave colony. His life in French Saint-Domingue would have been different than his experiences while adjusting to life in Spanish West Florida. Foremost, Saint-Domingue was a slave society with almost half a million enslaved blacks, 30,000 whites, and about an equal number of free people of color in 1789.¹⁴ Conversely, only around thirty-five percent of Spanish West Florida's population of 8,400 in 1795 was of African descent.¹⁵ As a former slave and Spanish veteran living in Spanish Santo Domingo and Florida, Biassou sought after the same achievements of free blacks and people of color in French Saint-Domingue. In the French colony, while a slave, Biassou witnessed the roles of free blacks and people of color in Saint-Domingue. However, his expectations as a free creole man from a French colony with honorable military service often conflicted with the realities of the racial views of the Spanish colonial administrators and colonists in Florida. What similarities and differences did Biassou encounter while moving from a French colony to Spanish colonies—Santo Domingo, Cuba, and Florida? How did the parallels help him to transition? On the other hand, how did the disparities present obstacles for his transition? His experiences can be better understood by situating Biassou within his background in a French colony and highlighting how his perceptions of the lives of free blacks and coloreds in Saint-Domingue affected how he adapted to life in Spanish West Florida.

Stewart King and John Garrigus have shown that armed service offered an avenue for freedom for enslaved men and access to modest social advancement and financial gain for free men of color and blacks in pre-revolutionary Saint-Domingue.¹⁶ There were three forms of armed service in eighteenth-century Saint-Domingue: colonial military, colonial militia, and the *maréchaussée* (rural slave-hunting police force). Colonial military service appealed particularly to free men of color who already possessed wealth and elite status. Armed service allowed free men of color to prove their loyalty to France and challenge the racial prejudices against them within the colony.¹⁷ In the 1770s, the colony reorganized the militia system, racially integrating the forces. Around 1772, the militia system, referred to as *sang-mêlé* (half-blood), "included whites, mulattoes, and blacks, formed in separate corps of cavalry and infantry." The regular colonial regiments in Cap-Français and Port-au-Prince relied upon these racially mixed militias to support them in case of war.¹⁸ Masters enrolled their slaves or the enslaved enlisted in the *maréchaussée* in order to earn their freedom, as it was "the only unit that granted tax-free manumissions to its members in peacetime...for them, active service never stopped."¹⁹ By offering liberty and social advancement for service in the *maréchaussée*, the colonists ensured the loyalty of some blacks and free people of color, while protecting the institution of slavery by policing slaves and potential agitations to colonial society. Each of the three forms of

armed service offered men of color, enslaved and free, avenues to improve their status in the French colony.

The Spanish also armed men of color in their American colonies. The most striking example was Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose, a settlement of around 100 former slaves just outside of St. Augustine. These free blacks had taken advantage of a Spanish policy of religious sanctuary from 1693, where slaves who fled from British plantations and Protestantism to the Spanish colony and Catholicism gained their liberty. This free black town served “as a buffer against foreign encroachment.”²⁰ However, warring elsewhere brought an end to the first Spanish colonial period in Florida. After the Seven Years’ War, the English took control of Florida in 1763, and the Spanish relocated the black militia members of Mose, granting them homesteads in Cuba.²¹ Until the Spanish regained control of West Florida at the end of the American Revolution in 1783, “black freedom in Florida became only a remote possibility” under the British.²² Further, the Spanish practice of arming black and colored men in their American colonies became much less established after 1783. Although the Spanish sought to re-Hispanicize Florida after 1784, the colony was a “polyglot” when Biassou arrived.²³ By the end of the eighteenth century, Florida’s black population was sizeable, and though most people of color were enslaved, a class of free blacks with an ambiguous place in society emerged in St. Augustine.²⁴ Under the threat of attacks by the French-inspired Revolutionary League of the Floridas in 1795, Spanish Governor Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada ordered free men of color to join the militias to defend the colony or face imprisonment or forced labor. While these troops were admittedly effective in their armed service, their role did not offer much in the way of social advancement.²⁵ Therefore, colonists in St. Augustine were surprised to see Biassou, the highest ranking black man in Spanish West Florida, arrive in the city in a uniform with gold braids and medals the next year.²⁶ While the “blue coat” of the French colonial military uniform provided the possibility of improving a man of color’s status in Saint-Domingue, a black caudillo in his military garb provoked confusion and curiosity among the residents of Spanish St. Augustine.

Spanish West Florida’s administrators were equally dismayed by Biassou, particularly his proud behavior. Governor Quesada sought to uphold the Spanish king’s promise to continue the salaries and benefits of the Black Auxiliaries after 1795, but he was appalled by Biassou’s assertion that the black caudillo should dine with the governor in his home.²⁷ It is likely that Biassou’s interactions with administrators and clergy in the Caribbean influenced his expectations in Florida. At the beginning of the Haitian Revolution, Biassou and the other rebel leaders negotiated with the civil commissioners sent by France to restore order in Saint-Domingue. Initially, they sought amnesty for their rebellious acts, their personal emancipation, and improvement of the conditions of slaves in the colony.²⁸ However, they increased their demands after witnessing the important role the arming of slaves played in the disputes between the free colored and white populations.²⁹ The rebel leaders also

worked closely with members of the Catholic clergy while negotiating with the civil commissioners. Multiple priests aided the rebels in understanding the communications coming from the French, offered political advice, and helped in drafting proposals to present to the colonial authorities.³⁰ Further, a priest in Santo Domingo took part in securing the alliance of the rebel leaders with the Spanish against the French in 1793. He offered them “arms, munitions, and the protection of the king.”³¹ The willingness of these European men to negotiate with the insurrectionists set an irreversible precedent, which likely shaped Biassou’s expectations when dealing with future colonial administrators, including Governor Quesada.

The openness of some French administrators to negotiate with the rebel leaders also seemed to influence Biassou’s frequent appeals to Spanish administrators at various levels while in Santo Domingo and Florida. When the Black Auxiliaries were disbanded, Governor Joaquín García in Santo Domingo denied the men of color the time and opportunity to properly settle their financial and family affairs. In the case of Biassou, he was unable to take his mother with him when he departed. Therefore, he “lodged a formal complaint” against the governor, even suggesting he be dismissed from his duties.³² Later, while living in St. Augustine, Biassou petitioned Governor Enrique White for permission to return to Hispaniola for his mother. In contrast to the more receptiveness of French administrators amidst the revolution, the Spanish bureaucrats “stalled on his request” initially and eventually denied it because they did not want to allow any new free blacks into the Spanish colony.³³ The authorities in Spanish Florida were all too aware of the Haitian Revolution, and they feared the arrival of more people of color from Saint-Domingue could bring violent insurrection to their colony as well. Nonetheless, Biassou complained over Quesada’s and White’s authority to the captain general of Cuba, which thoroughly offended both of Florida’s governors.³⁴ While French administrators in revolutionary Saint-Domingue considered Biassou’s attempts to negotiate with them, the Spanish administrators in Florida found his complaints troubling.

Governor Quesada’s view of Biassou as overly proud, particularly for a man of color, was indicative of the differing historical contexts and perceptions of the free colored populations in Spanish West Florida and French Saint-Domingue. Whereas the whites in Saint-Domingue relied on free people of color for their security and as an intermediary class between enslaved blacks and free whites, the free colored population in Florida had an ambiguous place in society. As the only black caudillo in the Spanish colony, the local white population feared Biassou would “set a bad example for the rest of his class.”³⁵ Although Biassou maintained his military rank in St. Augustine, some of the male members of his “family” sought alternative employment as masons, bakers, shoemakers, and shopkeepers.³⁶ Whites in Spanish Florida were uneasy about the potential consequences of how free and enslaved blacks viewed his reputation and status and might apply it to their own lives. They

feared the black population would challenge the existing racial hierarchy in their frontier colony.

Biassou was a part of very different populations in Spanish West Florida and French Saint-Domingue. The French colony thrived through slave labor, and slaves greatly outnumbered the free population, both white and of color. For example, in 1788, there were approximately 3,600 whites, 1,400 free people of color, and 10,000 slaves in Cap-Français, Saint-Domingue's capital city.³⁷ Significantly, Biassou's mother was a slave at a hospital in the capital city when the Haitian Revolution erupted, and he launched an attack on the Cap-Français to free her.³⁸ In contrast to Cap-Français, the free population was greater than the enslaved in St. Augustine. In 1797, the year after Biassou arrived in the Spanish city, there were around 1,000 whites, 100 free people of color, and 480 slaves.³⁹ While slavery existed in St. Augustine, the number of enslaved was relatively small and half the size of the free population. More importantly, Biassou likely stood out, especially while acting as a man of color from French Saint-Domingue, with only 100 free people of color in Spanish St. Augustine.

While he caught the attention of colonists and administrators in St. Augustine, Biassou adapted to life as a free man of color in a Spanish frontier settlement. Although he had served in the Spanish colonial military forces for five years in Hispaniola during the Haitian Revolution, Biassou was still unable to write and speak Spanish upon his arrival in Florida. All of his communications went through an assigned translator from the Cuban Third Battalion.⁴⁰ Most of Biassou's "family" was also from French Saint-Domingue. They provided him with support during his adjustment in Spanish West Florida; they also depended on him partially or wholly for their survival. Being loyal to Biassou, his "family" reinforced his expectations for a free black man—expectations for one living in a French colony, not a Spanish colony. For example, it was common for free colored military leaders in Saint-Domingue to "stress the status that came from their jobs."⁴¹ Their "family" aided greatly in this regard. Therefore, Biassou maintained an extended family through actual and fictive kin. He brought twenty-four people with him to St. Augustine who were part of his immediate family or fellow military service members. Juan Jorge Jacobo, Biassou's brother-in-law, married Rafaela Witten in St. Augustine. The bride's father was Juan Bautista Witten, also known as Prince Witten, "a former slave who had become a member of Spain's free black militia and had served with distinction against the Genêt-inspired invaders of 1795." Therefore, the marriage united "the leading families of both groups of blacks who had allied with the cause of the Spanish king against forces of French republicanism."⁴² This establishment of fictive kin networks was typical for free people of color in Spanish Florida and pre-revolutionary Saint-Domingue.

Biassou's activities in St. Augustine reveal similarities between the lives of free people of color in Spanish West Florida and French Saint-Domingue. After obtaining his freedom, Biassou sought after the achievements of "the military leadership group" of Saint-Domingue as well as fellow blacks in Spanish Florida. For instance,

among his “family” were two slaves, one belonging to Biassou and another was the wife of a free man of color.⁴³ Just as King shows slave ownership as typical among free people of color in Saint-Domingue, Landers demonstrates the same in Florida. However, King argues that black Saint-Dominguan slave owners differentiated between African or American born slaves, but Landers indicates colored masters in Florida seemed to have had the same relationship with their slaves as white masters.⁴⁴ In addition, Biassou aspired to own land near St. Augustine. In Saint-Domingue, free colored land ownership reflected the “greater entrepreneurial character of the military leadership group.”⁴⁵ Similarly, free blacks in Spanish Florida also sought to own land. Landers explains how free blacks were quick to petition for land when Spain revised the land policies in Florida in 1790.⁴⁶ While opportunities for blacks to obtain land came later in Florida than in Saint-Domingue, it appears that racial tensions did not prevent free people of color from being landowners in the either colony. Biassou’s desires to own slaves and land could be attributed to him seeking to live up to the expectations of a Spanish caudillo or as him emulating the free black population of the French colony.

Even though the whites feared the influence Biassou might have on other people of color, in Spanish West Florida, he proved his loyalty to Spain through his frontier military service, only to have it disregarded after his death. Biassou commanded a black militia unit - that included members of his kinship networks—in successfully guarding the Spanish colony against hostilities involving Creek and Seminole Indians.⁴⁷ After earning and maintaining rank as a black caudillo until his death in 1801, administrators and residents of Spanish West Florida honored Biassou with a burial appropriate for a Spanish Catholic military hero.⁴⁸ However, it did not take long for the Spanish colonists to forget his brave service and loyalty to the king. While armed service in Saint-Domingue offered financial gain for free men of color, Biassou died in Florida with debt. Following his funeral, colonial administrators sold his valuable belongings at public auction and ordered that his gold “medal be melted down” to pay the debts he acquired in Florida.⁴⁹ As quickly as possible, the Spanish rid West Florida of the remnants of the proud former slave and revolutionary leader from French Saint-Domingue.

Of course, there are elements of comparison between French and Spanish colonies that Biassou’s story does not provide but merit study, such as education. Before the Haitian Revolution, residents of Cap-Français attempted to establish colonial schools so children did not have to travel to France for an education. Traditionally, “the wealthiest white and free colored families sent their children to France.”⁵⁰ In 1787 and 1788, *Affiches Américaines*, the newspaper in Cap-Français advertised four new schools in the capital city, but none of the advertisements made any mention of the racial requirements for students. In contrast, when Spain issued instructions for education in St. Augustine in 1786, the regulations made clear how children of color would be addressed. Article 25 dictated that black or colored children would have to sit separately from white children, but “in matter of

instruction, spiritual and temporal, the teachers shall do to them the same justice as to all the rest.”⁵¹ Given the distance between Spain and Florida, educators could have followed the regulations as closely as they chose, but numbers likely encouraged inclusivity. In 1786, the population of St. Augustine was only about 950, with 300 of those—slave and free—having some African descent.⁵² Whereas public schools in Spanish St. Augustine were clearly open to children of all colors, the private schools in French Cap-Français may or may not have been racially exclusive. Biassou navigated two colonial worlds, but his story does not account for all the possible areas for comparison between French and Spanish colonies.

While not definitive, Biassou’s story demonstrates the need for a comparative understanding of the treatment and status of free people of color in Spanish and French colonies. Of course, Spanish Florida and French Saint-Domingue cannot be seen as fully representative of all Spanish and French colonies. However, Biassou’s experiences offer the perspective of a man who navigated both worlds and how his life in one shaped his life in the other. He was not alone. Other members of the Black Auxiliaries continued to serve in Florida’s black militia “until Spain surrendered the colony to the United States in 1821.”⁵³ Further, other exiles and refugees of the Haitian Revolution fled to other Spanish American colonies, particularly Cuba and Louisiana. More research needs to be done in comparing other French and Spanish colonies before, during, and after the revolutionary era in order for historians to better understand the experiences of individuals and the transnational relationships between differing types of colonies. Examinations of the similarities of and differences between such colonies have the potential to reveal the local and Atlantic influences on the racial ideologies and practices in the Americas in the Age of Revolutions.

Notes

¹ For a general overview of the Haitian Revolution see Laurent Dubois, *Avengers of the New World: The Story of the Haitian Revolution* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2004) and Jeremy Popkin, *A Concise History of the Haitian Revolution* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012).

² “Spain’s Offer to the Insurgent Slaves,” and “The Black Auxiliaries of Carlos IV” in *The Haitian Revolution: A Documentary History*, David Geggus, ed. (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 2014), 105-107, 109-111.

³ See for example Jane Landers, “An Examination of Racial Conflict and Cooperation in Spanish St. Augustine: The Career of Jorge Biassou, Black Caudillo,” *El Escrivano*, vol. 25 (1988): 85-100; “Black Community and Culture in the Southeastern Borderlands,” *Journal of the Early Republic*, vol. 18, no. 1 (1998): 117-134; “Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose: A

Free Black Town in Spanish Colonial Florida,” *The American Historical Review*, vol. 95, no. 1 (1990): 9-30; and *Black Society in Spanish Florida* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999).

⁴ For more on the revolt, see for example Caryn Cossé Bell, *Revolution, Romanticism, and the Afro-Creole Protest Tradition in Louisiana, 1718-1868* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1997) and Jack D. L. Holmes, “The Abortive Slave Revolt at Pointe Coupée, Louisiana, 1795,” *Louisiana History*, vol. 11, no. 4 (1970): 341-362.

⁵ For more on perceptions of the Haitian Revolution in the United States, see Ashli White, *Encountering Revolution: Haiti and the Making of the Early Republic* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010); and James Alexander Dun, *Dangerous Neighbors: Making the Haitian Revolution in Early America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016).

⁶ Landers, “An Examination of Racial Conflict and Cooperation in Spanish St. Augustine,” 89. For more on Cuban reactions to the Haitian Revolution, see Matt D. Childs, *The 1812 Aponte Rebellion in Cuba and the Struggle against Atlantic Slavery* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006) and Ada Ferrer, *Freedom’s Mirror: Cuba and Haiti in the Age of Revolution* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

⁷ Jean-François and Biassou to the Commissioners, December 12, 1791. Reproduced in Laurent Dubois and John Garrigus, *Slave Revolution in the Caribbean, 1789-1804: A Brief History with Documents* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 100-101.

⁸ David Geggus, “The Haitian Revolution in Atlantic Perspective,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the Atlantic World, c. 1450-c. 1850*, Nicholas Canny and Philip Morgan, eds. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 240; Graham T. Nessler, *An Islandwide Struggle for Freedom: Revolution, Emancipation, and Reenslavement in Hispaniola, 1789-1809* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2016), 23-24.

⁹ Aline Helg, “Race and Black Mobilization in Colonial and Early Independent Cuba: A Comparative Perspective,” *Ethnohistory*, vol. 44, no. 1 (1997), 53.

¹⁰ Frank Tannenbaum, *Slave and Citizen* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1946).

¹¹ H. Hoetnik, “‘Race’ and Color in the Caribbean,” in *Caribbean Contours*, Sidney W. Mintz and Sally Price, eds. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985), 55-84.

¹² Trevor Burnard and John Garrigus, *The Plantation Machine: Atlantic Capitalism in French Saint-Domingue and British Jamaica* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016).

¹³ For studies on refugees from the Haitian Revolution, see for example Alfred Hunt, *Haiti’s Influence on Antebellum America: Slumbering Volcano in the Caribbean* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988) and Nathalie Dessens, “From Saint Domingue to Louisiana: West Indian Refugees in the Lower Mississippi Region,” in *French*

Colonial Louisiana and the Atlantic World, Bradley G. Bond, ed. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2005), 244-264.

¹⁴ Dubois, *Avengers of the New World*, 30.

¹⁵ Jane Landers, "Free and Slave," in *The New History of Florida*, Michael Gannon, ed. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida), 178; and William S. Coker and Susan R. Parker, "The Second Spanish Period in the Two Floridas," in *The New History of Florida*, Michael Gannon, ed. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida), 151.

¹⁶ Stewart R. King, *Blue Coat or Powdered Wig: Free People of Color in Pre-Revolutionary Saint Domingue* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2001); John D. Garrigus, *Before Haiti: Race and Citizenship in French Saint-Domingue* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2006).

¹⁷ King, *Blue Coat or Powdered Wig*, xiii-xiv.

¹⁸ Albert Depréaux, "Le Commandant Baudry des Lozières et la Phalange de Crête-Dragons (Saint-Domingue, 1789-1792), *Revue de l'histoire des colonies française* (1924), 2.

¹⁹ King, *Blue Coat or Powdered Wig*, 56.

²⁰ Landers, "Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose," 10, 13.

²¹ Landers, *Black Society in Spanish Florida*, 210.

²² Landers, "Free and Slave," 174.

²³ Sherry Johnson, "The Spanish St. Augustine Community, 1784-1795: A Reevaluation," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, vol. 68, no. 1 (1989), 54.

²⁴ Landers, "An Examination of Racial Conflict and Cooperation in Spanish St. Augustine," 90-91.

²⁵ Landers, "Rebellion and Royalism in Spanish Florida," 159-161.

²⁶ David Geggus, "The Exile of the 1791 Slave Leaders: Spain's Resettlement of its Blacks Auxiliary Troops," *Journal of Haitian Studies*, vol. 8, no. 2 (2002), 57.

²⁷ Jane Landers, "Transforming Bondsmen into Vassals: Arming Slaves in Colonial Spanish America," in *Arming Slaves: From Classical Times to the Modern Age*, Christopher L. Brown and Philip D Morgan, eds. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 134; Geggus, "The Exile of the 1791 Slave Leaders," 57.

²⁸ Jean-François and Biassou to the Commissioners, 12 December 1791, in Dubois and Garrigus, *Slave Revolution in the Caribbean*, 100-101.

²⁹ Dubois, *Avengers of the New World*, 134-138; Chiefs of the Revolt to the General Assembly and the National Commission, July 1792, printed in Madison Smartt Bell, *Toussaint Louverture: A Biography* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2007), 38-41.

³⁰ J. Ph. Garrañ, *Rapport sur les Troubles de Saint-Domingue, fait au nom de la Commission des Colonies, des Comités de Salut Public, de Législation et de Marine, réunis* vol. II (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1796), 312; Michel Etienne Descourtilz, *Histoire des désastres de Saint-Domingue, précédée d'un tableau de régime et des progrès de cette colonies, depuis sa fondation, jusqu'à l'époque de la révolution française* (Paris: Chez Garnery, 1795), 262-630.

³¹ Jorge Victoria Ojeda, "Jean François y Biassou: Dos Líderes olvidados de la historia de la Revolución Haitiana (y de España)," *Caribbean Studies*, vol. 34, no. 2 (2006), 172.

³² Landers, *Black Society in Spanish Florida*, 211; Geggus, "The Exile of the 1791 Slave Leaders," 53, 64.

³³ Landers, "An Examination of Racial Conflict and Cooperation in Spanish St. Augustine," 96-97.

³⁴ Landers, *Black Society in Spanish Florida*, 212, 214.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 133, 212.

³⁶ Geggus, "The Exile of the 1791 Slave Leaders," 60.

³⁷ M.L.E. Moreau de Saint-Mery, *Description Topographique, physique, civile, politique et historique de la partie française de l'isle Saint-Domingue*, vol. 1 (Paris; Dupont, 1797), 491.

³⁸ Jane Landers, *Atlantic Creoles in the Age of Revolutions* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010), 58; François Roc, *Dictionnaire de la Révolution Haïtienne, 1789-1804* (Montréal: Les Editions Guildives, 2006), 41.

³⁹ John R. Dunkle, "Population Change as an Element in the Historical Geography of St. Augustine," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, vol. 37, no. 1 (1958), 17.

⁴⁰ Jane Landers, "Rebellion and Royalism in Spanish Florida: The French Revolution on Spain's Northern Colonial Frontier," in *A Turbulent Time: The French Revolution and the Greater Caribbean*, David Barry Gaspar and David P. Geggus, eds. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997), 165.

⁴¹ King, *Blue Coat or Powdered Wig*, 233.

⁴² Landers, "Transforming Bondsmen into Vassals," in *Arming Slaves: From Classical Times to the Modern Age*, Christopher Leslie Brown and Philip D. Morgan, eds. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 134.

⁴³ Landers, "An Examination of Racial Conflict and Cooperation in Spanish St. Augustine," 90, note 10.

⁴⁴ King, *Blue Coat or Powdered Wig*, 233-234; Landers, *Black Society in Spanish Florida*, 94.

⁴⁵ King, *Blue Coat or Powdered Wig*, 230.

⁴⁶ Landers, *Black Society in Spanish Florida*, 95.

⁴⁷ Landers, *Black Society in Spanish Florida*, 217; Landers, "Black Community and Culture in the Southeastern Borderlands," 129; Geggus, "The Exile of the 1791 Slave Leaders," 59.

⁴⁸ Landers, *Black Society in Spanish Florida*, 133.

⁴⁹ Landers, "An Examination of Racial Conflict and Cooperation in Spanish St. Augustine," 99; Landers, *Atlantic Creoles in the Age of Revolutions*, 93.

⁵⁰ Garrigus, *Before Haiti*, 290.

⁵¹ Joseph B. Lockey, "Public Education in Spanish St. Augustine," *The Florida Historical Society Quarterly*, vol. 15, no. 3 (1937), 168.

⁵² Dunkle, "Population Change," 15.

⁵³ Geggus, "The Exile of the 1791 Slave Leaders," 62.

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