

## Tomochichi's Trans-Atlantic Quest for Traditional Power in the Colonial Southeast.

By: Steven Peach

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### **Abstract:**

This essay reinterprets the life of a famous Muscogee Creek leader and examines the relationship between chiefly power and foreign travel in American Indian studies and Atlantic world studies. In spring 1734, the Creek headman Tomochichi and British imperialist James Edward Oglethorpe traveled to London to ratify a treaty that established the British colony of Georgia in the neighborhood of the Creek Confederacy. During his five-month sojourn, Tomochichi forged alliances with the Georgia trustees and the British royal family that resulted in a unique trans-Atlantic network of patronage. Upon return home, he leveraged his ocean-going imperial connections to craft an authoritative chieftainship that dated to the seventeenth-century Mississippian era.

**Keywords:** history | ethnohistory | muscogee creek | chieftains | native american studies | atlantic world studies | Tomochichi

### **Article:**

At the turn of the twentieth century, anthropologist John Reed Swanton recorded the origins of the Hitchiti Creeks, who spoke the Hitchiti dialect of the Muscogean (mus-KO-gee-an) language family. Around 1910, the Hitchiti medicine maker and oral historian Jackson Lewis narrated an origin story to Swanton. Born in Alabama in the early 1800s and raised in the Creek Nation of Oklahoma, Lewis was an authority on the history of his people. He said that his ancestors, the A'tcik ha'ta, had traveled toward the east until they reached the "Atlantic Ocean," because the migration party had been curious to see where the sun rose. At some point, the male elders ("beloved men") decided to rest on the coast, for "on account of the ocean," they could travel no more. Years later, the "warlike" Muscogees settled near the A'tcik ha'ta, and they fastened bonds with one another, probably through intermarriage. Ever since, the Muscogees and A'tcik ha'ta were "one people," and as a result, the A'tcik ha'ta adopted the name Hitchiti (a Muscogee

word meaning “to see”).<sup>1</sup> Lewis suggested that this contact occurred “somewhere” in what became Spanish La Florida.

A few decades before Lewis, in the 1880s, two other Hitchiti elders spoke of a slightly different migration story, one in which their ancestors had established a village upstream from a big lake. According to the elders, the Hitchitis mistook the lake for a “sea,” which hindered further travel. Daunted, they decided to settle upstream.<sup>2</sup>

Each origin story highlights the natural barriers presented by large bodies of water across which humans cannot easily travel for whatever purpose and with whatever technology. Generally, movement through time and space, often formidable obstacles, is a sacred component of the traditions of many North American Indian cultures.<sup>3</sup> For Hitchiti Creeks, those with the ability to survive water-borne travel possessed some of the deepest sources of knowledge and power.<sup>4</sup>

Aquatic traditions shaped the life of Tomochichi, a Hitchiti micco (MEE-ko) who resembled Lewis.<sup>5</sup> Like Lewis, Tomochichi lived in a world of wrenching change, and he did what he could to survive through it and to stake a better position for himself. Yet, unlike Lewis, he had access to levers of power that fell beyond the terra-centric boundaries of the Creek world. He was the micco of Yamacraw talwa (town), situated just upstream from where the Savannah River empties into the Atlantic. This perch lent him access to any native or nonnative travelers who might sail upriver. One traveler was the British philanthropist James Edward Oglethorpe, who arrived in the region in January 1733 to found the colony of Georgia, an experiment in Enlightenment utopianism.<sup>6</sup>

In late January, Tomochichi forged an alliance with Oglethorpe and used it to secure a place in the influential Creek Confederacy, which lay just west of Yamacraw and Savannah, the new Georgian settlement. One year later, the micco journeyed some four thousand miles across the Atlantic to London, where he became a client of Oglethorpe’s colleagues and, most famously, King George II and Queen Caroline. He was the first Creek to travel across the mighty Atlantic and to visit the British metropole.

Native Americanists have tended to overlook the relationship between foreign travel and power and authority in indigenous America. Specifically, they only partially explore what happened when native leaders, flush with dazzling tales of the unknown and uncharted, returned home unharmed. Common themes in the literature are the enhancement of authority and the cult of celebrity. No doubt Tomochichi, like many Indians before and after him, generated new allies and cultivated an air of mystique in eastern North America by returning home safely from an embassy to Britain.

But this article shifts gears to ask: How did Tomochichi leverage his trans-Atlantic travels in the eighteenth-century Muscogean world? And how did his birth in the late Mississippian world, an era that predated the English invasion of the Southeast, shape his goals? First, Tomochichi generated a new source of power during his sojourn in London: transoceanic diplomacy. Second,

Tomochichi exploited his oceangoing imperial connections to recapture a position of authority that was rare in the mid-eighteenth-century Southeast: a Mississippian chieftain. Resculpting himself into a rigid territorial chieftain, he ruled through conspicuous consumption, hereditary succession, alliances based on tribute, and a perch on and near large Mississippian-period mounds. His coercive chieftaincy was on loan from the seventeenth century, and it would provoke the wrath of other contenders for power in the shifting world of the eighteenth-century Colonial Southeast.

### Power and Travel on a Global Stage

A large amount of extant documentary materials capture Tomochichi's diplomatic encounters with Georgia officials, King George II, the Duke of Newcastle, and other imperial moguls. He has been the subject of numerous journal articles, short essays, and books from the perspective of historical biography, American Indian history, and, most recently, Atlantic world history.<sup>7</sup> This article seeks to combine all of these perspectives and to trace his life along a continuum of three themes central to Indian history, Atlantic history, and global history.<sup>8</sup>

First, a microhistory of Tomochichi reveals how and why leaders across the native Americas brought new means of power and authority to bear on older, more traditional ends, which often resulted in cultural continuities across decades, sometimes even centuries. This essay builds on the work of Gregory Evans Dowd, James Lockhart, John E. Worth, Claudio Saunt, Greg O'Brien, Joseph M. Hall Jr., and other Native American historians, who have analyzed the shape of power and authority as well as legitimacy and status within native communities and between native and European localities.<sup>9</sup>

Second, transoceanic travel is a fruitful theme of indigenous history, but ethnohistorians of the Southeast need to flesh out the relationship between travel and authority. The circulation of goods, people, and ideas around the Atlantic world has engaged an interdisciplinary array of scholars, such as Eric Hinderaker, Alden T. Vaughan, Jace Weaver, and several others. Their work has shown that across the Americas, Native American leaders and their kinfolk traveled to Europe for purposes of securing aid for their people, enhancing their power and authority, and forging alliances with kings, queens, and other magnates.<sup>10</sup>

Last, my analysis positions Tomochichi in the interface between macro and micro, global and local, scales of power, diplomacy, and trade. Kathleen DuVal, Pekka Hämäläinen, Robbie Ethridge, Gray H. Whaley, and Daniel K. Richter have begun to tease out the connections between trade goods, imperial systems, and alliances across vast geographies and sweeping chronologies.<sup>11</sup>

Theories of power and authority in the American Indian world revolve around stunning ethnohistoric scholarship. American Indian power in the early modern period was fluid, dynamic, and moored in the civic or sacred, each having the potential to shade into the other. If power was the sum of worldly and otherworldly phenomena in the cosmos, as Indians

understood it to be, then authority was power rendered legitimate and efficacious; authority was the raw calculus of power. Rulers possessed authority by hewing to established ceremonial norms of life and death or by conjuring new ones. Depending on location and time, a leader's authority lay along a continuum with coercion and consensus poles apart.<sup>12</sup>

But the bottom line remained the same: traditional power, as O'Brien has written, resided in the basis to create. Whether native people forged alliances, disrupted peace, restored harmony, sustained kin, or observed the ritual calendar, the act of creation was the glue that held the cosmos and, by extension, native societies, together.<sup>13</sup> Tomochichi understood that in the topsy-turvy world of the Southeast, where power and authority ebbed and flowed, creation ensured survival and, perhaps, a measure of influence.

While the need for power remained stable, its sources were in flux due to the ability of native cultures to adjust to change, both minimal and turbulent. In the mid-1700s, for instance, the basis of power and authority among the Choctaws shifted from the spirit world to the possession and display of trade goods. Still, the Choctaw world of spirits remained fundamental to Choctaw conceptions of the self throughout most of the 1700s.<sup>14</sup> On the other hand, power in the eighteenth-century Creek world was based in consensus, which demanded that rulers engage in the practice of gift giving across multiethnic towns. Gifts, argues one ethnohistorian, helped to promote peace and workable alliances between peoples who would otherwise remain strangers and potential enemies.<sup>15</sup>

To be sure, Tomochichi used gifts to broker alliances, but in the years after his return from London, he ruled from a position of abrasive authoritativeness, alienating himself from many would-be native allies. His was a leadership that linked the Mississippian past to the emerging Colonial South but that found precious few adherents in the corporate world of the early eighteenth century.

### The Outcast

A cutthroat slave trader at the turn of the eighteenth century, Tomochichi was a mover and shaker in the emerging global capitalist marketplace. He was born into the late Mississippian world (1600–1715) sometime in the 1650s or 1660s.<sup>16</sup> He was most likely raised on the Chattahoochee River at Apalachicola Town, from which Hitchiti slavers launched raiding expeditions.<sup>17</sup> He seems to appear in the written record first as a slaver in December 1706, when he sold a handful of Indians, perhaps Apalachees, to English traders for trade goods. Later, a "Toomichau," probably Tomochichi, sold seven "Waucoogau" Indians into slavery.<sup>18</sup> Between 1690 and 1715, he probably resided with the hundreds of other Hitchitis near the Ocmulgee River. The Ocmulgee watershed was the site of the chiefdoms of Ocute, Altamaha, and the Ocmulgee Old Fields that had collapsed sometime in the 1600s.<sup>19</sup>

Downstream at the Altamaha River, Tomochichi forged alliances with Yamasee speakers (unrelated to Muscogee).<sup>20</sup> The Creek Confederacy came into existence as a result of the forging

of multiethnic ties between the Hitchitis, Yamasees, and several other Muscogean and non-Muscogean peoples between 1680 and 1710. The Confederacy acted as a counterweight to Spanish La Florida, the French at New Orleans, and the English at Charles Town. By 1715, it was a kaleidoscope of alliances scattered across dozens of towns. Each talwa contained a civil and war leader, several corresponding counselors, clan matrons, and affinal and fictive kin. Cross-town intermarriage and the institution of gift giving were the glue that held this polyglot confederation together.<sup>21</sup>

The Confederacy, which emerged more powerful than ever after the Yamasee War, marginalized Tomochichi, who scrambled to pick up the pieces in the postwar decades. In 1715, Tomochichi's allies, the Yamasees, rose up against English traders who had been assaulting native women, manipulating credit, and selling goods at fraudulent prices. Yamasee confidence in the English colony had been shaken. In the postwar realignment, Creeks isolated the Yamasees and, together with the British Carolinians, outlawed the slave trade. The effects were devastating for Tomochichi. Between 1717 and 1718, Lower and Upper Creeks chartered the "Coweta Resolution," which created the official Creek Confederacy.<sup>22</sup>

The Coweta Resolution pledged partial allegiance to the British and rendered Yamasees and other native people who had participated in the war outcasts. Unfortunately, Tomochichi's power had rested on ties with Yamasee slavers. As he told British officials years later, the Confederacy had "banished" him. Sometime after 1718, he returned to Apalachicola Town on the Chattahoochee River to recoup his losses. But by about 1729 he fell out with French officials at the nearby French fort.<sup>23</sup> He then tried his luck at Palachacola on the Savannah River, where Yuchis and, probably, some of his old Yamasee kin were living. In the summer of 1732, he attended a treaty council among Lower Creeks, Upper Creeks, and Carolina officials in the capacity of micco. Although he seems to have made a go of it, he quickly became unpopular among the Palachacolans, for unknown reasons.<sup>24</sup>

Unfazed, Tomochichi moved downstream in late 1732 and established Yamacraw Bluff on the eastern portion of a four-mile-long bluff located on the south bank of the Savannah.<sup>25</sup> Historians call this four-mile area of land the Yamacraw "tract" because it was later surveyed by a British official. With his wife Senauki, step-grandson Tooanahowi, a few town counselors who were Hitchiti kin, and additional native allies, he became Yamacraw Bluff's micco. No doubt the Yamacraw Hitchitis' decision to migrate downstream was prompted by a need for fresh allies and quality trade goods.<sup>26</sup> No longer a formidable slaver, Tomochichi found it increasingly difficult to obtain British trade goods by virtue of corporate membership within the Confederacy. His break came in early 1733, when he learned that James Edward Oglethorpe, leader and cofounder of Great Britain's new Colony of Georgia, disembarked near Yamacraw.

An ambitious Enlightenment experiment in benevolence, religious toleration, and, of course, imperialism, Georgia presented an ideal opportunity for Tomochichi to reinsert himself into the Confederacy. Georgia was precariously tucked between the British North American colonies and

Spanish La Florida, so it desperately needed native allies. In January, Oglethorpe met Tomochichi along the Savannah, where they entered into a verbal agreement.<sup>27</sup>

On 1 February, Oglethorpe traveled to the small settlement of Savannah, headquarters of the new colony and adjacent to Yamacraw, to make the agreement official. Later that day Tomochichi, Senauki, Tomochichi's head warriors, and other Creek delegates appeared. The micco welcomed Oglethorpe and his retinue to Yamacraw, after which Oglethorpe invited Tomochichi into a makeshift tent where they agreed to set the boundaries of the Georgia settlement in the coming months. Between February and early March, Tomochichi continued to appear unexpectedly. On 7 March he presented some deerskins to Oglethorpe, who reciprocated with "some presents" with which the Yamacraws appeared "very much pleased."<sup>28</sup> In Muscogean terms, the exchange of gifts between each male leader ritually signified an alliance between the Hitchitis and British, and Tomochichi would later require Oglethorpe's support in his bid to reenter the Confederacy.<sup>29</sup>

Tomochichi's decision to reside on a long bluff overlooking a river symbolized his political and ancestral connections to the Mississippian past. He later claimed that his new home contained the bodies of his Hitchiti ancestors: "I came here [to Yamacraw] poor, and helpless, to look for good Land near the Tombs of my Ancestors." Yamacraw Bluff was positioned near the spirits of the A'tcik hã'ta, an otherworldly source of power that made his political isolation from the Confederacy tolerable and, with Oglethorpe, profitable. In 1734, some Hitchitis at Savannah told a Dutch traveler that the hill at Yamacraw Bluff "was built over the body of one of their earliest emperors," perhaps a reference to Mississippian civil and priestly leaders. As native people in the region understood, ancient tumuli were tangible symbols of supernatural assistance and purification. That Tomochichi propagated the idea that he was descended from an ancient ruler is certainly possible. Undoubtedly, the mounds at Yamacraw Bluff enabled him to claim legitimacy as a traditional, Mississippian ruler.<sup>30</sup>

Tomochichi may have had another group of mounds in mind. In the mid-twentieth century, archaeologists excavated the Irene Mound site, which was approximately three miles west of Yamacraw Bluff and which comprised the highest bluffs on the Yamacraw tract. The Irene mounds covered six acres and consisted of two mounds and the remains of other structures. They were part of the Mississippian ceremonial complex, an elaborate system of power that bound the political and spiritual together.<sup>31</sup>

Lewis's oral history of the Southeast lends support to my suggestion that his Hitchiti ancestors may have occupied the Irene Mound site in the seventeenth century. Lewis argued in the 1900s that Hitchitis and the "warlike" Muscogean arrived somewhere within the Atlantic coastal plain and planted communities in the heart of it. As he knew, traditional Creek power was intimately tied to the land, and this land may have been the spiritually charged, authoritative-looking Irene mounds. After the Yamasee War, Tomochichi's power in the world of humans was considerably

diminished. But Tomochichi could still tap into the spirit world, which shaped the fortunes of human life. The bones of his ancestors possessed élan vital. Bones brought power.<sup>32</sup>

His choice to relocate to an extensive bluff bordered by rivers and creeks also reflected a sense of indigenous “territoriality” common to Mississippian political space. As Georgia’s Justice of the Peace Noble Jones wrote in 1735, the Yamacraw tract was “bounded by a blazed line (Distinguished by a Red Cross) on the Easternmost Side . . . Abutting to the Common of the Town of Savannah, by a Road or High way Leading from the Said Common to the Plantation of Mrs. Musgrove . . . on the South, by a Creek Commonly Called the Indian Creek [Pipemaker’s Creek] on the West and on the North by The River Savannah” (see fig. 1). Tobias Lotter’s sketch of the “Indian Lands” in the map inset reveals that Yamacraw political space was bounded on the north, west, and south by paths and rivers. A thin line of trees bordered Yamacraw’s eastern edge. Apparently, Jones painted an “X” on at least one of those trees, signifying the extent of the tract. Trees also acted as signposts to travelers. Any traveler who saw the “X” would have glimpsed the extent of Tomochichi’s fiefdom, just adjacent to colonial Savannah.<sup>33</sup> The boundaries of the Yamacraw tract were tethered to traditional markers of Muscogean polities, such as trees, rivers, and paths. These markers denoted the geography of power.<sup>34</sup>

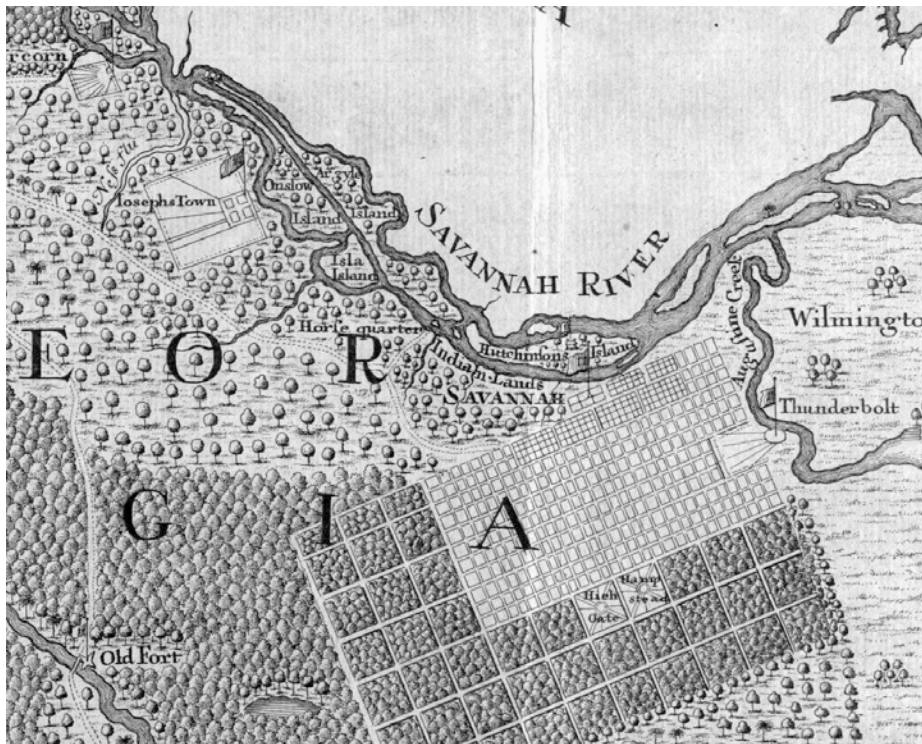


Figure 1. Tobias Lotter’s sketch of early Savannah and the adjacent “Indian Lands,” 1735. The Yamacraw tract resided in the Indian Lands, where Tomochichi initiated his quest for Mississippian power. Map of the county of Savannah. Courtesy of the Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library/University of Georgia Libraries.

In the initial months of Georgia's founding, Tomochichi incorporated the newcomers into traditional patterns of kinship and reciprocity that remained rooted in the Mississippian past. More than anything else, Tomochichi was emulating his Hitchiti ancestors. As Lewis told Swanton, the women and children of the A'tcik há'ta discovered "beautiful shells, pebbles, etc." near the Atlantic, and made rattles of them. One day, as they "amused themselves" with these new cultural resources, Europeans came "across the water" to visit them. They appeared to be on "friendly terms" with one another and, later in the future, the Indians exchanged peltry for various sorts of goods.<sup>35</sup> Perhaps the whites in this story were Spanish conquistadores who had pushed through the Southeast in the sixteenth century, leaving new goods and diseases in their wake. Or maybe they were the first generation of Carolina traders who fanned out from Charles Town in the 1670s and 1680s in search of indigenous clients. Regardless, Tomochichi's new relationship with Oglethorpe was anchored in deep time and historical precedent, which persisted into the eighteenth-century Creek world.

Riding on the coattails of renewed British hegemony in the Southeast, Tomochichi decided the time was ripe for a conference with Creek luminaries. Shortly after Tomochichi met Oglethorpe, the micco urged his new ally to confer with Lower Creek headmen. Oglethorpe, who knew the legal borders of the colony depended on the goodwill of the Confederacy, consented. In May 1733, four miccos and other officials appeared at Savannah to treat with Oglethorpe and Tomochichi. During the council, Tomochichi declared that he was a "banished man," invoking the Yamasee War and Coweta Resolution that had made him a pariah in Southeastern politics. Oueekachumpa, one of the eldest men in attendance, spoke on behalf of the Lower Creeks when he stated that Tomochichi was a "good man" and "great Warrior." Oueekachumpa might have been reminiscing about the halcyon days of slave raiding, magnificent profit, and political opportunism in the prewar Southeast. One thing is certain: a great warrior who survived into old age had mastered spiritual power. With Oueekachumpa's generous support, Tomochichi rejoined the Confederacy.<sup>36</sup>

The ebb and flow of Tomochichi's administration bring to light the mechanics of chiefly power in postwar Muscogean society in two ways. First, power derived from many sources in the decades between 1680 and the outbreak of the Yamasee uprising. An influential source of power was the Southeastern slave trade, of which Tomochichi was a vital participant. In exchange for manufactured goods that enhanced one's power and status, slavers captured and sold hundreds of native people to English slave traders. Many of these slaves worked as domestic servants in English households or were shipped to English West Indian sugar plantations.

After the Yamasee revolt, which brought British Carolina to its knees and reconfigured the geopolitics of the Southeast, the sources of indigenous power narrowed. The Creek Confederacy emerged as a powerhouse of native diplomacy, but it no longer traded slaves for goods. Nor did power remain coercive; by the early eighteenth century, Creek and other native communities established customs of rule that revolved around consensus, alliance, and reciprocity. Tomochichi found himself isolated. He had lived as a slaver, a shot caller. Now he was trapped



in a world colored by an uneasy coexistence among Georgia, Spanish Florida, and Lower Creek towns.

Second, the shifting alliances of the Euro-Muscogean Southeast permitted some room for maneuver. Tomochichi was able to settle on the lower end of the Yamacraw tract whose varying heights gestured toward ancient forms of power and authority. In an almost spiritual reckoning, Tomochichi settled on or near the spirits of his ancestors just as a new group of imperialists landed on the shores of Yamacraw. Oglethorpe, among the newcomers, enabled Tomochichi to rejoin the Creek Confederacy and, more generally, the political world of the Southeast. While Yamacraw's leader had finally picked up the pieces, he desired more.

### Trans-Atlantic Diplomacy

In December 1733, Oglethorpe invited Tomochichi, Senauki, and other Yamacraw administrators to London in order to ratify the tentative agreement reached between Georgia and the Lower Creeks earlier that May. The agreement had not clarified the boundaries of Georgia or the price of trade goods for the colony's native allies. Oglethorpe thought he should bring Tomochichi to assist in the negotiation process, because Georgia was dependent on the good graces of the Lower Creeks. Tomochichi probably thought that he could secure favorable trade prices and new allies to boot. So, in May 1734, Oglethorpe, the translator John Musgrove, and the Creek delegation led by Tomochichi and his wife sailed for England.<sup>37</sup>

Historians and literature scholars have sketched the experiences of many of the indigenous people who traveled to distant lands—London, Manchester, Ireland, and the United Provinces. In the face of culture shock, some oceangoing Indians reaffirmed the integrity of their own culture, or they criticized the culture of their hosts. Scholars have also demonstrated that foreign travel was a kind of sacred journey that enhanced the power of those who survived the return home. Still others have noted that American Indians in the metropole secured important political or military alliances in the service of imperial interest.<sup>38</sup>

Like other American Indians, Tomochichi experienced a clash of cultures and, no less, recognized the sacredness of his trip to London. The significance of surmounting the barriers of a large body of water, a key theme of Hitchiti Creek origin stories, cannot be overstated. Like many other Indian groups, Creeks believed that geographically distant places were charged with spiritual power and mythical symbolism. Journey from the familiar to the unfamiliar thus embodied an “esoteric” and “exceptional” experience. A prerogative of elites, foreign travel resided outside of the “purview of ordinary men.”<sup>39</sup>

Yet most historians and literary critics have largely ignored the potential of foreign places to generate novel sources of power and to redefine the goals and strategies of indigenous people, especially rulers who already command authority at home.<sup>40</sup> For Tomochichi, London became a diplomatic hotbed where he could claim a new source of chiefly power: transoceanic diplomacy. As the first Creek to conquer the barriers of the sacred Atlantic, he fastened ties with the most

powerful officials of the British Empire. By the end of his five-month stay, Tomochichi had established a partnership with the king, the queen, a duke, and the Georgia trustees— the “exceptional” players of British imperialism who resided beyond the boundaries of the “ordinary” Creek world.<sup>41</sup>

In June 1734, the Creek delegation arrived in London, where Tomochichi entered the high-profile world of British politics. He and the delegation roomed at the office of the Georgia trustees, who by all accounts graciously hosted the Creek dignitaries. Tomochichi’s first order of business was to secure favorable trade prices for himself and other Creeks and, in the process, to strengthen his relationship with the founders of Georgia. As he said in an August meeting, he expected to receive cheaper prices than other Creek towns because the Georgians were “our nearest neighbors.” In July, Tomochichi, Oglethorpe, and the remaining trustees had haggled over trade prices to no avail. During the talks, Tomochichi delivered a “formal Speech,” which the Earl of Egmont, a trustee, jotted in his journal. Tomochichi began by saying that, as a youngster, he had “neglected” the wisdom of his elders, and that, as an aging leader, he had become more cautious. Because he was so old, he “desired to See his nation Settled before he died. That the English were good men, and he desired to live with them as good neighbours, for which reason he came over to talk with us.”<sup>42</sup>

Tomochichi seems to have been speaking on behalf of the entire Creek Confederacy, enabling him to insert his relationship with Oglethorpe into a broader alliance with all the trustees. Maintaining Mississippian kinship customs, he transformed the trustees into fictive kin, who would be obliged to shower the Yamacraws with gifts and other diplomatic favors. The trustees wasted no time in honoring the ancient tradition of gift giving. During the summer, the Earl of Egmont presented Tomochichi with a rare, gilded tobacco box. The micco said he would hang it around his neck when he returned home.<sup>43</sup>

Like the Georgia trustees, the British monarchy became another trans-Atlantic patron for the ambitious micco. On 1 August 1734, King George and Queen Caroline greeted the Creek delegation at the spacious Kensington Palace, where Tomochichi pledged peace between the British and the Creeks. Directly addressing the king, Tomochichi sought forgiveness for his conduct in the Yamasee War and for his previous alliances to the rebellious Yamasees, who were still raiding Charleston settlements in the late 1720s. A sore spot in Anglo-Creek relations, the Yamasee War was the bugaboo of Tomochichi’s quest to secure power in the Southeast. As the court translator wrote, Tomochichi wanted “to renew the Peace which was long had with the English.” This was a reference to the peace treaties struck between Lower Creek towns and Carolina negotiators in the autumn of 1717.<sup>44</sup>

Tomochichi added that “I am come for the Good of the Children of all the Nations of the Upper and of the Lower Creeks.” He was pledging to erase the violent past and to create a profitable, peaceful future in the Southeast. He then placed a strand of white eagle feathers at the king’s feet, which denoted “a Sign of everlasting Peace.” While the color white signified peace between

two strangers, the feathers were a symbol for the ritual adoption of George II into Tomochichi's burgeoning network of trans-Atlantic patronage. He concluded by conflating his authority with that of the Confederacy, a similar tactic to that used in his speech to the trustees: "O Great King, whatsoever Words you shall say unto me, I will tell them faithfully to all the Kings of the Creek Nations."<sup>45</sup>

After the king announced his acceptance of Tomochichi as a client of the empire, the micco regaled the queen with a speech. He was "glad" to see the "Mother of this Great People [the British]. As our People [the Creeks] are joined with your Majesty's we do humbly hope to find you the common Mother and Protectress of us and all our Children." Enlisting Caroline's maternal support, Tomochichi was drawing on the matrilineal customs of Muscogean. Creeks traced descent through the mother, from whom one's membership in a clan derived. With her sisters and brothers, the mother raised her children in her household, not the husband's. In this way, Caroline became the provider for her new Creek "children." Tomochichi was the crucial intermediary and beneficiary of that relationship.<sup>46</sup> After the court audience disbanded, Caroline demonstrated her role as "Protectress" by gracefully touching the face of Tooanahowi, Tomochichi's step-grandson. Afterward, she presented the young Creek with a gun and gold watch via the prince, the Duke of Cumberland.<sup>47</sup>

In England Tomochichi also acquired bits and pieces of esoteric knowledge.<sup>48</sup> At the king's orders, Tomochichi and his retinue toured London's sights in one of the king's coaches "in the Same manner," Tomochichi told Egmont, as the "Iroquois Chiefs were in Queen Anne's reign." The king or one of his retainers had apparently informed Tomochichi that he was not the first Indian to visit Britain. He also could have learned of the Iroquois' esoteric experience within the grapevine of eighteenth-century native communication networks. In any case, he knew that he was the first Creek leader to meet the monarchs and to ride in their coaches, which underlined the political rarity of his stay.<sup>49</sup>

Further, Tomochichi was awestruck by the home of his trans-Atlantic kingly patron. Tomochichi and the Creek delegation toured Kensington Palace, which contained a "great many houses (by which he meant rooms) to make him believe the Kings Palace consisted of many, but he was Surprised to find he return'd by the Same Stairs he went up, by which he found it was Still but One house."<sup>50</sup> The multistoried and multiroomed palace sharply contrasted from the private dwellings of eighteenth-century Muscogean, which consisted of one common room and shared space. Still, newfound knowledge of the unknown possessed a kind of political capital on which Tomochichi could easily draw.

For Tomochichi, foreign travel was a conduit to a unique source of power and authority: transoceanic diplomacy. His embassy in London in mid-1734 garnered him extremely important patrons, including the trustees, George II, and Caroline, and he absorbed deep experiences of esoteric phenomena. Anthropologist Mary W. Helms has raised the possibility that indigenous people who survived the hazards of foreign lands often returned home with great diplomatic,

spiritual, economic, and epistemological reward with which to woo potential followers. The relationship between chiefly power and foreign travel, especially travel across mighty bodies of water, remains unexplored and undeveloped in much of the scholarly literature on American Indians. Colin G. Calloway urges American Indian scholars to see Indian people as transnational “globetrotters” who crisscrossed the world, conquering landscapes on a magnificent scale.<sup>51</sup> Tomochichi was a Creek globetrotter, and he is one example of how scholars can analyze Indians in a comparative and global framework.

### Regenerating Traditional Power

When he reentered the Creek world in late December 1734, Tomochichi began to revive the power of his ancestors. By 1739, when he died, he had instituted a centralized hereditary chieftainship that was anchored in the transoceanic largesse of British mandarins.<sup>52</sup>

Anthropologist John E. Worth has suggested that Tomochichi’s boyhood town, Apalachicola, remained a powerful chiefdom perhaps as late as 1660, roughly the decade of Tomochichi’s birth.<sup>53</sup> The micco was familiar with the ways in which traditional power was built, held, and amplified, particularly when he followed Hitchitis into a life of slave raiding. Transoceanic diplomacy and foreign travel to London furnished him with new ways to regenerate traditional power.

Ethnohistorian William L. Ramsey has written that the fortunate appearance of Oglethorpe and the Georgia settlers at Yamacraw restored Tomochichi’s influence “by means that lay largely outside the Creek political system.” Ramsey wonders how the new British “dynamic” affected Creek conceptions of trade, leadership, and diplomacy.<sup>54</sup> I suggest that this new dynamic did not fundamentally alter Tomochichi’s conception of leadership and alliance formation. To be sure, the basis of his power shifted away from the Creek Confederacy and east, to London. But Tomochichi still remained tethered to traditional conceptions of leadership and trade, aiming to restore a past eclipsed by the Yamasee War and the abolition of the Indian slave trade.

For centuries, the native Southeast had found ways of bending the new to the old. Since the invasion of Hernán de Soto in 1539, Mississippian peoples had forged alliances with European invaders whose trade goods, knowledge, systems of rule, and other cultural traditions they adopted into existing indigenous traditions.<sup>55</sup> In fact, as far back as the founding of Cahokia in the eleventh-century American Bottom, elites had harnessed power from sources hailing far beyond the known world.<sup>56</sup> Oglethorpe was a similar external source of prestige that Tomochichi seamlessly absorbed into the internal levers of Muscogean power, authority, and alliance. British and Muscogean political strategy were not irreconcilable for a vigorous headman like Tomochichi.

Anthropologist Robbie Ethridge, too, ponders the changes that took shape in the Muscogean South. She contends that a cultural transformation swept the Mississippian world in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The “Mississippian shatter zone” shifted leadership

from “one of succession through kinship and religious sanction to one of economic prowess and international diplomatic skills.” The advent of market capitalism was the engine that drove this social upheaval. Moreover, she argues, Indians’ alliances with Europeans resulted in a leveling of power, so that Mississippian leaders were never again as powerful as they once were.<sup>57</sup>

Yet between 1735 and 1739, Tomochichi deftly used his privileged trans-Atlantic connections to reverse some of the changes brought on by the “shatter zone” of capitalism, depopulation, and the collapse of chiefdoms. Tomochichi strove to link the 1730s with the 1670s and 1680s, and traditional power would bridge the temporal gap. In no particular order, four criteria shaped Tomochichi’s quest to revive the civilization of the A’*tcik há’*ta.

First, Tomochichi grounded his authority in Mississippian conceptions of property and land management. Second, he tried to establish a hierarchical relationship with several Lower and Upper Creek headmen as well as a Shawnee civil leader. In turn, he jockeyed for authority with a rival Lower Creek town, Coweta, whose war leader attempted to woo Georgia. Third, Tomochichi successfully restored the institution of hereditary chieftainship, which was part of his larger struggle with Coweta, to ensure that Tooanahowi inherited the elite matrilineage at what became “New” Yamacraw. Last, he very publicly displayed a number of prestige goods received from the trustees, George II, and Caroline to create a social hierarchy at New Yamacraw.

In February 1735, only two months after disembarking at Savannah, Tomochichi founded New Yamacraw. Located about three miles west of Yamacraw Bluff, it lay adjacent to the highest elevation of bluff on the Yamacraw tract (or “Indian Lands”). The spatial configuration and ancient tumuli of New Yamacraw evoke the late Mississippian era, when chiefly lineages constructed towns on or near large mounds that resided within natural boundary markers. These towns contained wattle-and- daub houses, large and small burial mounds, and a town commons shaped like a square. Muscogean termed such a configuration *tadjo*, a concept that denoted the purification of sacred political space and world renewal ceremonialism.<sup>58</sup> The Hitchitis, led by Tomochichi, and a handful of Shawnees built the new community less than a quarter mile from the “Large Mound” of the Irene site excavated in the late 1930s (see fig. 2).

Tomochichi chose to relocate adjacent to the large mound and the smaller “Burial Mound” because of a desire to harness the sacred power of bluffs, as Mississippian leaders once did.<sup>59</sup> The Irene phase of human occupation shown in figure 2 occurred between the 1490s and early 1600s, when hierarchical societies were guided by a priestly and civic elite whose authority emanated from platform mounds and manipulation of the cosmos. New Yamacraw lay just east of the sixteen-foot- high Mound 8 (“Large Mound”). Tomochichi’s wattle house was the largest with three spacious rooms, although everyone’s room was made of clay. As well, status determined the size of each matrilineal household at New Yamacraw. The center of Yamacraw governance was a public commons (or square ground) with four arbors built around a courtyard. Tomochichi’s council would consult here on domestic and foreign affairs.<sup>60</sup>

**Figure 2 is omitted from this formatted document.**

To the right of the “Large Mound” were New Yamacraw’s natural boundaries, which formed a rough triangle between two creeks, Pipemaker’s on the northeasterly side and Dundee’s on the western rim (see fig. 2). The Savannah River cut across the eastern portion adjacent to Pipemaker’s, and a shallow creek, a tributary of Pipemaker’s, was on the south. New Yamacraw contained “good bluff” in the words of one historian, and at periodic points during the Atlantic coastal plain’s rainy season, Pipemaker’s and Dundee’s flooded. At floodtide, the island resembled a very large bluff protruding from the water.<sup>61</sup> This created the illusion of a platform mound, or what eighteenth-century Muscogean called *ekvn*-like (loosely translated as “earth dwelling”).<sup>62</sup> Living on an island-like bluff would have heightened Tomochichi’s authority to Creeks and other native people who later ventured to New Yamacraw to hear the stories of his water-borne voyage.

Drawing on his trans-Atlantic patrons, Tomochichi rigorously defended the boundaries of the entire Yamacraw tract from outside encroachment. In July 1735, Tomochichi petitioned Noble Jones to sue some trespassing lumberjacks who had been cutting down live cypress and oak trees near New Yamacraw. Jones came to Tomochichi’s defense by posting a warning on the doors of Savannah’s courthouse, declaring that all trespassers would be punished with the “Utmost Severity.” Tomochichi leveraged this defense as a form of coercive power; this was his polity, not one else’s. In the next few months, Jones sued an unknown number of Georgians on Tomochichi’s behalf. The broadside stated precisely that no one without Tomochichi’s permission was allowed to trespass onto the Yamacraw tract.<sup>63</sup>

In February 1736, Oglethorpe personally defended what may have been Yamacraws’ shared hunting grounds with nearby Yuchis. According to a German Lutheran missionary who lived nearby, the colony’s recent influx of German immigrants had “no authority” to move onto Yamacraw tract, which the trustees had reserved for the “exclusive use” of Tomochichi and his kin.<sup>64</sup> Petitioning enabled Tomochichi to tap his connections to the trustees who defended his indigenous territory.

Tomochichi built New Yamacraw with a group of Savannah River Shawnees, and he ruled over them as a Creek suzerain. Between 1687 and 1707, Pekowitha and Thawekila Shawnee bands clustered in towns along the Savannah River and traded with other native people, perhaps even some Hitchitis. Around 1718, after the Yamasee and Tuscarora wars, they fanned out across the Southeast, forming coalescent societies with other native people. Some, like *Idaquo*, remained in the Savannah River valley into the 1730s. A Shawnee leader, *Idaquo* persuaded Tomochichi to recognize *Idaquo* as civil leader of the Savannah Shawnees. Apparently, *Idaquo* was in some kind of succession crisis. On Tomochichi’s behalf, Jones wrote a petition that asked the trustees to back *Idaquo*, who sent some deerskins to the trustees along with the petition to London. Presuming entitlement to the Shawnee leader, Tomochichi, not Georgia, brokered an alliance between the trustees and *Idaquo* and in so doing validated the authority of a foreign leader within

New Yamacraw's borders. This complex transaction suggests a measure of subordination on Iduquo's part, because Tomochichi sternly informed the trustees that the "Savannah Indians are Now with me." Mississippian elites derived power in part from their command of subject populations who owed them tribute of various sorts. Tomochichi was engaging in a similar practice of subordination. Perhaps the deerskins sent to the trustees were a form of indirect tribute to Tomochichi, who stood to benefit from the further importation of goods into Georgia earmarked for the Yamacraws.<sup>65</sup>

Meanwhile, Tomochichi shored up his power by demonstrating his knowledge of faraway lands to small groups of Creeks in the Confederacy. In early 1735, Tomochichi primed Creek leaders with his esoteric knowledge of London. By dazzling them with tales of the nonlocal world, Tomochichi meant to accumulate additional honor and prestige. That he survived his excursion abroad reinforced his ability to understand and to harness the mysteries of the cosmos.

According to anthropologists, information—like exotic goods—is co-related with status.<sup>66</sup> Musgrove probably understood as much when he wrote Oglethorpe that Tomochichi had invited inhabitants from various Upper and Lower Creek towns to New Yamacraw. Musgrove's letter indicates that Tomochichi apprised Creek leaders of his conversations with King George during his embassy at Kensington Palace. Details of the exact conversations are unknown, but it seems likely that Tomochichi told Creek leaders about George II's kind favors, including a carriage ride around London and a tour of Kensington.<sup>67</sup> Yet the micco would need more than knowledge to woo followers. In a world knit together by fluid alliance networks, he would need material goods.

In spring 1735, Tomochichi used a shipment of goods from the king and queen to place Creek leaders in his debt. Because these goods originated from the highest powers of the British Empire, they were extremely rare and might be considered "prestige goods." A prestige good is a finished material good that, when exchanged, forms a debt that the recipient cannot repay in kind. In turn, the giver creates a "hierarchical social relationship" by design.<sup>68</sup> In the Creek Confederacy, a ruler's power was never secure, as European trade goods suffused Creek society. Elites' ability to control prestige goods thus sharply declined.<sup>69</sup> But Tomochichi had a secret weapon: direct access to the British king and queen. No other Creek leader had quite the same lever of influence. Accordingly, in April 1735, he told a Georgia official to invite several Hitchiti leaders hailing from the Oconee, Ocmulgee, and lower Chattahoochee River valleys to his new house at New Yamacraw. On 11 June they arrived, and he distributed some of the royal goods to them.<sup>70</sup>

Although Chekilli, war leader of Coweta, appeared at the head of the Hitchiti delegation, Tomochichi had originally snubbed the headman. Earlier in March 1735, Tomochichi had sent a counselor, Santachi, to Coweta, so that he could invite his "private friends . . . and not the leading men" to New Yamacraw for the distribution of prestige goods. With Tomochichi's influence on the up-and-up, Chekilli was forced to counterattack and to try to redirect the Georgians away from Tomochichi. During the conference in early June, Chekilli spoke of the

origins of the Creek people soon after Tomochichi had distributed the gifts. The narration created the opportunity for Chekilli to marginalize Tomochichi by means of sacred history. Although Tomochichi's hometown, Apalachicola, was a central feature of the oral tradition, Chekilli blended the story with history, current events, and political opportunism. Toward the end of his enunciation, Chekilli blustered that he came from the "Eldest town," that he was "chosen to rule" after Emperor Brims's death, and that he would make other towns "comply" with his legitimacy. The implication was that Coweta ought to remain the power broker in Anglo-Creek diplomacy, as it always had before Tomochichi horned in. He then uttered that Tomochichi "went to see the great King with Esquire Oglethorpe, and hear his talk, and had related it to [the Cowetas], and they had listened to it, and believed it." Chekilli also used the conference to overlook and delegitimize Tomochichi's new polity by requiring everyone in attendance to "bear in remembrance the Place where they now have met, and call it Georgea."<sup>71</sup>

Despite Chekilli's attempt to marginalize Tomochichi, Tooanahowi became leverage in the Coweta-Yamacraw rivalry. In the midst of the June conference, Tomochichi resurrected the institution of hereditary succession, which was determined by elite matrilineage.<sup>72</sup> Tooanahowi stood to inherit his step-grandfather's chieftainship, primarily because the king and queen had sanctioned Tooanahowi as heir to New Yamacraw. Although a stronghold of Creek power, Coweta had had a bumpy history of chiefly succession, which ultimately forced Chekilli into legitimating New Yamacraw's heir. Coweta's former war leader, Emperor Brims, had appointed a number of kinsmen to succeed him. But they died left and right, one perishing in a skirmish with Yamasees. Brims died in approximately 1732, when Chekilli took the reins. Yahoulakee, a distant kinsman of Brims, quickly emerged as a contender to Chekilli and even made an appearance at Yamacraw Bluff in May 1733 when Oglethorpe, Tomochichi, and Lower Creek leaders had conferred over Georgia's boundaries.<sup>73</sup> At New Yamacraw, however, the foundations were in place for a stable transfer of power. On June 11, Chekilli endorsed Tooanahowi, calling him the "Chief ruler of them all." Not even the luminous Chekilli could contest support for Tooanahowi by King George II, Queen Caroline, and the Georgia trustees. The Creeks in attendance gave a "general Shout" of public approval. They may have done so because they recognized that Tooanahowi's succession remained within the traditional Yamacraw matrilineage. As the grandson of Senauki, who was the most powerful female elder of Yamacraw, Tooanahowi easily secured the support of Lower Creeks under Chekilli's sway.<sup>74</sup>

Two years later, Tomochichi transferred all of Yamacraw tract, except for New Yamacraw, to a close kinswoman according to traditional customs of land management. He granted it to his fictive niece Mary Matthews (formerly Mary Musgrove) in 1737 as a gift from uncle to niece or, more probably, from Creek to Creek. In matrilineal societies, uncles tend to hold more influence than in patrilineal ones. A Georgia official named William Stephens learned of the proceedings in December 1737 and, perhaps alarmed, decided to visit Mary and Tomochichi. The chieftain informed Stephens that no Creek and no Georgian could mistake "his Claim and Property" in the Yamacraw tract, which he alone gave to his niece. Tomochichi seems to have also stipulated that



cattle were not to be permitted on Yamacraw except for “his own.” This exception suggests that Tomochichi was trying to generate some form of a tributary landholding, from which he could exchange beef and other stock to British merchants for trade goods.<sup>75</sup>

Ethnohistorians have suggested that before the 1760s, some elites kept livestock as private property on privately held lands. In the communal world of the eighteenth-century Creeks, private property threatened to drive a wedge between Europeans’ quest for fee-simple land and Creeks’ maintenance of commonly held clan properties. But Matthews’s new property and Tomochichi’s cattle do not appear to be “private property.” “Possession” might be a better concept, particularly the chiefly possession of goods and other political capital on which a leader like Tomochichi could later draw for influence. Livestock, like a prestige good of the Mississippian era, was a trapping of elite authority.<sup>76</sup> The trustees agreed. Herman Verelst, a prominent trustee, later supported the terms of the land grant, telling Stephens that Indians’ lands “should remain their Property.” Nor were the Georgians allowed to intimidate Creeks and other Indians near Savannah into “parting” with indigenous land.<sup>77</sup>

In the remaining years of Tomochichi’s life, the trustees shipped him a number of prestige goods that he used to cleave elite and commoner. From Ancient Cahokia to the seventeenth-century upper Oconee River chiefdoms, rulers employed such prestige goods to implement authority and woo followers.<sup>78</sup> In addition to creating debts, prestige goods reveal the possessor’s link to the nonlocal world, connoting two elements. First, such a good separates elites and nonelites and, in the process, enhances the authority of “high office.” Second, rare goods typically originate in distant, unknown lands, where they take on symbolic meanings of life, death, and power. Like esoteric knowledge, they are outside the realm of the ordinary. <sup>79</sup> In London, Tomochichi had been given a gold-encrusted tobacco box from the Earl of Egmont. Upon receiving it, Tomochichi said “he would get a ribbon and hang it at his breast next [to] his heart.”<sup>80</sup> Sometime in 1735, the Crown shipped both Tomochichi and Tooanahowi one English swan, a royal bird. The king may have understood that Creeks believed that a white swan evoked peace, which further legitimated Tomochichi’s chieftainship in the violent world of the Southeast.<sup>81</sup> Altogether, the status of the giver and the origin of the gift made these goods rare and bestowed authority on the recipient.

Tomochichi also personally received gifts from the Georgia trustees who continued to court his loyalty in the years preceding the Anglo-Spanish War of Jenkins’ Ear in 1739. The trustees implemented a policy to send Tomochichi presents, in their words, “from England only.” In 1737 or 1738, he received some red and blue cloth, each measuring thirty-one yards. On Tomochichi’s shipment was a note that read, “Mr. Oglethorpe gave the Cloth.” While John Musgrove received a scarlet camlet, blue silk, and silver trimming in the same shipment, the documents are unclear about the giver-recipient relationship. But those at New Yamacraw knew exactly who gave Tomochichi his goods. Later, a prestigious donor of the Georgia colony, Charles King of Brumpton, shipped some Burgundy wine to Tomochichi “as a Present.” Further, the trustees sent a scarlet garment with gold lace to New Yamacraw.<sup>82</sup> Methodism founder John Wesley, who

visited Savannah in 1736, commented on Tomochichi's new trappings of power. He noticed that Tomochichi and his wife Senauki boarded Wesley's ship "in English dress," though a Shawnee official's face was "stained" red and his hair "dressed with beads."<sup>83</sup> Tellingly, Wesley did not mention any rare dress of the other Indians in attendance. The wedge that Tomochichi drove between himself and others seemed to be successful and stark.

In a world where Muscogean prized reciprocity and the distribution of power across localized towns, Tomochichi encountered stiff resistance. He incurred the enmity of at least three Indians, because his rising authority pushed against eighteenth-century chiefly customs. Muscogean agreed that leaders who hoarded goods or otherwise acted coercively were unfit for rule.<sup>84</sup> An Indian named Salotte complained, for example, that Tomochichi bragged to several people about the "Grandeur and People" of the British Nation. As a Georgia official wrote, Salotte thought it was a "Lye to keep them [Hitchitis?] in Awe." Apakowtski, who had traveled with the delegation to London, thought Tomochichi made "himself greater than he Should be."<sup>85</sup> Moreover, a Euchee (Yuchi) leader from upstream Augusta sarcastically asked "who" made Tomochichi "such a great Person, to give away Lands which he had nothing to do with? and at the same Time claiming a Property in Lands about Augusta."<sup>86</sup> Tomochichi seems to have been transacting multiple sales with British officials, a mark of his desire to extend New Yamacraw's influence. As a result, Salotte, Apakowtski, and the Euchee saw Tomochichi as a threat to their position in the volatile post-Yamasee War Southeast. He understood that possessing allies in the metropole helped one navigate and adjust to this world.

### Leadership in the Native Southeast

Tomochichi's friction with Salotte, Apakowtski, and the Euchee leader glimpses larger trends of chiefly power and authority in Creek society. As a Creek headman who had survived the Mississippian Shatter zone and died as late as 1739, Tomochichi was anchored in the Mississippian epoch. His identity took shape in the seventeenth-century Chattahoochee, where slave raiders sold whole communities to British or Spanish traders for power and profit; where Mississippian chiefdoms had only recently collapsed but lived on in oral traditions; and where chieftains ruled by coercion, conquest, prestige, and tribute. Leaders also held power from the accumulation of goods.

By 1730, the Mississippian era had given way to the Colonial Southeast. Centralized chiefdoms yielded to a localized town world, and town micos held power from reciprocal relationships forged through the distribution of trade goods and through consensus across multiple towns.<sup>87</sup> Of course, diplomacy and foreign policy continued to be reserved for elite, powerful, and extraordinary men. Few ordinary Indians negotiated alliances and obtained trade goods directly from high-status European or native power brokers. Still fewer native people traversed the Atlantic to forge contacts with imperial heavyweights. Other rulers in the early modern Southeast, however, attempted to exhume the chiefly customs of bygone days without traveling abroad.

An aging Guale cacique named Francisco Ospogue tried to refashion an old world in the new. In the Guale town of Ospogue in Spanish La Florida, Francisco successfully petitioned royal officials in 1728 to recognize his “noble” matrilineage, which he argued reached back to the 1600s. According to one anthropologist, John Worth, Ospogue was attempting to reconstruct a seventeenth-century political economy in which elites amassed power through the collection of tribute coerced from surrounding hamlets. In the 1720s, Spanish officials offered to support the power of caciques so long as the economic and political ties between caciques and their subject populations did not undermine Spanish colonial rule.<sup>88</sup> Great Britain was no different.

Like Francisco, Tomochichi placed his alliance with Georgian leaders into existing circuits of native kinship, diplomacy, and trade. A “banished” member of the Creek Confederacy in the aftermath of the Yamasee War, Tomochichi eagerly sought out alliances from Oglethorpe and the royal family to secure a powerful position for himself in the 1730s. Having returned from London, Tomochichi sculpted a centralized leadership that resembled the power of his Mississippian Hitchiti ancestors, the A’tcik há’ta. Both Francisco and Tomochichi reached back to the past for traditional templates of power and authority.

Quests to revive the past crossed gender lines as well. In 1650s tidewater Virginia, upon the death of her husband, Cockacoeske became “queen” of the Pamunkeys, a subset of the Algonquian language stock. She was a matrilineal descendant of Opechancanough, the war leader and brother of Powhatan, a Pamunkey who had ruled six tribal units as a paramount chieftain in the early 1600s. By 1650, the chiefdom had all but collapsed, but Cockacoeske sought to reawaken it. As one ethnohistorian, Martha McCartney posits, she “asserted her dominance” in the 1677 Treaty of Middle Plantations, which subjected a number of Algonquian villages formerly under Powhatan’s sway to her suzerainty. Seeking to permanently end decades of bloody conflict between the Virginians and Algonquians, King Charles II backed her efforts to restore Pamunkey influence. Like Tomochichi, Cockacoeske captured the attention of a British monarch, who allowed her to trade on Powhatan’s legacy in exchange for fealty to the Empire. And like the Creek chieftain, she and her son received a cache of prestige goods, such as a scarlet coat, a sword, guns, a crown, and even a silver pendant, to ooze regal authority.<sup>89</sup>

### Bridging Worlds

If the basis of Tomochichi’s power and authority shifted east across the Atlantic, a realm largely untraveled and unexplored by Creek Indians but embedded in their sacred origin narratives, then scholars must shift their analytical lens as well. But they must do so from the position of native people and ethnohistoric approaches. Indians who crisscrossed the Atlantic took what they learned and gave it to their people—or, in Tomochichi’s case, used it for traditional, chiefly purposes.

Historian Paul Cohen challenges Atlantic world scholars to generate new themes in Atlantic history in order to accommodate the histories and cultures of indigenous North Americans. So

long as the perspective of Atlantic world studies remains anchored in the ocean, Cohen alleges, familiar categories such as trans-Atlantic trade and empire will shed dim light on native American history. And James H. Merrell doubts that Indian historians can “face east from the Atlantic littoral and still find a place for indigenous Americans.”<sup>90</sup>

Nonetheless, Atlantic history and ethnohistory are not mutually exclusive. Put in dialogue, they shed light on one another. If Atlantic historians plant deep roots into the social, political, and cultural context of Indian Country, Indians will remain a key component of trans-Atlantic and even global histories. One of the Hitchitis’ origin stories specifically mentions the Atlantic Ocean, a sacrosanct realm of unimaginable bounty. A scholar of Native American studies and religion, Jace Weaver points out that Indians were “actors in the transoceanic story” of the Atlantic world, filling it with their own hopes and dreams. Ocean-voyaging Indians were “self-determined and not simply selves-determined” in the European effort to carve up the Americas for imperial rule and administration.<sup>91</sup>

Just as Tomochichi’s transoceanic fortunes suggest new ways of linking the Atlantic and native worlds, his chiefly tenure is a microcosm of cultural change in the Southeastern ethnohistoric scholarship. Above all, Tomochichi demonstrated that he could bridge the Mississippian and Colonial worlds. It was an extraordinary feat. Native people like him survived the transformation of the late 1600s and early 1700s known as the “Mississippian shatter zone.” Since the 1540s, Muscogean peoples had harnessed the power of European newcomers by adopting Spanish, French, or British customs into the preexisting rhythms of indigenous culture. Indians were “highly adaptive peoples” who did not automatically become assimilated by accepting things European.<sup>92</sup>

Tomochichi’s life unfolded in three stages—slaver, micco, chieftain—and it was knitted together by the quest for traditional, coercive power that tapped the world he was born into for inspiration. The Yamasee War ended his slaving career and sowed the seeds of his exclusion from the Creek Confederacy. Between 1718 and 1733, just before his tour in England, Tomochichi ruled on and off as a micco whose basis of power necessarily resided in consensus and reciprocity. He lacked any kind of leverage to mold a coercive administration.

Yet his decision to settle on a bluff near the tombs and bones of his ancestors in late 1732 signaled an emergent quest to revive the power of Mississippian chieftains. By 1739, this power had blossomed. Hierarchy, tribute, coercion, and territoriality made up the tool kit of an older form of power that Tomochichi reinstated in the generation after the Yamasee War. To be sure, the Colonial Southeast was tumultuous, unpredictable, and dangerous. But he formed a new basis for power and authority in the Muscogean world by drawing on imperial connections that flowed back and forth over thousands of miles between New Yamacraw and London. In a tantalizingly brief snapshot, we glimpse an old world in the new. In Tomochichi, the spirits of the Mississippians seized British Georgia and the Creek Confederacy, but only because he had conquered the Atlantic, the ancient barrier between the known and the unknown.

## Notes

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1 Bill Grantham, *Creation Myths and Legends of the Creek Indians* (Gainesville, FL, 2002), 117, 134–35. Lewis was most likely familiar with a Creek origin story narrated in 1735 by Chekilli, micco of Coweta, who said that the Hitchitis were descended from Apalachicola and the Muscogee Creeks from Kasihta (or Cussita), along the Chattahoochee River.

2 Grantham, *Creation Myths*, 136.

3 Mark A. Nicholas, "Conclusion: Turns and Common Grounds," in *Native Americans, Christianity, and the Reshaping of the American Religious Landscape*, ed. Joel W. Martin and Mark A. Nicholas (Chapel Hill, NC, 2010), 276–88; Michael D. McNally, *Ojibwe Singers: Hymns, Grief, and a Native Culture in Motion* (Saint Paul, MN, 2000), 3–18; John P. Bowes, *Exiles and Pioneers: Eastern Indians in the Trans-Mississippi West* (Cambridge, UK, 2007), 4–11. Native Christianity is a key theme in this literature.

4 Origin stories are pregnant with symbolism and deeper meaning. The Hitchiti elders had experienced the trauma of US Indian removal in the late 1830s, which tore apart families and fractured the "sacred narrative." In the post-removal United States, Lewis and other native oral historians sought to preserve the history of their people. The message that Lewis sent was a kind of "survival mechanism": We are still here and we have always been here—despite (and because of) the barriers of water. See Steven C. Hahn, "The Cussita Migration Legend: History, Ideology, and the Politics of Mythmaking," in *Light on the Path: The Anthropology and History of the Southeastern Indians*, ed. Thomas J. Pluckhahn and Robbie Ethridge (Tuscaloosa, AL, 2006): 57–93 (92, "sacred narrative"); and Peter Nabokov, *A Forest of Time: American Indian Ways of History* (Cambridge, UK, 2002), 91–92 for "survival mechanism."

5 Tomochichi most likely spoke the Hitchiti dialect. See William C. Sturtevant, "The Misconnection of Guale and Yamasee with Muscogean," *International Journal of American Linguistics* 60 (1994): 139–48, esp. 142; Julie Anne Sweet, "Will the Real Tomochichi Please Come Forward?" *American Indian Quarterly* 32 (2008): 141–77, esp. 158–60; and John Reed Swanton, *The Indians of the Southeastern United States* (1946; Washington, DC, 1979), 153–54.

6 The word for "chief" or "lord" in Muscogee Creek is written mēkko, with a macron over the e. See "mēkko," in Jack B. Martin and Margaret McKane Mauldin, *A Dictionary of Creek/Muskogee* (Lincoln, NE, 2000), 75. However, I follow Jean Chaudhuri and Joyotpaal

Chaudhuri, *A Sacred Path: The Way of the Muscogee Creeks* (Los Angeles, CA, 2001), 180, 183, in their use of the more familiar micco. I also prefer Muscogee to Muskogee because the former is used by the Muscogee (Creek) Nation centered in Okmulgee, Oklahoma.

7 Historians do not properly assess his Mississippian legacy, and they overemphasize his skill as a cultural broker. Julie Anne Sweet, *Negotiating for Georgia: British-Creek Relations in the Trustee Era, 1733–1752* (Athens, GA, 2005); Sweet, “Real Tomochichi”; James Taylor Carson, *Making an Atlantic World: Circles, Paths, and Stories from the Colonial South* (Knoxville, TN, 2007); and John T. Juricek, *Colonial Georgia and the Creeks: Anglo-Indian Diplomacy on the Southern Frontier, 1733–1763* (Gainesville, FL, 2010). One exception is Steven C. Hahn, *The Invention of the Creek Nation, 1670–1763* (Lincoln, NE, 2004); and Hahn, “Cussita.”

8 Greg O’Brien, *Choctaws in a Revolutionary Age, 1750–1830* (Lincoln, NE, 2002) argues that indigenous biographies elucidate “major transformative processes” that are “often better understood at the individual level to see how real people confronted issues important to their way of thinking” (116).

9 Gregory Evans Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745–1815* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992); James Lockhart, *Nahuas after the Conquest: A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries* (Stanford, CA, 1992), 102–10, 130–38, 429–36, 442–46; John E. Worth, “Spanish Missions and the Persistence of Chiefly Power,” in *The Transformation of the Southeastern Indians, 1540–1760*, ed. Robbie Ethridge and Charles Hudson (Jackson, MS, 2002), 39–64; Claudio Saunt, *A New Order of Things: Property, Power, and the Transformation of the Creek Indians, 1733–1816* (Cambridge, UK, 1999); O’Brien, *Choctaws in a Revolutionary Age*; Joseph M. Hall Jr., *Zamumo’s Gifts: Indian-European Exchange in the Colonial Southeast* (Philadelphia, PA, 2009). See, too, Adam King, “Creek Chiefdoms at the Temporal Edge of the Mississippian World,” *Southeastern Archaeology* 21, no. 2 (2002): 221–26; Hahn, *Invention*; Joshua Piker, *Okfuskee: A Creek Indian Town in Colonial America* (Cambridge, MA, 2004); Steven J. Oatis, *A Colonial Complex: South Carolina’s Frontiers in the Era of the Yamasee War, 1670–1730* (Lincoln, NE, 2004); and William L. Ramsey, *The Yamasee War: A Study of Culture, Economy, and Conflict in the Colonial South* (Lincoln, NE, 2008).

10 Eric Hinderaker, “The ‘Four Indian Kings’ and the Imaginative Construction of the First British Empire,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 53 (1996): 487–526; Eric Hinderaker, *The Two Hendricks: Unraveling a Mohawk Mystery* (Cambridge, MA, 2010); Alden T. Vaughan, *Transatlantic Encounters: American Indians in Britain, 1550–1776* (Cambridge, UK, 2006); Mark Meuwese, “Powerless yet Resourceful: Brazilian Indians as Political Refugees in the Dutch Republic, 1654–1657,” in *The Low Countries: Crossroads of Cultures*, ed. Ton J. Broos, Margriet Bruyn Lacy, and Thomas F. Shannon (Münster, Germany, 2006), 83–92 (I thank Linda P. Rupert for bringing this essay to my attention); Juricek, *Colonial Georgia*; Nancy Shoemaker, “Wonder and Repulsion: North American Indians in Eighteenth-Century Europe,” in *Europe*

Observed: Multiple Gazes in Early Modern Encounters, ed. Kumkum Chatterjee and Clement Hawes (Lewisburg, PA, 2008), 173–93; Kate Flint, *The Transatlantic Indian: 1776–1930* (Princeton, NJ, 2009); Tim Fulford and Kevin Hutchings, “Introduction: The Indian Atlantic,” in *Native Americans and Anglo-American Culture, 1750–1850: The Indian Atlantic*, ed. Tim Fulford and Kevin Hutchings (Cambridge, UK, 2009), 1–38; Jace Weaver, “The Red Atlantic: Transoceanic Cultural Exchanges,” *AIQ* 35, no. 3 (2011): 418–63. As well, see Paul Cohen, “Was There an Amerindian Atlantic? Reflections on the Limits of a Historiographical Concept,” *History of European Ideas* 34 (2008): 388–410; and Mark A. Nicholas, “Water-Voyaging Indians and the Metropole,” *Reviews in American History* 36 (2008): 24–30.

11 Kathleen DuVal, *The Native Ground: Indians and Colonists in the Heart of the Continent* (Philadelphia, PA, 2006); Pekka Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire* (New Haven, CT, 2008); Robbie Ethridge, *From Chicaza to Chickasaw: The European Invasion and the Transformation of the Mississippian World, 1540–1715* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2010); Gray H. Whaley, *Oregon and the Collapse of Illahee: U.S. Empire and the Transformation of an Indigenous World, 1792–1859* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2010); and Daniel K. Richter, *Before the Revolution: America’s Ancient Pasts* (Cambridge, MA, 2011), 327.

12 Ethridge, *Chicaza*; Hall, *Zamumo’s Gifts*.

13 O’Brien, *Choctaws*, xxiii–xxiv; Dowd, *Spirited Resistance*, 3.

14 O’Brien, *Choctaws*, xxvi.

15 Hall, *Zamumo’s Gifts*, 152–67.

16 Sweet, “Real Tomochichi,” 158. Sweet’s summation of scholarly projections of Tomochichi’s date of birth suggests that he was roughly seventy years old upon his death in 1739.

17 Grantham, *Creation Myths*, 117; Hahn, *Invention*, 150; Hall, *Zamumo’s Gifts*, 216.

18 Ramsey, *Yamasee War*, 13–53, 221–22. “Waucoogau” might refer to the Cusabo Indians, a Low Country coalescent group that included Waccamaws and Witcheaugh (Ethridge, *Chicaza*, 108).

19 Hall, *Zamumo’s Gifts*, 19.

20 Sweet, “Real Tomochichi,” 158, 159. In the 1680s, the Yamasees were split into Lower Yamasees in five core towns, headed by the town of Altamaha, and Upper Yamasees, also in five towns, with Pocotaligo at the head. Swanton, *Indians of the Southeastern United States*, 209; Hahn, “Cussita,” 79.

21 Swanton, *Indians*; Hall, *Zamumo’s Gifts*; Saunt, *New Order*.

22 For the raging debate on Creek neutrality and factionalism, see Hahn, *Invention*; Piker, *Okfuskee*; Oatis, *Colonial Complex*, 220, 258; and Ramsey, *Yamasee War*. I follow Ramsey (197–99) that the Coweta Resolution, in establishing the Creek Confederacy, was not an explicit doctrine of neutrality.

23 Ramsey, *Yamasee War*, 108–9; Oatis, *Colonial Complex*, 116–20, 291; Hall, *Zamumo's Gifts*, 159; Hahn, *Intervention*, 152.

24 “Articles of Friendship and Commerce with the Lower and Upper Creeks,” 14 June 1732, in *North and South Carolina Treaties, 1654–1756*, ed. W. Stitt Robison, vol. 13 of *Early American Indian Documents: Treaties and Laws, 1607–1789*, gen. ed. Alden T. Vaughan (Bethesda, MD, 2001), 150. David H. Corkran, *The Creek Frontier, 1540–1783* (Norman, OK, 1967), 83, argues that Tomochichi was “banished” as late as 1728 or 1729. But this document suggests that his power may have been on the rise by the late 1720s. Steven C. Hahn, “They Look upon the Yuchis as Their Vassals”: An Early History of Yuchi-Creek Political Relations,” in *Yuchi Indian Histories before the Removal Era*, ed. Jason Baird Jackson (Lincoln, NE, 2012), 133–35, 150.

25 Dolores Boisfeuillet Floyd, *New Yamacraw and the Irene Mound Site* (Savannah, GA, 1936), 3–4; Juricek, *Colonial Georgia*, 38.

26 Hahn, *Invention*, 153. In *The Life and Times of Mary Musgrove* (Gainesville, FL, 2012), Steven Hahn argues that John and Mary Musgrove along with British officials were integral in the migration to Yamacraw Bluff (79).

27 “Report on Oglethorpe’s Initial Meeting with Tomochichi,” 20–24 January 1733, in John T. Juricek, ed. *Georgia Treaties, 1733–1763*, vol. 11 of *Early American Indian Documents, Treaties, and Laws, 1607–1789*, gen. ed. Alden T. Vaughan (Frederick, MD, 1989), 7.

28 “Peter Gordon’s Account of Early Contacts,” 7 March 1733, in Juricek, *Georgia Treaties*, 9; “Peter Gordon’s Account of Early Contacts,” 1 and 4 February 1733, in Juricek, *Georgia Treaties*, 8.

29 O’Brien, *Choctaws*, 4–5; Ethridge, *Chicaza*, 20; Carson, *Making an Atlantic World*, 82.

30 “The First Conference with the Lower Creeks,” 20 May 1733, in Juricek, *Georgia Treaties*, 13; Commissioner Baron Von Reck, “A Short Report on Georgia and the Indians There,” in *A Detailed Report on the Salzburger Emigrants Who Settled in America*, vol. 1, ed. George Fenwick Jones, trans. Hermann J. Lacher (1735; Athens, GA, 1968), 140; Vernon James Knight Jr., “Symbolism of Mississippian Mounds,” in *Powhatan’s Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., ed. Gregory A. Waselkov, Peter H. Wood, and Tom Hatley (Lincoln, NE, 2006), 421–34.

31 Max E. White, *The Archaeology and History of the Native Georgia Tribes* (Gainesville, FL, 2002); Juricek, *Colonial Georgia*, 38, 42, 88; Ethridge, *Chicaza*.



32 Grantham, *Creation Myths*, 117; Hahn, *Invention*, 162.

33 “Noble Jones to Oglethorpe,” 6 July 1735, Savannah, in Juricek, *Georgia Treaties*, 58–59; Juricek, *Colonial Georgia*, 328n26. Timothy Pauketat, *Cahokia: Ancient America’s Great City on the Mississippi* (New York, 2009), 155, argues that Cahokian rulers bounded territory with rock markers. Muscogean rulers in later centuries similarly employed natural objects to define political spaces.

34 Ethridge, *Chicaza*, 284n9.

35 Grantham, *Creation Myths*, 134–35.

36 *South Carolina Gazette*, “The First Conference with the Lower Creeks,” 20 May 1733, in Juricek, *Georgia Treaties*, 13; O’Brien, *Choctaws*, 27.

37 Vaughan, *Transatlantic Encounters*, 153.

38 Juricek, *Colonial Georgia*, 76–77; Vaughan, *Transatlantic Encounters*, 254; Hahn, *Invention*, 151; Sweet, *Negotiating for Georgia*; Shoemaker, “Wonder and Repulsion”; Meuwese, “Powerless yet Resourceful.” Meuwese argues that two Tupi-speaking Potiguar leaders voyaged to the Dutch Republic in the late 1650s to secure help for their people against the hated Portuguese occupation of Brazil. While they failed to obtain material and military assistance, Antonio Paraupaba and Domingo Fernandes Carapeba were enlisted for intelligence gathering and scouting in the region. As Meuwese points out, Europe allowed them to “sustain their personal careers” (90).

39 Mary W. Helms, *Ulysses’ Sail: An Ethnographic Odyssey of Power, Knowledge, and Geographical Distance* (Princeton, NJ, 1988), 4, 19; Ethridge, *Chicaza*, 20.

40 One outstanding exception is Hinderaker, *Two Hendricks*. He argues that the Mohawk Hendrick Tejonihokarawa sharpened his position in the Anglo-Iroquois Covenant Chain by visiting Queen Anne in 1710. He traveled with three other Indian “kings”: two Mohawks (Brant/Sagayenkwaraton and John/Onigoheriago) and one Mahican (Nicholas/Etowaucum) (73).

41 Helms, *Ulysses’ Sail*, 19.

42 Robert G. McPherson, ed., *Journal of the Earl of Egmont: Abstract of the Trustees Proceedings for Establishing the Colony of Georgia, 1732–1738* (Athens, GA, 1962), 3 July and 28 August 1734 (Athens, GA, 1962), 58, 62.

43 19 August 1734, in McPherson, *Journal of the Earl of Egmont*, 61–62.

44 Oatis, *Colonial Complex*, 141.

45 “Tomochichi’s Reception with King George II and Queen Caroline,” 1 August 1734, in Juricek, *Georgia Treaties*, 21–22.

46 1 August 1734, in Juricek, *Georgia Treaties*, 21–22; Saunt, *New Order*, 19–21.

47 14 August 1734, in McPherson, *Journal of the Earl of Egmont*, 61.

48 Esoteric knowledge is gained from travel to “distant lands, with long-distance specialists of various sorts who make it their business . . . to return with tangible or intangible rewards” and “with wondrous tales or closely guarded secrets of the legendary regions they have seen.” Helms, *Ulysses’ Sail*, 3, 11, 18, 149–50.

49 14 August 1734, in McPherson, *Journal of the Earl of Egmont*, 61; Hahn, *Invention*, 149.

50 14 August 1734, in McPherson, *Journal of the Earl of Egmont*, 61.

51 Colin G. Calloway, “2008 Presidential Address: Indian History from the End of the Alphabet; and What Now?” *Ethnohistory* 58, no. 2 (2011): 203–4. While Calloway argues that “tribal eyes” (205) can offer new perspectives on European history, I situate Tomochichi’s London tour within the Muscogean context.

52 John E. Worth, “Spanish Missions,” 63. I am influenced by Worth’s concept of a “rigid, kin-based hierarchy” that at least one cacique (ruler) was trying to recreate in the transformed world of 1720s Spanish La Florida. Worth poses some what-if questions that explore the paths that could have been taken in the eighteenth-century Southeast. What if European intrusion in the Southeast had been only temporary? he wonders. Would “surviving societies have attempted to reconstitute their traditional chiefly order in new locations and with new subordinate populations? Would platform mound construction have continued after a brief interval of traumatic change?” (60).

53 Worth, “Spanish Missions,” 60.

54 Ramsey, *Yamasee War*, 225–26.

55 Hall, *Zamumo’s Gifts*, 22–32, 109.

56 Pauketat, *Cahokia*, 123–26.

57 Ethridge, *Chicaza*, 251–54.

58 Knight, “Symbolism,” 425–26.

59 John T. Juricek (*Colonial Georgia*, 72), however, highlights Tomochichi’s wish to reside near Mary Musgrove’s nearby trading store.

60 Floyd, New Yamacraw, 10; Joseph Caldwell and Catherine McCann, Irene Mound Site, Chatham County, Georgia (Athens, GA, 1941), 1–5, 69–73.

61 Floyd, New Yamacraw, 4.

62 Knight, “Symbolism,” 422.

63 “Noble Jones to Oglethorpe,” 6 July 1735, Savannah, in Juricek, *Georgia Treaties*, 58–59. Creeks used the bark of cypress trees to cover the roofs of their homes and temporary hunting camps. For an illustration, see “A Indien Camp,” in Von Reck’s *Voyage: Drawings and Journal of Philip Georg Friedrich von Reck*, ed. Kristian Hvidt (Savannah, GA, 1990), 116–17.

64 Johann Martin Boltzius and Israel Christian Gronau, “Daily Register,” February 10, in George Fenwick Jones and Marie Hahn, *Detailed Report on the Salzburger Emigrants who Settled in America*, vol. 3, ed. George Fenwick Jones and Marie Hahn (Athens, GA, 1972), 38–39.

65 Stephen Warren and Randolph Noe, “‘The Greatest Travelers in America’: Shawnee Survival in the Shatter Zone,” in *Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone: The Colonial Indian Slave Trade and Regional Instability in the American South*, ed. Robbie Ethridge and Sheri M. Schuck-Hall (Lincoln, NE, 2009), 168–70; “Tomochichi to the Trustees,” 24 February 1735, Savannah, in Juricek, *Georgia Treaties*, 44.

66 Cameron B. Wesson, *Households and Hegemony: Early Creek Prestige Goods, Symbolic Capital, and Social Power* (Lincoln, NE, 2008), 35–37; Helms, *Ulysses’ Sail*, 18, 149–50.

67 Musgrove to Oglethorpe, 24 January 1735, in Juricek, *Georgia Treaties*, 44. Esoteric knowledge was also important to elites of the Mande of West Africa, Andean Incas, Guiana Highland peoples, and Yucatecan Mayas. See Helms, *Ulysses’ Sail*, 15–16, 41, 68–69, 151.

68 Cameron B. Wesson’s archaeological research shows that Southeastern elites’ ability to accumulate prestige goods declined in the late 1600s and early 1700s. Wesson, *Households*, 35–36, 127–34. For a slightly different interpretation, in which trade goods remained a “tool of hegemony” into the 1700s, see Steven Hahn, “The Mother of Necessity: Carolina, the Creek Indians, and the Making of a New Order in the American Southeast, 1670–1763,” in Ethridge and Hudson, *Transformation of the Southeastern Indians*, 114.

69 One exception may have been the Coweta war leader, Emperor Brims, who as “big chief” possessed a rare ability in the early 1700s to command authority over some Creeks on the Chattahoochee watershed. Hahn, *Invention*, 40–45.

70 Causton to Mackey, 10 April 1735, in Juricek, *Georgia Treaties*, 52–53; Hahn, *Invention*, 172–73.

71 Patrick Mackey to Thomas Causton, 27 March 1735, Coweta, in Juricek, *Georgia Treaties*, 48; Grantham, *Creation Myths*, 118; “Lower Creek ‘Migration Legend’ Talk to Savannah Leaders,” 11 June 1735, Savannah, in Juricek, *Georgia Treaties*, 55; Hahn, *Invention*, 172.

72 Ethridge, *Chicaza*, 12, 14.

73 Hahn, “Cussita,” 78; Hall, *Zamumo’s Gifts*, 150–54.

74 “Lower Creek ‘Migration Legend,’” 11 June 1735, in Juricek, *Georgia Treaties*, 54, 368n26; Hall, *Zamumo’s Gifts*, 150, 153. Juricek argues that Brims appointed his two sons, Chekilli and Malatchi, to succeed him, which replaced the matrilineal customs of Muscogean people with patrilineal inheritance. Tooanahowi was the son of a daughter of Senauki, Tomochichi’s wife, meaning that Tomochichi was his step-grandfather. Tooanahowi, then, was to inherit the miccoship of a matrilineage, which may have given him legitimacy in the eyes of the Creeks in attendance. See Juricek, *Colonial Georgia*, 52–53, 323–24. O’Brien (Choctaws, 33) argues that a principle of hereditary succession was still at work in the early eighteenth-century Choctaw confederation.

75 William Stephens, 13 December 1737, Savannah, in Juricek, *Georgia Treaties*, 86; Sweet, “Real Tomochichi,” 168–69; Juricek, *Colonial Georgia*, 100–103.

76 Saunt, *New Order*, 46–51; Tom Hatley, “Cherokee Women Farmers Hold Their Ground,” in Waselkov, Wood, and Hatley, *Powhatan’s Mantle*, 324; James Taylor Carson, “Horses and the Economy and Culture of the Choctaw Indians, 1690–1840,” *Ethnohistory* 42, no. 3 (1995): 495–513. Carson contends that horses brought on “an evolution, rather than a revolution, of lifestyle” among the Choctaws, who used them to preserve as much as alter cultural traditions. Similar to the Choctaws, Tomochichi may have been using European animals to preserve Mississippian ruling traditions, though we lack hard evidence that he actually did so.

77 Verelst to Stephens, 14 December 1741, and Verelst to Stephens, 11 June 1742, in *The Colonial Records of the State of Georgia: Trustees’ Letter Book, 1738–1745*, ed. Kenneth Coleman and Milton Ready (Athens, GA, 1985), 30: 226–27, 247.

78 Pauketat, *Cahokia*, 47, 99–118, 124–25; Ethridge, *Chicaza*, 79–81.

79 Helms, *Ulysses’ Sail*, 149–50, 207; Wesson, *Households*, 35–37.

80 19 August 1734, in McPherson, *Journal of the Earl of Egmont*, 61–62.

81 The swan was (and is) a royal bird. The British Crown owned any unmarked mute swans inhabiting open water, or it could relinquish this prerogative to other nobles. I thank Fred Anderson for bringing this to my attention. See Official Website of the British Monarchy, [www.royal.gov.uk/RoyalEventsandCeremonies/SwanUpping/SwanUpping.aspx](http://www.royal.gov.uk/RoyalEventsandCeremonies/SwanUpping/SwanUpping.aspx) (accessed 20 November 2012).

82 Verelst to James Abercromby, Attorney General of South Carolina, 15 May 1735, Westminster, in Coleman and Ready, *Colonial Records*, 29:57; Verelst to Causton, 11 August 1737, Westminster, in Coleman and Ready, *Colonial Records*, 29: 216; Verelst to Causton, 23 March 1737, Westminster, in Coleman and Ready, *Colonial Records*, 29: 178; Palace Court, Friday 10 October 1735, in Allen D. Candler, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia*, vol. 1 (Atlanta, GA, 1904), 234.

83 John Wesley, 14 February 1736, in Juriceck, *Georgia Treaties*, 59–60.

84 Von Reck wrote that Creeks “immediately divide the presents among themselves,” in Detailed Report on the Salzburger Emigrants who Settled in America, vol. 1, ed. George Fenwick Jones (Athens, GA, 1972), 144.

85 Salotte also attempted to strike Senauki with a red-hot firebrand, but “narrowly missed her.” Thomas Christie speculated that Salotte may have been a Choctaw and part of Red Shoes’s Choctaw delegation to Savannah in the 1730s. “Thomas Christie to the Trustees,” 19 March 1735, in Juricek, *Georgia Treaties*, 45.

86 4 July 1738, in Allen D. Candler, *Colonial Records: Stephens’ Journal, 1737–1740*, vol. 4 (Atlanta, GA, 1906), 166; Boltzius and Gronau, “Daily Register,” 15 January 1737, in Detailed Reports on the Salzburger Emigrants who Settled in America, vol. 4, ed. and trans. George Fenwick Jones and Renate Wilson (1737; Athens, GA, 1976), 6–7; see Sweet, “Real Tomochichi,” 168–69, for other land sales.

87 Hall, Zamumo’s Goods, 152–67; Ethridge, Chicaza.

88 Worth, “Spanish Missions,” 39, 45, 61–64.

89 Martha W. McCartney, “Cockacoeske, Queen of Pamunkey: Diplomat and Suzeraine,” in Waselkov, Wood, and Hatley, *Powhatan’s Mantle*, 243–66, esp. 243–53, 259–60. The Chickahominy and Rappahannocks, however, remained autonomous throughout her reign.

90 Cohen, “Was there an Amerindian Atlantic?”; James H. Merrell, *The Indians’ New World: Catawbas and Their Neighbors from European Contact through the Era of Removal* (1989; Chapel Hill, NC, 2009), xiii. See, too, Juliana Barr, “Beyond the ‘Atlantic World’: Early American History as Viewed from the West,” *OAH Magazine of History* 25, no. 1 (2011): 13–18, esp. 13–15.

91 Nicholas, “Water-Voyaging Indians”; Weaver, “Red Atlantic,” 456. Daniel K. Richter, too, finds a central role for native people in the early modern Atlantic system. Europeans, Africans, and (Native) Americans were all “Atlanteans,” and they “found their uneasy places in a global British-dominated culture.” Richter, *Before the Revolution*, 7.

92 Ethridge, Chicaza, 3–5, 251–54; Weaver, “Red Atlantic,” 455–56.