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DIEGO PENA'S EXPEDITION TO APALACHEE
AND APALACHICOLO IN 1716

A JOURNAL TRANSLATED AND WITH AN INTRODUCTION

by **MARK F. BOYD**

Prior to the settlement of Charles Town in 1670, the Spanish, through the mission reductions, dominated many of the southeastern Indian tribes. Although the mission Indians generally accepted the discipline imposed, several revolts against Spanish rule nevertheless occurred, the suppression of which doubtless produced many malcontents. Furthermore the Spanish regarded the English settlement of Carolina as an encroachment on Spanish territory, although evidently not unwelcome by Indians who had become hostile to the Spaniards.

In Spanish eyes, Florida, being devoid of precious metals, was unproductive and lacking in commercial opportunities. The settlements were regarded as military outposts protecting the route of the *flota*, and were not self-supporting, being maintained by a subsidy. Their insignificant Indian trade largely dealt with provisions to supplement the meager and irregular supplies received from abroad. On the other hand, the English settlements, of necessity had to become self-supporting and render a profit to the mother country. The English settlers consequently soon developed an active trade with the Indians through which their influence rapidly expanded. Although finally largely becoming based on deer skins, the English nevertheless encouraged their adherents to engage in active warfare with other tribes, particularly those supporting the Spanish, with whom they developed an extensive trade for captives, who were thereafter held in slavery. These hostilities intensified after 1680, through raids on mission settlements in Guale and Timucua. Firearms became an important item

This is a contribution from the Florida Park Service. The annotations to the journal largely deal with identification of sites on those portions of the route which traverse areas represented on the quadrangle sheets of the U. S. G. S. Dr. John R. Swanton has very kindly reviewed the translation of the journal, and has supplied a few annotations distinguished with his initials.

of their commerce, giving their adherents an important advantage over their opponents, as the Spanish were reluctant to supply Indians with these weapons. The aggressive English traders soon brought the ever expanding radius of their operations into contact with Indians who hitherto had been little subject to Spanish influence, with likely a consequent intensification of intertribal hostilities. This the Spanish sought to counteract by extending their own penetration into the interior, in particular along the Chattahoochee river. With French penetration to the Gulf Coast, the struggle became tripartite, although after the succession of the Bourbon dynasty to the Spanish throne, the French and Spanish usually presented a common front to the English.

Thus the Spanish attempted to forestall the English among the Indians living on the Chattahoochee river, known to them as Apalachicolas, by efforts to effect their conversion in 1679 and 1681. These were unsuccessful, although some converts were congregated at the mission of Santa Cruz de Sabacola near the confluence of the Flint and Chattahoochee rivers. The Spanish apprehensions were justified when Dr. Henry Woodward, the noted English emissary to the Indians, finally penetrated to these villages in 1685. Learning of his presence, the deputy governor of Apalachee, Antonio Matheos, led two expeditions to the Apalachicolas in the same year, but failed to apprehend the doctor and the traders in his company. Although Woodward eluded him, he received the submission of eight towns, and burnt four others, Coweta, Kasihta, Tuskegee and Kolomi, which were recalcitrant.

Three later expeditions in as many years could not dissuade the Indians from their inclination to English trade. Then in 1689 the Spanish built a block-house near Coweta where a garrison was maintained until 1691, when exigencies in St. Augustine required withdrawal of the small force. The fort failed of its purpose, as the presence of the garrison and memories of the burning

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of the villages impelled the Indians to leave the Chat-tahoochie and move nearer to the English. They settled on the banks of the upper Ockmulgee river, which from the name by which these Indians were known to the English, was called Ochese Creek, from which they came to be known as Creeks.

The erstwhile Apalachicola probably did not require much incitement to intensify their raids on the Florida mission settlements. These nearly continuous hostilities in which the Indians were not only the chief participants but also the principal sufferers, were intensified at times when their European sponsors were engaged in open warfare. This intensification was notable during the War of the Spanish Succession or Queen Anne's War (1701-1714), terminated by the treaties of Utrecht and Rastatt. Thus St. Augustine was unsuccessfully besieged in 1702 by Governor Moore of South Carolina, who to retrieve his prestige and weaken St. Augustine, led a devastating raid into Apalachee in 1704. Further raids followed in this and succeeding years, until by 1708, except for the garrison towns of St. Augustine and Pensacola, Florida was practically depopulated.

Depopulation, however, did not wholly result from slaughter, but from enforced emigration of the vanquished from Florida. Ever since the initial raids into Guale, the Carolinians, aided by a spirit of disaffection in the mission Indians, had been developing a policy of relocating those tribes they had come to dominate on the southern periphery of the colony, as a barrier to Spanish counterattacks. The first extensive relocation was that of the Yamassees, who prior to 1707 had been induced to leave Guale and settle along the coast north of the Savannah river. Other groups, among which the Apalachee were notable, were obliged to settle on the south side of this river adjacent to Savannah Town. For the remaining period of Queen Anne's War, Carolina appeared to be secure from Spanish aggression.

The English, however, did not continue indefinitely to enjoy the confidence of these relocated Indian groups.

English encroachments onto the reserved Indian lands, coupled with gross abuses inflicted by the traders, aroused a resentment which smouldered until it burst into sudden and unexpected flame in 1715 in what is known as the Yamasee War. Although at the time it was widely believed this rising was instigated by the Spanish and French, this has not been proven. It appears that the relocated Creeks may have instigated the concerted hostilities of all the surrounding nations.

The Carolina colony was immediately in desperate straits and conceivably might have succumbed had it not been possible to secure the defection of the Cherokee from the rebellion, partly by diplomacy and partly by military operations. This breach was climaxed by a Cherokee massacre of Creek and Yamasee emissaries early in 1716. The tide subsequently turned in favor of the Carolinians, and the disheartened Indians scattered from their reservations along the Savannah and Ockmulgee rivers. The Yamasee largely fled to the vicinity of St. Augustine in Florida, the Apalachicola returning to their old haunts along the Chattahoochee river. The period was one of tension, the old balance in favor of Carolina had been upset, and the long repressed Spaniards recognized an opportunity to recover some, at least, of their diminished territory and prestige.

The journal of the 1716 expedition of Lieutenant Diego Pena is of interest not only for its intrinsic character and substance but from the circumstance that it throws into high relief the completeness of the stark devastation resulting from the English instigated Indian raids into Apalachee and Timucua and elsewhere in Florida between 1702 and 1708. Pena was the first to traverse these regions since those tragedies.

The journal is contained in a file preserved in the Archives of the Indies in Seville, photostats of which were made available through the courtesy of the North Carolina Department of Archives and History. These were from a transcript contemporaneously made in St.

Augustine for submission to the Viceroy of New Spain, from whence it was forwarded to Spain.*

There is presented a translation of the journal in full, and for a better understanding of the circumstances which lead to the expedition and the immediate results thereof, the setting is sketched from the other pertinent papers in the file.

When Senor Colonel of Spanish Infantry, Don Pedro de Oliver y Fullana, Major General of the Armies of His Majesty, arrived in St. Augustine in the month of July, 1716, with a commission from His Majesty as Governor and Captain General of the said city and its provinces, he either found awaiting him, or was soon thereafter cognizant of an Indian visitor, a casique or chief called Chislacasliche, from the lower Chattahoochie river, who, in the belief of the Spaniards, was the Emperor of the Province of Coweta, Chislacasliche, whose name is variously written in the documents of this file as Chalaquiliche, and Chilacaliche (of Pena), had paid a visit to St. Augustine in 1715, and had rendered submission to Oliver's predecessor, a circumstance suggesting that he and his followers were among the numerous former adherents of the English who were dislodged from along the Savannah river by the Yamassee War. At his former visit he had been asked to disseminate news, on his return home, of his good reception and spread word that others who desired to render submission would be received in an equally friendly manner and thereafter enjoy Spanish protection. His return visit was prompted by a desire to communicate the news that many bands on the Chattahoochie (Apalachicola) river desired friendship with the Spaniards, but that for some reason they were perplexed by the substance of Chislacasliche's previous message. He proposed to Oliver that the substance be reiterated in another message to be sent to the bands on the river, and that in testimony of authenticity it be brought by a military

* The file constitutes AI 58-1-30 : 56-56' (pp. 106), dated April 6, 1716. The date is an obvious error, probably for 1717, since none of the documents contained bear a date earlier than July 21st, 1716.

embassy. Oliver immediately called a council of war to consider the proposal, the members of which readily appreciated the opportunity and approved the project.

Thereupon Governor Oliver immediately ordered a retired lieutenant, Diego Pena, with a retired ensign, Diego de Florencia, and a detachment of three soldiers, Francisco Rodriguez, Francisco de Leon and Bartholome Ramirez, of the cavalry company of the garrison, to undertake the mission, and escort Chislacasliche and his companions to the Chattahoochie. For some undisclosed reason de Leon's name is not subsequently mentioned, and he may not have set forth with the party. Francisco Domingues appears to have taken the place of Francisco Rodriguez, although this apparent substitution may be an error of the copyist of the document.

The instructions to Lieutenant Pena were minute. In substance they had the following scope:

1. Ascertain how many chiefs and provinces or villages of Indians desire peace, our friendship and trade, the only condition to be exacted for which, is that they come to St. Augustine to render submission.

2. Pena is to assure all chiefs and principal Indians whom he meets or convenes in council in the name of the crown, that all who come to render submission will be well treated and entertained, and that newly arrived Governor Oliver bears fresh orders from the King to help and protect the Indians.

3. During the journey, Pena is to exercise care not to offend the Indians of his company, and in particular Chislacasliche, and is to treat them with the greatest suavity, and reiterate to them while on the road, that after submission to the Spanish they will enjoy much good fortune, will be rich, and will be feared by their enemies.

4. He is to urge the Indians who contemplate settlement in Apalachee, that they select sites from San Marcos eastward, that they settle in villages, each nation or tongue to itself, and that in order to ensure fer-

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tile ground, that the site be near some river, creek or brook.

5. In addition to munitions for Chislacasliche and his companions as well as the Spanish party, Pena will carry, for distribution as presents to chiefs and principal men who show inclination to render submission, 3 arrobas of powder and a dozen guns.

6. In order to avoid confusion and expense at St. Augustine, Pena should attempt to dissuade any, other than chiefs and principal men, from coming to St. Augustine to render submission.

7. Pena is to keep a diary on the journey, noting all events.

8. He is to take particular pains to collect all cattle, in particular horses, and should Indian villages be encountered, he is to arrange in a friendly manner for the Indians to deliver them in St. Augustine, assuring them that they will be paid their full value at that city.

9. None of the Spaniards shall trade with the Indians for anything, under penalty of punishment on return, the guilty as well as the leader.

10. If in passing through Lachua [Alachua] or its neighborhood, some cattle or horses can be rounded up, the governor is to be advised of the location by a letter sent by one or two Indian messengers.

11. The governor is to be advised in the same manner of any novelty seen on the road.

12. Pena is to ascertain, in the case of those chiefs seeking royal patronage, the number of warriors they command, their nation, tongue, and the number of people subject to each.

13. Pena is to report on the bad places in the road which they are obliged to repair, and whether after repair they are of a character which can be used again for ready communication between the presidio and Apalachee.

14. All of these orders are to be observed by the leader as well as by those of his command under penalty of punishment, and on the contrary they are informed,

that if well and faithfully executed in accordance with their obligation, they will always receive the governor's attention in all and for all, and that their particular merit will be reported to His Majesty.

Dated July 30th, 1716.

A certification by the notary corroborates that Pena and his party departed from St. Augustine on August 4th, 1716.

During the absence of Pena, Governor Oliver died, his place being taken *ad interim*, on standing royal orders, by the Sergeant Major of the garrison, Don Juan de Ayala Escobar, who had similarly substituted on a former occasion. Under date of November 3rd, 1716, Governor de Ayala records the arrival of two Yamassee Indians who brought two letters and a diary from Lieutenant Pena, the former dated the 10th of September and the 28th of October, respectively.

The letter of September 10th, written on the banks of the Ocklocknee river on the outward journey, affords but little not already recorded in the journal. It is of interest to note that he recognized the character of the storm which so impeded their progress through the present Jefferson county, as he says that "God sent us a *Urucan* of force that closed the roads to us". He states that he sent two Indians from San Juan de Guacara to advise that he was short of horses, who also carried an order from Chislacasliche to send six or seven horses, but as the state of the streams prevented, 10 strong men were sent to accompany them to the village of Chislacasliche. He notes that foreign Indians have made a fort in the old *chicazas* of the Chiscas.

The letter of October 28th, written from San Juan de Guacara on his return journey, states that he is accompanied by twenty-six and expects to reach Picolata in eight days. He asks that canoes be ready for the crossing at that place and that a supply of biscuits await him there as his hunters lack ammunition. The narrative of the letter expands the journal account of the council at Apalachicola, and introduces a few aspects not mention-

ed elsewhere. Although the journey revealed that Chislacasliche was not as consequential an Indian as the Spanish had believed, he nevertheless was encouraged to remain a Spanish partisan. The expedition revealed the dominant position of the casique of Cavetta (Cowetta) among the Chattahoochie bands. He is elsewhere identified by name as Y(s)lachamuque in these documents and was known to the English as the Emperor Brims. He exhibited a neutral role in his diplomacy, playing the Spanish against the English, a policy that later was highly developed by Alexander McGillivray. Although apparently all of the subordinate chiefs present at the Apalachicola council indicated an intention to render submission, Pena states that Yslachamuque did not express his personal opinions or publicly, at least, attempt to influence the meeting. He was quoted however as having said that when he broke with the English, he sent two principal men to St. Augustine, to ask pardon and favor of the governor, who returned without bearing a reply, from whence arose the confusion mentioned by Chislacasliche, which prevailed up to the time of Pena's visit. He further expressed the opinion that he did not regard the governor as responsible for the slight, but attributed the blame either to faulty interpretation, or neglect by his emissaries. He regarded the dispatch of Pena's mission within ten days after the arrival of the new governor as ample expression of the good will of the Spanish crown. The casique promised to send an Apalachean chief (probably the Adrian later mentioned) to render submission in his place. Pena reported that while at Cavetta a returning war party brought in four horses taken from four Englishmen whom they had slain, and that the English have a fort (probably Fort Moore near Savannah Town) 30 leagues from Carolina with a garrison of 300 men, the establishment of which was attributed to the discovery of a mine, either copper or gold. While tarrying at the village of Chislacasliche on the return journey he heard the report that half of the province of Chalaque (Cherokee) with

100 towns is desirous of peace with the Spanish, and are preparing a present of tobacco and pipes for the casique of Cavetta. The Chalaque are stated as not to be regarded as warriors. They are described as devoted to the English, and he mentions that the Indians of Apalachicola and the Talapuses, daily bring in many prisoners from there. The local harvests are described to have been good. The English are reported to be warning the Indians to stay away from St. Augustine, but Pena declares that without force they cannot exact compliance. Pena further relates that on the day of his arrival in Apalachicola he was sought out by two white girls who tearfully besought release from captivity. He effected their release on the promise of a ransom of 60 pesos in goods, and brought them back with him.

On receipt of these letters, Governor *ad interim* de Ayala wrote to Pena informing him of the death of Governor Oliver. This was acknowledged by Pena in a letter written from Picolata, relating that owing to bad weather his crossing of the river was delayed, and advising that he was accompanied by Chislacasliche and other Indians.

Pena and his Indian companions were formally received in St. Augustine on November 9th, with as much ceremony and ostentation as circumstances permitted, doubtless exceeding anything heretofore witnessed on the streets of the already ancient city. The account is sufficiently particularized to merit extended consideration.

On their entrance into the city they were met by a military escort and received with a salvo of artillery. The principal Indians and warriors came down the street dancing according to their custom, with the chiefs, who did not dance, in advance, who would at intervals, pause in their progress. In this manner they arrived at the governor's palace, where they were welcomed by the assembled judges, royal officials, retired captains of infantry and artillery, and a great concourse of people. At the gate of the palace was stationed a squad of in-

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fantry facing the street, who fired a volley while the officials embraced the chiefs. The officials and chiefs then passed to the salon of the palace where the governor awaited them, who due to a recent illness had not been with the group at the palace gate. Here His Excellency the governor joyfully embraced the chiefs and principal Indians, at which time another volley was discharged. All having been seated in their chairs, His Excellency and the other officials, through the interpreter Antonio Perez, expressed their welcome. A response on behalf of the Indians was given through the interpreter by Chislacasliche, saying that they came as envoys from Y(s)lachuamque, mico of the town of Cavetta, who for many days had desired to come to render submission to the King of Spain, which he had not done because of ignorance of the reception accorded his earlier emissaries by the predecessor of His Excellency, for although these returned to their villages, they never reported to the mico whether or not they were well received, as a consequence of which he was much vexed and displeased, without having that by which he could reassure his children and women. But now, with the coming of the Spaniards to that province they were resuscitated, and cast off the displeasure which they had felt, and are now corrected in their opinions, and have found and seen that which they desire. The mico of Cavetta places at the feet of His Majesty and His Excellency seven provinces, rendering vassallage for the seven which are subject to him, whose friendship and obedience will endure to the end of time. According to Chislacasliche and Adrian, the absence of the other chiefs of those provinces from the presidio, is due to the great shortages prevailing in their villages, for which reasons they have sent their principal men. On their conclusion, His Excellency expressed in the name of His Majesty, that he would offer them on his part, all possible aid and assistance, an object which is of great concern to His Majesty, as much for their encouragement as for their assistance, and that they could be much cheered, as was His Excellency, in having seen

and thanked them for the good treatment accorded the Spanish embassy, which he would relate to His Majesty. With this conclusion, His Excellency ordered that sweetmeats, wine and rum be served, and made a toast to the King, whereupon a volley of musketry was fired. After a prolonged pause, the Indians asked permission to retire outside and dance in the patio. Taking chairs and tabourettes, the royal officials and captains went and sat down with the chiefs, and the warriors danced joyfully, and when they had danced for half an hour, His Excellency ordered that they be again treated with sweets and rum, which was done with much generosity. Finally His Excellency ordered the judges and royal officials to find them shelter, and stated that he would help with all that was needed. The Treasurer of the Royal Hacienda, Captain Don Joseph de Pedroso, took them to his house and entertained them further, and had, until shelter was found them, twenty-two persons with two casiques.

The Indians appear to have remained as guests of the government until about November 26th, as on that date Governor de Ayala issued a commission conferring the title of *Generalissimo* on the mico of the great province of Apalachicola, with a message that on request he would be glad to establish a garrison of infantry, and supply arms and ammunition. These were accompanied by presents of a length of red cloth, a blanket, and an arroba of powder and one of ball.

The episode closes with an official interrogation of all members of the Spanish party, to ascertain the extent of their corroboration of Pena's narrative. Needless to say, this was complete. The governor was evidently pleased with Pena's services, as in the following year he was sent on another mission to Apalachicola.

THE JOURNAL

Journal of the journey to Apalachee and to the province of Apalachicola ordered made by the Governor and Captain General Don Pedro de Oliver y Fullana,

Major General of the Royal Armies, Governor and Captain General of the Presidio of San Augustin and of all the provinces of its jurisdiction, by His Majesty.

1) [First day of journey] On the said day, month and year [4th August, 1716] I left the presidio of the said San Augustin, and camped at the place they call EL PAJON, two leagues distant.

2) On the 5th day I left the said place and camped at the RIO DE PICALATTA ² which is at five leagues [distance]. In this day's travel are encountered four creeks three of which are small, the other, which is large, they call DE LA BARIA ³.

3) The 6th day was spent awaiting the Indians who were going in my company. They arrived in the afternoon in a canoe. I went in search of another so that the horses could be taken quickly across, but could not find one. This day the baggage was ferried to the other side of the river, and I camped in PUPO on the [west] bank of the said river.

4) On the 7th day, due to lack of other transport, I was occupied in ferrying the beasts in a canoe.

5) On the 8th day I left PUPO, and camped at mid-day at the creek DESIANAYBITTA, off the road. Two creeks were crossed. I marched [andube=andaba] three leagues, more or less.

6) On the 9th day I left the said situation and camped at RIO DE BLANCO ⁴, only two leagues distant, because three Indians were sick.

7) On the 10th day I left RIO BLANCO and camped at TOAPUTARE ⁵. One crosses a large creek they call AJANOYBITTA ⁶, and another which they call APIRAYVITTA ⁶, while another (which) they call AFANOYVITACHIRICO ^{7 8}, is skirt-

1, "The stubble field"

2, St. Johns river.

3, Name given to a Cuban tree, *Cordia gerascantoides*, H. B. & K. The only Florida species, *C. sebestina*, L., is limited to the keys and adjacent mainland. This name is obviously misapplied.

4, Headwaters of Green's creek.

5, George's lake. 6, Headwaters of Rice creek. 7, Headwater of Ates creek. 8, In Timucuan, *chirico* means little, hence this name becomes "Little Afanoyvita", the root probably being the same as in

ed. I marched (only) two leagues because all the beasts had sore mouths (*afterando?*).

8) On the 11th day I left TOAPUTARE. Here a beast accidentally ran a stick into its breast. Camped at PEPAYVITTA ⁹, four leagues.

9) On the 12th day I left PEPAYVITTA and made camp at a spot near the road from SAN FRANCISCO ¹⁰, about three leagues. Two creeks were crossed, the first ACUILA ¹¹, the other TAFOCIUA ¹².

10) On the 13th day I left this spot, to camp at another place they call AMACA ¹³, which is a large lake. This day I marched three leagues. Two creeks were crossed, the one they call CAYATACO ¹⁴, the other CAMALACA ¹⁵. This locality has much game. On arrival there was seen from the camp a bull with the brand of LACHUA ¹⁶. We immediately killed it. The Indians killed two buffalo (*sibolos*), two cows and four deer.

11) On the 14th day I remained in this camp, in order to rest the beasts. Two cows were killed this day.

12) On the 15th day I left the said AMACA, and without a road set out for a hammock (*monte*) near the *yapacha* ¹⁷ of SANTA FE ¹⁸. This day we marched four leagues, because we knew we were lost.

13) On the 16th day I left this spot and camped at the RIO DE SANTA FE. On this day I marched three leagues as a consequence of our error, as from AMACA to Santa Fe is no more than four leagues, and two from SANTA FE to the said RIO DE SANTA FE ¹⁹.

14) The 17th day I camped at AFECTAPALINO, after [traveling] two leagues.

15) The 18th day I remained at this camp because of the heavy rain.

the second name preceding. (J. R. Swanton). 9, Either-Putnam or Ashley Prairie, or alternatively the north end of Half Moon lake. 10, About 3 miles west of Melrose. Evidently they diverged from the San Francisco trail. 11, N. branch Etoma. 12, Creek connecting Lake Brill with Santa Fe lake. 13, Lake Newman. 14, Head of Lochloosa. 15, Hatchet creek. 16, Alachua. 17, Since the word *yapacha* prevails in Timucuan territory, it is likely a Timucuan word. In this event it is likely that *yca* is the same as *hica*, the Timucuan word for town. (J. R. S.) 18, Santa Fe river northwest of Traxler. 19, At the natural bridge.

16) The 19th day I left the said place and camped at the *ycapacha* of SAN MARTIN ²⁰. This day I marched two leagues.

17) The 20th day I remained at the said *ycapacha* because it was raining heavily and the Indians wished to hunt as we had no provisions. Here three buffalo and six deer were killed.

18) The 21st day I left the said site and camped at a place they call AQUILACHUA. This day I marched five leagues. In this days march no creeks were encountered, but there are good springs of water, the first [is] named USICHUA, the other USIPARACHUA, and another AFANOCHUA.

19) The 22nd I left the said place to camp at the first *ycapacha* of SAN JUAN DE GUACARA. In this *ycapacha* are good springs of water. From CALACALA which is on the bank of this RIO DE GUACARA ²¹, one travels in sight of the river as far as CHITONAVAJUNO. This CHITONAVAJUNO is a spring of water which has connection with another spring of water.

20) The 23rd day I left the *ycapacha* and camped on the [other side of the] RIO DE SAN JUAN DE GUACARA, two leagues.

21) The 24th day I remained at this spot in order to rest the animals, which were much fatigued from swimming the river, which although not very wide, now has a strong current. It is about a pistol shot in width. There is much game, deer and buffalo, hereabouts. They killed two buffalo and four deer, and caught many fish. Today a runner was sent to the villages, Chi[s]laca[s]liche ²² telling his brother we were going afoot with tired beasts, [and] for him to lend us six horses, which I would return on arrival at the villages. All this land is elevated, there are no thick Woods, but good watering places. The only drawback is that the roads are obliterated by the fallen timber which has lodged in them.

20, One league east of the Itchetucknee spring. 21, Suwannee river.
22, Since the Muscogee and Apalachee languages have no "r", it is likely that Chi[s]laca[s]liche is the individual otherwise known as Cherokeeleechee, or "Cherokee killer". He is known to have had, at one time, a village in the forks of the river. (J. R. S.)

22) The 25th day I camped at a large lake which they call OCOCO. From the river to the said OCOCO is three leagues. In this days travel crossed two creeks, the one is CONSEPCION, the other they call USYBITTA. At this place are many buffalo. Here two were killed. All high ground.

23) The 26th day I left the said place of OCOCO and camped at LAS PUENTES, which is three leagues. Two lakes are crossed, the one GUIBENAYOA, the other TICOSORIVA. There are many buffalo. Here two were killed.

24) The 27th day I left LAS PUENTES and camped at the entrance of the *yapacha* of SAN PEDRO. To the first, one marches two leagues. Two buffalo and three deer were killed. Many are the buffalo which have withdrawn to this region.

25) On the 28th day we remained at this camp, because of the excessively bad weather which drenched (*cofio*) us with water. This day were killed two buffalo and six deer.

26) The 29th day we remained in this place because the bad weather worsened, with such violent rain, wind, thunder and lightening, that it appeared as the end of the world, because the trees with the weakened (*noberse?*) roots immediately crashed, so that I understand that not a single pole or tree remained erect. It calmed on the second day in the afternoon. Sixteen deer were killed this day.

27) The 30th day we left this place and made camp in the hammock (*monte*) of SAN PEDRO, which is a very thick hammock. Here it was laborious to clear a passage, since we imitated San Bartholome *el mudar la piel* that was about half a league in length. We marched two leagues. Three buffalo were killed.

28) The first day of September [sic] I left this place and camped at the *yapacha* of SAN MATHEO. We marched five leagues, since often we were obliged to retrace our steps because of fallen timber.

29) The 2nd day I left the said spot and went to the RIO DE ASILE²³. I found it so swollen that the beasts

23, Aucilla river.

were obliged to swim the flood. It was very laborious to open a road here. In this river my horse was drowned, and I narrowly escaped, because in leading it into the river by the halter, the current caught us and forced us down on a tree, toppled by the weather, which had fallen in midstream, in the branches of which I could not avoid entanglement. I camped near the *ycapacha* of ASILE after much labor, because all of the thick hammock had been blown to the ground. After much labor we covered two leagues.

30) The 3rd day I left the said spot and camped near the creek of YBITACHUCO where we remained all of the day in opening a road, so thick was the timber on the ground. The extremes and excesses of the weather are unbelievable *que no queda rexion* in the maze, as if it wished to see if it could hinder my passage, in order to deprive me of the opportunity to serve the two crowns. This day I marched one league.

31) On the 4th day I remained at this place, because of the heavy rain, since the clothing already had fallen in pieces from our bodies, as day and night it has been raining excessively upon us, and if there be added wind, water, mosquitoes and ticks, [it] appears imprudent [to prosecute] a similar journey. God help us.

32) The 5th day I camped at AYUBALE, leaving behind the *ycapacha* of YBITACHUCO, which from *chicaza*²⁴ to *chicaza* is one league. Today marched one league.

33) The 6th day I left the beforementioned *ycapacha*, and camped at that of PATALE, passing the *ycapacha* of CAPOLE. This place of PATALE is where the Reverend Father fray Manuel de Mendoza sacrificed his life, finishing his life preaching the Holy Evangelists. There were also martyred many Spaniards and Indians by fire, [who] when they screamed, were mocked. Four soldiers died as martyrs. God forgive them. I cannot exaggerate

24, It is interesting to note the substitution of the word *chicaza* for *ycapacha* shortly after passing from what was previously Timucuan into Apalachee territory. It is suspected that they have the same significance. From the context they would appear to mean "old town" or "old fields". (J. R. S.)

the severity of the weather which we experience to our great confusion. I mention here that which was seen in the *chicaza* of CAPOLE, which is that the wind broke a pine of moderate size in the middle, and the half of the tree was caught without falling more than four fathoms, making a furrow like that of a plow, a thing incredible, even to the Indians. They are thinking that God is aiding us.

34) The 7th day I left PATALE and camped at the *chicaza* of SAN LUIS, which is three leagues, passing on this march the *chicaza* of TOMOLE and that of LA TAMA this day. Three buffalo were killed. These *chicazas* abound in cattle, especially buffalo. The *chicazas* [are] rich in fruit trees, such as figs, peaches, pomgranates, quinces, medlars, chestnuts and acorns.

I now specifically summarize the leagues covered from the presidio of SAN AUGUSTIN to the place of SAN LUIS which is as follows: From the said presidio to the RIO DE SALAMOTOTO ²⁵ is ten leagues, from the river to SANTA FE is twenty leagues; from SANTA FE to SAN PEDRO, is thirty leagues ; because to the RIO DE GUACARA is twenty with ten to SAN PEDRO. From SAN PEDRO to the site of SAN LUIS is twenty, which makes eighty. Today it is much more, because of the difficult road.

35) The 8th day I left SAN LUIS and camped at the large prairie (*mayoa, nallosa*) of OCALQUIBE ²⁶, which extends for more than a league. On the prairie there were seen more than three hundred cattle [*rezes,*] buffalo and a few cows. Five buffalo, two cows and eleven deer were killed. I wish to mention the characteristics of buffalo and domestic cattle. Be it known that the difference is slight between the buffalo [*sibolo*] and cattle [*rez bacuna*]. There is however difference, in that cattle have hair, and buffalo, wool. The horn of the buffalo is small and thick, resembling those of a goat. The buffalo is high in the forequarters, but similar, and breeds just like cattle. Now the flesh is better than that of the cow, the

25, St. Johns river. 26, Lake Jackson prairie.

fat is thinner and is tinged with yellow, and has the flavor of mutton.

36) The 9th day we remained at this place because of the widespread water. On this day arrived twelve men sent by the casique, that they might conduct us carefully to his village of SAVACOLA ²⁷. The brother of Chi[s]laca[s]liche sent me a message to say that the beasts were not sent because the rivers are flooded.

37) The 10th day I left this place and made camp at the *chicaza* of SCAMBE ²⁸. The crossing of the RIO DE LAGNA ²⁹ was laborious, as one had to swim a quarter of a league, requiring all of one day for the crossing, since all of the channels were full. For this a boat was made from a green buffalo hide. The hide with its gunwales, ribs and stem holds three persons, or more than a dozen arrobas of baggage. This day marched one league. Two cattle were killed, which is the provision we brought, because the bread gave out on the second of September.

38) The 11th day I left from the referred site, and camped near a pond. This day marched four leagues, crossing the RIO DE PALOS ³⁰, which has much hammock on both sides. The river is more or less a stone throw in width. A raft of logs was made [for crossing]. Here were killed a bull, two cows and a large deer. We also crossed a large hammock of about half a league in diameter. The undergrowth in it was not very thick, and in part occupies low ground. This route is the old road to SAVACOLA.

39) The 12th day we left the spot mentioned and camped at a creek ³¹. This day we marched four leagues. A buffalo and two cows were killed. We crossed four creeks, three of which had steep wooded ravines.

41-46). The 13th day we arrived at the river of this village of the casique Paypa Mico ³². In order to arrive at the river ³³ we crossed a large canebrake.

This day marched one league and crossed the river which they call RIO DE PEDERNALES ³³. Here the two rivers,

²⁷, Sawokli. (J. R. S.) ²⁸, Escambe. ²⁹, Ocklocknee river. ³⁰, Little river. ³¹, Perhaps Mosquito creek. ³², Evidently the brother of Chi[s]laca[s]liche. ³³, Flint river.

the PEDERNALES and the APALACHICOLO³⁴ are confluent. The one and the other have the breadth of a pistol shot. From the said river to the village is about half a league. On arrival I was taken to the *bujio* or house of assembly. They made me make my abode on some benches they had made for the purpose, which were carpeted with buffalo skins. There came the chief, principal men and warriors, who gave us welcome [*norabuena*] and I in the name of His Majesty and of the Governor, gave them to understand why I came, for which they gave profuse thanks, and discharged their guns once or twice, honoring [*adamando*] the King, our Lord (whom God protect). They told me that they had developed a strong desire to see the Spaniards in their land, which they had looked forward to for many years. They performed several kinds of dances in expression of their good faith. They told me that in the other villages existed the same desire. When I arrived a courier with news of my arrival had already been sent to the other villages, where he should have arrived by the 14th day. God permit that they may be brought to our Holy Faith.

47) I left this place of Chi[s]laca[s]liche, which is in the *chicaza* of a village which belonged to the SABACOLAS, on the 20th day, having arrived on the 13th. This same day I camped in a small hammock. All the ground covered in this day's journey is good, high, and unbroken by creeks. I marched about five leagues.³⁵

34. Chattahoochie river.

35. The site of the village of Chiscasliche has not been identified, but as the peninsula between the rivers is low and subject to inundation, it is likely that its situation was above ordinary floods, which is possibly above the 70 foot contour. As a probable point of departure, it has been assumed that the village site was near the southernmost extension of this contour. From this point to his crossing from the east to the west bank of the Chattahoochee river, Pena gives a very circumstantial account of his route. The camp on the night of the 51st day was at "a river with steep banks and little water", which must be Pataula creek in Clay county, Georgia. Assuming that his route closely followed the present back roads paralleling the river, shown on the 1 inch to 1000 feet aerial maps of the U. S. Engineers Topographic Survey of the Chattahoochee river (1943), it appears that leagues having the equivalent of 2.5 miles, would bring him to Pataula creek, with marches each day of the recorded length. On the 47th and 48th days, his route was nearly exclusively

48) The 21day I left the said spot and spent the night at the *sexa* of a hammock. This day's journey comprised six leagues, more or less. Good ground, high, without ravines or undergrowth, without road, a *buen tiro y discurso*, lying between the rivers PEDERNALES and APALACHICOLO.

49) The 22nd day I left the mentioned site, and camped for the night at a ravine, having traversed three hammocks, and crossed six creeks, of which one is miry [*suniga = cienaga*] and is passed on foot, the others are not difficult. This day I marched seven leagues.

50) The 23rd day I left the place mentioned and made camp at a deep ravine, having crossed six deep ravines with bottoms broken by deep holes. This day I marched ten leagues.

51) The 24th day I left the spot described, and spent the night at a river with steep banks and little water, because of the extreme drought which has prevailed here. The ground much broken. This day I marched perhaps three leagues. Six buffalo were killed.

52) I left the mentioned site on the 25th day, and made camp on some prairies which are on this [west]

through Seminole county; on the 49th day, Kirkland and Sowhat-
chee creeks were among the six negotiated in Early county. The
march on the 50th terminated with a camp near the site of Fort
Gaines in Clay county, and the six creeks crossed may have been
Coheslee, Freeman's, Odom, Factory, Colomokee, and Roaring, the
others probably being headed. The short journey of the 51st day
took him to the bank of the Pataula, after crossing Cemochechobes
and Sandy creeks. The route from the vicinity of Fort Gaines to
Georgetown and beyond, closely followed the course of present
State Road 39. The journey on the 52nd day appears to have been
a forced march, and took him from Clay, through Quitman and
into Stewart county. It is assumed that the river was probably not
crossed until they were about abreast of the Apalachean settlement
where they spent the night, at about the end of the day's journey,
at a point adjacent to Road creek. This would have brought him
into the northeast corner of Barbour county, Alabama, where an
extended elevated river terrace would correspond with prairie he
mentions. The journey on the 53rd day, which was short, brought
him to the village of Savacola (Sabacola, the Sawokli of Swanton),
which according to Peter A. Brannon, was south of the mouth of
Hatcheechubbee creek, in Russell county. He does not give the
distance travelled to reach Apalachicola (Apalatchukla), which
according to Brannon, was southeast of Fort Mitchell, near Uchee
creek.

side of the river, belonging to some Christian Apalachee Indians. These have had a bountiful harvest of corn, beans, pumpkins, as well as the fruits of the forest, such as the chestnuts, acorns, medlars, as well as buffalo. Today I marched twelve league. The ground is much broken. I crossed the river in a canoe. The river has breadth of a pistol shot, with steep banks and strong currents. It discharges in the sea along with the PEDERNALES, which it joins, as I have related, at the site of Chi[s]laca[s]liche.

53) The 26th day I left these prairies and went to the village of SAVACOLA, which is distant from the prairies of the village, a matter of two leagues. From this place and village, the casique, principal men and *tascayos* which are their warriors, came out to meet me. They seated me on a bench near the *bujio* or royal house. There they gave me the general [expressions of courtesy] which I reciprocated. Later, after having made known to them the purposes of my journey, they gave a discharge of firearms and cheered our King (whom God protect). With much rejoicing they lead me to the royal house, which is a gallery, and entertained me much. They have, and are making, very good houses, some covered with shingles, others with bark, and for them, *culatas* of clay, and others of shingles, and make with skill strong houses with small windows.

54) On the 27th day I left the said village, and passed the night at a small farm [*jatillo*] of the casique of APALACHICOLO and of some Apalachean Indians. They entertained me much. Immediately on arrival at the said farm, I sent a courier to the village of APALACHICOCO, informing them that on the following day I would arrive, since I had previously asked that all the casiques and principal men gather at the said place of APALACHICOLO, that there the conference would be held, which was done in all the villages which render a submission to our King (whom God protect).

55) I left the said farm on the 28th day for the village of APALACHICOLO. From the farm to the village is

two leagues. There I found all of the casiques, and principal men of this province who came out to receive me, as they later did in the other villages. These, after having rendered to me their obedience, made many discharges of their firearms, acclaiming our King, and acknowledging their submission to him. This day I called the conference, and gave them to understand through the Apalachean interpreter, the Ensign Don Diego de Florencia, the instructions and orders of the governor, and presented a dozen flint lock muskets and three arrobas of powder with the proper proportion of balls.

In the village of Apalachicola on the 28th day of September of this year of one thousand seven hundred and sixteen, by me, the Lieutenant Diego Pena, retired, of the presidio of San Augustin of Florida, leader of this expedition to Apalachicola, accompanied by three [*sic*] privates of infantry, by [order of] the Governor and Captain General Don Pedro de Oliver y Fullana, Major General of the Royal Armies, present Governor and Captain General of the city of San Augustin and these provinces by His Majesty: Having called a conference of the casiques and principal men, and given them to understand the orders of Your Lordship through the interpreter above named, and having heard and understood, they unanimously replied that they will conform to and obey all of the orders which Your Lordship may be pleased to send them, and that they will render obedience and give submission to Our King and Lord, which is their wish, and without doubt their desire, and of their gratitude for the arms and munitions which Your Lordship was pleased to favor them, which were immediately distributed by each casique among his warriors in an orderly manner, saying further these warriors are those who defend their villages; and in that which relates to giving obedience to the King Our Lord, they might have done it many days [earlier], but they did not have motive, having [already] sent [their] word to the predecessor of the said governor. Those who flee

to their neutral villages [from] where they are much oppressed, without knowing the road to choose for the protection of their children [are sheltered] without explanation. They said they have been made happy by my visit, and only lack words to express the fortune they have had, they only can say that it will show them the way, that my visit has made it appear as if they might have been actually in a cell or dungeon without sight of light, from which my arrival had liberated them, and in that which relates to the removal of their villages to the province of Apalachee, they will do as Your Lordship will order, to where may be agreed upon and may be served, thanking Our King and Lord for the favor of the increase of their villages and their welfare, and that the peace will endure until the end of the world, and that immediately they will begin to make canoes for their descent. This was expressed by the casique of Cavetta, to whom all render submission, who placed at the feet of Your Majesty all of this independent province. He said that he places and renders vassalage to Your Majesty seven provinces which are subject to his order and authority. With regard to the province of **TALAPUSES**, which is populous, I as well as the casique of Cavetta, immediately sent word of our arrival, and said that all who come would be pleased and contented. With regard to my proposals [he said] these are the casiques who would and should [go] to the presidio to give submission, and that they would give it whole heartedly, but in order not to disobey, because the said casiques cannot go, he will order each village to send two warriors in place of the said casiques, because there is much scarcity of provisions in their villages, on return to their settlements, they will separate immediately and go to other territories because of this scarcity, but that as soon as supplied they will descend. [They promised] that they will give an account of the able bodied men and of arms, which each village possesses, which I require for a review of all of the villages of the province. And for verification of all that is here

related, I sign it in the presence of my companions, which is done on the said day, month and year.

DIEGO PENA

For not knowing [mark] **BARTHOLOMO RAMIRES**

ARRUEGO

DIEGO DE FLORENCIA

FRANCISCO DOMINGUES

I went to CAVETTA the 2nd day of October, which is six leagues distant. To go to CAVETTA one goes to the village of ACHITO, from ACHITO to OCMULQUE, from OCMULQUE to UCHI, from UCHI to TASQUIQUE, from TASQUIQUE to CASISTA, from CASISTA to CAVETTA, from CAVETTA to CHAVAJAL. This province has ten villages. The first is that of CHILACALICHE [Chislacaliche], the next SAVACOLA, another APALACHICOLO, then ACHITTO, another OCMULQUE, then UCHI, with CASISTA, then CAVETTA and CHAVAGALE.

Report of the warriors in each village:

Firstly, the place of Chilacaliche has	80
The village of Savacola has	84
Apalachicola	173
Achito	54
Ocumulque	58
Uchi	106
Tasquique	28
Casista	64
Cavetta	62
Chavagali ³⁶	46

The village of UCHI has a speech different from the others, since there [are] for it not more than two or

36, It must be remembered that these villages in the great bend of the Chattahoochee river, were just re-established on this area during the previous year, when as a consequence of the Yamassee War, these bands forsook the sites they had occupied on the Ockmulgee river for a quarter of a century, after their exodus from this identical region in resentment over the high-handed treatment accorded them by Antonio Matheos. Pena states that Cavetta was six leagues distant, presumably from Apalachicola, between which termini, were located five other villages. The name of the village given as located beyond Cavetta, Chavagale, may be regarded as an orthographic variant of Sawokli.

three interpreters. Tasquique has the *diamaza*³⁷. The remaining villages have the same speech, except SAVACOLA, which is distinct, but they speak Apalachian. In this province are many of the Apalachian nation, a few [*cortas*] ALAFAYES³⁸, and some TIMUCUANS³⁹ as well as the MOCAMA³⁹ who also have arms. Their leaders do not mention any more distinct [tongues].

In their villages many women abound. Thus in the village of Cavetta, after it became a village of our adherents, more than one hundred and thirty of those who were loyal to the English were gathered up, and the men appear fewer, about thirty. The English faction sought them and many escaped and I believe all will flee to the English.

All of these villages are on the bank of the RIO APALACHICOLO, all a land of canebrakes, the best lands I have seen.

Some of their habitations are covered with pine bark, others with small shingles, and plastered with clay [*embarados*] below.

This RIO DE APALACHICOLO discharges in the sea, it is of great current.

In that presidio [San Augustin] there are those who are well informed about this province, such as the Captain Don Francisco Romo, the Captain Don Juan Ruiz Mexia, who have journeyed in it.

Today there is found a small farm⁴⁰ where once was fort, that from this farm of cattle to the village is two leagues, more or less.

37, Perhaps intended for Yameza (Yamassee). The Tasquique (Tuskegee) had a language distinct from Muskogee. Cavetta (Coweta) and Casista (Kasihta) spoke Muskogee. Present information indicates that all the others spoke Hitchiti. (J. R. S.) 38, I do not place these (J. R. S.) 39, These may have united to form the town of Osochi. (J. R. S.)

40, This small farm is evidently the site where he spent the night of the 54th day. The mention of a former fort on this farm probably refers to the fort built near Apalachicola in 1689 on order of Governor Quiroga, by Captain Primo de Rivera, in which was stationed a force of 20 soldiers and 20 Apalachee Indians under Fabian de Angulo.

This diary was kept in compliance with the obligations placed on me by the orders of the Governor Don Pedro de Oliver y Fullana, Major General of the Royal Armies of His Majesty, Governor and Captain General of San Augustin of Florida and of its provinces. In this village of Cavetta, on the 30th of September of this year of one thousand seven hundred and sixteen.

In testimony of the above related.

DIEGO PENA