

# The Sambo and Tawira Miskitu: The Colonial Origins and Geography of Intra-Miskitu Differentiation in Eastern Nicaragua and Honduras

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**Abstract.** Identity differentiation between the Sambo and Tawira Miskitu in eastern Nicaragua and northeastern Honduras is examined with respect to African integration, settlement geography, differential relations with British settlers and Spanish officials, neighboring Indians, and market economies for the period 1620 to 1790. Research draws from sixteen months of fieldwork in the Mosquitia from 1994–7 and documentary research among British, Spanish, Moravian church, Nicaraguan, and U.S. archival sources. Findings suggest that a salient yet paradoxically overlooked dynamic of Miskitu ethnohistory was the geographically circumscribed animosity between the Sambo and Tawira Miskitu.

Over the last three decades scholars have studied Miskitu ethnohistory through either structural or agency analysis. Structuralists put forth British colonialism, Moravian evangelism, and North American neocolonialism as the salient forces shaping Miskitu culture and society.<sup>1</sup> Other scholars emphasize the effective Miskitu adaptations to European culture contact,<sup>2</sup> or the Miskituization of colonial institutions, such as the Miskitu Kingdom.<sup>3</sup> Recently, Charles Hale has attempted to span these divided perspectives with what he calls a “Gramscian bridge.” Although Hale devotes only two paragraphs to the period before 1850, he argues that Miskitu cultural forms have incorporated “hegemonic premises” from Anglo actors and institutions in ways that entangle the usefulness of structural or agency analyses.<sup>4</sup> This article contends that making sense of Miskitu ethnohistory is still more complicated. In actuality, the “Miskitu” ethnic label did not designate a homogeneous population during the colonial and early national periods but rather two geographically distinct Miskitu groups, the Sambo Miskitu and the Tawira Miskitu. The sociopolitical interaction between

these groups significantly shaped the colonial context of the Mosquitia and, therefore, affected how exogenous forces interacted with and shaped the development of the larger Miskitu society. Comprehending the internal logic of particular behaviors underscoring and reproducing Sambo-Tawira differentiation provides a critical first step toward refining our understanding of Miskitu ethnohistory and ethnogenesis. While acknowledging the importance of structural impositions and accepting Miskitu skills at accommodating them, this article shows that a pivotal—yet critically overlooked—dimension of Miskitu society has been a dynamic and geographically configured tension between the Sambo and Tawira Miskitu.

Until Nicaragua completed its annexation of the Mosquitia in 1894, most scholars would agree that the formative developments shaping the east coast as a place and the Miskitu as a people involved the commercial activities and political influence of Anglo officials, settlers, and traders and, by the second half of the nineteenth century, Moravian missionaries and North American capitalists (Figure 1). Indeed, beginning with the settlement of nearby Providence Island by English colonists (1629–41), the English crowning of a Miskitu king (1631), and the political imposition of a British superintendency for the Mosquito Shore (1749–86) and continuing with the establishment of a British protectorate (1837–60) and political support for the Afro-Creole-dominated Mosquito Reserve (1860–94), Anglo political interventions have combined with an isthmus topography to effectively divide Nicaragua's mestizo, Hispanic, and Catholic west coast from its indigenous, Afro-Creole, and Protestant east coast. This historical framework, however, has become self-replicating in the literature and greatly underestimates the disjuncture between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries at the same time that it obscures the spatial differentiation and dissimilar political behaviors of two related but distinct Miskitu groups.

Following the integration of shipwrecked Africans near Cape Gracias a Dios in 1641, contemporaneous observers referred to two Miskitu-speaking peoples: “mulattoes,” later termed Sambo Miskitu, and “natives,” whom I designate with the Miskitu word *tawira*, or, straight hair. British and Spanish authors meticulously recorded this rhetorical duality in their correspondence, yet the Miskitu also inscribed their distinction in treaties and letters throughout the colonial period. In 1739, for example, representatives of the two Miskitu groups signed one treaty as “the Mosquito Nation both Samboes and Indians” and another in 1780 as “the two tribes of Mosquito Indians.”<sup>5</sup> In fact, ethnohistorical sources through the late nineteenth century—almost without exception—distinguished between the two Miskitu groups. Given the persistence of such a record it is



Figure 1. The Mosquitia. Author's drawing.

surprising that extant scholarship has either neglected or significantly misinterpreted the nature and effect of Sambo-Tawira discord.

Scholarship dealing with the ethnohistorical labeling of the Miskitu can be placed in three groups. The first group tacitly assumes that any variability among such historical terms as Sambo, Indian, mulatto, *mulato*, *zambo mosquito*, and *indio mosquito* reflected little more than expressions of period racism and were much more important to the naming party than to the Miskitu themselves.<sup>6</sup> A second and more historical viewpoint relying heavily on Spanish-language documents acknowledges an important distinction between the zambos mosquitos and the indios mosquitos, but the interpretation tends to reproduce the same partisan dispositions held by the original writers: the indios mosquitos were good (pro-Spanish), and the zambos mosquitos were bad (pro-British).<sup>7</sup> Nicaraguan historian Sofonías Salvatierra, for example, emphasized the English role in orchestrating the Miskitu Kingdom, which he called “La Dinastía Mulata,” and typically contrasted the zambos mosquitos with the “mosquito pacifistas” or Tawira. “In this way,” according to Salvatierra, “the English created a distinct politics between the pure Indians, whom they could not fully dominate, and the negros and mestizos, sambos and mulattos, whom they controlled completely.”<sup>8</sup> While this viewpoint is quite revealing, and not considered relevant from the first perspective, the group’s concern remains the coastal hegemony of the British, not Miskitu differentiation.

A third group acknowledges some consequential political disunity among Sambo and Tawira leadership during the eighteenth century, but authors do not elaborate this discord in terms of self-referential identity distinctions and implicitly assume that any differentiation disappears by the nineteenth century. In accordance with Salvatierra, authors in this camp surmise that British commissions associated with the Miskitu Kingdom created Miskitu differences, rather than reflecting an internal and preexisting Sambo-Tawira contrast.<sup>9</sup> Edmund Gordon, for example, writes that “there is little concrete evidence that the Miskitu differentiated among themselves on racial grounds, [but] it does seem that the terms the British used named political divisions the Miskitu recognized.”<sup>10</sup> In his works, Michael Olien has argued that most Sambo and Tawira leaders were related and, therefore, the varied lexicon in the historical record likely reflects little more than “stereotyped” ethnic differences.<sup>11</sup> Although Gordon emphasizes colonial structure while Olien stresses Miskitu agency, both authors would agree with William Sorsby’s statement that while there may have been political divisions among Miskitu leadership, the Sambo and Tawira were “culturally and linguistically one.”<sup>12</sup> In general, this group’s concern has been competitive differences among Miskitu leaders; these au-

thors do not examine social processes or historical events through the lens of Miskitu differentiation.

While the Sambo and Tawira Miskitu may have shared a common language and a similar culture, this does not preclude the possibility that they maintained self-referential and distinguishing identity categories that divided them in other ways. While it is clear that British commissions augmented Miskitu differences, even within Sambo and Tawira communities, I will show that the divided geographic and political jurisdictions of the Miskitu Kingdom preexisted the advent of nonkingly commissions and, in fact, required the British to commission other leaders against their own wishes to establish a Miskitu hierarchy with the king at the top.<sup>13</sup>

Uncovering the role of perceived racial differences in the construction of distinct Sambo-Tawira identities is complicated. On the one hand, there is evidence that many Sambo Miskitu were “pure Indians” and that at least a few prominent Tawira Miskitu were of mixed race.<sup>14</sup> On the other hand, the Miskitu—and especially the Sambo—considered themselves non-Indian in the sense that “Indians” were subject to enslavement, a notable switch from the present-day Miskitu discourse. For this reason the Sambo often insisted on the suffix *men*, as in the self-ascriptor Mosquitomen, because they had begun to see themselves and the Miskitu “nation” in connection with the terminology and ideology characterizing the nations of Englishmen, Dutchmen, Frenchmen, and Scotsmen with whom they interacted.<sup>15</sup>

It is my opinion that during the colonial period Miskitu differentiation was fundamentally tied to a distinct settlement geography, competing Anglo-Spanish colonial ambitions, disparate Miskitu experiences with Christian evangelism, unequal acceptance of British settlers, unique relations to neighboring Indians, subtly distinct market relations tied to particular subsistence options, the nesting sites of the hawksbill turtle, and Sambo attempts to exert political authority over the Tawira within the Miskitu polity. Despite my focus on externality, I will show that many of the exogenous forces actually accommodated and reflected Sambo-Tawira contrasts. Colonial impositions did not unilaterally generate unique Sambo-Tawira identities but instead mutually interacted with Sambo and Tawira identity politics.

### Sambo and Tawira

This article seeks to reopen a dialogue about the processes forming a Miskitu identity by focusing on the origins and geographic foundation of Miskitu differentiation until 1790. Ideally this essay could simply discuss

the formation of Miskitu identity and include Sambo-Tawira dynamics as one salient theme among several. This objective cannot be readily accomplished, however, because scholars have not accepted that Sambo-Tawira differences constitute a relevant dimension of Miskitu ethnohistory. Indeed, I have just suggested that most scholars would consider a Sambo-Tawira distinction insignificant, especially as a factor shaping Miskitu political behavior in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Before getting to my task, then, I will establish that Sambo-Tawira differences matter and that they have affected Miskitu identity and political processes up to the present day.

By way of introduction, I submit the narrative of a Sambo Miskitu elder as it was recorded by the Moravian missionary Heinrich Ziock in 1893. The elder relates a 1790–1 civil war between the Sambo Miskitu, led by King George II, and the Tawira Miskitu, led by Governor Colvil Briton, also known as Don Carlos. These Sambo-Tawira hostilities occurred less than five years after 500 British settlers and their 1,700 African slaves formally evacuated the Mosquitia, suggesting the timing was not coincidental. Ongoing disputes between the Sambo and Tawira had characterized the politics of the Miskitu Kingdom even before Jamaican officials began commissioning regional Miskitu leaders with nonking titles such as governor, general, and admiral in the early eighteenth century. The geographic dimension of this conflict—establishing the Sambo in the north and the Tawira in the south—intensified after a smallpox epidemic swept through Miskitu villages in 1727, shifting the balance of power within the nascent Miskitu Kingdom to the Sambo Miskitu. By the late eighteenth century, and within the context of increasing Tawira-Spanish friendship, Sambo-Tawira tensions led to a civil war in which the Sambo subordinated the Tawira and made them tributaries. By the late nineteenth century, with the formation of the Mosquito Reserve (1860–94), the Tawira reasserted their control of the Nicaraguan coast, yet significant Sambo-Tawira tensions remained salient and emerged just prior to and immediately following Nicaraguan incorporation of the reserve in 1894 (see Figure 1 inset).

As Ziock transcribed the elder's narrative, King George II belonged to the numerous "sambu tribe" of the Miskitu, while Don Carlos belonged to the "tribe" of Tawira Miskitu. Don Carlos, it is told, had recently gone to Cartagena where the Spaniards had hailed him as the legitimate Miskitu king. When Don Carlos returned to his home at Twappi he brought with him several Spanish people, including two priests. Irate, King George II invited Don Carlos to his home on the Rio Wangki, where he executed his rival on the spot. This prompted two of Carlos's relatives, Admiral Alparis and Sulliar, to exact revenge on the Sambo. Accordingly, Sulliar went

“immediately to the tribes of the Tawira Indians which live around Twappi and further inland” on the Nicaraguan savannas. As a group, the Tawira set upon the Sambo village of Awastara, where they tied all the men to the largest house and set the structure aflame. The Tawira next went to the Sambo village of Para, where this time they also killed the women and children. By the time the revenging Tawira reached the Rio Wangki, King George II and his most feared warrior, Swapni, had already escaped to Cape Gracias a Dios. With the element of surprise gone, Tawira motivation waned. Meanwhile, King George II called together “the tribes of the Sambu Indians,” to which he and Swapni belonged. War raged between the Tawira and the Sambo, and “everywhere the Tawira were defeated.” Surrounded at his house by Sambo troops, Alparis killed himself and his wife. The Sambo then set upon the remaining Tawira at Pearl Lagoon, where Swapni killed Sulliar. With most of the Tawira leaders dead, King George II at first “gave the order to destroy all Tawira villages as well as all the Tawira people whether or not they had taken part in the mutiny.” Later, however, King George II “followed the advice of a top chief and kept part of the tribe alive to act as tributaries and slaves.” In 1892, according to missionary Ziock, many Sambo Miskitu still resented the king’s leniency and wished the Tawira had been completely destroyed.<sup>16</sup>

The narrative of the Sambo elder deviates slightly from the historical record, but the effect of Sambo-Tawira warfare is corroborated by an 1804 observer: “The Indian race of Mosquito men inhabited the coast from Blue Fields to Tibuppy [Twappi], under the orders of two of their own chiefs, called the Admiral and Governor. They were ever considered the best class of Mosquito men, from their industry and orderly disposition; but they were not liked by the Samboes, who some years ago . . . nearly extirpated the whole of them, burnt their dwellings, and hung their chiefs; by which this tribe has become almost extinct.”<sup>17</sup> These two accounts, one inscribed in Sambo memory and the other by a contemporary observer, beg at least two questions. What underscored such dramatic Sambo-Tawira hostility, especially if they were truly culturally and linguistically one, as most authors have accepted; and what became of the Tawira? The answer to the first question provides the motivation for this article, while the second question can be answered presently.

Following the elder’s testimony, Ziock contrasts the Sambo-Tawira tensions of the past with the intra-Miskitu political situation two years prior to the Nicaraguan incorporation of the Mosquito Reserve:

The above is one leaf of the bloody history of the Moskito during the heathen period. . . . [Yet] the seeds of hatred and hostilities have not

entirely disappeared. . . . between the Sambu-Indians, living at Sandy Bay, Dakura, Karata, Great River, and the Tawira-Indians, living in Para, Awastara, Twappi, Kukallaya and Yulu, there still exist small spats. . . . These are a harmless reminder of the old tribal opposition. However, in 1892 earlier enmities revealed themselves more fully. . . . The present chief of Moskito [the Mosquito Reserve], a very young man, who attained his position in January 1891, derives from Tawiras on his father's side. His mother is a Rama-Indian. . . . His origin from two lesser valued, in fact despised tribes of the land, made a part of the population disinclined to recognize his position, but finally they submitted. But decidedly bitter over his appointment were the Sambus who mainly lived in the Nicaraguan region of [the Mosquitia]. Actually, it was not their business who ruled in [the Mosquito Reserve], but . . . they believe they have a right to exercise a decisive opinion. They also knew what to do in order to be successful. They turned to Nicaragua where every complaint about Moskito, however unjust, will get a sympathetic hearing. A delegation . . . sent to Managua . . . vented its anger about the new Moskito chief, and hence received predictable Nicaraguan advice: that is to nominate an opposition king. Such a measure, it was speculated in Managua, would cause civil war in Moskito. . . .

In fact, a Sambu man, living in Krukira (which is a village in Moskito land) and a descendant of the old royal family on the Wangs river [Andrew Hendy of the Rio Wangki], was chosen as chief. . . . This rival made preparations to assume his proper rights. In his name came Wislat, the superior wita [chief] of the Sambus from Sandy Bay in Nicaragua to Twappi in [the Mosquito Reserve]. There he called together the Tawira witas from Twappi, Krukira, Bilwi, and Yulu and requested that they rise against the Moskito Chief and no longer pay taxes, otherwise he would lead a war against them and cut their hair, a shameful reference to the long, smooth Tawira hair. The mood in northern Moskito I learned of personally and heard the remark: "Why did [King George II] ever listen to that wita! If he had killed all the Tawiras, we would not have this problem now." . . . Thus it looked in the spring of 1892 very precarious; peace was seriously in question, civil war was at the door, even the very existence of the Moskito state was threatened.<sup>18</sup>

After Nicaragua incorporated the Mosquito Reserve in 1894, the national government elevated the Wangki (Sambo) leader, Andrew Hendy, to the honorary position of chief of the Miskitu. Hendy's symbolic au-



thority, however, was not accepted by the Tawira, and a movement to oust Hendy and reinstate the former king was led by Sam Pitts from the Tawira community of Yulu.<sup>19</sup> Social unrest among the Tawira lasted several years until Pitts was killed by Nicaraguan troops in 1907. Existing interpretations of the so-called Sam Pitts rebellion have held up Pitts as a symbol of Miskitu resistance to Nicaraguan rule.<sup>20</sup> Yet, if we examine the uprising more closely we find that Pitts and his Tawira followers of the savanna region were primarily protesting the elevation of a Sambo to the position of chief of the Miskitu. Meanwhile, Andrew Hendy and other Sambo Miskitu from the Rio Wangki and the north coast had not recognized the exiled Tawira king, Robert Henry Clarence, in the first place. In actuality, the Sam Pitts rebellion provides a well-known example of intra-Miskitu politics that has not only gone unrecognized as such, but typifies the kind of intra-Miskitu dynamics that have affected historical processes in the Mosquitia since the late seventeenth century.

Examining early twentieth-century Miskitu behavior in this light forces us to revisit Miskitu responses to Nicaraguan incorporation of the Mosquito Reserve, as well as the Mosquito Convention in which “Miskitu delegates” signed over their territory to Nicaragua. In my view, existing interpretations of this important episode have failed to consider that many of the delegates were in fact Sambo Miskitu, who harbored very different motivations from the Tawira for accepting Nicaraguan annexation of the reserve.<sup>21</sup> As we will see, although the Tawira played the Spanish off the British to achieve temporary gains against the Sambo in the second half of the eighteenth century, Nicaraguan incorporation of the Mosquito Reserve provided the Sambo the opportunity to play the Nicaraguans off Anglo, Creole, and Tawira pretensions to the east coast. While loyalties switched around during the two episodes, the salient and overlooked dimension of both developments was the geopolitical variation in Sambo and Tawira settlement and their distinct politics of identity.

The Mosquitia’s political geography always constituted and reflected Sambo-Tawira discord. The northern boundary of the Mosquito Reserve, a territorial entity formed by the Anglo-Nicaraguan Treaty of Managua in 1860 without Miskitu participation, actually codified the traditional boundary between the Sambo and the Tawira Miskitu (see Figures 1 and 3). Those Sambo Miskitu who lived in the reserve in the 1890s had, for the most part, moved there after the reserve was formed. Still, the overwhelming majority of the Sambo Miskitu in the late nineteenth century lived outside the reserve along the Rio Wangki (Coco) and had been living under nominal Nicaraguan sovereignty since the dissolution of the Federation of Central American States in 1838. Thus, most of the Sambo Miskitu, who

constituted the majority of all Miskitu circa 1890, had long been alienated from the politics of the Mosquito Reserve. Therefore, to make categorical statements about a single Miskitu response to Nicaraguan incorporation of the Mosquito Reserve or to simply generalize about the Miskitu during the colonial period gravely misrepresents the unique Sambo-Tawira historical and geographical experiences, as well as their particular motivations for pursuing specific political positions.

Did the death of Sam Pitts put an end to Sambo-Tawira tensions? During the 1990s, several Miskitu told me that factional Miskitu resistance to the Sandinistas during the 1980s reflected a varied form of Sambo-Tawira tensions. That is, apparently ideological disputes between the two preeminent Miskitu leaders, Stedman Fagoth and Brooklyn Rivera, actually built upon and expressed deep-rooted geopolitical and interethnic differences. Although this claim has not been seriously investigated, my conversations with Miskitu people between 1994 and 1997 attest that the Wangki Miskitu view themselves as better educated and more worthy of governmental positions in Puerto Cabezas, and they look down upon the Tawira Miskitu of the savannas.<sup>22</sup> This contemporary contraposition between the Tawira Miskitu of the savannas and the Miskitu of the Rio Wangki and Sandy Bay in northeastern Nicaragua is also reflected in competing land claims that extend back to the first quarter of the twentieth century.<sup>23</sup> Still, a current Nicaraguan political economy that marginalizes all Costeños tends to shroud the significance of this intraethnic geography at the same time that it unifies and strengthens a shared Miskitu identity.

### Proto-Miskitu

Most authors maintain that the Miskitu are a historic people originating from the crossing of shipwrecked Africans with native coastal people generally assumed to be one of the Sumu (Mayangna) groups: Twahka, Panamahka, Tungla, Kukra, or Ulwa.<sup>24</sup> Conzemius, for example, considered the Miskitu “a hybrid colony” derived from the crossing of Africans with a Sumu group he called the Bawihka.<sup>25</sup> Troy Floyd considered the Miskitu to be “transformed Sumus” and therefore considered the Tawira Miskitu to be *caribes*, or Sumu Indians. Floyd’s erroneous view was accepted by Robert Naylor and Gregorio Smutko, a development leading to several misinterpretations of the historical record.<sup>26</sup> Several influential publications by Mary Helms considered the Miskitu to be a racially mixed Indian and Afro-American “colonial tribe” that over time became identified more as Indian than African only after the coastal Afro-Caribbeans known as Creoles became a significant population group in their own right.<sup>27</sup> Linda New-

son put it this way: “There are no documentary references to the Mosquito in the early colonial period, and it would appear that they emerged from the mid-seventeenth century onward.”<sup>28</sup>

Although I will show that the descriptor *Miskitu* initially referred only to those people of mixed African-Amerindian descent, some two thousand to five thousand Miskitu-speaking Amerindians likely lived in small settlements between the Caratasca Lagoon and the Rio Wawa, and along the lower Rio Wangki as high as Saklin by the end of the fifteenth century (Figure 2). These proto-Miskitu Amerindians spoke a distinct language from neighboring Mayangna groups within the Misumalpan language family, and today many linguists believe that the Miskitu language separated from its closest Mayangna relative some four hundred years before Europeans arrived.<sup>29</sup> The unfounded assumption that an entire Miskitu cultural way of life emerged historically after the mid-seventeenth century, and in direct response to a colonial political economy, has caused many scholars to grant widespread powers of change to European influence. In fact, while both the Sambo and Tawira negotiated foreign ideologies and material culture, they maintained strong cultural traditions, which included shamanic prophecy in hunting and raiding, marine turtling, social obligations, matrilocality, rules regulating ownership and exchange, and gendered subsistence activities that rejected many available exotics such as rice until the late nineteenth century.

In addition to accounts of Columbus’s fourth voyage along the Mosquitia in 1502, two separate aspects of Miskitu oral tradition suggest that Miskitu-speaking Amerindians resided around the Cape Gracias region circa 1500.<sup>30</sup> First, many Miskitu residents of the Rio Wangki today relate that the Rio Kruta community of Auka corresponds with the ancient homeland of the Ra people, who are considered mythical ancestors of the Miskitu. Second, the oral traditions recorded in the “story of Miskut” suggest that the Rio Kruta area corresponded with the ancient Miskitu homeland. As first scribed by Adolfo Vaughan, Miskut was a famous warrior who led his people to Cape Gracias, then called *Sitawala* (lagoon of oysters), around the time of European contact.<sup>31</sup> After Miskut’s death the people divided into three groups: one moved up the Rio Wangki, the second group stayed at Sitawala, and the third group went south. Those going south founded the communities of Bihmuna, Li Dakura and Uskirra (Sandy Bay), and Dakura.<sup>32</sup> As I will show, the story of Miskut broadly outlines Tawira Miskitu settlement changes following the arrival of Africans in 1641, as well as subsequent migrations following a smallpox epidemic and Sambo-Tawira political tensions in 1727.

Franciscan historical records confirm that Miskitu-speaking Amer-

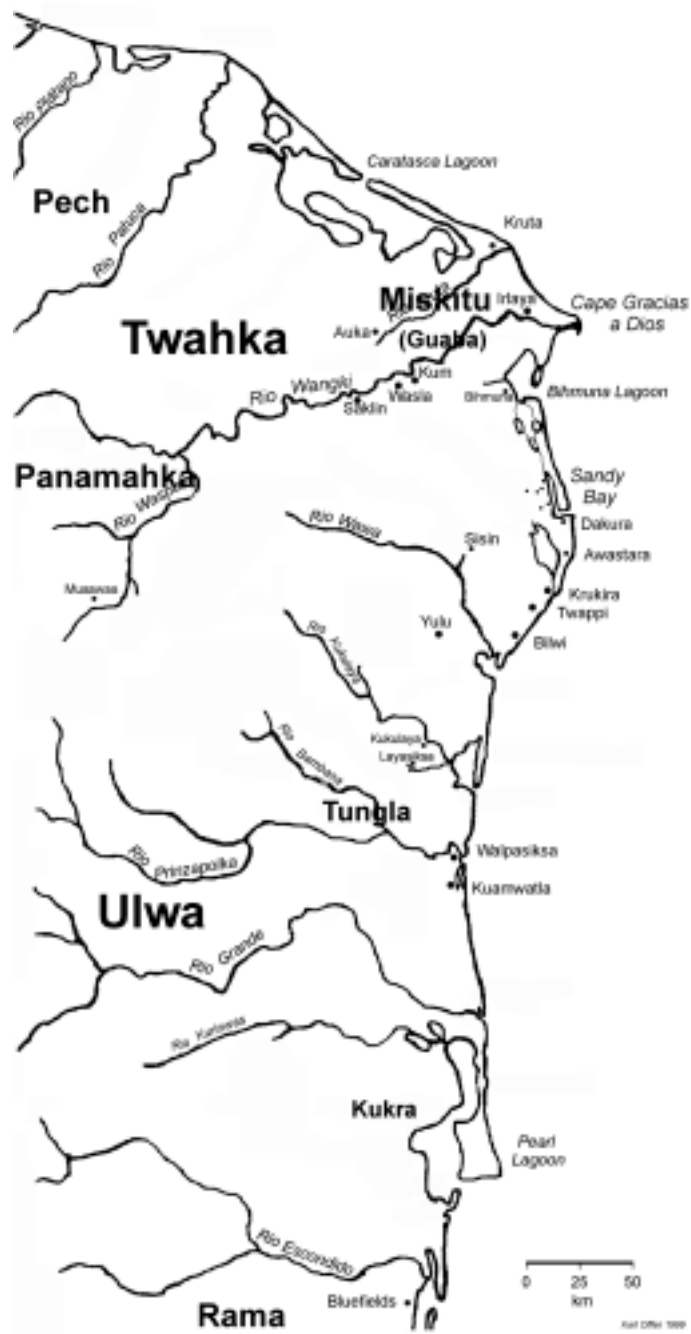


Figure 2. Mosquitia ethnic mosaic, circa 1600. Author's drawing.

indians inhabited the Cape Gracias region by the early historical period. Although the Franciscans made three attempts to settle the Amerindians of the northern Mosquitia during the seventeenth century, only the efforts of an Andalusian named Cristóbal Martínez to settle Pech and guaba Indians near Cape Gracias a Dios between 1616 and 1623 are relevant to the present discussion.<sup>33</sup> The only known account of Martínez's voyages resided with the "true original papers and authentic testimonies" consulted by the Franciscan chronicler Francisco Vázquez at the end of the seventeenth century. According to Vázquez, Martínez first set out from Trujillo for Cape Gracias in December 1616 accompanied by another friar, twenty soldiers, and Captain Juan de Padilla, "who was still living in 1671 and declared that which we relate here."<sup>34</sup> The boats wrecked on the outer reefs, however, and a second trip was attempted in 1619, but this group also wrecked. In reference to this latter voyage, Vázquez states that at Cape Gracias a Dios, "Martínez and other Spaniards remained captive among the heathen, [but Martínez] escaped with time while the others produced a caste of mestizos among the guaba Indians" (*hicieron casta de mestizos con indias de la nación guaba*).<sup>35</sup> Finally, after a year of successful work among the Pech in 1622, Martínez and two lay brothers sought to work among "a nation called guabas, mestizos, whom [the padres] had high hopes for because they were likely Spanish offspring." After receiving their request, the Honduran governor, Juan Miranda, sent a ship to carry the padres 30 leagues east to a stretch of coast termed "anavacas" or Caratasca. Here, according to Vázquez, Martínez baptized more than a thousand guaba Indians, but the missionaries were soon killed by a nation of Indians called *albatuinas*, one of the Miskitu words for the Twahka. The story of the guabas and the priests' deaths came from the converted Pech who escorted Governor Miranda to the priests' gravesite, some eight leagues inland near "great savannas" along the Rio Guani (Rio Wangki).<sup>36</sup>

Before affirming that the guaba were Miskitu-speaking Amerindians, it is worthwhile contemplating Vázquez's claim that shipwrecked Spaniards, possibly including Africans and mulattoes, remained among the guabas. In 1689, the Frenchman de Lussan noted that Cape Gracias "has been inhabited for a long time by mulattoes and negroes, both men and women. The population already numerous, has grown by leaps and bounds ever since a Spanish ship, out-bound for Guinea with a load of padres, was lost by coming too close in shore to land, the coast being dangerous in this locality. Those who escaped death by drowning were kindly received by the half-breed indians in the immediate vicinity who were happy over the loss of this ship and the Spaniards who were their enemies."<sup>37</sup> Meanwhile, the Englishman known only by his initials, M. W., described a simi-

lar situation in 1699: “the Mosqueto-men, about 60 years past, murder’d above 50 Spaniards, amongst whom were several friars who liv’d amongst them, some near *Cape Grace a Dios*, other some at *Guana-sound*, which is four leagues to the South of it, and the rest by the Brangmans.”<sup>38</sup> Ironically, despite the fact that two well-read buccaneer accounts suggest Spanish priests shipwrecked or resided at or around Cape Gracias a Dios and the fact that Vázquez explicitly states that Spanish people remained among the guaba Indians, the possibility that the Spaniards named Miskitu-speaking Amerindians guabas, or that the guabas had assimilated people of Spanish heritage before the English settled Providence Island has never received serious attention.

To confirm that Amerindians known as guabas do indeed correspond with proto-Miskitu people we need to understand whom the Spanish originally sought to settle. According to Vázquez, Taguzgalpa—or the Mosquitia—contained “more Indian tribes than hair on a deer.” Indeed, Vázquez stated that Taguzgalpa contained Indian tribes denoted by the pluralized names: xicaques, mexicanos, lencas, payas, jaras, taos, fantasmas, alaucas, limucas, aguncuales, yales, cuges, bocayes, tomayes, quicamas, motucas, barucas, taupanes, bucataguacas, tahuas, alhatuinas, panamacas, yguyales, guayaes, guaias, guanaes, gaulaes, apazinas, ytziles, nanaicas, “and many others.”<sup>39</sup> Historians have often repeated Vázquez’s list of Indian groups without comment to show that the Miskitu do not appear as an ethnic group during the colonial period. Yet, the singularized guaya, guaia, guana, and guaian—used elsewhere by Vázquez—almost certainly derive from the Mayangna word for the Miskitu people, *wayah* or *wayanh*.<sup>40</sup> Spanish use of the Mayangna word *guaian* is clarified by Fray Pedro de la Concepción in his 1699 account of an expedition along the upper Rio Wangki. Here, de la Concepción refers to “los Guaianes y mulattos,” “mulattos o sambos guaianes,” and an individual “Guaian Indian from the nation of guales” who had just attacked Nueva Segovia—an obvious reference to an attack later ascribed to the Miskitu. Moreover, de la Concepción states that the guaianes and mulattoes lived near the mouth of the Rio Wangki in eighteen villages, one of which was termed “guaba.” He also noted that the guaianes’ principal leader was called “Quin,” an early Spanish corruption of the word *king*.<sup>41</sup> There can be little doubt that the guaba Indians of Martinez’s account refer to Miskitu-speaking Amerindians.<sup>42</sup> In sum, Miskitu-speaking Amerindians probably lived near the Cape Gracias region throughout the sixteenth century and, in all probability, first mixed with the victims of one or more Spanish shipwrecks some twenty years before incorporating English-held Africans who had survived a similar fate.

### Semantics of Difference

Understanding the parlance of Miskitu variance in the historical record provides the key to examining the geography of Miskitu differentiation. Piecing together the naming system, however, is complicated by the fact that the word *Miskitu* is itself historical. Although toponymies of various spellings related to the word *Miskitu* appear by the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, English writers do not name the “Indians of the Cape” with the descriptor Miskitu until the 1670s. For their part, the Spanish first referred to the “zambos” in 1704, but this appellation was not widely dispersed until after 1711 when the Nicaraguan bishop Garret y Arloví described the origin of “the zambos called mosquitos.”<sup>43</sup> Although present-day Miskitu assert that they have always called themselves Miskitu, evidence suggests that northern Europeans ascribed a regional toponym to them and, initially, only to those Miskitu perceived to be of mixed African-Amerindian heritage.

Textual evidence suggests that Europeans ascribed to the Miskitu people a regional toponym primarily because the toponym appears in the historical record before the ethnic term.<sup>44</sup> The extant primary documents of the Providence Island Company (PIC) from the 1630s, for example, use a wide range of Miskitu cognates for area toponymies but do not associate these place names with the Miskitu-speaking Amerindians of the Cape Gracias region.<sup>45</sup> The 1631 “rutter” of Captain Daniel Elfryth, for example, provided detailed instructions for approaching “Cape muskeetoe” and “the musketoes,” or the Miskitu Cays located off Sandy Bay, but never associated these places with a people. In his diary, Nathaniel Butler calls the Miskitu Cays “the Mosquitoes” but only mentions the “Indians of the Cape” in the same context. Likewise, the author of William Jackson’s 1643 journal refers only to “ye Indians” at the Cape and “ye Musquitos, which are certaine little Islands.”<sup>46</sup> Even the 1678 English translation of Esquemelin’s Dutch account refers only to the “Indians of Gracias a Dios.”<sup>47</sup> Meanwhile, the first Spanish reference to the “zambo” implies that the name *mosquito* derives from the cays: “These Zambos have their origin from some Negros that shipwrecked many years ago at a group of Islands called Mosquitos that are immediately off the north coast.”<sup>48</sup> Although the toponym Miskitu appears in the historical record before the ethnic term, it is also possible that the place name originated from the Indian group or represents a corruption of an indigenous word. Indeed, the Miskitu verb “to fish,” *miskaia* (pronounced mis-ki-ya), provides a prominent example of an indigenous cognate.

Whatever the exact origin of the term, the ethnic label Miskitu first

designated only the mixed African-Amerindian Miskitu-speaking people and was only later ascribed to all Miskitu-speaking people. The Englishman Dampier, who visited the Mosquitia between 1679 and 1681, is the first direct observer to apply the name Miskitu to a people, yet he only ascribes the term to African-Amerindian descendants. He considered “the Moskitos” to be “a small Nation or Family, and not 100 Men of them in Number, inhabiting on the Main on the North-side, near Cape Gratia Dios.” This population would have been too small to include all Miskitu-language speakers in the 1680s because M. W.’s reliable figures from 1699 suggest upward of two thousand Miskitu speakers.<sup>49</sup> Dampier’s geographic specificity is confirmed in an accompanying map entitled “Map of the Middle Part of America,” which shows the “country of the Moskitos” comprising only a small area north of Cape Gracias. Dampier describes the Moskitos as having a “Copper-colour complexion,” but his writing implies that this “color coding” signifies a mixed group because he states that pirates always ask about a region’s inhabitants, “whether the major part are not Copper-colour’d, as Mulattoes, Mustesoos, or Indians.”<sup>50</sup>

It is not until the visit by M. W. in 1699 that English-language authors employed the descriptor Miskitu to represent both mulattoes and Indians. M. W. often distinguished between the “mulattoes” and “Indians,” but he also used the label “Mosquetomen” to refer to both parties.<sup>51</sup> Employing expressions such as “indios y zambos mosquitos” or “zambos y indios,” Spaniards also began distinguishing between the two groups no later than 1720.<sup>52</sup> Beginning in 1744, the first British superintendent for the Mosquito shore, Robert Hodgson, Sr., refers to “the native Indians,” but instead of using the word *mulatto* he employs the term *Sambo*. Like M. W., Hodgson refers to both the Sambo and the so-called natives separately but also uses the uniting descriptor “Mosquitomen”:

The Mosquito Shore extends from Cape Gracias a Dios to Great River 42 leagues southward, 12 of which viz. from the Cape to Sandy Bay, are inhabited by the Samboes, the other 30 by the native Indians; the said Shore extends likewise from the Cape to Black River 54 leagues, all which belongs to the Samboes, except [an] honors Guard (as they are called) of Indians at Brewers Lagoon and another at Black River. . . . The Samboes are about 500 fighting men, the native [Miskitu] Indians in all about 350. At the back of them both are several other small nations, some in commerce with the Mosquitomen, some with the Spaniards, others divided between them, both sides contending for their alliances. The Samboes are a race sprung from two ship loads of Negroes cast away about 90 years ago at the Cape and intermarry’d with the Indians, their friendship to the English is of about 70 years



standing; their fidelity to us is reckoned to exceed that of the Natives, as is their dexterity when rous'd. Both of them are fond of English goods, to procure which they make expeditions and voyages in the turtle season for shell; sometimes southward to St. Johns, Blanco, Bocca de Drago, Cocloo, and even to Darien formerly, sometimes westward to Truxillo, Dolco, the Bay of Honduras and formerly to and beyond Cape Colochó, but have partly desisted from their Western excursions, since one they made 17 years ago to Baccalo, where they took near 900 Indians, but paid dear for them by getting the small pox which has destroyed the better half of them.<sup>53</sup>

Hodgson's narrative illustrates four conventions that characterize the rhetorical foundation of most English-language texts. First, there are two groups of Miskitu people: the "Sambos" and the "natives" (Tawira). Second, when a distinction between the two groups is not important in narration, the descriptor "Mosquitomen" can be used for both groups. Third, the two groups inhabited distinct regions, the natives between Rio Grande and Sandy Bay on the Nicaraguan coast, and the Sambos from Sandy Bay to Black River on the Honduras coast. Fourth, Hodgson suggests that a 1727 smallpox epidemic—brought to the Mosquitia following a joint slave raid to Asención Bay on the east coast of the Yucatán Peninsula—aided a shift in the Miskitu population, producing a Sambo majority. Smallpox, known in Central America since 1529, as well as other Old World diseases, such as yellow fever and plague, may have disproportionately affected the Tawira due to a higher degree of African admixture among the Sambo.<sup>54</sup>

This nomenclature changes slightly during the nineteenth century. In 1808, when visiting Miskitu communities at Caratasca Lagoon, John Wright refers to his hosts as the "Samboe race of Mosquito men." Thomas Young, who also spent all his time along the north coast of Honduras between 1839 and 1842, refers only to the "Sambos, or Mosquitians."<sup>55</sup> Details from the Nicaraguan coast reveal a different picture. When describing the Miskitu from the Rio Grande to Twappi along the central Nicaraguan coast of the Mosquitia, Orlando Roberts refers to "genuine unmixed Indians," "unmixed breed," "pure Indians," and "Indians of pure blood." He uses the term "Samboes" only to describe those Miskitu who lived at Caratasca and Sandy Bay. However, when referring to all Miskitu speakers, he employs the term "Mosquito men," but at another point he clarifies his usage: "Mosquito men proper, or mixed breed of Samboes and Indians."<sup>56</sup> We can conclude that by the early 1800s, the expression "Mosquito men" implied one of two things: all Miskitu language speakers or, if the writer generated his experiences on the north coast, only those contemporaneously or formerly called "Sambos," the "Mosquito men proper."

Representative labels denoting Sambo-Tawira distinctions can be found also in language referencing “racial” traits and, in the twentieth century, Miskitu dialects. Early statements denoting racial differences between the “Sambos” and the “native Mosquitos” often base their distinction on hair type.<sup>57</sup> Indeed, the word *Tawira* is an indigenous hair-type signifier, through which the Tawira assigned to themselves, the Wangki (Sambo) Miskitu ascribed to them, and the Sambo Miskitu specifically rejected. For example, according to Charles Bell, the Miskitu “Indians call themselves Tangweeras [Tawiras] (straight-hair), to distinguish them from the half-breed Sambos, who speak the same language.” Likewise, Conzemius notes that the “native” Miskitu “call themselves Tawira ‘heavy haired’ in opposition to their curly-haired kindred of mixed blood, whom they designate derisively by the term ‘Priski’.”<sup>58</sup>

The geography of Miskitu language dialects, as they were recorded in the early twentieth century, reflects a combination of relative historical isolation between the Sambo and Tawira, as well as documented migrations by the Sambo Miskitu in the years 1860–5. In their work during the first quarter of the twentieth century, the ethnologists Conzemius and Heath discerned three to five geographically distinct Miskitu dialects, a spatial division that would be more or less recognized today.<sup>59</sup> The *kabo*, or sea, dialect was spoken along the coast south from Sandy Bay to the Rio Grande in places such as the Sambo-formed coastal communities of Karata, Wounta Haulover, Kiha, Wawa Bar, Prinzapolka, Sandy Bay Sirpi, and Tasbapauni. The *tawira* dialect was spoken inland from the kabo sites, at the back of lagoons at places like Kuamwatla, Layasiksa, Kukalaya, and Klingna and among the savanna communities of Yulu, Sisin, Ayuha Pihni, Tapamlaya, Taura, Wakala, Krukira, and Twappi, all of which are south of Sandy Bay and lie within the former Mosquito Reserve (see Figure 1). For Conzemius, the Miskitu around Pearl Lagoon and the Rio Grande spoke a *baldam* dialect, which was closely related to the Sambo *kabo* dialect spoken at Sandy Bay and Bihmuna Lagoon, a reflection of the notable southward migration of Sambo Miskitu from the north coast after 1860.<sup>60</sup> Both Heath and Conzemius used *wangki* for the Miskitu dialect spoken along the Rio Wangki and *mam* for the dialect spoken in Honduras.

Further obscuring the Sambo and Tawira geography of the colonial period is the fact that the Rio Wangki Miskitu of the twentieth century—formerly called Sambo in the historical record—often referred to the coastal Miskitu south of Sandy Bay as Tawira, a situation characterizing the pre-1860 geography only. For example, Conzemius noted that coastal Nicaraguan Miskitu were called Tawira by the Miskitu of the Rio Wangki and Honduras. He notes, however, that the coastal Sambo Miskitu “do not

accept this term, but call themselves *Miskito aihwa*, ‘true Miskito,’ although obviously of mixed blood.” Heath also noted that the Sambo inhabitants of the coast “call themselves ‘miskuto aingwa,’ true miskitos, though very obviously of partly African descent, and give the people further inland the name of Tawira.”<sup>61</sup> Note that both Heath and Conzemius assumed that the “genuine” Miskitu must be those whom they perceived to be racially “more indigenous,” the opposite of what the historical record suggests.

### Sambo-Tawira Geography

Following the integration of Africans into some Miskitu kinship networks, or *kaimka*, Miskitu society gradually partitioned into Sambo and Tawira domains (Figure 3). By the second half of the eighteenth century, the two domains each contained two districts overseen by leaders who received commissions from British officials. Together, the four districts constituted the geopolitical entity known as the Miskitu Kingdom (Figure 4). The Sambo domain contained the north coast (Honduras) district ruled by the general and the Wangki–Sandy Bay district headed by the king. The Tawira domain stretched south from Pabra Lagoon to Pearl Lagoon. Prior to the 1730s, however, the Tawira domain reached only to the Rio Wawa or the Rio Kukalaya and consisted of a single district headed by the governor. The smallpox epidemic in 1727 created a power struggle among the Sambo and the Tawira hierarchy, prompting a large-scale Tawira migration to the Rio Grande and the northern end of Pearl Lagoon. By 1760 this new Tawira area became a separate district overseen by a Tawira admiral, typically a close relative of the governor.<sup>62</sup>

While Olien has stated that the king received his commission from the Jamaican governor while other commissions emanated from the local superintendent, this was not the case in all periods.<sup>63</sup> There is evidence that the king could receive his commission from the superintendent, while the Jamaican governor also issued commissions to others. What is clear, however, is that no Sambo could be commissioned over a Tawira district or vice versa. Consider Superintendent Hodgson’s letter to the new Jamaican governor, William Trelawny, in 1772:

As your excellency has not been pleased to listen to what I wrote concerning the inferior Mosquito Commissions being issued in Jamaica, it is now in vain for me to do other wise then make the best of the Indians you have appointed. Frederic might perhaps as well, instead of his present commission, been appointed admiral in the [place] of the late Admiral Israel, who as well as all his people were Samboes: but I re-

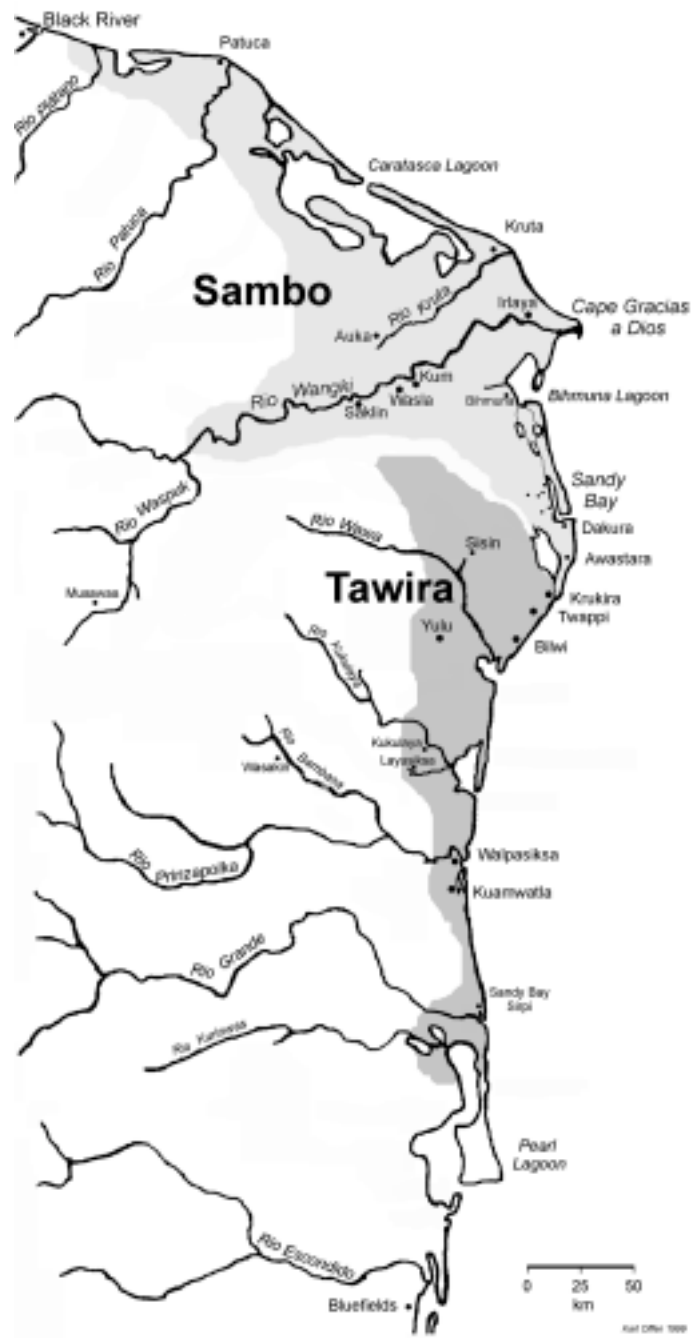


Figure 3. Sambo and Tawira domains, circa 1740. Author's drawing.

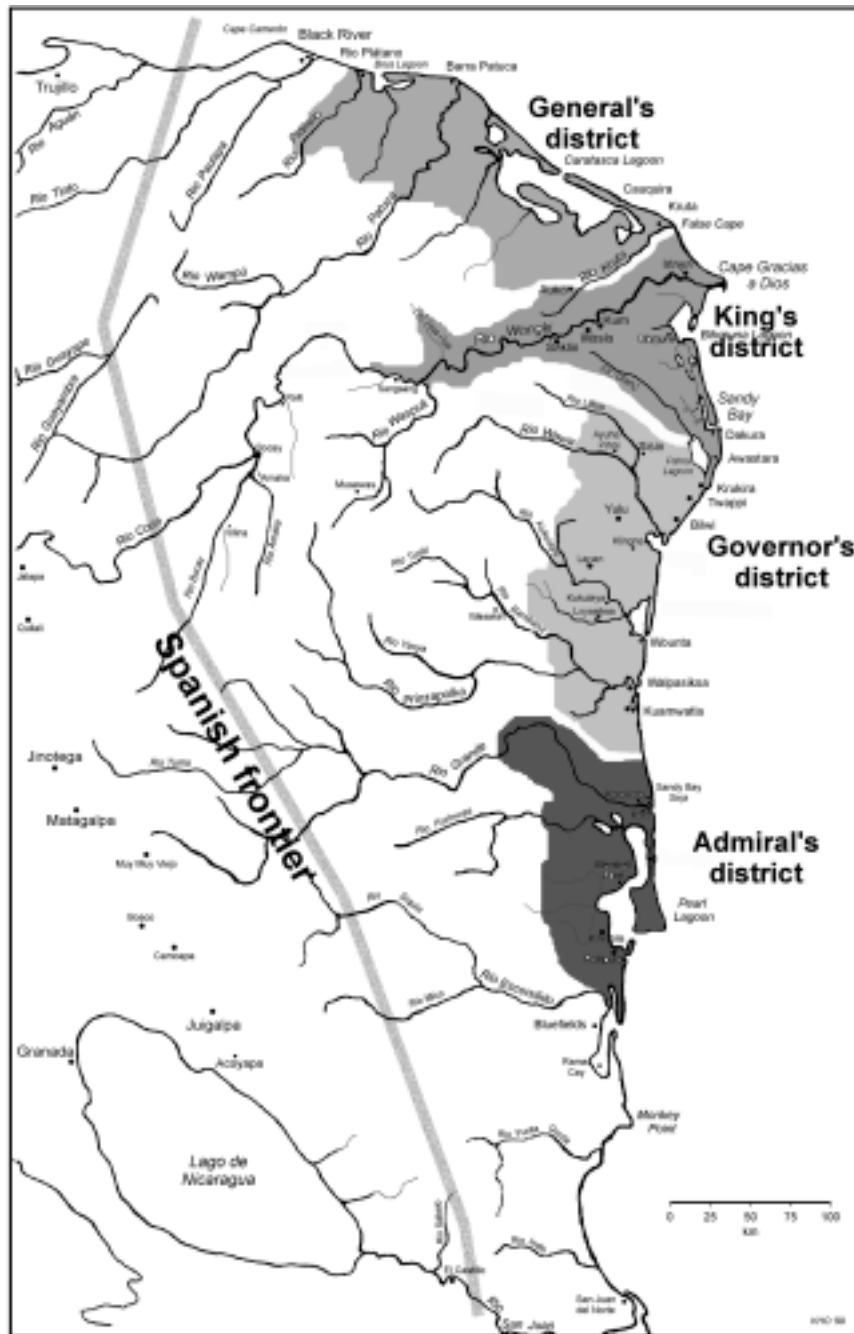


Figure 4. Four districts of the Miskitu Kingdom, circa 1760. Author's drawing.

joice at your Excellency's having been informed in time [since you just arrived] of the distinction between them and the original Indians, for if he had been appointed over the late Admiral Dilson's people, who are all of the latter sort [Tawira], it would have made great uneasiness.<sup>64</sup>

Despite the probability that the Miskitu first incorporated Spaniards into their society in the 1620s, the 1641 arrival of Africans likely provided the catalyst for the social construction of Sambo-Tawira difference. Whether these Africans were escaping servitude on their own or were in bondage at the time of their Mosquitia arrival cannot be known with certainty; however, variations in shipwreck stories specifying Dutch, Portuguese, Spanish, or even Danish ownership in years ranging from 1641 to 1652, or even later, do not imply that multiple ships actually reached the Mosquitia. Certainly, each contemporary observer only noted a single incident even if he referred to more than one ship.<sup>65</sup>

Meanwhile, other scholars have speculated that Africans arrived at the Mosquitia via land from Central America. In her work on the Providence Island colony, Kupperman shows that PIC settlers had one of the highest percentages of enslaved Africans of any English colony during the early seventeenth century. In accounting for this peculiarity, she reasons that Africans were being acquired below market value by Dutch privateers, with some possibly coming from the Mosquitia: "Some of the earliest slaves imported [to Providence Island] were bought at Cape Gracias a Dios for 'bills, lances, hatches, lances, beads, canvas clothes and shirts,' and knives. These commodities, staples of the Moskito Coast trade, indicate that the Africans may have been escapees from Spanish slavery captured and resold by the [Miskitu] Indians."<sup>66</sup> However Africans reached the Mosquitia, by 1671 Esquemelin noted that the "Indians of Cape Gracias" "have among them some few negroes, who serve them in the quality of slaves. These happened to arrive there, swimming, after shipwreck made upon that coast." He added that the Africans "live here in all respects according to the customs of their own country."<sup>67</sup>

In my view, four circumstances strongly suggest that African slaves escaped from Providence Island on their own when the Spaniards captured the island in 1641 and that they wrecked near the mouth of the Rio Kruta. First, Englishmen from the PIC spent a majority of their time on the isthmus near the Rio Kruta, probably with African accompaniment, in search of natural resources.<sup>68</sup> Such trips would have familiarized Africans with the sailing route to a known location at which they probably established contacts. Second, the Spanish captured Providence Island in September 1641, a good month for sailing and the most commonly reported year of the ship-

wreck.<sup>69</sup> Third, the first “mulatto” communities described in the historical record concentrated around the Rio Kruta. Finally, the Spanish found 381 Africans on the island in 1641, fewer than they expected, while investors claimed six hundred slaves had been lost.<sup>70</sup>

The integration of Africans into select Miskitu *kaimka*, or kinship groups, near the Rio Kruta eventually inspired some Miskitu to move west and south from the Cape Gracias region in response. Uring, for example, noted in 1711:

Some of [the native Miskitu people] have separated from the main Body . . . and gave this Reason for it; They said, that some People who were not of the ancient Inhabitants, but new Upstarts, were got into the Government, and behaved themselves with so much Pride and Insolence that they could not bear it, and therefore had separated from the main Body. They related the Matter thus: A Ship with Negroes by Accident was cast away on the Coast, and those who escaped drowning mixed among the Native Muscheto People, who intermarried with them, and begot a Race of Mulattoes, which were the People that Society could not brook should bear any kind of Command amongst them.<sup>71</sup>

In like manner, de Lussan implies that the “original inhabitants of Moustique” moved south “ten or twelve leagues to windward of Cape Gracias a Dios, at places known as Sambey and Sanibey [Sandy Bay]” for similar reasons, while primarily “mulattoes” resided at Cape Gracias.<sup>72</sup> Thus the origin of intra-Miskitu settlement differentiation is rooted in political differences created by the emergence of African leadership among select Miskitu *kaimka* located around the Rio Kruta and the lower Rio Wangki. It does not appear that Europeans played any direct role in fostering the initial processes of Miskitu self-differentiation.

By 1700, some seven hundred predominantly Sambo Miskitu lived between the Rio Kruta and Cape Camerón along the north coast of Honduras. By the 1720s, the north coast region was ruled by a Captain Hobby—a mulatto, “his Mother being a Negroe”—who reigned “like a prince, whom the people speak of and revere as a *gran señor*.”<sup>73</sup> In all probability Hobby was also a *sukia*, or shaman, and the district’s first commissioned general.<sup>74</sup> By the 1740s, British and Spanish commentators considered the entire north coast the domain of the Sambo Miskitu ruled by a General Handyside (1741–54), and they do not mention Tawira or mixed Miskitu communities again.<sup>75</sup> Meanwhile, Sambo Miskitu men also headed the Miskitu communities of the lower Rio Wangki by 1700. These Miskitu, especially those from Wasla and Kum, were closely related to the people of

the Sandy Bay communities, a human and political geography that established the Sambo at Sandy Bay by 1730.<sup>76</sup>

In contrast to the north coast and the Rio Wangki regions, from the times of Dampier in 1679, de Lussan in 1689, and M. W. in 1699 to Uring in 1712, there is no evidence of mixed or Sambo communities south of Cape Gracias a Dios. Indeed, M. W. describes numerous Miskitu Indian families at Sandy Bay and upon the savannas to the south, while Uring considered Sandy Bay “the greatest body of Muscheto Indians.”<sup>77</sup> However, following the smallpox epidemic in 1727, Sandy Bay is deemed the home of the Sambo Miskitu.<sup>78</sup> This important epidemic was apparently widespread, killing the last of the powerful Tawira kings, Jeremy II, and the Tawira governor Annaby (John Hannibal).<sup>79</sup> The succession of Peter, a Sambo, to the position of king in 1729 created social unrest around Sandy Bay and inspired the Tawira Miskitu from the area to move south, with some forming the Rio Grande and Pearl Lagoon settlements. This series of southern movements by the Tawira, first from Cape Gracias and second from Sandy Bay-Dakura, in response to Sambo political ascent within the emerging Miskitu Kingdom, dovetails closely with the Miskitu origin story associated with the leader Miskut. This new boundary, dividing the Sambo of the north from the Tawira of the south, at Pahra Lagoon was reified in textual sources after 1730 and, as stated above, served as the northern boundary for the Mosquito Reserve in 1860.

The formation of Tawira communities at the mouth of the Rio Grande and along the northern half of Pearl Lagoon eventually required British officials to commission a Tawira admiral for the southernmost district no later than 1740. Still, in 1757 Hodgson Jr. did not recognize the Tawira admiralty as separate from the governor’s southern district because he stated that the Miskitu polity was “not so properly a single state, as three united, each of which is nearly independent of the others.”<sup>80</sup> However, by 1766 British settlers stated that the Miskitu had four chiefs, the king, a general, a governor, and an admiral, “who govern independent of each other, and have their titles by hereditary right.”<sup>81</sup> Throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the only Sambo Miskitu living south of Sandy Bay did so in five “pueblecitos” at the southern end of Pearl Lagoon.<sup>82</sup>

### Kingdom Districts

While British commissions helped reify district-level boundaries among Miskitu leaders, I am suggesting that a Sambo-Tawira territoriality pre-existed all nonkingly commissions and in fact required the British to commission others after 1700. Nevertheless, the colonial processes in which



the districts developed gave them new meaning, especially in the context of political authority. We can get a sense of how this spatiality functioned by looking at the routes of passage associated with joint military campaigns and Sambo-Tawira Indian slaving.

During the initial phases of the Anglo-Spanish War of Jenkins Ear (1739–48), Robert Hodgson, Sr., sought the cooperation of Sambo king Edward and Tawira governor John Briton. After signing a treaty in which the two leaders allegedly ceded their country to Great Britain in exchange for protection, some 230 Sambo and Tawira Miskitu accompanied Hodgson on a military expedition up the Rio San Juan and farther south. The expedition ended in failure: the Tawira deserted the group in Costa Rica, while the Sambo refused to take orders.<sup>83</sup> This initial fiasco, however, paid dividends to the English by educating Hodgson as to the nature of Sambo-Tawira political geography.

In a subsequent expedition in the same year, Hodgson adjusted his strategy to reflect Sambo and Tawira territoriality as it existed in 1740. The new attack proceeded in three groups. Each group was led by its respective leader and ascended a river in its respective district. Thus, two hundred Tawira led by Governor Briton ascended the Rio Grande de Matagalpa; two hundred Sambo Miskitu along with one hundred Pech and possibly Twahka escorted General Handyside up the Rio Patuca; and Hodgson and King Edward ascended the Rio Wangki accompanied by some 220 Sambo Miskitu from Sandy Bay.<sup>84</sup> These same inland routes, within these same three districts, always provided access to these same respective Sambo and Tawira parties during military campaigns throughout the eighteenth century. In fact, despite numerous claims to the contrary in the historical literature, there is no evidence that the Sambo ever ascended the Rios Escondido or Grande on the south coast, while the Tawira never ascended the Rios Wangki or Patuca on the north coast. Joint Sambo-Tawira raids only occurred outside traditional Miskitu territories, such as along the Costa Rican and Panamanian coasts in the early 1700s, the Bay of Honduras, and supporting the British assault against El Castillo along the Rio San Juan in 1780.<sup>85</sup> Hodgson's 1740 recognition of, or resignation to, the reality of a Sambo-Tawira geopolitics henceforth informed Jamaican policies throughout the remainder of the British superintendency.

The evolution of Sambo and Tawira slaving exhibits distinct Sambo-Tawira characteristics over space and time (Table 1). In the first quarter of the eighteenth century, the Tawira of the Nicaraguan savannas gathered at the governor's residence and traveled as a group to meet with Sambo leaders to plan individual or joint assaults. Ritual drinking gave sukias the ability to foretell successes and suggest strategies, a practice implying that

Table I. Characteristics of Miskitu slaving in four periods

Period	Characteristics
I. pre-1690	possible reciprocal slaving with neighboring Indians; accompanying pirate assaults throughout the Americas;
II. 1691–1741	slaving assaults against Spanish <i>reducciones</i> ; with end of War of Spanish Succession (1712) switch to “wild” or non-Christian Indians; Tawira raiding in Costa Rica, Chontales, and Matagalpa; Sambo raiding in Nueva Segovia and Honduras; slave ventures coordinated through meetings of Sambo and Tawira leaders and overseen by prophetic shamans;
III. 1742–89	formal outlawing of Indian slave trade in British colonies; compliance nominal among British settlers in the Mosquitia; Sambo begin to only take slaves from Spanish towns during times of Anglo-Spanish conflict; Sambo do not enslave the Twahka or Panamahka; Tawira continue to enslave neighboring Ulwa, Kukra, and Rama Indians throughout the year while slaving against Indians in Costa Rica and Panama during the hawksbill turtle season (May–September);
IV. 1790–1830	British evacuation produces need for alternative revenue sources; Sambo Miskitu regularize tributary system over neighboring Indians, including the Tawira; more desperate and less successful slaving by the Tawira.

many planned assaults may have been called off. Such preliminary ceremonies continued throughout the colonial period, even when Miskitu mercenaries accompanied British expeditions.<sup>86</sup>

In general, the record of Miskitu slaving does not live up to the claims made in the literature. For example, during period II (1691–1741), I have found that the Miskitu only retained baptized Indian or mulatto slaves after Jamaican traders refused to purchase them. Moreover, the Twahka of the Rio Patuca also attacked Spanish towns and traded captured slaves to the Sambo, yet the record always attributes such attacks to the Miskitu. For example, recounting her 1704 abduction from Nueva Segovia, Micaela Gómez, a “mulata libre,” noted that her Twahka captors took her via the Rio Patuca and then to a Sambo pueblo near the Caratasca Lagoon, where she remained a slave for approximately ten years. Micaela stated that English traders would not purchase Christian Indians or mulattos and that is

why they never took her.<sup>87</sup> Micaela's release, along with the known Miskitu pardoning of several individuals the Spanish referred to as *negros* or *mulatos*, suggests that Miskitu slaving was much more complicated and discriminating than is generally thought.<sup>88</sup>

After the Indian slave trade was officially outlawed in British colonies in 1741, the Sambo limited their slaving to military assaults on Spanish towns during times of Anglo-Spanish conflict.<sup>89</sup> In fact, throughout the colonial period, the Sambo maintained relatively amicable relations with the Ulwa, Kukra, and Rama, who lived distinctly south of their domain, and preferred to establish hierarchical trade or tributary relations with the upland Twahka and Pech.<sup>90</sup> In contrast, the Tawira of the Rio Grande asserted their political and military dominance over the Ulwa, but at the same time they did not assert any authority over the Twahka or the Panamahka, whom they considered "mountain Indians, living in the interior of the country" and not residing under their control.<sup>91</sup>

Throughout the superintendency, symbolic Miskitu interactions with the British and the Spanish revolved around negotiating political authority over specific spaces. From Hodgson's initial treaty in which the Miskitu signed away "their Country" and the commissioning of leaders to oversee specific districts, to Tawira treaties with Spain that fostered mutually recognizable boundaries, the Miskitu continually interacted with figurative and actualizing characterizations of a territorially defined Miskitu Kingdom. Yet, these constructions of space were not simply rhetorical or textual: both the Sambo and the Tawira instituted and negotiated their meanings in everyday life. Indeed, commissioned Miskitu leaders toured their districts, taxed British settlers and upland Indians within their specific districts, regulated contraband trade through their districts, granted land and resource concessions in ways that expanded the range of their political jurisdictions, subverted resource acquisition by British settlers if concessions were not properly acquired, established distinct but always hierarchical relations with upland Indians within their districts, and managed feral cattle herds with particular district considerations in mind.<sup>92</sup> Extant interpretations of the Miskitu Kingdom have not fully explored the manner in which unique district affiliations and practices, yet similar Miskitu notions of political authority, gave real and significant meaning to a territorially constituted, yet internally divisive, Miskitu polity.

### Politics and Geography

The Sambo and the Tawira Miskitu established different relations with the British, the Spanish, neighboring Indians, and regional economies during

the second half of the eighteenth century—a historical development inseparable from their distinct settlement geographies. The concentration of British settlers at Black River and their unique desire to establish a formal colony based on plantation agriculture, resource extraction, and peaceful trade with the Spanish encouraged the Sambo of the north coast to orient their activities to the west and inculcated the Sambo with a particular notion of Anglo culture. Likewise, evidence also suggests that north coast settlers considered the Sambo more loyal than the Tawira to their interests. In contrast, British settlers on the south coast were often not of English or Protestant heritage, flaunted their independence from the British superintendent at Black River, and maintained direct ties to merchants in Jamaica and St. Andrews (San Andrés). Those south coast settlers allied with the Tawira and encouraged them to capture the neighboring Ulwa, Kukra, and Rama and sell them for slaves. In contrast, those settlers allied with the small Sambo colony at Pearl Lagoon relied heavily on the Kukra to transport goods to the Spanish in Chontales and Matagalpa and sought to end Tawira slaving.

Throughout the superintendency, more than 60 percent of all British settlers and their African slaves, as well as numerous free people of color, resided at Black River. Black River lay at the western edge of the general's district, and no Miskitu or free Amerindians resided there on a permanent basis. The economic activities of these settlers focused on the extraction of natural resources, such as mahogany and sarsaparilla, raising cattle, attempting to cultivate export crops, such as sugar and cotton, and conducting illicit trade with the Spanish via Sonaguera and Trujillo.<sup>93</sup> The concentration of British settlers encouraged the Sambo to raise large herds of stock on the savanna lands between the Rios Patuca and Wangki. They acquired many of their cattle originally from the Twahka who, in turn, had acquired them from the Spaniards in the Olancho Valley.<sup>94</sup> A significant reliance on cattle encouraged the Sambo to establish amicable relations with the Twahka for foodstuffs and other goods.<sup>95</sup> Despite the ubiquitous belief in the secondary literature that the Miskitu enslaved all the Mayangna when given the chance, I have found that the north coast and Rio Wangki Sambo did not enslave the Twahka or Panamahka.<sup>96</sup>

North coast Sambo experiences with Anglo culture diverged from the Tawira on the south coast. This is perhaps nowhere more visible than in Sambo exposure to Christianity. From the beginning of the Black River colony the Jamaican governor sought missionaries from the Society for Propagating the Gospel (SPG) in order to civilize the Miskitu.<sup>97</sup> All told, between 1742 and 1785, five SPG missionaries, exclusive of day school teachers, evangelized among the north coast Sambo Miskitu and the free people

of color at Black River. One missionary, the German Moravian Frederic Post, lived on the north coast for eighteen years and had a strong influence among the Sambo leadership, especially King George I (1755–76), his son King George II (1777–1800), and General Tempest (1764–85).<sup>98</sup> In 1773, Reverend Warren baptized the three sons of King George I and the children of several other Sambo headmen at Sandy Bay. Warren also baptized King George I and his wife on a ship en route to Jamaica. Following the death of King George I in 1776, Post crowned and baptized King George II, initiating the relationship between the Miskitu monarchy and Christian ritual that held sway in the nineteenth century. Post also built a church in General Tempest's village at the mouth of the Rio Patuca and appears to have significantly influenced the general's entire family.<sup>99</sup> In 1796, several Englishmen considered General Tempest to have been "the most powerful Chief of the Mosquito Nation and the most adherent to the British Crown."<sup>100</sup> In contrast to the relatively successful influence of Christianity among Sambo leaders on the north coast and at Sandy Bay, there is no record of evangelism of any kind among the Tawira. The influence and nominal acceptance of Christianity within the colonial context of the superintendency moved the Sambo disproportionately closer to accepting Anglo suppositions at the same time it elevated their own self-importance within the Miskitu Kingdom, two developments that made subsequent Tawira overtures to the Spanish predictable and that much more intolerable to the Sambo.

British settlers on the Nicaraguan coast were relatively few, sparsely distributed, and typically of two types. The first type, exemplified by Robert Hodgson, Jr., and the Isle of Man trader Henry Corrin, resided at Bluefields. Both men relied heavily on African slaves for labor, maintained a close friendship with the isolated Sambo community at the southern edge of Pearl Lagoon—indeed, they had encouraged the settlement in the first place—and employed the so-called commerce Indians, or Kukra Sumu, to transport contraband goods to and from the Spanish in Chontales and Matagalpa.<sup>101</sup> Within this context, the Sambo maintained amicable relations with the Kukra and the Ulwa in the late eighteenth century.<sup>102</sup> In contrast, the Tawira despised both Hodgson Jr. and Corrin, the former because he likely killed Admiral Dilson I (Trelawny "Alparis" Dilson, 1760–70), the latter because he protested Tawira slaving and tried to circumvent Tawira political authority by appealing to the Sambo and the British superintendent.<sup>103</sup> The second kind of settler, typified by the Irish Catholic Colville Cairns, was strongly allied with the Tawira leadership, encouraged Tawira Indian slaving, did not establish plantations of any kind, and made most of their money from the hawksbill turtle shell economy based off Costa Rica.<sup>104</sup> Cairns, who resided at Twappi with the governor and de-

fected to the Spanish following the British evacuation, played an important role in warming the Tawira to the idea of Spanish friendship and protection vis-à-vis Sambo ascension and British impositions.

Divisions among settler interests and between the Sambo and Tawira increased greatly following the end of the Seven Years' War in 1763. By the end of the 1760s until the beginning of renewed Anglo-Spanish hostilities in 1779, a stable peace ushered in unprecedented prosperity for British settlers. During this period, British mahogany production doubled, while illicit trade with the Spanish flourished.<sup>105</sup> Such relative peace lowered the specter of a Spanish invasion and noticeably diminished Sambo and Tawira cooperation within the Miskitu Kingdom. Thus, within the context of increasing and disproportionate Anglo-Sambo fidelity, the king attempted to assert political authority over the Tawira. This move also reflected the enhanced commercial ambitions of Black River settlers, the British superintendent, and Jamaican officials for the expanding colony. Indeed, most of the coast's British residents increasingly viewed the Tawira as unenlightened rogues of a bygone era and actively promoted their subordination to the more cooperative Sambo.

### Tawira-Spanish Conjunctions

The Tawira response to increasing Anglo-Sambo friendship and Sambo political maneuvering within the Miskitu polity was to seek out stronger relations with the Spanish. These relations can be explored by looking at three historical conjunctions: 1769, 1775–6, and 1788–91. At each of these three historical moments Tawira diplomatic overtures to the Spanish sought three consistent arrangements: (1) to secure manufactured goods from the Spanish through exchanges of primary resources, (2) to receive training in European knowledge/power systems such as reading, writing, and religion, and (3) to be left alone while receiving special privileges and symbolic favors—many of the same things they had traditionally enjoyed from the British yet had seen slipping away due to preferential treatment toward the Sambo.

The first important Tawira-Spanish meeting occurred in 1769. After previous communications, Admiral Dilson I dispatched a commission to Cartago to negotiate a treaty granting the Tawira safe passage to hawksbill turtle grounds and greater access to Spanish markets. The seven-point agreement contained all of the above three elements and insisted that Admiral Dilson “who is an *Yndio Mosco* . . . be allowed to continue with this commission from the Royal Audiencia.”<sup>106</sup> After the treaty was sent to the capitán general of the Guatemalan audiencia, Pedro de Salazar, Salazar so-

licited advice from Spaniards who knew the region firsthand. Among those offering testimony was Luis Díez de Navarro. Díez de Navarro had trouble accepting the agreement because “the *Yndios Moscos* do not possess the necessary force to separate themselves from the English in this situation.” He went on to suggest, “If we knew that they were united with the Zambos, who are distinct from the Mosquitos [Tawira], and of distinct inclination (*de distinta parcialidad*), and more united and closer to the English,” then things might be different.<sup>107</sup> Tawira weakness vis-à-vis the Sambo was also recorded in the 1768 testimony of the Kukra leader Yarrince. Referring to the various strengths of the “zambos y moscos,” Yarrince stated that “both nations” used arms equally but that “the Zambos are greater in number than the Mosquitos, and that this nation is more valiant than the nation of Mosquitos.”<sup>108</sup> After accepting some of the treaty’s conditions, Salazar asked the Costa Rican governor Nava to establish whether “the sambos are united or not with the Mosquitos in their desire to shake off the yoke of the English, and if they are not united would the Mosquitos be capable of subjugating the sambos.”<sup>109</sup> This latter question answered itself when Admiral Dilson was killed immediately thereafter in March 1770.

Tawira overtures to the Spanish had occurred at a time when Superintendent Hodgson was in Jamaica. As word on the coast about the Tawira-Spanish agreement had spread, settlers rallied to have Hodgson recalled. Hodgson quickly returned to the coast and met with Dilson and likely had him killed. Before his death, Dilson claimed that he had done nothing wrong and pointed out that if the English could trade with the Spanish during times of peace, why couldn’t the Tawira? He also stated that his overtures had only intended to ensure Tawira access to the hawksbill turtle nesting sites off Costa Rica.<sup>110</sup> Although this is what he told the British, Governor Nava stated that the Tawira feared the English were planning to establish military sentries at each river mouth along the south coast.<sup>111</sup> To understand this episode, we must understand the annual migration patterns of the hawksbill turtle and the importance of the hawksbill turtle shell economy to Tawira social reproduction.

Of all the coastal economies, the trade in Carey, or the shell of the hawksbill turtle, was the most important to the Miskitu yet paradoxically is the least well understood. Some of the most generalized errors in Miskitu historiography revolve around the fact that authors have confused the green turtle, traditionally hunted for food at the Miskitu Cays off Cape Gracias during the dry season (February–May), with the hawksbill turtle, which was not eaten but taken only for its shell by the late 1600s at its feeding banks and nesting sites off Costa Rica and Panama (May–September). In fact the period when both turtles begin migrating en masse and converging

on their nesting sites south of the Rio San Juan once signaled the end of subsistence (green) turtling at the Miskitu Cays, not the beginning of what became called the (hawksbill) turtle season. Failure to delineate the distinct turtle ecologies has led some authors to assume that all Miskitu pursued green and hawksbill turtles with equal vigor in the same areas at the same time of the year; few things could be more misleading.<sup>112</sup> The historical record shows that it was the Tawira who excelled at, and had always attempted to control, the southern hawksbill trade, often pursuing the Indian slave trade on the side if carey production was low.<sup>113</sup>

There can be little doubt that the annual migration pattern of the sea turtles encouraged the Tawira to select the Rio Grande and Pearl Lagoon as colony sites in the first place. By the second half of the eighteenth century turtle populations had declined and disproportionately affected the Tawira. Meanwhile, increased competition from turtlers originating from Panama, Colombia, Jamaica, and the Cayman Islands also affected the Tawira trade in carey. By choosing to reside outside their traditional homeland, and at the same time maintaining hostile relations with neighboring Ulwa and Kukra Indians, the Tawira of the Rio Grande and northern Pearl Lagoon established a precarious subsistence economy that required them to rely more substantially on the carey and Indian slave trade than either the Tawira of the governor's district or the Sambo of the Rio Wangki and north coast. The admiral's overtures to the Spanish make sense when viewed in the context of the region's political ecology.<sup>114</sup>

In 1775, King George I did two things to demonstrate his assumed control of the Miskitu Kingdom and to initiate the second Spanish-Tawira conjuncture. First, the king issued a large and unprecedented land grant along the Rio Grande in the district of the Tawira admiral Dilson II (Alparis Tylas Dilson, 1772–91) to an Englishman named John Bourke, who intended to establish a large sugar plantation.<sup>115</sup> Although different Miskitu leaders had issued land grants prior to this moment, they had always done so on the margins of their own respective districts where no Miskitu communities resided. The king's move constitutes the first time a Sambo had issued a grant in Tawira domains and in an area directly overlapping with Tawira communities. Second, King George I sent his brother Duke Isaac, his son George II, and two Ulwa (or Kukra) Indians named Richard and John to England "for the purpose of laying before his Majesty's ministers some representations and complaints [regarding] the conduct of the [Indian slave] trade."<sup>116</sup> The king's effort to end Tawira slaving led to a new law nullifying the sale of Indian slaves after October 1776 and requiring owners to free their Indian slaves by 1 March 1777.<sup>117</sup> Although Superintendent Lawrie, himself an Indian slave owner, may have sought to actually implement the



laws, their effects were displaced by the coming Anglo-Spanish conflict of 1779. Nevertheless, the king had taken decisive action to assert his political authority over Tawira domains while at the same time cutting into Tawira revenues by unilaterally establishing a kingdom policy outlawing the Indian slave trade.

This second historical conjuncture inspired the Tawira to again pursue peace with the Spanish. Ascertaining the details of this overture, however, is complicated by the disease-related deaths of King George I and Governor Timothy Briton (ca. 1775–6) at the beginning of 1776. A Captain Potts noted that Cairns had written the Panamanian governor because the Spaniards had seized one of his boats and that the king and governor “requested that Cairns [also] write a letter for them.” In Potts’s words, “The purpose of these letters were this, that the King and Governor would permit the Spaniards to work in their mines in and about Gold River [unmolested], if they would permit the Mosquito men to fish for tortoise shell on the coast.”<sup>118</sup> Some historians have used this incident to demonstrate Miskitu resistance to the British, but closer inspection shows that the individual whom Potts calls the king is not Sambo king George but a Tawira named Eugene.

Letters attributed to King George I by Potts were, in fact, written instead by his “brother” (or “nephew”) Prince Eugene, a Tawira who lived at Twappi and who often referred to himself as the Miskitu king. Superintendent Lawrie, for example, states that Prince Eugene, “being much older [than George II] and on better terms with Cairns, and some of his followers [Tawira] wanted Eugene to succeed to king” after the death of King George I in 1776. Lawrie went on to note that the title of king “is sometimes given to him [Eugene] by some of his followers [Tawira], for which reason Robert Major (without knowing better) means Prince Eugene whenever the Mosquito King is mentioned in his affidavit.”<sup>119</sup>

When the Spaniards came to Twappi to firm up their friendship in April 1777 they only sought out Governor Briton and Prince Eugene and did not make any effort to visit King George II at Sandy Bay. After the Spanish departed, the anger of King George II and General Tempest could barely be contained. Lawrie stated, “I shall find some difficulty in saving Cairns from the fury of the [Sambo], so much are they incensed against him. They are likewise extremely disgusted with the conduct of the Indian Governor, and Eugene the late King’s brother, with whom the Spaniards treated as King in this affair.”<sup>120</sup> Superintendent Lawrie managed to put a stop to further Spanish-Tawira relations, but only the ensuing Anglo-Spanish conflict of 1779 cooled Sambo-Tawira animosities.

Following the Anglo-Spanish Treaty of Versailles in 1783 and its subsequent ratification in 1786, British settlers evacuated the Mosquitia. The

Irish Catholic Colville Cairns and Robert Hodgson, Jr., gave their allegiance to Spain and remained at Twappi and Bluefields, respectively. Both men tried to convince all Miskitu leaders to make peace with Spain, but only the Tawira seized the initiative. This third Spanish-Tawira conjuncture, symbolized by the 1788 baptism of Governor Briton in Cartagena, where he was given the name Carlos Antonio de Castilla (a.k.a. Don Carlos), and his 1789 marriage to the Nicaraguan teen María Manuela Rodríguez Mojica in León, drove a wedge between the Sambo and the Tawira that would not be healed until the twentieth century.<sup>121</sup> Problems began in León in 1788 when Don Carlos requested from Nicaraguan governor Ayssa that he be commissioned “Gobernador de la nación de Mosquita y Zambo.”<sup>122</sup>

When Carlos returned to the coast accompanied by two Recollect priests, he found himself shunned by King George II and Admiral Dilson II, who had declared himself governor in Carlos’s absence. Fray Navarro stated that “the intrusive Governor Alparis [Dilson II]” had formed an alliance with King George II against Don Carlos.<sup>123</sup> The alliance between George II and Dilson II has led some analysts to interpret the events as a popular Miskitu uprising against the Spanish. While this scenario is possible, I would suggest that the rapid transition of Spaniard as foe to Spaniard as friend intruded on an incipient Miskitu ethnic space, which many Sambo and Tawira Miskitu were unwilling to accept.<sup>124</sup> Indeed, the Sambo and Tawira Miskitu had always been able to temporarily put aside their internal differences to meet a common political objective. As evidence of this hypothesis, once the Spanish threat dissipated, the alliance between King George II and Admiral Dilson II promptly dissolved.

Around June 1790, Dilson II and his brother Sulera killed Don Carlos. Either just before or just after Don Carlos was killed, Dilson, Sulera, and the Sambo colonel César, along with some three to five hundred Miskitu, set upon Robert Hodgson and his estate at Bluefields. The group, “assisted by Hodgson’s black slaves,” sacked Hodgson’s supplies, tore down the Spanish flag, set his ship aflame, and made off with some of Hodgson’s three thousand cattle and ten thousand pigs.<sup>125</sup> This attack, while clearly sending Spain a message, also reflected the long-standing strife between Dilson’s family and Hodgson, which had festered since the death of Dilson I, the father of Dilson II and Sulera.

After conferring with Hodgson’s son Guillermo on his Sambo-facilitated escape to León, Nicaraguan governor Ayssa recommended to the Guatemalan audiencia that a strong comandante be sent to oversee Spain’s interests on the coast. He also noted that fundamental changes in the current Miskitu political geography should be avoided:

The Mosquitos [Tawira] and zambos do not maintain a good relationship amongst themselves . . . [and therefore he] judged it convenient that the coast remain divided in two jurisdictions, each with its respective leader, whereby the leader of the zambos would reside at Sandy Bay and the leader of the mosquitos at the Rio Grande or Pearl Lagoon. Both should have a salary assigned to them along with some uniforms in the name of the Comandante. In this way the government will attain their loyalty. . . he who is accustomed to live with a salary should not have to be forced to live without one.<sup>126</sup>

As it turned out, continued political unrest on the coast proved Ayssa's plans null and void. In October 1791, King George II ended his momentary alliance with now-Governor Dilson II and declared that "all of his nation [of Zambos are] enemies of the mosquitos." To prove his point, King George II hung Governor Dilson II, burned his house, killed three of his wives, and murdered twelve other important Tawira leaders.<sup>127</sup> Other Tawira sought Spanish protection. In November 1791, now Admiral Sulera sent two messengers to Fort San Carlos on Lake Nicaragua. The messengers informed the comandante of events on the coast and sought refuge for eighty-six Tawira Miskitu "below the protection of the Royal flag, [asking] that they be permitted to live among the Spanish in the lands" at the mouth of the Rio San Juan.<sup>128</sup> What became of this group is unknown, but in 1793 King George II was described as very "excited with the death of his adversary Sulera, whom he just killed in Pearl Lagoon."<sup>129</sup>

This extended two-year period is, of course, the "civil war" between the Sambo and Tawira recalled by the Sambo elder and recounted by missionary Ziock. Viewed in isolation, the details of this Spanish-Tawira conjuncture could lead one to dismiss the significance of Sambo-Tawira differentiation as a factor shaping Miskitu ethnohistory. I would, however, raise two questions that lead the discussion in a different direction. Did the Sambo and Tawira actually see themselves as simply "the two tribes of Mosquito Indians," that is, as equals, or did the Sambo consider themselves "*Miskito aihwa*, [the] 'true Miskito,'" as they often stated?<sup>130</sup> The evidence presented here suggests that between 1730 and 1770 the Sambo, symbolized by the rise of the king's stature with the British, began to see themselves as the genuine representatives of a divided Miskitu nation and the legitimate heirs of the Miskitu Kingdom. Cyclical and progressive tensions between them and the Tawira, always indexed to the state of Anglo-Spanish tensions, impelled the Sambo to consciously hierarchalize their relationship with the Tawira. Meanwhile, the Tawira had equal ambitions and sentiments of superiority, yet they were less numerous than the Sambo, did not

maintain a majority Anglo support, and were precariously dependent on the Indian slave trade and the carey economy. This recognition led to their calculated gamble to pursue deals with the Spanish on specific issues. Details of Tawira motivations suggest that they did not wish to become subjects of the Spanish Crown, as the two Recollect priests accompanying Don Carlos probably put it to them. The overtures by Dilson I and Dilson II, for example, sought protected access to crucial turtle grounds, river valley lands for cultivation in Spanish domains, access to Spanish markets and manufactured goods, and the retention of their privileged status in isolation. The death of Don Carlos at the hands of Dilson II and the latter's temporary alignment with King George II suggest that the Sambo and Tawira leadership could unite to achieve common political goals, but these events do not provide a clear picture of what constituted Sambo-Tawira differentiation on a day-to-day level.

### Epilogue

Following Tawira subordination to the Sambo, the names of Tawira leaders only appear in official Miskitu communiqués with the rank of captain and in most cases do not appear at all.<sup>131</sup> The Captain Clements signing one 1804 letter, for example, was the brother of the late Don Carlos and was called Governor Clementi by the traders Dunham (ca. 1816–9) and Roberts (ca. 1820–4). Roberts, however, suggests that Governor Clementi was only the self-appointed and hereditary Tawira governor but that King George Frederic, or George III, had himself bestowed the title of governor upon a Tawira named Drummer:

There are several settlements of [Tawira] Indians on its banks [of the Rio Grande], chiefly within a few miles distance from its entrance; they are subject to the Mosquito King, to whom they pay tribute; but, like every other tribe of unmixed Indians they are discontented with the authority assumed over them by the Mosquito men, or Samboes. Their headmen, Drummer and Dalbis, two brothers, possess considerable influence over them, and the other Indians adjoining, on the prinzapolka and Rio Grande settlements. The late King had the good policy to bestow the title of "Governor" on Drummer, and "Admiral" on Dalbis, and "Captain" on the headman at prinzapolka; the latter being also an Indian of unmixed breed.<sup>132</sup>

For his part, Dunham refers to Drummer as "Admiral," probably reflecting the fact that he met with Governor Clementi first, in contrast to Roberts.<sup>133</sup>

Around 1820, Roberts attended a Miskitu congress at Sandy Bay following the annual tribute collection from the neighboring Indians, in-

cluding the Tawira.<sup>134</sup> Neither Governor Clementi nor any other Tawira attended. After the festivities had wound down, King George III asked Roberts to visit Clementi and convey a letter. Roberts stated that since Don Carlos's death, Clementi had not visited the king "nor any settlements of the real Mosquito-men." By attempting to reconcile with Governor Clementi, King George III sought to avoid "a civil war" and strengthen his hand against his Sambo rivals, General Robinson and Admiral Earnee, who had just married into Clementi's kaimka.<sup>135</sup> Accompanied by a Sambo general named Blyatt and twenty of the king's men, Roberts was to read a letter written by King George Frederic to Clementi; Blyatt was then "to explain [to Clementi] that '*the paper which spoke*, was the King's own self order, and must be obeyed'" (emphasis in original).<sup>136</sup>

Before their arrival at Clementi's savanna community, Roberts and his group "dressed themselves" and fell into "marching order" with their "flag and drum" proceeding them. Upon arriving at the governor's house, Clementi remained seated, "dressed in state," and greeted only Roberts and Blyatt, "but took no notice of those who accompanied us." Roberts described Clementi as a "tall stout man" between fifty and sixty years old "with an Indian countenance, peculiarly expressive of thoughtful dignity." Roberts "could not help thinking, that he looked as if he felt degraded by the yoke of the Mosquito-men."<sup>137</sup> The governor was dressed

in an old Spanish uniform, of blue cloth with red collar and facings, decorated with a great profusion of tarnished gold lace; an old embroidered white satin vest, ornamented with spangles, and having large pocket holes with flaps; a pair of old white kerseymere breeches; white cotton stockings; shoes with silver buckles; and, a large gold headed cane . . . clothes . . . descended to him from his unfortunate brother. . . . After dinner [Roberts] read the King's letter, at the contents of which, the Governor expressed satisfaction; a tall young pine-tree was cut, the English flag hoisted upon it in front of the house, and the Governor seemed to feel he was now treated with proper respect and reinstated in his rights and privileges. . . . [At the Governor's request, Roberts] repeatedly read over the King's letter "which spoke," and the Governor seemed pleased to find himself freed from the probability of further annoyance from the King's people.<sup>138</sup>

The excerpt shows that an almost two-century contraposition between the Tawira and the Sambo Miskitu continued to configure Miskitu society into the nineteenth century. The discord, as conveyed by Roberts, is figuratively expressed by contrasting Clementi's Spanish uniform, the suit of Don Carlos, and by extension the Tawira people with the British flag and drum, the self-selected symbols of the Sambo delegation. The temporary recon-

ciliation occurred after a white man relayed the king's words from a piece of paper during a solemn ceremony in which the Union Jack was raised at the end, symbolically noting the Sambo-Tawira union and the Miskitu nation's growing Anglo affinity. Yet, although the Sambo and Tawira spoke the same language and had symmetrically woven the same European symbols into their particular cultural identities as Miskitu peoples, the Sambo and Tawira remained incongruous across some nebulous yet porous divide that challenges us to reconsider the origins of Miskitu ethnic identity and the role of Miskitu differentiation in shaping the forces of regional history.

### Appendix: Abbreviations

- ABH *Archives of British Honduras*, 3 vols., ed. John A. Burdon (London, 1931–5)
- AGI Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain
- BAGG *Boletín del Archivo General del Gobierno* (Guatemala)
- CDHCR *Colección de documentos para la historia de Costa Rica*, 10 vols., ed. León Fernández (Barcelona, 1907)
- CIDCA Centro de Investigación y Documentación de la Costa Atlántica, Managua, Nicaragua
- CRC *Costa Rica y Colombia*, ed. Manuel M. de Peralta (San José, Costa Rica, 1889)
- CRCM *Costa Rica y Costa de Mosquitos: Documentos para la historia de la jurisdicción territorial de Costa Rica y Colombia*, ed. Manuel M. de Peralta (Paris, 1898)
- CRNP *Costa Rica, Nicaragua y Panama en el siglo XVI: Su historia y sus límites*, ed. Manuel M. Peralta (Madrid, Spain, 1883)
- JCTP *Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations*, 14 vols. (London, 1920–38)
- LCRC *Límites de Costa-Rica y Colombia: Nuevos documentos para la historia de su jurisdicción territorial*, ed. Manuel M. de Peralta (Madrid, 1890)
- MCA Moravian Church Archives, Bethlehem, PA
- NMHD *The Nicaraguan Mosquitia in Historical Documents 1844–1927: The Dynamics of Ethnic and Regional History*, ed. Eleonore von Oertzen, Lioba Rossbach, and Volker Wünderrich (Berlin, 1990)
- PIC Providence Island Company
- PRO British Public Record Office, London
- FO Foreign Office
- CO Colonial Office
- SPG Society for Propagating the Gospel, London

## Notes

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- 5 Declaration of Edward, King of the Mosquito Indians, Senock Dawkra, 16 Mar. 1740, Public Record Office, London (hereafter cited as PRO), Colonial Office (hereafter cited as CO) 123/1, 52; "Proceedings at a General Congress Held at Tebuppy the 1st Oct 1780 by Colvill Cairns and James Thomson, by Order of General Stephen Kemble and Chiefs of the Two Tribes of the Mosquito Indians," PRO, CO 137/79, 165.
- 6 Helms, *Asang*; Nietschmann, *Between Land and Water*; Jenkins Molieri, *El desafío indígena*; MacDonald, "Moral Economy of the Miskito Indians"; Vilas, *State, Class, and Ethnicity*; Martin Diskin, "Ethnic Discourse and Challenge to Anthropology: The Nicaraguan Case," in *Nation-States and Indians in Latin America*, ed. Greg Urban and Joel Sherzer (Austin, TX, 1991), 156-80; Claudia García, *The Making of the Miskito People of Nicaragua: The Social Construction of Ethnic Identity* (Uppsala, Sweden, 1996).
- 7 José Dolores Gámez, *Historia de la Costa de Mosquitos (hasta 1894) en relación con la conquista española, los piratas y corsarios en las costas centro-americanas, los avances y protectorado del gobierno inglés en la misma costa y la famosa cues-*

- tión inglesa con Nicaragua, Honduras, y El Salvador* (Managua, Nicaragua, 1939); Troy S. Floyd, *The Anglo-Spanish Struggle for Mosquita* (Albuquerque, NM, 1967); Craig L. Dozier, *Nicaragua's Mosquito Shore: The Years of British and American Presence* (University, AL, 1985); Linda Newson, *Indian Survival in Colonial Nicaragua* (Norman, OK, 1987); Robert A. Naylor, *Penny Ante Imperialism: The Mosquito Shore and the Bay of Honduras, 1600-1914* (London, 1989).
- 8 Sofonías Salvatierra, *Contribución a la historia de Centroamérica: Monografías documentales*, 2 vols (Managua, Nicaragua, 1939), 1:454, 455.
  - 9 Barbara Potthast, *Die Mosquito-Küste im Spannungsfeld Britischer und Spanischer Politik 1502-1821* (Köln, Germany, 1988); Eleonore von Oertzen, Lioba Rossbach, and Volker Wünderrich, eds., *The Nicaraguan Mosquitia in Historical Documents 1844-1927: The Dynamics of Ethnic and Regional History* (Berlin, 1990) (hereafter cited as NMHD); Sarah May Howard, "Ethnicity, Autonomy, Land and Development: The Miskitu of Nicaragua's Northern Atlantic Coast" (Ph.D. diss., Oxford University, 1993); and Romero Vargas, *Sociedades del Atlántico*.
  - 10 Edmund T. Gordon, *Disparate Diasporas: Identity and Politics in an African-Nicaraguan Community* (Austin, TX, 1998), 34.
  - 11 Olien, "General, Governor, and Admiral," 281; see also Olien, "Miskito Kings"; Michael D. Olien, "Micro/Macro-Level Linkages: Regional Political Structures on the Mosquito Coast, 1845-1864," *Ethnohistory* 34 (3) (1987): 256-87; Olien, "Imperialism, Ethnogenesis and Marginality: Ethnicity and Politics on the Mosquito Coast, 1845-1964," *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 16 (1) (1988): 1-29; Olien, "After the Indian Slave Trade: Cross-Cultural Trade in the Western Caribbean Rimland," *Journal of Anthropological Research* 44 (1988): 41-66; Olien, "Were the Miskito Indians Black? Ethnicity, Politics, and Plagiarism in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," *Nieuwe West-Indische Gids* 62 (1-2) (1989): 27-50.
  - 12 William J. Sorsby, "The British Superintendency of the Mosquito Shore, 1749-1787" (Ph.D. diss., University of London, 1969), 10.
  - 13 The first Miskitu king was crowned in England circa 1631 through the active involvement of the Providence Island settlers; Sir Hans Sloane, *A Voyage to the Islands of Madera, Barbados, S. Christopher and Jamaica*, 2 vols. (London, 1707), 1:76-78. The initial dates of the first nonkingly commissions have been debated, but they began early in the eighteenth century. Olien, for example, accepts Bishop Garret y Arloví's 1711 statement that a "Piquirín" acted as "governor" at "Punta Gorda," a location on the south coast associated with the Rama homeland and a location where no Miskitu ever lived before the late nineteenth century. The bishop likely was referring to "monte gorda," a place name the Spanish applied to the area around present-day Puerto Cabezas, where the Tawira governor traditionally resided. The bishop claimed the king lived fourteen leagues inland from the governor's residence, which is about the distance from Twappi to Wasla-Kum on the Rio Wangki, the traditional residence of the king. The phonetic similarity between *piquirín* and *king*, likewise, suggests the bishop might have misunderstood his informant; see Olien, "General, Governor, and Admiral," 296; "Informe de D. Fray Benito Garret y Arloví, obispo de Nicaragua, sobre los Mosquitos y el modo de reducirlos, Granada, 30 November 1711," in *Costa Rica y Costa de Mosquitos: Documentos para la historia de la jurisdicción territorial de Costa Rica y Colombia*, ed. Manuel M. de Peralta (Paris, 1898), 59 (hereafter cited as CRCM).



- 14 Karl H. Offen, "The Miskitu Kingdom: Landscape and the Emergence of a Miskitu Ethnic Identity, Northeastern Nicaragua and Honduras, 1600-1800" (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas, 1999).
- 15 M. W., "The Mosquito Indian and His Golden River: A Familiar Description of the Mosquito Kingdom in America, with a Relation of the Strange Customs, Religion, Wars, &c. of those Heathenish People," in *A Collection of Voyages and Travels, Some Now First Printed from Oriental Manuscripts, Others Now First Published in English . . . with a General Preface, Giving an Account of the Progress of Navigation from Its First Beginning*, ed. Awnsham Churchill, 6 vols. (London, 1732), 6:286.
- 16 Heinrich Ziock, "Sambo vs. Tawira," NMHD, 232-40. Born in St. Croix in 1846 and having worked among the Miskitu since 1876, forty-eight-year-old missionary Ziock cannot be easily accused of naïveté. The English title of this excerpt was produced by the editors of this excellent collection of Moravian documents. Ziock's text was translated from its original German by my father, Henry Offen.
- 17 John Wright, *Memoir of the Mosquito Territory, as Respecting the Voluntary Cession of It to the Crown of Great Britain: Pointing Out Some of the Many Advantages to be Derived from the Occupation of that Country* (London, 1808), 25-26.
- 18 Ziock, "Sambo vs. Tawira," 238-40.
- 19 George R. Heath, Karata Diary, July 1907-Dec. 1907, Karata Diary box, Moravian Church Archives, Bethlehem, PA (hereafter cited as MCA); John Fischer, Kukallaya Diary, 1906-7, Kukallaya Diary box, MCA; Anon., "Sam Pitts, 1908," NMHD, 271-4; Anon., "Recent Disturbances—Sam Pitts," *Periodical Accounts of the Moravian Missions* 7 (73) (1908): 38-39.
- 20 Lioba Rossbach, "Ascenso y caída de Samuel Pitts (1894-1907)," *Encuentro* 24-25 (1985): 55-64; and Hale, *Resistance and Contradiction*.
- 21 Pedro J. Cuadra Chamorro, *La reincorporación de la Mosquitia* (León, Nicaragua, 1964 [1940]); Robert Montgomery Hooker, "La reincorporación de la Mosquitia desde el punto de vista del derecho internacional" (Tesis, Facultad del Derecho, León, Nicaragua, 1945); Hugo Sujo W., "La reincorporación de la Mosquitia," *Wani* 4 (1986): 17-22; Olien, "Imperialism, Ethnogenesis and Marginality"; and Charles R. Hale, "'Wan Tasbaya Dukiara': Contested Notions of Land Rights in Miskitu History," in *Remapping Memory: The Politics of TimeSpace*, ed. Jonathan Boyarin (Minneapolis, MN, 1994), 67-98.
- 22 In one of the first books ever published by a Miskitu author, Stedman Fagoth characterizes the "tribu Miskita Tawira" in racial terms bordering on disdain; *Moskitia autonomía regional* (Tegucigalpa, Honduras, n.d. [1980]), 23.
- 23 Once the community affiliations are known, Sambo-Tawira conflicts become readily apparent in land claims since the Harrison-Altamirano Treaty of 1905 and the devolution of land titles to communities within the former Mosquito Reserve in 1915. The contentious battle between Bilwi (Tawira) and Karata (Sambo) over land associated with the site for present-day Puerto Cabezas, for example, is but one of many examples available in the record; see, for example, "Miskitu to British Vice Consul, Twappi, 20 Aug. 1923," NMHD, 438; "Recommendations by Majority of Commission Appointed to Hear the Complaints of Mosquito Indians and Creoles under the Harrison-Altamirano Treaty, Bluefields," 7 Oct. 1924, PRO, Foreign Office (hereafter cited as FO) 371/9519, 183-91; "Philemon Jackson to Many of the Mosquito Indian Villages, Presented

- to Mr. London, Bilwi," 22 Apr. 1929, PRO, FO 371/13471, 270; Consul Owen Rees, Bluefields, 20 Nov. 1930, PRO, FO 371/14211, 149–51. In the northeast, present-day conceptions of community lands and boundaries continue to reflect Tawira-Sambo divisions; see, for example, Peter H. Dana, Edmund T. Gordon, Galio C. Gurdian, and Charles R. Hale, "Diagnóstico general sobre la tenencia de la tierra en las comunidades indígenas de la Costa Atlántica" (Austin, Bluefields, Bilwi, 1998).
- 24 *Sumu* is a Miskito term meaning "dumb one" and was first ascribed to the Ulwa by the Tawira in the late eighteenth century and, later, applied to all Sumu Indians. The Sumu of today reject this term and use their own word, Mayangna, which means "us" or "we people." Lehmann heard this term as a Sumu self-ascriptor in the early twentieth century, but he consciously decided not to introduce the word into the literature; Walter Lehmann, "Ergebnisse einer Forschungsreise in Mittelamerika und Mexico 1907–1909," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 42 (1910): 718.
  - 25 Eduard Conzemius, "Notes on the Miskito and Sumu Languages of Eastern Nicaragua and Honduras," *International Journal of American Linguists* 5 (1929): 58. The Luxembourg-born Conzemius apparently derived the name Bawihka from his personal experiences as a self-employed lumberman between 1915 and 1919, principally in Honduras, and as an employee for the Truxillo Railroad Company, a subsidiary of the United Fruit Company between 1919 and 1922, since the name does not appear in the historical record. In his monograph, Conzemius claimed the Bawihka lived along the Rio Kukalaya and later formed the community of Wasakin along the Rio Bambana, yet today the people of Wasakin have no knowledge of this term; see Eduard Conzemius, *Ethnographical Survey of the Miskito and Sumu Indians of Honduras and Nicaragua* (Washington, DC, 1932), 14–18; Mario Rizo, "Mito y tradición oral entre los Sumus del Rio Bambana," *Wani* 14 (1993): 32.
  - 26 Floyd, *Anglo-Spanish Struggle*, 143; Naylor, *Penny Ante Imperialism*; Gregorio Smutko, *La Mosquitia historia y cultura de la Costa Atlántica* (Managua, Nicaragua, 1985).
  - 27 Mary W. Helms, "The Cultural Ecology of a Colonial Tribe," *Ethnology* 8 (1969): 76–84; Helms, *Asang*; Helms, "Negro or Indian? The Changing Identity of a Frontier Population," in *Old Roots in New Lands*, ed. Ann Pescatello (Westport, CT, 1977), 157–92; Helms, "Miskito Slaving and Culture Contact: Ethnicity and Opportunity in an Expanding Population," *Journal of Anthropological Research* 39 (1983): 179–97.
  - 28 Newson, *Indian Survival*, 38.
  - 29 Colette Craig, "Current Knowledge of Amerindian Languages in Nicaragua," *International Journal of American Linguistics* 51 (4) (1985): 381–4; Colette Craig and Ken Hale, "A Possible Macro-Chibchan Etymon" (Department of Linguistics, MIT, 1990); Ken Hale, "El Ulwa, Sumo meridional: Un idioma distinto?" *Wani* 11 (1991): 27–50; Offen, "Miskito Kingdom," 32–37.
  - 30 Beginning with Columbus's fourth voyage along the northeastern coast of what is today Honduras, the Spaniards recognized an Amerindian ethnic boundary between the Pech and their neighbors to the east near Cape Gracias; see Fernando Colón, *The Life of the Admiral Christopher Columbus by His Son, Ferdinand*, trans. Benjamin Keen (New Brunswick, NJ, 1992 [1959]), 234; Samuel Eliot Morison, *Journals and Other Documents on the Life and Voy-*

*ages of Christopher Columbus* (New York, 1963), 373, 407; Carl O. Sauer, *The Early Spanish Main* (Berkeley, CA, 1966), 123. Although Davidson has convincingly argued that this ethnic boundary corresponds with either the Rio Plátano or the Rio Patuca, other commentators equivocally claim that Pech lands extended east to Cape Gracias a Dios; see William Davidson, "Geographical Perspectives on Spanish-Pech (Paya) Indian Relationships, North-eastern Honduras, Sixteenth Century," in *Columbian Consequences*, ed. David Hurst Thomas (Washington, DC, 1991), 208; Eduard Conzemius, "Los Indios Payas de Honduras," *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* 19 (1927): 245–302; Karl M. Helbig, *Die Landschaften von Nordost-Honduras* (Hamburg, Germany, 1959); Linda Newson, *The Cost of Conquest: Indian Decline in Honduras under Spanish Rule* (Boulder, CO, 1986); and Potthast, *Mosquito-Küste*; cf. Offen, "Miskitu Kingdom," chap. 3.

- 31 Although the story of Miskut was first published by the Miskitu Capuchin priest Adolfo Vaughan in 1959, the story was first recorded by nineteenth-century Europeans. A Swede named Thomas Holtman shipwrecked near Dakura in 1840, and after speaking with elders, he first recorded the history of Miskut. Twenty years later the Englishman William Vaughan arrived at the Rio Wangki, learned this history, and compared it to that of Holtman as well as to a similar one recorded by the German Gustavo Schultz. Finally, it was Henry Vaughan, grandson of William Vaughan on his father's side and of Holtman on his mother's side, who recorded the history presented by Adolfo Vaughan; Adolfo I. Vaughan Warman, *Diccionario trilingüe: Miskitio-Español-Ingles* (Managua, Nicaragua, 1959). For different interpretations of the Miskut story, see Avelino Cox Molina, "Ensayo sobre el origen del pueblo Miskitu" (manuscript, Bilwi, Nicaragua, 1988); Bernard Nietschmann, "Conservación, autodeterminación y el area protegida costa Miskita, Nicaragua," *Mesoamérica* 29 (1995): 1–7; Offen, "Miskitu Kingdom," 82–86.
- 32 Those who went up the Rio Wangki encountered the Mayangna and, according to Bishop Wilson, it was the Mayangna who named the Miskitu by translating *Miskut uplika nani*, the people of Miskut, as Miskut-u, whereby *u* connotes "people"; John F. Wilson, *Obra Morava en Nicaragua* (Managua, Nicaragua, 1990 [1975]), 50.
- 33 For accounts of Spanish efforts to reduce the Amerindians of the region they termed Taguzgalpa in the seventeenth century, see Francisco de Paula García Peláez, *Memorias para la historia del antiguo reyno de Guatemala*, 3 vols. (Guatemala, 1852); Newson, *The Cost of Conquest*; William V. Davidson and Cruz S. Fernando, "Delimitacion de la region habitada por los Sumos taguacas de Honduras 1600–1990," *Yaxkin* 11 (1988): 123–36; Jesús María García Añoberos, "Presencia Franciscana en la Taguzgalpa y la Tologalpa (la Mosquitia)," *Mesoamérica* 15 (1988): 47–78.
- 34 Francisco Vázquez, *Crónica de la provincia del Santísimo nombre de Jesus de Guatemala de el orden de N Seáficao Padre San Francisco en el reyno de la Nueva España*, 4 vols. (Guatemala, 1944 [1714]), 4:127, 140.
- 35 *Ibid.*, 128. The few interpretations of this incident follow Vázquez' account but suggest that the Spanish shipwreck may have occurred without Martinez; García Peláez, *Memorias*, 252; Don Domingo Juarros, *A Statistical and Commercial History of the Kingdom of Guatemala, in Spanish America*, trans. John Bailly (London, 1823), 366; and García Añoberos, "Presencia Franciscana," 60.

- Ironically, Nicaraguan historians barely mention the incident, and no published works have suggested that the guabas might refer to Miskitu-speaking Amerindians.
- 36 Vázquez, *Crónica*, 4:166, 167–77; see also García Añoveros, “Presencia Franciscana,” 60.
- 37 Raveneau de Lussan, *Raveneau de Lussan: Buccaneer of the Spanish Main and Early French Filibuster of the Pacific*, trans. Marguerite Eyer Wilbur (Cleveland, OH, 1930), 285. From the translation of the French account, it would appear that de Lussan believed that the cape residents were already “half-breeds” when the padres shipwrecked, an unlikely possibility.
- 38 M. W., “Mosquito Indian,” 289.
- 39 Vázquez, *Crónica*, 4:79. On the use of the term *jicaques* in reference to the Honduran Tol, see William V. Davidson, “Geografía de los indígenas toles (jicaques) de Honduras en el siglo XVIII,” *Mesoamérica* 6 (9) (1985): 58–90; and for a more complete interpretation of the peoples to whom the other names refer, see Offen, “Miskitu Kingdom,” chap. 3.
- 40 This word was spelled phonetically by the Moravians as *weiya* in the early part of the twentieth century. Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Spaniards would have spelled the *wa* sound as *gua*, and they often used the letters *i* and *y* interchangeably, especially when they were located in the middle of words. Thus, the pronunciation of the eighteenth-century *guaian* and the contemporary *wayanh* would be identical.
- 41 Pedro de la Concepción, *Relación del viaje del Río Coco en el Año 1699*, 13 Jan 1699, AGI, Guatemala 297. This document has been transcribed with some errors and published as “Relación del viaje de fr. Pedro de la Concepción por la Taguzgalpa y de las costumbres y creencias de los indios infieles que allí habitan: Año de 1699,” in *Documentos coloniales de Honduras*, ed. Héctor M. Leyva (Tegucigalpa, Honduras, 1991), 211–8. For an analysis of the eighteen villages and their possible locations and correlation to present-day communities, see Offen, “Miskitu Kingdom,” chap. 5.
- 42 The Mayangna term for the Miskitu people, wayanh, has three interesting phonetic relations to place names near Cape Gracias a Dios. First, in addition to representing a village and a people, the term *guaba* shows a phonetic relation to the Mayangna word *wawa*, which signifies a large-leafed plant (*Calathea spp.*) used throughout the Mosquitia as an umbrella and food wrap. Although the prominent Río Wawa of today is probably not pertinent to this discussion, this river was often spelled *Wava* (pronounced guaba) on early Spanish and English maps. Second, the place name Bihmuna for the lagoon just south of Cape Gracias is relatively new. From the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries, writers referred to the lagoon variously as guana-sound, Guanasón, Guana Lagoon, Wana Lagoon, Wawa Lagoon, Wava Lagoon, Waney Lagoon, and Wani Lagoon; see for example numerous maps reprinted in Eduardo Pérez-Valle, *Un laudo con dos incógnitas: Hara y la isla de San Pío* (Managua, Nicaragua, 1961). Finally, a Mayangna and Miskitu naming system, which calls the village at a river’s mouth by the name of the river, suggests that Wani (or Wava) Lagoon and the village guaba (wava) have a linguistic connection to each other, as well as with the Río Wangki.
- 43 “Carta a la audiencia de Guatemala sobre los establecimientos de los ingleses en la costa, etc 1704,” in *Colección de documentos referentes a la historia colonial*

*de Nicaragua* (Managua, Nicaragua, 1921), 3–5; “Informe de D. Fray Benito Garret y Arloví,” CRCM, 57. It was no coincidence that the term *zambo mosquito* surfaced in the Nicaraguan literature during the Wars of Spanish Succession (1700–12). It was in this context that “the Miskitu” along with pirate accompaniment first attacked Matina, Costa Rica, in 1701 and again in 1707, 1708, and 1711, as well as in the Contales district of Nicaragua in 1705, 1708, 1709, and 1710, in addition to attacks in Nueva Segovia in 1699 and 1704; Conzemius, *Ethnographical Survey*, 84–7; Floyd, *Anglo-Spanish Struggle*, 64–67; Sorsby, “British Superintendency,” 11; Romero Vargas, *Sociedades del Atlántico*, 157–9. The Sambo and Tawira coordinated these attacks together but likely carried them out separately within their respective districts.

- 44 Romero Vargas, for example, mentions a map by Alonso de Santa Cruz—possibly produced in 1536—showing a “río de Moschitos” just “a little south of Cabo Gracias a Dios.” He also refers to a 1587 map by Juan Martínez showing the “Río de Mostaitos,” also south of Cape Gracias; Romero Vargas, *Sociedades del Atlántico*, 124. Similarly, Sorsby, “British Superintendency,” notes a 1540 map showing a “Río de Mosconitos”; see John A. Holm, “The Creole English of Nicaragua’s Miskito Coast: Its Sociolinguistic History and a Comparative Study of Its Lexicon and Syntax” (Ph.D. diss., University of London, 1978), 307. Finally, von Houwald cites a ca. 1600 plate showing a “Río Mosquitos”; also see Götz von Houwald, “Mayangna - Wir. Zur Geschichte der Sumu Indianer in Mettelamerika” (Ph.D. diss., University of Hamburg, 1990), 203. The earliest map I have seen showing such a toponym is the 1647 map of Robert Dudley in Kit S. Kapp, *The Printed Maps of Central America up to 1860. Part I: 1548–1760* (London, 1974), 13.

At least three contemporaneous observers likely thought that the ethnic label originated from the insect because they spell the people, the insect, and the toponym in the same way throughout their accounts: M. W., “Mosquito Indian,” 285, 286; Nathaniel L. Uring, *The Voyages and Travels of Nathaniel Uring with Introduction and Notes by Captain Alfred Deward* (London, 1928 [1726]); John Cockburn, *A Journey Overland, from the Gulf of Honduras to the Great South Sea* (London, 1735), 236.

- 45 Despite the fact that several secondary studies of the PIC referred to the “Cape Indians” as Miskitu Indians, they do not provide any direct evidence linking the “Indians of the Cape” with a “Miskitu” toponym in historical sources originating before 1670. See Arthur Percival Newton, *The Colonising Activities of the English Puritans: The Last Phase of Elizabethan Struggle with Spain* (New Haven, CT, 1914); James J. Parsons, *San Andrés and Providencia: English-Speaking Islands in the Western Caribbean* (Berkeley, CA, 1956); William J. Sorsby, “Una compañía puritana en Mosquitia,” *Nicaráuac* 8 (1982): 69–76; Donovan Bräutigam-Beer, “Puritanos en la Mosquitia, 1630–41,” *Nicaráuac* 8 (1982): 66–68; Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Providence Island, 1630–1641: The Other Puritan Colony* (New York, 1993). On the other hand, we know the Cape Amerindians spoke Miskitu, because Miskitu words appear in PIC correspondence.
- 46 Stanley Pargellis and Ruth Lapham, “Daniell Ellffryth’s Guide to the Caribbean, 1631,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 1 (1944): 312, 313, 316; Nathaniel Butler, “A Diary, from February 10th 1639 of My Personal Employments” (B. L. Sloane MS 758, photocopy, Library of Congress, Washington,

- DC, 1640), 48, 50; Vincent T. Harlow, ed., "The Voyages of Captain William Jackson (1642-1645)," *Camden Miscellany* 13 (1923): 25.
- 47 John Esquemelin, *The Buccaneers of America* (London, 1951 [1678]), 233-8.
- 48 "Carta a la audiencia de Guatemala," 5.
- 49 William Dampier, *A New Voyage Round the World*, trans. Albert Gray (London, 1927), 7, 15. Miskitu demographic history is poorly known, but available figures suggest 2,000 Miskitu in 1700, 4,500 in 1740, 7,000 in 1760, 8,000 in 1800, 10,000 in 1860, and 25,000 in 1920; see Offen, "Miskitu Kingdom," 35.
- 50 Dampier, *New Voyage*, 7, 28. My geographic interpretation of Dampier's lexicon is supported by de Lussan's descriptions from 1688-9. Although de Lussan mentions the "Indians of Moustique," he notes that "mulattos" resided at Cape Gracias; *Raveneau de Lussan*, 285.
- 51 M. W., "Mosquito Indian," 286.
- 52 D. Carlos Marengo informa al general D. Manuel López Pintado sobre los indios y zambos Mosquitos, San Felipe de Portobelo, 16 Feb. 1731," CDHCR 9:187-205; "Granada se halla de ser invadida por los ingleses y sus aliados los zambos é indios mosquitos, Granada, 12 May 1757," CDHCR 9:524-7.
- 53 "Robert Hodgson to Lords of the Committee of Council, Black River," 1 Apr. 1744, PRO, CO 323/11, 67-68. Robert Hodgson's son, Robert Hodgson, Jr., who arrived in the Mosquitia in 1750 and who was also a superintendent (1768-75), continued the same construction as his father: "The natives, or Mosquito people, are of two breeds; one are the original Indian; the other (who are called Samboes), a mixture of these with negroes, occasioned, so far as can be learned, by two Dutch ships full of them being cast away some years ago to the southward of Nicaragua." Robert Hodgson, Jr., *Some Account of the Mosquito Territory, Contained in a Memoir Written in 1757*, 2d ed. (Edinburgh, 1822), 45. The superintendent Richard Jones (1759-62) suggests that the Tawira had extended their southern domains beyond the Rio Grande by the late 1760s: "The Ancient Mosquito Indians of pure unmixed Blood possess the Coast and Country aback from the Bluefields to Sandy Bay; from thence as far as Plantain River, Sandy Bay included, is possessed by a race of Sambos who derive their origin from a Cargo of Negroes Wrecked on this Coast about 100 years ago." [Richard Jones], "Report on the Mosquito Shore," in *The Kemble Papers: Vol. II, Expedition to Nicaragua, 1780-1* (New York, 1884), 419.
- 54 At least three other important epidemics swept through the Miskitu population in the eighteenth century, yet their impacts have been poorly studied. See Romero Vargas, *Sociedades del Atlántico*, 131-3; Newson, *Indian Survival*, 119-20, 328. On the Miskitu slave raid to the Yucatán see John A. Burdon, *Archives of British Honduras . . . Being Extracts and Précis from Records with Maps*, 3 vols. (London, 1931-5) (hereafter cited as ABH), 1:15.
- 55 Wright, *Memoir of the Mosquito Territory*, 26-27; Thomas Young, *Narrative of a Residence on the Mosquito Shore: With an Account of Truxillo, and the Adjacent Islands of Bonacca and Roatan; and a Vocabulary of the Mosquitian Language*, 2d ed. (London, 1847), 71, 79.
- 56 Orlando Roberts, *Narrative of Voyages and Excursions on the East Coast and Interior of Central America; Describing a Journey Up the River San Juan, and Passage across the Lake of Nicaragua to the City of Leon: Pointing out the Advantages of a Direct Commercial Intercourse with the Natives* (Gainesville, FL, 1965 [1827]), 113, 118, 125, 134, 137, 147, 156, 265.

- 57 M. W., "Mosquito Indian," 293; Uring, *Voyages and Travels*, 154–5.
- 58 Charles Napier Bell, *Tangweera Life and Adventures among Gentle Savages* (Austin, TX, 1989 [1899]), 4; Conzemius, "Notes," 59.
- 59 Conzemius, "Notes," George R. Heath, *Grammar of the Miskito Language* (Herrnhut, Germany, 1927).
- 60 By the second half of the nineteenth century, the coastal Sambo Miskitu referred to the inland Miskitu as Tawira: "usually the Indians [of Nicaragua] are divided into four main groups; Moskitos and Ramas who live on the sea coast, Tahwira on the shore of the lagoons and the Summu who live further west, who in part live along the rivers which are outside tidal influences and flood waters." Christian August Martin, "Handel und Kreditwesen der Moskito-Indianer," *Globus* 65 (1894): 100; see also Martin, "Dreissig Jahre praktische Misionarbeit in Mosquito von 1859–90," in *Moskito Zur Erinnerung an die Feier des Fünfzigjährigen Bestehens der Mission der Brüdergemeine in Mittel-Amerika*, ed. H. G. Schneider (Herrnhut, Germany, 1899), 58; Charles Napier Bell, "Remarks on the Mosquito Territory, Its Climate, People, Productions, etc., etc. with a Map," *Journal of the Royal Geographic Society* 32 (1862): 247.
- 61 Conzemius, "Notes," 60; George R. Heath, "Miskito Glossary, with Ethnographic Commentary," *International Journal of American Linguistics* 16 (1950): 27.
- 62 On different interpretations of the Miskitu Kingdom and its territorial evolution, see Olien, "Miskito Kings"; Dennis and Olien, "Kingship among the Miskito"; Mary W. Helms, "Of Kings and Contexts: Ethnohistorical Interpretations of Miskito Political Structure and Function," *American Ethnologist* 13 (3) (1986): 506–23; Offen, "Miskitu Kingdom."
- 63 Olien, "General, Governor, and Admiral," 283.
- 64 Robert Hodgson to William Trelawny, Mosquito Shore, Apr. 1772, PRO, CO 137/68, 19. Trelawny replied, "I shall hope for your further communications and remarks on this important subject, and shall attend to your recommendations, both as to persons and rank, for any future Mosquito Commissions: but it appeared to me highly proper to gratify the Mosquito King by granting the Commissions he requested in this Island, even at the risk that his imperfect descriptions might occasion some little mistakes in names and precise jurisdiction"; Trelawny to Hodgson, Jamaica, 15 Nov. 1772, PRO, CO 137/68, 22.
- 65 Conzemius, *Ethnographical Survey*, 17; Holm, "Creole English," 181–2; Naylor, *Penny Ante Imperialism*, 229; Romero Vargas, *Sociedades del Atlántico*, 123–6; Gordon, *Disparate Diasporas*, 33.
- 66 Kupperman, *Providence Island*, 169. In a footnote to this section, Kupperman cites a letter dated 31 Jan. 1638, in which the PIC investors agreed to pay William Blauveldt for procuring slaves at "the Cape," but the place name "Cape" often referred to the entire mainland of eastern Central America in such correspondence. In a letter of personal communication dated 26 Nov. 1995, Professor Kupperman clarified that from her readings she had "hypothesized" that the Dutch were acquiring slaves at Cape Gracias; she pointed out that this precise interpretation was not recoverable from the company's records. In my view it seems unlikely that "the Indians of Cape Gracias" were capturing and selling African peoples in the 1630s.
- 67 Esquemelin, *Buccaneers of America*, 234, 238.
- 68 I have shown elsewhere that Englishmen sought "silk-grass" (*Aechmea sp.*);

- mahoe bark for cordage (*Hibiscus sp.* or *Heliocarpus sp.*), called *sani* in the Miskitu language; annatto, which the Englishmen called tomarin from the Miskitu word *tmaring*; and vanilla, which they referred to as “dette” from the Miskitu word *diti*, near the mouth of the Rio Kruta; Offen, “Miskitu Kingdom,” 122–3, 174.
- 69 The Miskitu refer to the September moon as *mani lupia*, or little summer, because it denotes a brief period of calm weather. Miskitu sailors and fishermen often use this small climatic window to return home from sea before *prari kati*, or the hurricane moon of October. A September escape would have facilitated sea travel by inexperienced sailors.
- 70 Newton, *Colonising Activities*, 303; Kupperman, *Providence Island*, 172, 338; Offen, “Miskitu Kingdom,” 116.
- 71 Uring, *Voyages and Travels*, 154–5.
- 72 de Lussan, *Raveneau de Lussan*, 287.
- 73 Uring, *Voyages and Travels*, 155; Germán Romero Vargas and Flor de Oro Solorzano, “Declaración de Carlos Casarola, negro esclavo bozal,” *Wani* 10 (1991): 88.
- 74 Olien, “General, Governor, and Admiral,” 287–8, has argued that the north coast’s first general was Peter (1722–9) and not Hobby, but this interpretation is problematic for reasons that lie beyond the scope of the present study; see Offen, “Miskitu Kingdom,” 199–200.
- 75 Hodgson to Lordships, 4 Apr. 1744, PRO, CO 323/11, 67–8; D. Ambrosio Thomás Santella M., “Guatemala, 3 Oct. 1716, Sobre el cumplimiento de la real cédula de 30 Abril de 1714, acerca del exterminio de los Mosquitos,” CRCM, 75–86.
- 76 M. W., “Mosquito Indian,” 288–91. Traditionally, communities along the lower Rio Wangki summered at Sandy Bay to turtle and fish on the nearby Miskitu Cays. European contact initiated year-round settlement at Sandy Bay, yet many people remained on the Rio Wangki, connecting the two places through kinship and provisioning exchanges and creating a single district. This relationship is given graphic visualization in an 1856 map showing a “road” linking Sandy Bay to Kum, or the “Residence of the Kings”; Bell, “Remarks on the Mosquito Territory.” During a trip to Kum in 1997, I was told by community leaders that the people from Kum to Saklin maintained strong historical ties with the people of Sandy Bay. To this day, several Sandy Bay and Kum residents claim descent from the royal family. Kingly regalia, including crowns and scepters, remained within the two communities until at least the 1970s, and local political leaders were inevitably descendants of the royal family; Offen, “Miskitu Kingdom,” chap. 9.
- 77 M. W., “Mosquito Indian,” 287–90; Uring, *Voyages and Travels*, 156.
- 78 Romero Vargas and Solorzano, “Declaración de Carlos Casarola,” 88; Offen, “Miskitu Kingdom,” 184.
- 79 Peter to Governor Hunter, Sandy Bay, 3 Oct. 1729, PRO, CO 137/18, 68–9; “Meeting 3 June 1730,” in *Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations* (London, 1920–38) (hereafter cited as JCTP), 120; see also Romero Vargas, *Sociedades del Atlántico*, 163–7; Olien, “General, Governor, and Admiral,” 283, 287.
- 80 Hodgson, *Account of the Mosquito Territory*, 46. One possible reason for this omission is that Robert Hodgson, Jr., did not actually write the 1757 report



ascribed to him but instead plagiarized the report from his father's earlier letters. The report contains several coastal descriptions that appear to be discussing the situation prior to 1750. Moreover, several passages are identical to those found in his father's correspondence to the Lords of Committee. Plagiarism was rampant during this period among coastal writers; Offen, "Miskitu Kingdom," 293-4, 307.

- 81 "Letter of the Inhabitants of the Mosquito Shore to the late Earl of Chatham, 1766," in *The Defence of Robert Hodgson* (London, 1779), app. 5:4-5. The occasional reference to a Sambo admiral in the historical record and the plethora of self-styled admirals that crops up after 1790 has led Olien to misinterpret the nature of the Tawira admiralty on the south coast; Olien, "General, Governor, and Admiral," 280, 308. Initially, both the Sambo king and Tawira governor oversaw individual "admirals," who acted in the capacity of ambassadors to the Pearl Lagoon area and were nominally subordinate to them. The Sambo admiral headed the small and isolated Sambo colony at the southern end of Pearl Lagoon, but he also frequented Cape Gracias a Dios. Neither the Sambo admiral nor the Sambo colonel who later headed the small Pearl Lagoon colony, however, held much power in any historical period. In contrast, the Tawira admiral led the 1730 expansionist colony to the Rio Grande, while the Tawira governor's seat moved from Dakura to Twappi. From this distant and important position, the Tawira admiral began to assert his independence from the Tawira governor. In marked contrast to the Sambo admiral, only the Tawira admiral emerged as a power broker on a par with the Sambo king, Tawira governor, and Sambo general. Olien's attempt to trace the admiral's line of descent overlooks this point, as well as the fact that after the Sambo subordinated the Tawira in 1791, the self-styled admirals had no relation to the important Tawira admiral, who ruled over the southern district during the British superintendency. Olien's laudable efforts to trace the Sambo general after 1790 have similar problems; see Offen, "Miskitu Kingdom," 399.
- 82 Antonio Porta Costas, "Relación del reconocimiento geométrico y político de la costa de Mosquitos desde el establecimiento de Cabo Gracias a Dios hasta El Blewfields," *Wani* 7 (1990): 57; see also Tomás Ayón, *Historia de Nicaragua*, 3 vols (Managua, Nicaragua, 1993 [1882-9]), 3:169-70; Offen, "Miskitu Kingdom," 189-90.
- 83 Governor Trelawny wrote that the Miskitu were "very ungovernable," not the lackeys some scholars have portrayed; Gov. Trelawny to Duke of Newcastle, Jamaica, 20 July 1743, PRO, CO 323/11, 33; see also "Robert Hodgson to Trelawny, Sandy Bay, 8 April 1740," in *The States of Central America: Their Geography, Topography, Climate . . . etc; Comprising Chapters on Honduras, San Salvador, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Belice, the Bay Islands, the Mosquito Shore, and the Honduras Inter-Oceanic Railway*, ed. Ephraim G. Squier (New York, 1858), app. D, 744-6; "Robert Hodgson to Trelawny, Chiriqui Lagoon, 21 June 1740," *ibid.*, 746; Sorsby, "British Superintendency," 20-23, 153; Romero Vargas, *Sociedades del Atlántico*, 170.
- 84 Sorsby, "British Superintendency," 27; Offen, "Miskitu Kingdom," 203-6.
- 85 An excellent account of Sambo and Tawira participation in the El Castillo assault can be found in "Proceedings at a General Congress held at Tebuppy the 1st Oct 1780," PRO, CO 137/79, 164-7. The document reads as a question-and-answer testimony and is one of the few period pieces to record Miskitu

- opinions. The first British question reads, "As you complain much of your dead, and we being authorized to pay you for them, how much a head do you expect for them?" After deliberation among themselves, the Miskitu leaders responded, "According to the number of men each tribe had upon the expedition, we will take a proportion of presents, and out of that proportion satisfy the relations of the dead." The third question reads, "As the presents are to be distributed according to the proportion of men each tribe had upon the Expedition you must give us in an account of the number each tribe had." The Miskitu responded, "We cannot positively ascertain the number, but we believe nearly equal, the Indians had rather more, perhaps thirty, for which the Governor shall be allowed in the distribution of the presents."
- 86 M. W., "Mosquito Indian," 294; Uring, *Voyages and Travels*, 156–7; Romero Vargas and Solorzano, "Declaración de Carlos Casarola," 88–89; Kemble to Gov. Dalling, Bluefields, 15 Nov. 1780, PRO, CO 137/79, 130–1; Offen, "Miskitu Kingdom," 318–35.
- 87 "Declaración de Micaela Gómez, mulata libre, 2 Jan. 1717," CRCM, 89; see also Francisco de Mora y Pacheco, "Relación geográfica del partido de Chontales, 8 July 1743," *Wani* 7 (1990): 47.
- 88 "Declaración del mulato Miguel Gutiérrez, Masaya, 10 Oct. 1710," AGI Guatemala 300, 396; "Informe de D. Fray Benito Garret y Arloví, obispo de Nicaragua," CRCM, 57; "Declaración de Gregorio López, Cartago, 25 Apr. 1724," AGI Guatemala 455; "Declaración del mulato Drego Bonilla, Cartago, 25 Nov. 1737," AGI Guatemala 302, 1016; Romero Vargas and Solorzano, "Declaración de Carlos Casarola."
- 89 "Declaración de Athanacio Hernández, indio natural del pueblo de Camoapa de edad de 40 años, León, 13 Sept. 1768," BAGG 5 (2) (1940): 126–7; "Domingo Cabello to Pedro Salazar, León, 27 Sept. 1768," BAGG 5 (2) (1940): 129–31.
- 90 Jacob Dunham, *Journal of Voyages* (New York, 1851), 87–88; Bell, *Tangweera*, 158; Offen, "Miskitu Kingdom," 331–3.
- 91 Dunham, *Journal of Voyages*, 65.
- 92 "Bill of the Lading of the Schooner Nicaragua, 22 Dec. 1770," *Defence of Robert Hodgson*, App. 5, 31–32; Edward Long, "Mosquito Shore," in *The History of Jamaica; or, General Survey of the Ancient and Modern State of that Island: with Reflections on Its Situation, Settlements, Inhabitants, Climate, Products, Commerce, Law, and Government*, 3 vols. (London, 1970 [1774]), 1:314–25; Bryan Edwards, "Some Account of the British Settlements on the Mosquito Shore: Drawn Up for the Use of Government in 1773," in *The History, Civil and Commercial of the British West Indies: With a Continuation to the Present Time*, 5 vols. (London, 1819), 5:209; Olaudah Equiano, *Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano: Written by Himself* (New York, 1995 [1791]), 173–4; Offen, "Miskitu Kingdom."
- 93 Sorsby, "British Superintendency"; Frank Griffith Dawson, "William Pitt's Settlement at Black River on the Mosquito Shore: A Challenge to Spain in Central America, 1732–87," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 63 (4) (1983): 677–706; Romero Vargas, *Sociedades del Atlántico*; Taylor E. Mack, "Contraband Trade through Trujillo, Honduras, 1720s–1782," *Conference of Latin Americanist Geographers* 24 (1998): 45–56; Offen, "Miskitu Kingdom," chap. 7. The famed logwood, thought to be the origin of the colony, was in fact not

- available in the Mosquitia; see Karl H. Offen, "British Logwood Extraction from the Mosquitia: The Origin of a Myth," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 80 (2000): 113–35.
- 94 "Relato de una expedición al costa norte hecho por Juan de Lara y Ortega, Comayagua, 18 Sept. 1759," BAGG 5 (2) (1940): 139; [Jones], "Report on the Mosquito Shore," 425–6; S. T. Haly, W. Upton, and J. Deacon, "Description of the District of Patook (1844)," in *Seiner Königlichen Hoheit des Prinzen Carl von Preussen und Sr. Durchlaucht des Herrn Fürsten v. Schoenburg-Walden bewirkte Untersuchung einiger Theile des Mosquitolandes*, ed. A. Fellechner, Dr. Müller, and C. L. C. Hesse (Berlin, 1845), 236.
- 95 Roberts, *Voyages and Excursions*, 152; Young, *Narrative of a Residence*, 80–81; Fellechner et al., *Bericht*, 70; Offen, "Miskitu Kingdom," chap. 6.
- 96 In contrast to some south coast traders, settlers at Black River always valued the upland Pech and Twahka Indians and always discouraged the Sambo from carrying out abuses; Robert Hodgson to Duke of Bedford, Jamaica, 21 Apr. 1751, PRO, CO 137/57, 550; Naylor, *Penny Ante Imperialism*, 49. This position, however, does not reflect a moral statement on Indian slaving, as Black River settlers maintained numerous Indian slaves acquired from elsewhere.
- 97 Gov. Trelawny to Duke of Newcastle, Jamaica, 19 Jan. 1748, PRO, CO 137/58, 44–48. In 1739, King Edward had written the SPG asking it to send "a good Schoolmaster to learn and instruct our young Children, [so] that they may be brought up in the Christian Faith"; C. F. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G.: An Historical Account of the Society for Propagating the Gospel*, 2 vols. (London, 1901), 1:294.
- 98 Frank J. Klingberg, "The Efforts of the SPG to Christianize the Mosquito Indians, 1742–1785," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 9 (4) (1940): 305–21; Andrew S. Berky, ed., *The Mosquito Coast and the Story of the First Schwenckfelder Missionary Enterprise among the Indians of Honduras from 1768 to 1775* (Norristown, PA, 1953); Dawson, "William Pitt's Settlement," 690–4.
- 99 Klingberg, "Efforts of the SPG," 317–8.
- 100 ABH 1:218; see also "Letter of the Inhabitants of the Mosquito Shore, 1766," in *Defence of Robert Hodgson*, apps. 4–5. While in Belize in 1816, General Robinson, Tempest's elder son, impressed the Belizean superintendent with his notion of Christianity, and the superintendent stated that General Robinson "has shown particular zeal" in spreading the Christian faith; Earl Bathurst, Superintendent of Belize, to King of England, Belize, 19 Jan. 1816, PRO, CO 123/25.
- 101 Council Minutes, Jamaica, 17 Nov. 1762, PRO, CO 140/42. On Hodgson's and Corrin's contraband trade from Bluefields, see also [Jones], "Report on the Mosquito Shore"; "Declaración de el Capitán Yarrinse indio de la nación Caribe de edad de 40 años, León, 9 Sept. 1768," BAGG 5 (2) (1940): 121–6; Enrique Sánchez Pedrote, "El Coronel Hodgson y la expedición a la costa de los Mosquitos," *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* 24 (1967): 1217; Romero Vargas, *Sociedades del Atlántico*, 80–87.
- 102 "Domingo Cabello to Salazar, León, 30 Nov. 1769," BAGG 5 (2) (1940): 141; "Declaración de el Capitán Yarrinse," 121–3.
- 103 Council Minutes, Jamaica, 17 Nov. 1762, PRO, CO 140/42; Robert Hodg-

- son, Jr., to Earl of Dartmouth, Jamaica, 21 Sept. 1775, PRO, CO 137/71, 25; Sorsby, "British Superintendency," 170; Olien, "General, Governor, and Admiral," 306.
- 104 Joseph Otway to Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, Black River, 12 July 1765, PRO, CO 137/33; Richard Jones to Gov. Elletson, Jamaica, 3 Aug. 1768, PRO, CO 137/35, 25; Hodgson, *Account of the Mosquito Territory*, 21; Agreement, Timothy Briton and Colvill [*sic*] Cairns, Twappi, 2 May 1772, PRO, FO 53/44, 276; Hodgson, Jr., to Earl of Dartmouth, Jamaica, 21 Sept. 1775, PRO, CO 137/71, 25; James Lawrie to Governor Germain, Black River, 3 May 1777, PRO, CO 137/72, 164–6; James Lawrie to Governor Germain, Black River, 24 May 1777, PRO, CO 137/72, 141; Superintendent of Belize to His Lord Duke of Manchester, Belize, 3 Apr. 1824, PRO, CO 123/35; "El marqués del campo a condé de Floridablanca, London, 24 Oct. 1786," in CRC, 247–52.
- 105 Allan Christelow, "Contraband Trade between Jamaica and the Spanish Main, and the Free Port Act of 1766," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 22 (1942): 309–43; Offen, "British Logwood Extraction from the Mosquitia."
- 106 "Joseph de Nava to Pedro Salazar, Cartago, 14 July 1769," BAGG 5 (4) (1940): 338–9; "La costa de Mosquitos," CRC, 238.
- 107 "Luis Díez de Navarro, Guatemala, 24 Nov. 1769," BAGG 5 (4) (1940): 347.
- 108 "Declaración de el Capitán Yarrinse," 121–3.
- 109 "Don Pedro de Salazar to Joseph Nava, Guatemala, 15 Dec. 1769," CRC, 21. Increasing Tawira-Spanish contacts sharpened Spanish distinctions between the Sambo—whom they viewed as "half-breed" lackeys of English pirates—and the Tawira, seen as proud "Indians" seeking to throw off the yoke of English and Sambo domination. This simplistic dichotomy gave rise to the misinterpretation that the Tawira were allied with the Ulwa and Kukra, because the Kukra leader known in Spanish as Yarrinse (a corruption of the English "Garrison") had sought Spanish protection at the same time. It was this Spanish misconception that convinced many historians that the Tawira were in fact "transformed Sumus." This inaccurate view has also misdirected historical interpretations of Sambo-Tawira disunity in general and spatial-ethnic differences in Sambo-Tawira slaving in particular; see for example "Pedro de Salazar, gobernador y capitán general del reino de Guatemala, 11 Nov. 1769," BAGG 5 (4) (1940): 341–3.
- 110 Richard Jones to W. Trelawny, Black River, 4 Apr. 1770, PRO, CO 137/65, 183–8; Sorsby, "British Superintendency," 170–1; Olien, "Miskitu Kingdom," 211.
- 111 "Joseph de Nava, Cartago, 12 Feb 1770," BAGG 6 (1) (1940): 16–17; "Joseph de Nava, Matina, 15 Feb. 1770," BAGG 6 (1) (1940): 15–16; "Joseph de Nava, Cartago, Feb. 1770," BAGG 6 (1) (1940): 18–20.
- 112 Offen, "Miskitu Kingdom," 311–8.
- 113 M. W., "Mosqueto Indian," 288; De la Haya, "Letter from Cartago, 8 Oct. 1722," LCRC, 27; Luis Díez Navarro, "Descripción del reino de Guatemala, 30 de Mayo de 1744," CRC, 180; "Hodgson to Trelawny, Sandy Bay, 8 April 1740," *States of Central America*, app. D:746; Hodgson, *Account of the Mosquito Territory*, 54; Colville Cairns to James Lawrie, Tebuppy [Twappi], 10 May 1777, PRO, CO 137/73, 202.
- 114 Offen, "Miskitu Kingdom," chap. 6. Carey prices and declining hawksbill turtle populations continued to have an impact on regional turtles into the early nineteenth century; Minutes of a Meeting of the Commissioners of the

- Mosquito Nation, 21 Feb. 1840, Government House, Belize, 21 Feb. 1840, PRO, CO 123/57; Proclamation, the Commandants and Magistrates of the Mosquito Kingdom, by order [of] James Stanislaus Bell, Bluefields, n.d. [1844], PRO, FO 53/5, 129; Patterson et al., Pearl Key Lagoon, 4 Feb. 1839, PRO, FO 53/44, 325; Bedford Pim, *The Gate of the Pacific* (London, 1863), 74.
- 115 Agreement, King George with John Bourke, Sandy Bay, 29 Oct. 1775, PRO, FO 53/44, 287–8; Estimate of the Loss Sustained by Misters Blair and Irving by the Capture of the Sloop Morning Star, Black River, 30 Apr. 1777, PRO, CO 137/71, 223; “Juan Fernández de Bobadilla to Martín de Mayorga, Cartago, 15 July 1776,” CDHCR 10:53; Equiano, *Interesting Narrative*, 170–5.
- 116 Indian Chiefs to Earl of Dartmouth, [England], 10 Nov. 1775, PRO, CO 137/70, 155; “Meeting 24 May 1776,” JCTP, 31; see also Equiano, *Interesting Narrative*, 169–70.
- 117 Copy of a letter from John Barry, Black River, 22 Aug. 1776, in an old letter-book of the Mosquito Shore, Belize, 1822, PRO, CO 123/32, 11–13; Superintendent of Belize to His Lord Duke of Manchester, Belize, 3 Apr. 1824, PRO, CO 123/35, app. 22:87; Gov. Basil Keith to James Lawrie, Jamaica, 28 Feb. 1777, PRO, CO 137/72, 110; James Lawrie to Germain, Black River, 28 May 1777, PRO, CO 137/72, 147.
- 118 [Settler Testimonies to James Lawrie], Twappi, 10 May 1777, PRO, CO 137/73, 199.
- 119 Lawrie to Germain, Black River, 3 May 1777, PRO, CO 137/72, 164–5.
- 120 Note how Lawrie contrasts the “Mosquito men” with the “Indian Governor”; James Lawrie to Germain, Black River, 24 May 1777, PRO, CO 137/72, 141. In an earlier letter, Lawrie refers to Prince Eugene as the “nephew of the late King”; James Lawrie to Germain, Black River, 3 May 1777, PRO, CO 137/72, 164. On 31 July 1776, the Panamanian governor, Pedro Carbonel y Pinto, advised the president of the Guatemala audiencia that he had received a letter from the “rey” of the Miskitu Indians asking for peace, a likely reference to the Tawira prince Eugene; Salvatierra, *Historia de Centroamérica*, 1:455.
- 121 On Briton’s trip to Cartagena and his marriage in León to María, see Sánchez Pedrote, “El Coronel Hodgson,” 1229–31; Romero Vargas, *Sociedades del Atlántico*, 112–7; Floyd, *Anglo-Spanish Struggle*, 175–7; Ayón, *Historia de Nicaragua*, 3:161–75; cf. Offen, “Miskitu Kingdom,” 415–26.
- 122 Ayón, *Historia de Nicaragua*, 3:174–5.
- 123 Meanwhile, some Sambo had become unhappy with King George II and allegedly approached Don Carlos and asked him to head “their nation of zambos”; “Fray Cristóbal de Navarro to Juan Hurtado, Real Palacio, Guatemala, 27 June 1790,” BAGG 6 (3) (1941): 187–8. These Sambo leaders are likely the same Admiral Gualtin (Walton), General Malchin, and Maltis (Maltize) whom Porta Costas encountered in opposition to King George II and “who embrace [the Spanish] side”; Porta Costas, “Relación del reconocimiento,” 54.
- 124 The backdrop to the brief unity between Dilson II and George II was the certain knowledge that some thousand Spanish colonists were en route to settle the Mosquitia. Throughout Tawira dealings with the Spanish no arrangement had approved the arrival of settlers, although Spanish officials had always sought to install them. The arrival of settlers, coinciding with a new rhetoric of Spanish sovereignty—something the British had never claimed—helped forge a Miskitu ethnic space and temporarily united the Sambo-Tawira leader-

- ship in order to prevent its violation. On Spanish settlers in the Mosquitia, see William J. Sorsby, "Spanish Colonization of the Mosquito Coast, 1787-1800," *Revista de la Historia de America* 73-74 (1972): 145-53.
- 125 Romero Vargas insists that Don Carlos was killed after Hodgson was attacked. However, the traditional interpretation claims that Hodgson tried to intervene unsuccessfully at Twappi and then the Miskitu turned on him; Romero Vargas, *Sociedades del Atlántico*, 113; Ayón, *Historia de Nicaragua*, 3:195. For further variations on the standard narrative see Gámez, *Historia de la costa de Mosquitos*, 159-60; Salvatierra, *Historia de Centroamérica*, 1:518; Sánchez Pedrote, "El Coronel Hodgson," 1232.
- 126 Ayón, *Historia de Nicaragua*, vol. 3, pp. 199, 202.
- 127 *Ibid.*, 205.
- 128 *Ibid.*, 205-7.
- 129 José del Río, "Disertación del viaje hecho de orden del Rey, Trujillo, 23 Aug. 1793," CRC, 159.
- 130 "Proceedings at a General Congress, Tebuppy, 1 Oct. 1780," PRO, CO 137/79, 165; Conzemius, "Notes," 60.
- 131 "Petition for Former Mosquito Shore Settlers, 13 Aug. 1793," ABH, 1:203; Miskitu Leaders to Col. Thomas Barrow, Cape Gracias Adios, 17 Mar. 1804, PRO, CO 123/16, 62; George Henderson, *An Account of the British Settlement of Honduras; Being a Brief View of Its Commercial and Agricultural Resources, Soil, Climate, Natural History, & C. to which are Added Sketches of the Manners and Customs of the Mosquito Indians, Preceded by the Journal to the Mosquito Shore* (London, 1809), 133.
- 132 Roberts, *Voyages and Excursions*, 113.
- 133 Dunham, *Journal of Voyages*, 64.
- 134 Roberts, *Voyages and Excursions*, 113, 125, 128-30; see also Olien, "Indian Slave Trade."
- 135 Roberts, *Voyages and Excursions*, 137-8.
- 136 *Ibid.*, 139.
- 137 *Ibid.*, 140. The governor's place of residence remains unnamed but was likely Twappi, but possibly Yulu or Krukira.
- 138 Roberts, *Voyages and Excursions*, 141-2.