

1952

Documents Describing the Second and Third Expeditions of Lieutenant Diego Pena to Apalachee and Apalachicola in 1717 and 1718

Mark F. Boyd



Part of the [American Studies Commons](#), and the [United States History Commons](#)

Find similar works at: <https://stars.library.ucf.edu/fhq>

University of Central Florida Libraries <http://library.ucf.edu>

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by STARS. It has been accepted for inclusion in Florida Historical Quarterly by an authorized editor of STARS. For more information, please contact STARS@ucf.edu.

Recommended Citation

Boyd, Mark F. (1952) "Documents Describing the Second and Third Expeditions of Lieutenant Diego Pena to Apalachee and Apalachicola in 1717 and 1718," *Florida Historical Quarterly*. Vol. 31 : No. 2 , Article 5. Available at: <https://stars.library.ucf.edu/fhq/vol31/iss2/5>

DOCUMENTS DESCRIBING THE SECOND AND
THIRD EXPEDITIONS OF LIEUTENANT
DIEGO PENA TO APALACHEE AND
APALACHICOLO IN 1717 AND 1718 *

INTRODUCTION AND TRANSLATIONS

by MARK F. BOYD

The success attained by Lieutenant Diego Pena in the discharge of the mission to Apalachee and Apalachicola, to which he was assigned in the summer of 1716, made him the logical choice for similar duties in the following two years.¹ The authorities in St. Augustine entertained the hope of repopulating Apalachee through inducements offered to surviving Apalacheans then living along the Apalachicola (present-day Chattahoochee) river and elsewhere, as well as members of adjacent and related tribes, whose disillusionment with the English had produced the then recent Yamassee war. Knowledge that the success of this project was imperiled by the English, who were again penetrating this area in an effort to regain their former ascendancy over the Indians, and that the French from Mobile as well were, with thinly veiled hostility since the death of Louis XIV, competing for Indian favor, intensified the efforts of the Spanish authorities to bring the Indians wholly under Spanish influence. The French had penetrated among the Upper Creeks where they enjoyed considerable favor, while among the Lower Creeks the competition between Spanish and English partisans resulted in much turbulence.

Although Barcia, in his chronicle, devotes considerable space to the then still nearly contemporaneous events of 1717 and 1718,

* This is a contribution from the Florida Park Service. The documents are from the Archivo de Indias in Sevilla, Spain, where they are catalogued as 58-1-20:82; dated September 28, 1718, 124 pages. The translations were made from photostats in the files of the North Carolina Department of Archives and History, by courtesy of the director, Mr. Henry Howard Eddy.

1. Boyd, Mark F. (transl.) "Diego Pena's Expedition to Apalachee and Apalachicola in 1716," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, xxviii (1949) pp. 1-27.

he mentions Diego Pena by name only once, and then not in connection with his diplomatic missions, and only briefly alludes to the 1717 mission. Since Barcia's chronicle is now available in a translation,² the reader may be referred to this work for the requisite background and broad detail. It will be noted that the Spanish authorities in Pensacola were in active and amicable relations with the Creeks, more especially with those of the upper towns.

In 1717 we mainly encounter the *dramatis personae* of the previous year: Sergeant Major Don Juan de Ayala Escobar, the interim governor of Florida; Yslachamuque, the principal chief of Coweta, who is rarely referred to by name, but who is now, in full appreciation of his ascendancy among the Creeks, referred to as emperor; Chipacasi the *Usinjulo*, son of the emperor with aspirations to the succession and an ardent Spanish partisan; Chislacaslache, apparently the leader of the Spanish party, whose village occupied a site on the point formed by the confluence of the Flint and Chattahoochee rivers; and the chief of Bacuqua (an old Apalachean band) named Adrian, who was also a Christian. The principal newcomers on the 1718 scene, were Don Antonio de Benavides, the new royal governor of Florida, who assumed office in the latter part of that year, and Captain Don Joseph Primo de Rivera, who was assigned command of the new post established at San Marcos in Apalachee, to whom Pena appears to have become subordinate.

Following is an abstract of the instructions given to Pena for the conduct of his 1717 mission, and several documents in their entirety. Pena's principal document is a report, rather than a diary as was the case in 1716, two letters from the commandant at Pensacola to the governor, delivered by Pena, and two letters to the governor written by Pena on his return journey. Pena's

2. *Barcia's Chronological History of the Continent of Florida*. Translated by Anthony Kerrigan, with Introduction by Herbert E. Bolton. (Univ. of Florida Press, 1951.)

journal or report of the 1718 mission is not available to us, but we have utilized a dispatch, presumed to be from Governor de Benavides to the King, in which it is extensively summarized.

Pena's arrival at Coweta in 1717 coincided with the presence of an English embassy, and as a consequence the passions of the adherents of both the Spanish and English factions, intensified by rum as a fuel, rose to fever heat. The reception accorded Pena by the emperor was chilly, and Pena charged him with duplicity. Pena himself does not disclose in the journal whether he felt his life was endangered, although in one of his letters he credits the chief of Bacuqua with having saved it. Certain it is that his Indian adherents believed so; his departure appears to have been precipitate, and his return journey to Chiscalasliche's town was more or less a flight. The Spanish faction appears to have been in the ascendancy at his return in 1718, and he extended his travels to visit the Upper Creeks and the French fort.

The rather discursive instructions given to Lieutenant Pena for the conduct of this mission by the interim governor, were dated July 20, 1717. In substance they had the following tenor:

1. Lieutenant Diego Pena, as a consequence of his successful execution of a similar mission in the previous year, was assigned as leader of a squad of eight mounted soldiers, to escort the *Usinjulo* of Coweta and his party to the provinces of Apalachee and Apalachicola.

2. Assignments as second and third in command were given to Sergeant Antonio Solana, retired, and to Corporal Francisco Dominges, both of the company of horse.

3. With the object of promoting reduction and conversion of the natives to the Holy Evangel, the principal chiefs and leaders, with their people, are to be invited to remove or come nearer to the province of Apalachee, under the protection of the arms of the garrison for establishment within one-half league of the port of San Marcos.

4. Pena and those of his command were admonished to comport themselves with all kindness, gentleness, and forbearance to the Indians, and refrain from becoming involved in dissensions, disputes, or controversies among themselves, lest such conduct be misinterpreted by the Indians.

5. Although some goods for private trade with the Indians were to be carried, personal interest must not be allowed to interfere with the leaders responsibility of trading for horses for the use of the dismounted cavalry at St. Augustine.

6. The leader is to minutely report on the Indian department, considering the motives, demonstrations and commotions, whether originating at councils, dances, or other gatherings, as well as the reception accorded them, the entertainment proffered as well as the grace with which offered, whether the hospitality is extended to include the soldiers, as well as the degree of ceremony attending departure. The leader is to note whether the hospitality extended is free-handed and gratuitous, or whether it appears that it is given in expectation of remuneration or of other advantage.

7. Should there for any reason, be made any demonstration of distrust by any chief or *tascaya*, and more especially by the great chief and emperor of Coweta, every artifice must be made to conceal that it has been detected, and effort made through affectionate boldness or some civility to overcome this hostility, employing as presents some of the goods of His Majesty or of individuals.

8. The leader is to inform the emperor that he comes on behalf of the governor and in obedience to the governor's orders, to learn in what manner he can serve the emperor or his subjects.

9. The leader is to present and distribute the munitions and arms which the Indians sought and requested, in the name of the King, as well as that of the governor.

10. The leader is to invite the chiefs with their villages and people, to remove and settle in the province of Apalachee, where

will be located the garrison requested by the *Usinjulo* and *Talachasli* (*sic*: *Chislacasliche*?) at their first visit.

11. The leader is to present to the emperor in the name of His Majesty, the fine uniform and hat, all with gold lace, the most handsome procurable at the moment.

12. The leader is to carefully ascertain and record in writing the names of all villages, their chiefs and people with little or much dissimilarity, in accordance with his penetration, describing each village with provinces and languages, and whether they have given submission to our King or are English adherents.

13. If the leader can, on going or coming, pass by the site where the garrison is to be placed, he is to erect a cross as a demonstration that construction is near.

14. The leader on arrival is to attempt to dispatch the letter for the Governor of Pensacola which he bears, with which goes another for the Viceroy of New Spain, and he may, should he find it expedient, write the Governor of Pensacola about anything he finds necessary, asking the aid of the emperor of Coweta for the securest carriage.

The extent to which couriers were sent to overtake the returning party may be noteworthy. Thus the chief of Achitto sent a message to the chief of the Uchis urging his return, and the chief of Apalachicolo (Jurquiza) sent word to Chislacasliche to fortify his village. Chislacasliche ordered this done by those of his band who remained behind. Accomplishment of this task probably explains why the village at the forks became known as "Cherokeeleechee's fort" on contemporary English maps.

The list of the six towns which were expected to emigrate presents some interesting aspects. The statement that those of Tasquique speak Yamasee, affords corroboration of Dr. Swanton's surmise³ that the *diamaza* of the 1716 report was intended for Yamasee. Pena states that Euchitto (Achito), Apalachicolo, and Ocone spoke Uchise, which according to Dr. Swanton,

3. Boyd, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

would now be known as Hitchiti. In the 1716 report, Pena mentions these as speaking Apalachian. This probably accounts for their ready response to the Spanish advances. It is further to be noted that the villages of Uchi and Sabacola, spoke different and distinctive languages.

There is a particularly pathetic implication to the statement that Adrian, chief of Bacuqua, had only two followers. Bacuqua was one of the villages of old Apalachee. No mention is made of the place of Adrian's contemporaneous residence, so that evidently there no longer existed a town or band of Bacuquanos.

Pena and his party, with the escort of Indians, entered St. Augustine on the morning of October 15, 1717. For the benefit of his Indian companions, this welcome was as formal and ostentatious as circumstances permitted, being closely similar to the reception of 1716.

A few days later, Pena himself, Corporal Francisco Dominges and Joseph Escobedo made declarations before the governor, which were notarized. These being in substantial accord with the report, are not considered.

On each of the successive journeys, Pena penetrated farther into the interior: to Apalachicola in 1716, to Coweta in 1717, and to Talasi and the French fort in 1718. Despite his uncomfortable and hazardous experiences in 1717, one concludes that he acquired the respect of the Indians, and was widely influential. His declaration in 1717, that had any one else been sent on this mission, the lives of the members of the troop, and the support of the Spanish party as well, would have been lost, was no idle boast. From the relatively meager information relating to the journey of 1718, one infers that the influence of the Spanish partizans was in the ascendancy, as the emperor himself appears to have been cordial. We must conclude that Pena had a deep insight into Indian character, and was himself a no mean diplomat, meriting in this respect coequal rank with that other remarkable character of the southeast, Dr. Henry Woodward.

FURTHER REFERENCES

Cardenas z Cano, Don Gabriel (Pseud. for Andres Gonzales de Barcia Carballido y Zúñiga). *Ensayo Cronologico para la Historia General de la Florida * * * desde el año de 1512, * * * hasta el de 1722*. Madrid, 1723.

Serrano y Sanz, Manuel. *Documentos Historicos de la Florida y Luisiana, Siglos XVI al XVIII*. Biblioteca de los Americanistas, Madrid, 1913. (Peña's report of 1717 and the two letters from the Governor of Pensacola occupy pages 227-242.)

DOCUMENTS

I.

Letter (Report) of Lieutenant Diego Pena to Don Juan de Ayala Escobar, Governor of Florida, Sabacola, September 20, 1717.

(pp. 42-80)

Senor Governor and Captain General:

This serves to give Your Lordship an account of my tiresome journey. My desire has been to do so much sooner, but I have not had a courier available. I relate, Sir, the exertions expended have been insufferable because of the abundance of water, since the creeks were transformed into rapid rivers, as I informed Your Lordship in the (letter) sent from the *Ycapacha* of Santa Fe by some Appalachian Indians I encountered. The twenty fourth day of August I arrived at the village of Chislacasliche, having departed the twenty sixth of July, in company with the *Usinjulo* of Coweta, the chief of the Uchises, and (the chief) of Bacuqua. The other Indians went directly overland from San Martin, and carried (off) the machetes. This was the first misfortune. The thirtieth day of the month I left the village of Chislacasliche, the *Usinjulo* having departed in much haste on a horse two days earlier.

The first day of September I met an Indian (*Indiette*) of Sabacola in the road, who was abroad hunting. He informed me that the province was in turmoil as the consequence of the arrival of twelve Englishmen and a negro at the town of Casista. On approaching, they bore a white flag, to which the inhabitants replied with a red flag. When the English saw

they would not be admitted, they went by *el ganal de lugar* to the town of Coweta, which they entered as far as the council house, and to the presence (of the emperor) of that place. When the outcome appeared nearly certain, the emperor recalled what he should do, and decided to comply with the order of Your Lordship to the letter.

On the fourth day I arrived at some meadows or hamlets governed by a Christian Indian called Augustus, of the Tama nation of Apalachee. Here I was met by an Indian who ordered me not to pass beyond that place (until) it is determined what is to be done, and related the same news to me, with much more, as Your Lordship and the other gentlemen will see later. The principal chiefs and *tascayas* were coming to this hamlet daily on their appointed days and were holding their councils, excepting those of the towns Coweta, Casista and Chavagali. Chislacasliche and the chief of Bacuqua were in our favor and loyal to our King in their councils, and with fervor (supported us) from the fourth day until the sixth, and at night. On the third day of council, the *Usinjulo* of Coweta arrived with two *tascayas*. During these three days I spent a keg of rum in treating them and (distributed) other minor presents, since I found myself a prisoner. On the arrival of the said *Usinjulo* another keg of rum was emptied. The council of all these chiefs and other principal men and *tascayas* finally decided in our favor. The deliberations of this council determined the following: that these Englishmen should be made captive and sent to the presence of Your Lordship; and that the horses, which are more than twenty two, would be carried to that presidio, and the negro (held) for His Majesty. I expressed that Your Lordship would be pleased, contented and satisfied with this outcome.

I departed from this hamlet on the seventh day and camped at the cattle ranch of some Apalachean Indians, with the *Usinjulo*, Chislacasliche, the chief of Bacuqua, and the chief

of the Uchis. All the referred to are very loyal, which I acknowledge. The eighth day I arrived at the village of Tasquique, where the *Usinjulo* told me that I should stop for the night, because he would go ahead to arrange my reception. It was thus, since it was at his order. I left on the ninth day for the said town of Coweta, which was a short league (distant). They came out to receive me with a white flag, the *Usinjulo* leading, requiring from me a speech before entering in the house of the emperor. (There, assembled) on neatly made seats, were all of the chiefs, principal men and *tascayas* of this province. He brought me to where the emperor reclined on a bed without power of movement, because of a wound in a foot which was pierced by a cane, which should have been in his heart. I arrived, as I said, and found him beneath a bower. Although I gave him expressions of condolence in your name, I also gave him in name of Your Lordship, repeated compliments, and at the same time the present of the plumed hat, the dress coat, and the stockings, for which he expressed to me thanks, to His Majesty and Your Lordship, for the great favor shown him. After a brief interval I told him I brought orders from Your Lordship which I would give them to understand, to him as well as to the other chiefs, principal men and *tascayas*. I ordered all gather together in my presence for the understanding of all, whereupon I made the said order understood through two interpreters: Joseph de Escobedo who is qualified in the Apalachian idiom, and by the chief of Bacuqua, qualified in the Uchise idiom, and having heard, they all acknowledged that they had heard and understood. The chief of Coweta replied, saying that he had understood very well, and that on the following day, the tenth, in the morning, he will call a council and determine what he has to do.

Today I ascertained minutely that which had passed from the chief of Bacuqua, who has assigned two of his tribe to

inform him of all intrigues, in order that he may relate them to me, and I rewarded him to have him better satisfied. From him I learned the English have been here in the province since the end of July and that all of the malcontents rejoiced much over their arrival, especially the chieftainess Qua, to whom she opened her arms, and with wailing and sighs celebrated their arrival. They brought ten or twelve horses freighted with fine clothes, good *fresadas*, ribbons, beads, (as well as) two very fine saddles for horses, which are in the storehouse of the said chief. It is also known very definitely they were making presents of rum to the chiefs, and had sent for more. They related that finally the leader of the English (was given) the daughter of the chief as wife. To all this I give credance, for the reason that from the public house, where the English were housed, to that of the chief, is no more than fifty steps, and the said English, loitering with much laxity and passing the place, instigated a thousand indecencies which I will not bring to the attention of Your Lordship because of their lewdness. In the party were thirteen English with a negro, of these, ten and the negro went to the province of the Talapuses to promote amity, and two remained in charge of the beasts which brought the loads, which are perhaps ten. I have news that when the French of Mobile learned this news, they dispatched a hundred and fifty men with the Ayabamas to intercept the English on their way to the Talapuses. While en route, with the Indians marching in two files with the said French in the center, and with scouts before and on the sides, they encountered the English. Their scouts informed the French that the English and Talapuses were coming, that they were nearby, and they quickened their own advance. At this moment the English through their own advance scouts detected the French, whereupon the English with their troop fled and the French pursued them. I do not know in what shelter they stopped. Before all this, and even (as late) as

my arrival in this province, the malcontents proposed that immediately on our arrival with the powder we were bringing, that we should be confined in a house, and with the same powder be set afire, (since) we must be good to refine powder. Twenty five malcontents are said to have gone openly to the English, whom they followed and joined.

This same day, before the council began, I asked the said chief, by what reason were the English in his town, with so much liberty and so much license. He replied to me that he was not aware of it, neither that he had had them invited, they said they were here guarding some horses which they had brought, they said also they went to speak with the French and that they had not returned, and that as yet he had not spoken with them, and that (although) he saw them, he does not know their motive. Whereupon I replied to him that since he had given submission to our King, it appears strange that those men were enjoying the license they were. To this he replied that they came on the invitation of some men who went about circulating evil talk without his knowledge. I told him that among us, such as these were accused as traitors, and added that such an action deserved no other punishment or chastisement than cutting off their heads. He turned to me to say that he had not invited them, that they had come (of their own accord). I replied that I had not said that, but that I would use force on him who would put unwelcome strangers in another's house, he having the key, and that in the same case, they having taken the hand to enter into his house, they should be reproached, and not admitted, that I being his friend and being as we are in peace and union as brothers, it would have been (un)necessary, were I in his place, (to send) his son to seek for the one, or ask for the other; that as soon as I arrived at the village of Chis-lacasliche, I sent by his son to ask permission to enter his town, but he sent one who detained us Sabacola, who did

so until his son came to, get me, when he fell in *tililaciones* without reply. The most he did was to bow his head and shed tears. After a short interval he replied to me that I was as white as were (the English) and that I should reach an agreement with the said English. I replied that I had nothing to adjust with them, that I did not recognize them as masters of the province, neither had I come to buy places nor people, that I was solely sent by Your Lordship to see where they wished the garrison of fifty soldiers to be located, which was requested by their emissaries to that presidio, and to see that which he assigns them, so that Your Lordship could give the necessary orders, as he had always done that which he promised them, and that I in one or another manner would return much pleased to the presence of Your Lordship, and that I had not told him that the English were bad, neither that they were good, but that time will disillusion him. Upon which he told me that he much esteemed the Spanish, as well as other things which were irrelevant, which are not placed before the attention of Your Lordship, because he never replied to me in the intent to which I had to him spoken, and as I was unwilling to say more, nor openly resent that which my eyes saw, I left him to silence and the consolation of a bottle of rum.

The following day he held council and before so doing, I was obliged to treat the chiefs and principal men from the stores of His Majesty which I had brought, (so that) by means of this it might go well and all not be lost. I took counsel with the *Usinjulo*, who was very much on my side and very loyal, as Your Lordship will see below. He told me I did well and that in the interval in which they were in council they would consume the other barrel of rum. Also that to the *tascayas* I could give a share of powder and flints, as they were those who had to free and favor us. I did it, thus showing my gratitude, giving of the goods which I

brought, cloth, ribbons, beads, and knives, and it was necessary to avail myself of a little of a private bale of fifteen yards, and two yards of colored cloth with white selvage. I distributed (goods to the value of) more than two hundred pesos. They began the council (after) having given to the *tascayas* the half of the powder, and (when) the council was at its midst, the chiefs were laying aside their flasks, and the *tascayas* theirs as well. The council closed at one o'clock, and I being with the said chief within his house, all of the chiefs and *tascayas* entered, except the malcontents, and they informed the said chief they had now agreed, and that they would give submission to the King Our Lord, and that they did not desire other than friendship than that San Augustin, Pensacola and France, and that now they did not have more to do. All came to embrace me, and give me the kiss of peace. God grant that it be not as that which Judas did with Christ Our Lord.

All having gone outside, the *Usinjulo* his son, and the chief of Bacuqua, remained in great dispute with his father, of a character which became very serious, dealing with whether those English should be killed or made prisoners, and take the horses for His Majesty, and he did not wish to agree. The said chief (of Bacuqua) left, and at sunset called to his house all of our adherents and taking more than two arrobas of powder and ball, he distributed them, and subsequently there came to me the *Usinjulo*, with Chislacasliche and the chief of Bacuqua. (The *Usinjulo*) told me through Joseph Escobedo and the Sergeant Solana, that the first thing in the morning I should get on the road, to which I agreed, and that he would accompany me in good spirit, that he had to die sooner than me, and that he would not believe his father in anything, that he had two words, and that one he would say to me, and the other remain in his head. Understanding that to which he referred, I went to the emperor,

and said that with his permission I would leave in the morning, but that I needed to learn where the soldiers should be established so as to inform them where they were to be located. He replied that the fifty men he wished (placed) in those villages which were most oppressed, and, that I should write (for) him two letters, the one to the Governor of Pensacola; asking his favor, and the other to him of Mobile asking the same. I did this (but) I could not reveal myself to the Governor of Pensacola for the reason they might give the letters to the English to read, and I be injured. I already had written him from the village of Chislacasliche of the occurrences.

The said *Usinjulo* informs Your Lordship that he is obedient to the order of the King Our Lord, and that he goes to Mobile to ask assistance, and to the Talapuses with the chief of the said Talapuses, and that one and another will not give submission to other than (he who) is at San Augustin, and that he is willing to give his life for the Spaniards, and that if there is no agreement, he knows it will be necessary to make war on his father, that he does not wish to appear in the presence of Your Lordship even though well assured, since he is found ashamed, because Your Lordship will discern that it has been (through) his error, but that his father is a bad man; that the chief of Bacuqua goes there, who can confirm to Your Lordship, as well as can Chislacasliche, whom Your Lordship pardon, as he is not responsible for that which happened. Sir, the town of Coweta is the source of the disturbances which have occurred.

After I left the said town of Coweta, I learned, as previously had been told me by the *Usinjulo*, that his earlier departure had been imperative, as the English proposed to the malcontents that they kill us to assure their (own) safety. There go in my company the chief of the Uchises' with fourteen men *tascayas*. He says he is a vassal of the King of Spain, and that these *tascayas* go to defend the Spaniards,

DIEGO PENA TO APALACHEE

123

and says that as soon as he returns he (will) move to the *Chicazas* of Apalachee, that (he) is expecting a hundred followers who are in the other province, that they have already promised. It is worth while for Your Lordship to show him favor, he only says that he has no interpreter to explain his good zeal to Your Lordship. The villages which are to move are Tasquique nation, and in addition Apalachicolo, Sabacola, (that) of Chislacasliche, and the chief of Bacuqua, with two men, and it is said with perhaps more, and the said Uchises. The Apalacheans continue dispersed, the reason for which, say the English, (is) that they and the Yamassee do not wish to exercise vengeance.

I know, should you invite me to express my opinions before the vast comprehension of Your Lordship and the other gentlemen, I could not be accused of being an advisor (*advitriador*), since my limited ability is insufficient to give advice (*advitrio*) to Your Lordship and the other gentlemen. I am solely prompted by the intuition and the experience which today I possess because of which I implore Your Lordship and gentlemen to pardon my simplicity, which is only the expression of my great zeal to further the royal service. Sir! Your Lordship has deliberated, in conference with those gentlemen, upon placing a garrison in the port of San Marcos, which cannot be avoided for three reasons: the first is because this has been promised to these nations so that they cannot say that your word to them lacked truth; the second, because the Indians who come to locate at the said San Marcos come with confidence in having protection with the Spaniards; the third, is that the English have said that this (project) was senseless, since (what) the Spaniards had (said) to them was false, and that they (themselves) this winter, will settle or place a garrison in the said San Marcos. With this fundamental clear, Your Lordship and gentlemen will decide with your mature and advanced judgment that which

is suitable, but I say, Your Lordship and other gentlemen, that I find that it is impossible to effect a similar march by land, for two things which I offer to present. The first is that for fifty men (more) or less, there are required so many horses, some solely for the rations, because today it is an uninhabited (distance) of more than eighty leagues, and at the least they will be delayed (on the march) very near two months, since we eight who came mounted (were) delayed thirty one days, and in spite of being few, there were left in the road three beasts, two exhausted, while that of the corporal, Francisco Dominges, was drowned in the Aucilla. Furthermore of the eight of us in the party, four did not know how to swim, and for them it was necessary to effect their passage on rafts. Thus although the crossing of creeks and rivers might have been effected in one hour, it was necessary to spend two (on their account), and (since) all this is delay, what might happen to a troop so much enlarged, as also to be encumbered with sufficient iron work, and especially the munitions, in which in other times the natives of the provinces aided, but today we are deprived of all, as what could also happen to those who might have some illness, and all will be delays and mounting costs. The second which could happen is that the English might influence the Indians so that bands of two hundred or four hundred men (would attack) and thus impede the march and (our force) perish, while they remain safe, and we without power to take vengeance. You will only succeed if the infantry are brought to the said San Marcos by vessel, in any other manner I maintain it is impossible, for I find myself today with an identical experience. Your Lordship will pardon my importunities, because I desire nothing which falls outside the discharge of my obligation, and the aid I can render the royal service.

Today (there) is found in this village of Chislacaslíche, a

negro prisoner who was captured in San Jorge. There has elapsed since they brought him, they say, six (*sic*) months. He stated that in the month of June there left San Jorge a long boat and two canoes with English and Indians in pursuit of Yamassees who were about the said place, and that they returned from San Juan. I believe that this was when Your Lordship was advised from the bar of San Juan that they had seen a canoe with fourteen men. The said negro said that they had captured the said Yamassees, and that thus the said English conversed. Sir!, while at this place there came two Indians of the village of Achitto seeking the chief of the Uchis, who came in my company with fourteen warriors, and these two Indians brought word from the said chief of Achitto, sending them to say that he return to his village to stay with the women, because the villages were in confusion, as it seemed to them that the English had come with evil intention, and that he was called to attend council to decide what they should do with the said English, and that he expected a rupture. The Uchis chief replied to this message saying that he could not, that he had promised the governor of San Augustin to be his vassal and escort the Spaniards, offering to die with them; that for this (service) the governor of San Augustin supplied them with guns, powder and ball, and that he will return six (men), which he did. Realize, Your Lordship, their great loyalty.

I add that the English were not admitted to the province of the Talapuses, they returned to Coweta, they (say) they are evil, and that after the council this will be revealed. The *Usinjulo* and the chief of the Talapuses departed together, and on their way to the French, passed through the province of the Talapuses. The said chief said that he will soon wait on Your Lordship, that he is much the friend of the Spaniards and that he greatly esteems Your Lordship and all of those gentlemen. Sir! I bring for the King ten horses, which are

all I could acquire, because the goods which I brought were cheap and the beasts very dear, since they ask forty pesos, (saying) that in the presidio they have sold them for fifty pesos. One of these is Chislacasliche, He believes, Your Lordship, that he is a good vassal, without (*lama*) but (he is) very adept (*settario*) at purchases and sales. The chief of Bacuqua as well as Chislacasliche will relate to Your Lordship that here narrated and something more. I enclose two letters for Your Lordship from the Governor of Pensacola.

(This) being for the moment as much as presents itself to me, I ask God for the health of Your Lordship. That of ours is not very good, but (we are) always obedient to the orders of Your Lordship.

Sabacola and September twenty of (one) thousand and seven hundred and seventeen. I kiss the hand of Your Lordship. Your Lordship's least subject.

Diego Pena.

On the day twenty four, with the aid of God, I leave this place.

II.

*Don Gregorio de Salinas Varona, Governor of Pensacola, to
Don Juan de Ayala Escobar, Governor of Florida.*

Santa Maria de Galve, July 24, 1717. (pp. 81-88)

My dear sir:

I have wondered, since the Reverend Father of your province sent Indian bearers with the *patente* for the guardian of the convent of this garrison, why (the opportunity) did not merit communication of your orders to me, with very good news of the health of your lady and all of your family, which I always commend when I should have opportunity, mine remaining with all affection, as always.

By letter from the Reverend Father fray Claudio de Florencia, written to the guardian of the convent of this fort, I have learned how the Indians of the Tequipaches, Talapuches, Sabacolas,

Apalachicolos, and other neighboring nations have been to give submission to the King Our Lord at that presidio, at Your Grace's hands, which news has been much esteemed from the tranquility which you can promise to the inhabitants (as a consequence).

Of that which I may say to Your Grace, (I relate) that I sent on the 8 of April, 1715, a captain of this fort with letters for the Governor of San Jorge, giving news of the proclamation of peace between the powers of Spain, France, and England, (and stating that) he should take notice of the annoyance received by the garrison of that presidio from the incursions of the nations of their Indian adherents. (The captain) having arrived at the seat of the Talapuses nation with ten Spaniards and twenty friendly Indians on the twenty fifth of May, he heard the news that the said nations had taken arms against the English, whence they would not let him depart, saying that any of the other nations which they say (are) with them, might discharge their arms upon them, and that he must remain some days while they gave the news to the chief of Coweta, who sent an order directing him to return to his presidio. In the meantime he would advise his chiefs to make friendship with the Spaniards with whom they desired good relations. This they effected on July 7 of the said year, when there arrived at this fort the principal Indian of Talasi with forty other chiefs and captains of the said nations, with three Spaniards sent by the chief of Coweta, in manifestation of the good union and harmony which he desired to observe with the Spaniards. They were complimented with powder, ball, shirts, cloths and hats. From that day there has been no lack of parties going and coming, as was effected by the principal chiefs of the Tequipache and Talapuche nations on the thirtieth of the following September, who arrived at this fort with fifty and more chiefs and captains, and more than three hundred Indians with arms, who in the name of all gave submission to His Majesty by my hand, whereupon they performed

their calumet dance. This news I placed immediately before the Viceroy of New Spain, the Duke of Linares, as also before that of His Majesty (Note: *At this point the copyist has omitted some text. The deficiency is supplied from Serrano y Sanz.*) sending a list of the towns and nations represented. At the present, today, there are in the Kingdom of New Spain, seven Indian chiefs. The Senor Marques de Balero sent an order that they should be sent, by which means we have obtained some rest in this presidio. I caution you of this, for (although this is of) great importance in the preservation of these nations, it is at the cost of much treasure, because they are children of (self) interest, they seek and receive, here they do the same and all appears little (to them).

I hope that at the first opportunity you will inform me what ships are those which have arrived at your port, which the Indians say are five, loaded with people, as also if there is some novelty worthy of communication.

It also occurs to me to tell you how there have deserted from me some soldiers and convicts, and daily I expect (others) will do the same, and that you employ the remedy in case they arrive at that presidio. Lately four convicts fled, escaping in a canoe, who came with the last group which arrived at this fort, sentenced by the Royal Chamber of Crime for ten years and two hundred lashes. Two of them, *fulano* Ponse and Salvador Sanchez, who has a cut hand, were slapped by my order. I judge that if they arrive, with the ready communication which at present we have through the Indians, you will send them to me manacled, the same which I will do for you on each occasion, and when it should offer. God preserve you many years. Santa Maria de Galve and July 24 of 1717. I kiss your hand, your most dependable servant. Don Gregorio de Salinas Varona. (To) Senor Sargento Mayor Don Juan de Ayala.

III.

*Don Gregorio de Salinas Varona, Governor of Pensacola, to
Don Juan de Ayala Escobar, Governor of Florida. Santa
Maria De Galve, September 9, 1717. (pp. 88-95)*

Friend and dear sir:

I received (a letter) from you of July 20 past, which the Lieutenant Diego Pena sent me by some Indians from Sabacola, who arrived at this presidio the eighth day of this month, from which I learn that you enjoy perfect health. It is my desire that God continue this (many) years, in which service I offer that which aids me, with affectionate good will.

(I note) that which Your Grace tells me how the great Indian chief and emperor of Coweta sent to your presidio his own son and fifty five Indians, his vassals, among whom were included some principal men and chiefs, and at the same time a soldier of this presidio, of the company of Don Pedro Bilbao, who said he had been a captive of the Indians. It is certain he had been a prisoner and was returned in the month of July of the past year of seven hundred and fifteen (*sic*) by the principal Indians of Ialasi, Talapuches and Tequipaches, who came by order of their emperor of Coweta to give submission to our King and Lord, saying that they had for many days desired the friendship of the Spaniards, and in token of the good faith and the relations which they desired to maintain with us, sent me three Spaniards who were prisoners in their villages, and among them Antonio de la Membrilla, who, near the end of April of this year, asked me, with two others, for permission to go out and hunt buffalo, which I granted them. In the woods he separated from his other companions, taking with him one of them, leaving the other and an Indian alone, who did not wish to follow them, according to the gossip. He readily reached the Indian villages, from whence he did not desire to accompany his companion because they were unfamiliar with the terrain, nor acknowledge the mistake

which he had committed. (He knew that) the first Indians who came to this presidio (would likely) bring him to it, and as he knew that Indians came daily, he contrived this deceit, and thus I will regard that you do me a favor to send him by some Indians that they may bring him here.

Concerning the opinion which you express to me, that you do not have much confidence in the friendship of the Indians from their great inconstancy, I will express what appears to me in this respect; as it is some time since I have penetrated their designs. Their only purpose is that they are daily collecting (*pechando*) taxes, and they are not content with that which is given them in this presidio, or in that province, but they (also) go to the French of Mobile and make the same proposals, as happened about the middle of August, when the captain Jurquiza of the Apalachicola nation arrived here with other Indians. (They had just) come from Mobile, (where they were) much entertained by its governor, who made the former a captain of war, and further gave them clothes, and sent to their village a supply of powder and ball, and he (Jurquiza) told him that they sent a message to the chief of Coweta, inviting him to come (to Mobile) or send some person of his suite, because the governor wishes to treat them. Now I leave to your consideration what security we can depend from these friendships. They become final allies of him who gives them most.

By the pink (*pingue*) of the Royal Windward Fleet, which left this port the seventh day of February past, for the port of Vera Cruz, I sent the seven principal Indians of the Talasis, Tequipaches and Talapuses, one of whom is the son of the chief of the Talasis, who is of the first of the war (chiefs), to see the Senor Viceroy, from whom I had order to do it, and I continue awaiting them hourly, and from the impressions which they may bring we will see how we stand, of which we will advise Your Grace.

You also informed me by the last to arrive, that you are disposed to settle in the province of Apalachicola (*sic*), fifty veteran men, making a fort, so that from encouragement by it, the villages became grouped about, the which is contrived much from the service of God and of His Majesty, and I wish the success of your good plans, so zealous for his royal service, (and) that by this means we may have the aid of more frequent communication, and that the English will not succeed in the object they desire through their lieutenants to effect reconciliation with the Indians. Touching upon the misgivings in which Your Grace is found, that the English with Indian allies, in some piratical and rebel vessels, are found disposed to invade that plasa, from news which you have received, precaution is always necessary, and I do not doubt but that the English will make every effort to effect some disturbance, at least with the Indians who have taken refuge in that presidio. That of which you have warned me, (as requiring you) to ask help of the Governor of Havana, who did it promptly with fifty men, has not been of the least consequence. I am urging, at each opportunity to write to the Senor Viceroy in Mexico, to effect the same, from apprehension of the neighboring French. I expect on this occasion sixty men, but I do not know whether they will arrive. Your Grace knows I am your heartfelt friend, and as a consequence I desire that you order me in anything for your greater service, which I will execute with my life. May God protect yours many years. Santa Maria de Galves and September nine of (one) thousand seven hundred and seven-teen. I kiss your hand, your dependable friend and servant. Don Gregorio de Salinas Varona. (To) Senior Sargento Mayor Don Juan de Ayala Escobar.

IV.

Diego Pena to Don Juan de Ayala Escobar, Governor of Florida. Santa Fe, October 8, 1717. (pp. 30-39)

Senor Governor and Captain General:

Immediately on arrival at the village of Chislacasliche on the 19th day of the past (month), I told him I wished to write to Your Lordship, giving an account of the news from the places above and that for this I required that he furnish me with two men. He replied to me, yes, and I immediately wrote and on going to him to deliver the said letter he told me he did not dare dispatch the two men because of the danger that they would encounter in the road, and declined (to do) it. As I could not positively command I gave up in silence. I send this (letter) by another two who are going, including with that which I send to Your Lordship, (those) received from the Governor of Pensacola. The twenty fifth day I left the village of Chislacasliche, and after passing the river, I encountered a storm of wind and water which obliged me (to camp) on a plain, where I was detained three days by the heavy rain. The same day at about seven of the night, there arrived a courier who called (Note: evidently to Chislacasliche) in haste, (saying) that two men had arrived from the village of Apalachicolo with a verbal message which was for him alone. He returned to the plain the twenty sixth day very downcast, and told me he was very disconsolate because the chief of Apalachicolo had ordered him to be told that he should exercise great care because the English had arrived (and were) roaming the province with much *desaogo*; that they came to the village of Ocomulque and there asked (the chief) questions about his village. The first, if it had many people; if it had a fort; if it had sufficient munitions; if the fort could be examined; if they had acquired guns (and) how many. The said chief of Ocomulque replied to him, that of these nothing was lacking, because he frequently

visited the province of San Augustin. (They further said) the English exhibited much malice, and that consequently he (Chislacasliche) should look to fortifying himself well. They also told him that the English already may (have done some) killing, and that they (say they) will bring together all those *tascayas*, *casiques* and principal men which are of our adherence, at which they are to be killed. One (was said to have) replied saying that he did not agree (*converia*) since now they did him ill, for the reason that this stung the disaffected (who) would not travel by the road, and that they will kill us. (They said that) they were for hours guarding the *Usinjulo* of Coweta, who, as I have written to Your Lordship, in other (letters) went to Mobile, with the conviction that if his father is hostile, he would give him war, and that the *Usinjulo* had said that the words of his father should not be trusted, that he was a traitor and that he received the English because of the gifts which they gave him, and that they would not trust nor *de dadivas* of the English, that (he would) first lose his life (in the cause of) the Spaniards.

I had, Sir, on my return, two and one half arobas of powder. He (Chislacasliche) made importunities that I should give it to them, and although he said to me it did not pertain to the King but to Captain Don Joseph de Rivera, I replied all of us were of the King, and that the powder would be required for the defense of his village which was of the King of Spain. He obliged me to give this with more than two hundred flints for guns.

They (Note: evidently Chislacasliche's followers) remained in the said village making an extensive stockade because of the advice given to immediately make a fort, since as soon as it is known that the garrison is in San Marcos they will descend to settle near said garrison, which they greatly desire, because as Your Lordship knows, they are loyal (and will come) for greater

security and with confidence in Your Lordship. (When) the English on leaving, are two or three days journey from the town of Coweta, they are to be killed, and that if the chief of Coweta and he of Casista are chiefs, (these English) are likewise, and they attempt to make chiefs of traitors.

The villages which will come down this winter are the following: The village of Tasquique of the Yamassee tongue; the village of Euchitto (Achitto) and Uchise tongue; the village of Uchi and a tongue for which there are only found two interpreters of its language, a people very warlike and on this occasion very loyal; the village of Apalachicola of the Uchise tongue; the village of Ocone and Uchise tongue; and the village of Sabacola, a part of them Christians. These six villages are those which will move this winter to the province to settle near the mouth of the river of Guacara (Wakulla) and in Calistoble near San Marcos. They say that they will occupy these two sites as well as that of the fort. They are making canoes in all haste.

Sir! Chislacasliche comes with the idea of asking Your Lordship (to) give him twelve soldiers to return in his company for defense of his village and reassurance of the others. In the meantime, if they are sent as far as the province, they will be availed of by the other villages above, which have much loyalty to Chislacasliche and to the *Usinjulo* and the Uchis chief, and him of Bacuqua who preserved my life, and for the *Usinjulo* (who) was left to raise arms against his father, the chief of the Talapuses (*sic*). He behaves very loyal, but I assure Your Lordship, that if I had not gone to the province, and had any other (person) attempted (to do) that which I did to please them, you would have lost all, the one and the other.

The entertainment afforded the *Usinjulo* in that presidio, as much by Your Lordship as by those gentlemen, was much discussed among themselves, and more especially by Chislacasliche and the chief of Bacuqua. Your Lordship will learn precisely.

Sir! of the ten beasts which I brought for the King, one fell sick at San Pedro and another drowned in the Guacara (Suwannee).

From the date of this (letter) in five days I will arrive at the Rio de Picolata. Altogether (my party comprises) fifty men. Your Lordship will favor us by sending us rations, since we are without, and Chislacasliche says he hopes that Your Lordship sends him a couple of bottles of rum, being the amount I offered him to inform Your Lordship, whom God protect many years.

Santa Fe and October eight of (one) thousand seven hundred and seventeen. I kiss the hand of Your Lordship.-- --and humble soldier,

Diego Pena.

V.

Diego Pena to Don Juan de Ayala Escobar, Governor of Florida Picolata, October 13, 1717. (pp. 39-42)

Senor Governor and Captain General:

I received (a letter) from Your Lordship, its date that of the twelfth of the current (month), and in it noted how much that Your Lordship favors me. (I asked) immediately that the Most High give to Your Lordship an eternity of glory for favoring a poor and humble soldier such as I. Sir! I expressed to Chislacasliche the compliments and embraces which Your Lordship ordered me (to) in your (letter), by which he was greatly pleased, on which account, I can assure Your Lordship, he has regained (his spirits) today because as an Indian he could have said he is unwell. He came very apprehensive of Your Lordship, although I had told him to entertain concern (for) that which occurred, as he was blameless, since everywhere there are malcontents and fanatics, while he had been (a) loyal vassal as he has, of which I tried to convince him, as related. I immediately explained the tenor of Your Lord-

ship's letter. He did not know what to do, and in rejoicing, immediately organized a dance.

I received from the lieutenant of the cavalry four arrobas of biscuit, and two bottles of rum, four arrobas of corn, and four bundles of tobacco,, which I immediately distributed. They give to Your Lordship repeated thanks for these (gifts) for them from the bounty of Your Lordship, since independently of the present distribution made in the name of Your Lordship, the other goods of Your Lordship have been well received, which has been commented upon on different occasions among your own who desire sight of Your Lordship. (Our arrival) will be (on) the fifteenth day of the current (month).

The bearer of this is Bartholome Ramires who accompanies the Sergeant Solana who has become ill.

As soon as I arrive in the neighborhood of that presidio, I will send to advise Your Lordship of anything of which Your Lordship should be informed.

May heaven protect Your Lordship for extended years in your employment, and with much dignity. I am always of whatever manner - of Your Lordship. Picolata and October thirteenth on (one) thousand seven hundred and seventeen. I kiss the hand of Your Lordship, your least subject.

Diego Pena.

VI.

Don Antonio de Benavides, Governor of Florida, to the King. St. Augustine, September 28, 1718. (pp. 1-8)

(An account of Lieutenant Diego Pena's third mission to Apalachicola made in 1718, presumably abstracted by, or on order of, the governor.)

Sir:

On the twenty fifth of the current (month) I received letters from the captain of horse Don Joseph Primo de Rivera who is

found commanding the garrison of the wooden fort of San Marcos in the Province of Apalachee, and among other news which he gives me, that on which I have placed most concern and which I, for expedience, place in the (hands) of Your Majesty, are, among others, those which consist of an extended diary which was written to Don Joseph Primo by a retired lieutenant from the village of Sabacola. On the second of this month (he) sent the before mentioned (lieutenant) to visit the villages of the Province of Apalachicola, and having arrived at Coweta, where the emperor lives, he and the soldiers he brought with him were well received by the (emperor) and the other principal men. The emperor told him that it was of moment for him to go with his son and heir, the *Usinjulo*, called Sincapafi (Chipacasi), to the Province of the Talapuses, and having marched two days, he arrived at the first village called Talasi, where they were received with much courtesy and many presents, saying to him that all of those lands were and are in submission to His Majesty with twelve villages which belong to the great chief, (whose name means) the same as the *Lord of Many Villages*. (Those) of the Apiscas who were found there, rendered submission as well. Those Talapuse chiefs, said he, made a grant to Your Majesty of some mines in the neighborhood of Talase, and they gave him some rocks which appear to be - silver, the which he will bring when he returns to this presidio, for examination here. They asked him frequently to go with them to the Province of the Aibamos, where the French have a garrison in a wooden fort at the bank of the river of Mobile, because it would advance the service of His Majesty, and arrived (there after) a day and a half. He was well received by the officer in command of that outpost, who said (he was) a Biscaino, and that he awaited another officer who would come to relieve him, and that this was in order to make a journey to New Mexico, that the journey would be of three months from Mobile by river and by land, and that silver was in abundance,

which there was had (in) such an amount that some houses had been seen with pillars of silver, and the French wished to open a road, because they only know (rumors of the place), and the Biscaino officer showed him some pieces of rock which appeared to the said Diego Pena to be *fijas de polynas* of silver, and that these were (found) in the neighborhood of the fort, the reason for its establishment there. (The Indians told him that the) French have carried much to Mobile. During this there arrived the expected French officer, with three large launches, in which were brought a great quantity of goods, his woman and ten Frenchmen. He had some conferences with the said French officer and the principal Indians of those provinces, and among other things the Sincapafi (Chipacusi) said, that the French and English will thrust them from their lands, and that they do not desire other friendship than with the Spaniards, to whom, as their king, they had given submission; to which the French officer replied that it was the Spaniards they should throw out, and that they should leave the English who had their commerce. He said that the Lieutenant Diego Pena should refrain from returning there, because (if he did) he would be sent to France. Pena returned with the others who had gone with him much disturbed. They returned to the same place of Talasi in the Province of the Talapuses. The chief said to him, since the French do not know, nor have news of the mines adjacent to that place, whence came the rocks which he brought (Note: Here occurs a break in the continuity of the text, and termination of the account of Pena's mission.)

. . . and arrived with them and with the said chiefs who all came to see me and render submission to Your Majesty. I attempted to compliment them on their arrival, and treat them in such a manner that they would leave pleased, like those who have come here from other provinces and tribes, pagans and Christians (alike). The incurring of these expenses, Sir, is necessary, and they should be much more in the future, as

the readiest means, either to preserve those already reduced to our Holy Catholic faith, or to attract, and to have always in these first beginnings of our part, all of the Indian nations which extend for the north for two hundred leagues, that you will consider that you will have from this presidio to the referred fort of the French, all of the mainland, except those arms of the rivers which they say cross the land. It is certain, Sir, that little confidence can be placed in their friendship, and that they remember the extortions upon them made by the Spaniards and to have seen them bum their villages, with some killed. (This is) the reason why they rebelled and maintained the war against us for so much time, until from some misgivings they had of the English they saw it was necessary to give submission to His Majesty, from the atrocities they committed by killings in San Jorge.

I, Sir, will try and favor them as I have done since I took possession, devoting myself, with all vigilance for their preservation, giving them from my salary all that they ask.

Of all I have given an account of to Your Majesty in the dispatches of the 12 and 15 of August of this present year, and in the 30 of this month and year (*sic*) I describe with more familiarity the nature of these natives and that of which the nine charges treat. This government, Sir, is a pure misfortune, and nevertheless it offers many things which are necessary to draw to the Royal attention of Your Majesty, from which motive, I am bothersome in writing at length.

God protect (L. C. R. P.) Catholic Royal Person of Your Majesty as Christianity requires. San Augustin of Florida, and September 28 of 1718.

[Note on original:] [This] is a letter which came without signature. Nevertheless it is inferred it is from Don Antonio de Benavides, actual governor of Florida, not only from its context and the summary on the margin, but as well from having been received with others signed by this same governor.