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SPANISH INTEREST IN BRITISH FLORIDA, AND IN
THE PROGRESS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

(I) RELATIONS WITH THE SPANISH FACTION OF THE
CREEK INDIANS

by MARK F. BOYD AND JOSE NAVARRO LATORRE

Despite the loss of Florida to Great Britain in 1763, colonial officials in Cuba, probably reflecting the attitude of the Spanish Court, maintained a lively interest in their erstwhile province and preserved a hope of its eventual recovery. When the mounting tension in the British colonies to the north progressed from civil disorder to the revolutionary struggle, Spanish interest in the conflict became intense as the cherished hope began to exhibit the possibility of attainment. The meagerness of the news which reached that Court through random channels was insufficient to reveal the trend of events or determine the moment for decisive action. The situation demanded the deliberate collection of adequate intelligence, and by a Royal Cedula to the Governor of Cuba, dated February 28, 1776,¹ the latter was directed to gather all possible information and dispatch suitable persons, preferably those connected with the Asiento, or in the guise of smugglers, to Pensacola, to Florida (meaning St. Augustine), and to Jamaica, for this purpose². Compliance resulted in the submission of various reports, certain of which are reproduced below to develop our theme. While these are mainly focused on relatively minor events, they nevertheless afforded the principal independent considerations which determined the Spanish intrusion in the struggle, and hence actually have a broader significance.

A prominent advocate of the recovery of the lost province was an emigrant Floridian, Don Juan Joseph Eligio de la Puente, who occupied a post in the colonial government of Cuba. He figures largely in our narrative, particularly in the second part. He was widely and favorably known to the Indians, and because of this

1. A.G.I. Papeles de Cuba, Legajo 174. No. 199.

2. See Bibliography, *post*: Abbey, 1928-1929, pp. 56-68.

prestige his services were in constant demand in Havana for the reception and interviewing of Indian visitors.

Whatever may have been the degree of the attachment of the Alachua Indians (nucleus of the Seminoles) for the British in East Florida, and it is generally regarded to have been strong; an important faction of the Lower Creeks, on the other hand, preserved a strong attachment to the Spanish. This, if not actively stimulated by the Spanish authorities, was nevertheless passively encouraged in the hospitable reception accorded those Indians who had the hardihood to undertake the sea-voyage to Havana.

These junkets were initiated even before the delivery of Florida to the British. Thus Captain Don Bentura Diaz, who with a small force had been sent to reoccupy Fort St. Marks in order to formalize its delivery to the British, related to the Count of Ricla on January 19, 1764, the return of three unnamed Indians from Havana, who remained at that post until they had consumed three barrels of rum delivered in their baggage. In 1768, Pierce Acton Sinnott, assistant Indian commissioner stationed at Fort St. Marks, reported to John Stuart that Thlehulgee (otherwise known as Tugulkee, or the Young Twin of Coweta, son of Malatchi) and a companion, who had gone to Havana in November, 1766, had recently returned, well dressed. Their landing place was unknown, but he mentioned a report that a Spanish vessel had been observed off the mouth of the Apalachicola River. Sinnott also related that an Indian arriving at St. Marks a few weeks previously from the southward, reported seeing three two-masted Spanish vessels on a large bay (supposed to be Tampa) and had refused an invitation given in the Creek tongue to board one (Boyd, 1941-42, xix:200;xxi:52;xxi:136)³.

Further visits, alluded to in the documents which follow, were made in 1772 by Escuchape (Escotchabie or Scutchabe, the Young Lieutenant of the Cowetas: Mereness, 1916, p. 548) on invitation from Havana, probably delivered by his son, who had

3. See Bibliography (*post*).

made a similar visit in 1771, and in 1773 by the Captain Estimaculache and the Cacique Lajaliqui (document 1, post) who have not been otherwise identified in contemporaneous literature. Escuchape's visit was evidently of some duration, and on his return to Tampa Bay late in 1772 or early 1773, he was received by a multitude of Indians who had gathered to welcome him (doc. 2). It is not revealed whether Escuchape had any other motives in making the journey than the anticipated enjoyment of lavish Spanish hospitality, and the motives of the Spanish are unknown. The presence of this gathering so overawed the master of his transport that the latter could not refuse a request to receive another Havana passenger (or passengers) who may have been the Estimaculache and Lajaliqui just mentioned. No reference to other visitors prior to 1776 has been encountered, when the visit of Fitechage (otherwise unidentified) was mentioned (doc. 1).

Most of these visitors arrived in Havana as passengers on Spanish fishing vessels, which then as now frequented the fishing grounds off the west coast of Florida. Rude establishments were erected ashore on that coast where their catches were salted and dried. It is said that about 30 vessels were at this time engaged in this occupation, which was carried on from the months of August to March, inclusive. Their presence became known to the British, and although Governor Grant was ordered to suppress this activity, he lacked means to do so. As late as 1769, both Grant and Haldimand saw in their presence an opportunity for the opening of clandestine trade. When reports indicating that many of the contacts with the Indians were made on Spanish initiative, Hillsborough became alarmed, and ordered Stuart to investigate. Their correctness was quickly verified (Alden, 1944, p. 326; Mowatt, 1943, p. 20). That a clandestine trade of small proportions actually developed, but reversing the trend desired by Grant, is revealed by William Bartram (1928, p. 194), who visited the town of Talahasochte on the Suwannee River in 1774.

He related that the white trader at this town, when short of articles for trade, could usually renew his stock of the requisite goods from Spanish vessels on the coast at better terms than he could secure them from the wholesale Indian stores in Georgia or St. Augustine.

Some few prominent Indians, such as Thlehulgee in 1766 and Escuchape in 1772, may have visited Havana on invitation, but in general the initiative for most of these visits probably arose with the visitors themselves, to whom the prospects of a novel sea journey, enjoyment of Spanish hospitality, the acquirement of presents of unpredictable value, and an enhanced prestige on returning home, must have had an irresistible appeal. The number who regarded themselves as of sufficient consequence to merit Spanish favors was probably boundless, and likely ensured that one or more parties would arrive annually. The size of the parties indulging in these junkets was, fortunately for their hosts, usually controlled by the number who could crowd onto any small fishing vessel discovered detained in a west coast harbor, or by the capacity of a canoe, as Bartram (1928, p. 193), says that west coast Indians occasionally made the voyage to Havana in canoes.

Despite the studied courtesy of their reception, most of the visitors, as the documents testify, were actually unwelcome, as they produced an embarrassing drain on the treasury and were of little service as sources of intelligence. Since the Indians were remote from the principal area of conflict, their comprehension of the issues was slight, and the information they did disclose was so highly garbled that it was of meager and uncertain value.

Rather than attempt their discouragement by slighting the visitors, an attempt was made to curb their frequency by prohibiting the masters of fishing vessels from transporting Indians to Havana, or even to permit them on board of anchored vessels. This was an impractical order, as the parties engaged in curing fish on shore, or the fishing vessels obliged to put into a west

coast harbor for wood, water, or because of weather, were at the mercy of the Indians ashore, and could rarely repel a visitor or deny an Indian's request for transportation.

Among the earliest of the visitors mentioned in these documents, the Captain Estimelauche and the Cacique Lajaliqui, produced as credentials various old dispatches from Spanish governors to the nation, and expressed a desire to see Florida restored to Spain. And to attain this end, they declared a willingness to engage in relentless war against the English if provided with arms and ammunition, and offered to deliver the fort of St. Marks, of which they then had had possession for three years. They also expressed a willingness to embrace Catholicism. The governor found the proposals embarrassing, and gave a temporizing reply accompanied by liberal presents to soften the refusal.

In addition to a reiteration of the foregoing proposals, Fitechage, in 1776, suggested the initiation of a Spanish trade with the Indians of British Florida. This may imply that by 1776 the Indians had begun to experience inconvenience from a shortage of the trade goods heretofore furnished from warehouses in the Atlantic ports. The governor again temporized in the matter of aid against the English, but saw some slight advantage to be derived from minor trading operations along the Florida coast. On submission of the proposal to the Court, the Minister of the Indies approved the utilization of some vessels for this purpose as a means of reducing the annoying frequency of the Indian visits, providing precautions were taken to prevent clandestine trade with the English. Unfortunately an impediment arose to imperil the friendly relations, and it appeared that Louisiana might offer advantages superior to Havana as an entrepot for the trade. Nevertheless the governor of Cuba was anxious to develop the trading project, but the intendent saw in it an excellent opportunity for smuggling. The arguments pro and con were submitted to the consideration of the Council of the Indies, which sought the opinion of de comptroller, whose

decision supported the viewpoint of the intendent. As a consequence, the Council, apparently late in 1776, disapproved the proposal for Indian trade and of the admission of Indians to the port of Havana (docs. 1,2).

Unaware of the position taken by the Council of the Indies, the Indians continued to be anxious for the opening of the desired traffic. The delay led to a visit, late in 1777, from Tunape (the Tonaby of the English), accompanied by an extensive suite (doc. 6). He alleged that the Cacique Lajaliqui and the Captain Estimalauche had been his emissaries, and that because of Spanish failure to open the trade, he felt impelled to make the journey to renew the negotiations in person. He appears to have been recognized by the Spanish as an important personage, judging from the number of documents to which his visit gave rise. His formal "talk", delivered in the presence of the governor, although doubtless designed as a personal buildup, is probably the only known autobiographical sketch of a southeastern Indian. In it he emphasized the depth of his devotion to the Spanish, again tendered the fort of St. Marks, described the extent of their destitution, and their pressing need for trade goods. (doc. 4). Don Juan Joseph Eligio de la Puente was delegated by Governor Navarro to give the official reply (doc. 5). He explained the impracticability of accepting the proffered concessions, but offered to supply their most pressing needs if promptly informed of the required items. Although the desire of the colonial officials to establish trade appears to have been intensified by Tunapes proposals, the latter was informed that its initiation required royal approval.

During the course of Tunape's visit, Naval Commandant Bonet became interested in the inexhaustible supplies of naval stores which Florida could furnish. On the vessel which returned Tunape and party to Tampa Bay, he sent two shipwrights to make a survey of the resources in the vicinity of that bay (docs. 8,9). Some Spanish efforts to exploit the Florida forests for naval stores

had been made in 1777. Thus in April of that year, Lieut. Benton of the British vessel *West Florida*, seized three Spanish vessels on the charge they were laden with timber cut on British soil (Abbey, 1929, ix. 265). The news quickly reached Governor Galvez at New Orleans, who in retaliation seized eleven British vessels then in that port, engaged in contraband trade. The presence of such vessels had long been countenanced in that port, although in violation of existing regulations. Galvez stated that the captured Spanish vessels were laden with tar (Caughey, 1934, p. 71). Bonet appeared to disregard that he would thereby create a situation similar to that caused by the presence of British logwood and mahogany woodcutters on the coast of Belize, which had created a controversy then already of long standing.

Also on Tunape's transport, concealed from the eyes of the Indians, was an emissary of Governor Navarro, sent to secretly ascertain whether there were any British war vessels on the coast of West Florida. A few months after Tunape's departure, important intelligence from Florida required an analysis and interpretation by Don Juan Joseph Eligio de la Puente (docs. 10,11). In his report he made strong representations to the Court of the desirability of recovering Florida. It may be inferred, although it cannot be substantiated, that the Julian de Flores mentioned, was the agent concealed on Tunape's transport. In the latter part of March, an Indian named Subayque brought an anonymous letter to Havana, describing the preparations the revolted colonists were making to attack St. Augustine and Pensacola. In document 11 Eligio makes allusion to information given him personally by the Captain Wacapurchase, who is tentatively identified as the Cowkeeper. The allusion does not permit one to judge whether Wacapurchase had made a then recent visit to Havana, or whether Eligio himself may have seen him while on a quick secret mission to Florida.

We know nothing of Tunape's subsequent life. In view of his professed hostility to the British, it appears unlikely, had he been

alive in 1783, that Charles McLatchy, one of the partners in Panton, Leslie & Co., could have established the trading post on the Wakulla River a few miles above the vacant fort. Furthermore had he been living, it seems improbable that the Spaniards would have been obliged to negotiate, as they were, with the Creeks for permission to reoccupy the old fort of San Marcos de Apalachee, which was not undertaken until 1787. The Spanish faction among the Lower Creeks must have been greatly weakened by his death.

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THE DOCUMENTS

1. Brief, Dealing with Various Communications from the Governor of Cuba on the Subject of Trade with the Uchise Indians, Extracted for the Council of the Indies, February 27, 1778. Archivo Historico Nacional [Madrid] Legajgo 3884, Expediente 1, Document 9.

(A)

Havana, February 16, 1773

The Governor

1. Confidentially relates that on the 14th instant there arrived at that port on one of the vessels [employed] in fishing about the keys adjacent to Florida, fourteen Indians of the *Uchise*¹ nation who occupy the Province of Coweta¹ in the vast extension from the Point of Tanche as far as Santa Rosa, with authority from the emperor to discuss important subjects.

2. The principal messengers were the Captain Estimalauche and Cacique Lajaliqui, and their credentials were several [old] dispatches directed by various [former] governors of Florida to those of their nation. By virtue of acquaintance with these people, and the prestige which he enjoys among them, the auditor, Don Juan Joseph Eligio de la Puente was charged with their maintenance and investigation of the purpose of their mission, which in brief is their desire for the restitution to the Spanish dominion of the English establishments in that province, which they call theirs, for the attainment of which, with the Tallaposa¹, Apizca¹, and Chataa¹ nations [they desire to] wage pitiless war against them in this province if they are provided with arms and munitions. For the storage of which and the first establishment [of the kind] they offer immediately to deliver the fort of San Marcos which they have already possessed for three years²; and finally their ready disposition and anxiety to embrace Catholicism and the domination of His Majesty.

3. Notwithstanding the misleading inconstancy of these people and the present harmony of Spain with England, it appears unwise to emphatically scorn their proposals, for the great convenience in any event to have these barbarians as friends, and

1. This and all following superior numbers refer to sections of the *Appendix*.

thus I have decided to dismiss them in hope of [their contentment with] some dilatory consideration of their proposals, and offering them, as is always done, the protection of His Majesty, and some presents as expression of appreciation for their loyalty. [Endorsement] Dated May 6 [1773?] Approved that they be regaled and cultivated without accepting their proposals.

(B) 4. The same governor relates on the 11th of last April [1776], the return of three bands of Indians of the same nation, conveyed by the fishermen who frequent the coasts, despite their orders not to admit them on board, which they cannot evade, because while on the beaches they are overwhelmed by large numbers of Indians who come in their canoes and oblige them to admit them [to their vessels].

5. The principal messenger was an Indian called Fitechage, and his mission was no different from that of his predecessors, except for the additional proposal that means be adopted to maintain commerce with us, to provide the goods which they require, as they esteem ours, in exchange for the products of their country.

6. The response of the governor in the matter of aid against the English was as in the preceding, and in respect to the commerce they hope for: should there be no prior inconveniences, there might be some advantage. He inquires what may be the pleasure of His Majesty on sending some small vessels to trade with the Indians on the coasts of Florida, by which means their frequent expensive visits will be avoided and relations and friendship will be preserved, in case some event should find it useful.

7. In the [provision] of maintenance, rations and indispensable presents for these three bands, there have been spent 999 pesos 5 reals which the Royal Treasury paid by authority of the Intendant, whose approval was sought. [Note:] He has always ordered approval of the expenditures for this purpose.

8. [Endorsed] ***Approved the expense, and that with the

opportune and necessary precautions to avoid all trading with the British, some vessels may be permitted to pass to determined points on the coast for trade with the Indians, and avoid their frequent visits to that plaza. Also take the precaution to inform the interim Governor of Louisiana, Don Bernardo de Galvez of the proposals of the Indians on his arrival at that port, in order that he may employ the information to further the service of His Majesty in cultivation of friendship with the Indians adjacent to Louisiana. July 20, 1776.

[Rubric of Don Joseph de Galvez.]

(C) 9. Replies on the 9th of October that he has discussed the subject of the establishment of commerce on the coast of Florida with Don Bernardo de Galvez, and has informed him of the grave impediment to this [project] which has arisen, to the end that if the proximity of Louisiana to the Province of Coweta (where the Indians reside), affords superior advantages, this may be quickly undertaken.

10. The impediment arises from the treacherous killing of one of the Indians at sea, by the master of our vessel after their departure from Havana, from jealousy over an Indian woman who was a passenger. When the news was divulged in Coweta they became incensed against us. Consequently it is necessary to allow time for their desire for vengeance to cool. It has been impossible to punish the culprit because he has fled and his refuge is unknown.

11. [Ordered:] That it be made known that if capture of the delinquent master is possible, he will be tried and punished in accordance with the crime, and endeavor [to suggest] at every opportunity that the Indians put aside the anger [*el encono*] which they have conceived against the Spanish nation.

December 29, 1776.

(D)

Havana, May 6, 1777.

12. *** The governor relates that on the 30th of April there entered a fishing vessel with three *Uchise* Indians [on board]

proceeding from the bay of Tampa. The opportunity was taken to tranquilize the preceding atrocious incident, and, to give them assurances of friendship. He assigned Don Juan Eligio de la Puente, Auditor of the *Tribunal de Cuentas* to attend to their maintenance and ascertain the reason for their coming, since he is well versed in their management.

13. *** It appeared from declarations by the master of the vessel and the Indian leader Chanilla³, that, anchored in the bay, an Indian arrived at the side of the vessel in a small canoe. He was courteously invited aboard and fed. By signs he told the master that he wished him to go ashore in his company. Although in the beginning the master refused, he finally accepted after repeated invitations and was taken to a place where there were three other Indians and five Indian women. He experienced a pleasant and courteous reception, then leaving him alone with the women, [the men departed]. They returned from their hunt with deer meat and a quantity of bear fat with which they regaled him, while the three Indians asked that he carry them to Havana.

14. *** The Indians confirmed that which has been related, and added that they came representing their emperor and casiques to learn the punishment which had been given to the Spaniard who had treacherously killed their companion. On being informed they were elated. They added that in their provinces there had been neither incitement nor thought of taking up arms, or of effecting the least injury to the Spaniards.

In view of this, the governor instructed Eligio de la Puente, to make them understand the horror with which the crime of the aggressor was viewed and the active and continuous searches which have been prosecuted for his apprehension and application of the merited punishment. Giving them some presents in accordance with custom, he dispatched them with the message that the casiques should send two or three principal men to re-establish good relations as Eligio proposed, and then the pro-

posed commerce will be initiated. Madrid, July 3, 1777. [Endorsed:] Approved July 9, 1777.

(E) Council of the Indies, February 14, 1776

[Note: Since this is based on doc. 2, dated 12/24/76, it would appear erroneous to ascribe the endorsement to 1776. The year evidently should be 1778.]

[Endorsement:] In view of the two representations of the Governor, the Marques de la Torre of September 28, 1775, and of the *Intendente de Exercito* of the 8th of the following month of the said year, the first arguing for establishment there of commerce with the *Uchise* on the coasts of Apalachee and Florida, and the second, the impediments against it, because all of the measures taken for the restraint of smuggling by the islanders of Cuba are inadequate, and if the port is opened to some coasts dominated by the English, the risk and damage which may arise should be known. The Council, agreeing with the opinion of the *Fiscal* and that declared by the *Contaduria General*, thinks that it is unjustified to approve in any manner the proposal of these Indians, nor permit them to enter the port of Havana, and that the requisite orders to this effect be prepared and communicated to the present governor, and approve of the expenditure for the Indian messenger.

2. Extract from the Opinion of Thomas Ortiz de Landazuri of the *Contaduria General* on the subject of Commerce with the *Uchise* Indians. Madrid, December 24, 1776. Coleccion de Documentos sobre Luisiana. Tomo I (folio 106). Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, Seccion de Manuscritos.

By Royal Order and concurrence of the Council there were referred to this *Contaduria General* [Comptroller] two letters [one], of the Governor of Havana, the Marques de la Torre, and the [other] from the former Intendant of the *Exercito y Real Hacienda* of that island, Don Nicolas Joseph Rapun, their dates September 28 and October 8 of the year before ⁴, with various documents, Having as is his duty proceeded with an examination [of these], he found that the first is essentially a statement that the same vessel which transported the *Uchise* Indians ⁵ to the

coast of Apalachee (of which it appears an account was given under dates of May 4 and June 1 of the year before ⁴ [1773 ?; 1774 ?], on its return brought another [Indian] ⁶ with the introduction that he is one of the principal men of those villages, by whom he was sent with a new commission to treat with the governor on important subjects. The master of the vessel asserts that although he wished to avoid this in accordance with the orders he had received, he was compelled to it by the multitude of natives who had gathered to receive the Cacique Escuchape ⁷, whom he had transported from the port of Havana.

They relate that the message of the before mentioned Indian, according to the attached attestation, was similar to those preceding, which in summary comprised many complaints against the English and the assurance that they desire communication and trade with the Spaniards, but adding with great force the request that they be provided with a vessel to maintain the traffic with that port on the supposition that they will pay its value with the produce brought from their coasts for sale there, and that likewise other vessels be permitted to depart from that port which desire to bring the goods and produce which they consume, in exchange there for horses, cattle, skins, and other kinds which abound.

On rejection of the proposal that these Indians be given a vessel to be sailed by themselves, the messenger was told that they [*i.e.* the Spaniards] would try to bring to their country the goods which they consume, so that they could acquire them without making the voyage. He was dismissed with this hope in a fishing vessel. There was spent 52 pesos and six reals on his lodging and rations.

There was an individual [Don Ramon Bosque] aware of the importunities of the Indians, who sought permission to export to the coasts of Apalachee and Pensacola an assortment of those goods which [the Indians] esteem, to be exchanged for horses and other produce; and even though the idea appears useful

because no trouble can be foreseen from its practice, rather the exportation of the goods which the Indians desire appearing advantageous to our commerce, and the importation of horses, cattle, dried beef, and skins, which are the products which they offer to furnish. He desired to learn the judgment of the Intendant Rapun.

In the opinion which he [*i.e.* the Intendant] gave that Minister, he holds that from the execution of the project [there may be] damaging consequences, based [on the circumstance] that the English have establishments on the coasts of Apalachee and Pensacola, and that our vessels, under the pretext of trading with the Indians, will traffic with the English, carrying them money and produce of this island and securing their goods, being inclined to this suspicion by the experience with the fervent inclination which attracts those natives to contraband and intercourse with foreigners.

Although similar suspicions doubtless occurred to the Governor, [he thinks that] on this occasion they arose from the zeal of the Intendant, but they are not sufficiently [unimportant] to justify rejection. The project of trading with the Indians is obviously useful, because the articles to be received from them could not be mistaken for those which would suit the English to sell. Neither horses, skins, or meat, are the products which might be bought in the English establishments, nor are our vessels needing the excuse of traffic with the Indians to go to the coasts of Apalachee and Pensacola, since on account of fishing they go there daily.

Notwithstanding, these remarks, which by their nature appear to refute the apprehensions of the Intendant, induced [the Governor] to deny the permission sought, even though the goods intended for the traffic are of slight value, as would appear from the list enclosed, deciding not to give assent before His Majesty has determined what might be his royal pleasure; in realization that one of the advantages from the trade which the Indians

request, and to which he inclined, will be the prevention of their visits which continue to be costly to the royal treasury.

*** **

Informed of all the foregoing, this *Contaduria General* is of the opinion that the reasons on which the named Intendant Rapun based his misgivings about the consequences which will result if trade with the *Uchise* Indians is permitted, are so well founded, that they entirely convince that not the least reason for doubt should remain, as a consequence of the extended experience which has been had with the conduct and deviousness of the natives of that island, [who are] discontented with the repeated rigid provisions [adopted] to discourage their trade and communication with the foreign colonies which they so much desire; the injuries consequent from this inveterate abuse are remedied already in part by the encouragement of agriculture and direct commerce with Spain. So that while approving the expense incurred by the Governor occasioned by the mentioned most recent *Uchise* Indian messenger for those of his nation, he can also be informed at the same time that his project of trade with them is rejected, for fear of the consequences hinted [at] by the beforementioned Intendant, and that he again be ordered to prohibit, under grave penalties, that the masters of fishing vessels, take or receive on board for any cause, motive, or pretext, Indians of the said nation.

On all of which the superiority of the Council will decide, and propose to His Majesty that which is found most appropriate.

3. Don Diego Joseph Navarro [Governor and Captain General of Cuba] to Don Joseph de Galvez [Minister of the Indies]. Havana, January 15, 1778. A. H.N. [Madrid]. Leg. 3884, Exp. 1, Doc. 5.

There have appeared before me eleven *Uchise*¹ Indians and one *Tallapoosa*¹ repeating their former requests that Spaniards be sent to take possession of the fort of San Marcos de Apalachee, which the Cacique Tunape⁸ and the members of his band defend with the approbation of their emperor. [They also ask] that

they be sent a spiritual Father for the continuation of the exercise of Catholicism among those who say they are baptized, and to baptize the new-born. [They furthermore ask] that a service of vessels to that coast be established, which in addition to supplying them with the goods they require would export the produce and acustom the Indians to trade with the Spaniards. [They also asked] clemency for the Campeachean who killed three Indians while transporting them to their territory. [All this is presented to] Your Excellency more extensively by the declaration from Tunape taken by Don Eligio de la Puente, principal auditor of this *Tribunal de Cuentas*, submitted as enclosure No. 1; I transmit [also] as enclosure No. 2, an official letter to that Ministry, [from] which Your Excellency will see how the aforesaid Eligio complied with my order in replying to him [*i.e.* Tunape].

For complete compliance in terms consistent with articles 33 and 34 of the confidential instructions of January 3 of the past year, I apprehend a lack of criteria to determine the safest manner in which to send one or more vessels to engage in the solicited commerce with the Indians, and avoid as far as possible the repetition of the visits which they make without discretion on the part of the masters, who, although instructed to refuse [such passages], are obliged to bring one or another in order not to exasperate them and suffer some extortion as [a consequence] of their temerity.

Don Juan Eligio makes a suggestion of procedure which may be followed in the case of Florida, and to me it appears that if His Majesty has no objection, it would be very appropriate to send to Apalachee a person versed in that language who would serve as interpreter and trading agent in the exchange for [local] produce, [of] the trade goods brought by masters known to be loyal vassals, incapable of clandestine relations with the English. On this point I hope Your Excellency will inform me what might be the wishes of His Majesty for the immediate solution of the matter, as well as the pleasure of the King to concede

the pardon which the Indians ask for Juan Ledian, the Campechean.

Meanwhile the Indians have been entertained, the expenses for their rations and lodging have already attained nine hundred and sixty-five pesos, six and one-half reals, as specified in the report attached as No. 3, for the satisfaction of which the necessary requisition has been sent to the Intendant of the Army and Royal Treasury [*Exercito y Real Hacienda*].

Your Excellency will observe that there is not included any sum to defray the return passage of the Indians. This is because on the completion of the assignment given to a competent person who is sent on the same vessel concealed from the Indians, for a discreet reconnaissance of the bays of Pensacola and San Joseph, to determine whether or not an English war vessel may there be present, and carry the information to our squadron in the soundings, I will advise Your Excellency of the expenses incurred, which to me appeared a legitimate precaution in view of the news received, which I communicated to Your Excellency in confidential dispatch No. 162.

For the complete information of Your Excellency on all that has occurred as a consequence of the visit of these Indians, there only remains to include the questions which the *Commandante General* of this squadron has asked of Don Eligio, which appear designed to determine whether it [i.e. Florida] can provide spars, rosin, pitch, and tar for the squadron. For this reason he has sent two [other] men on the vessel to be left at Tampa Bay, to survey its forests and return to this plaza by any available fishing vessel.

4. [Enclosure 1 with foregoing]. Declarations of the Master Joseph Bermudez and of the Cacique Tunape. Havana, December 22, 1777. A. H. N. [Madrid]. Leg. 3884, Exp. 1, Doc. 6.

(A) Joseph Bermudez, Master of the schooner *San Antonio*, who on the 13th of the current month arrived at this port from the bay of Tampa, declares it as truth, that having departed from this port with the requisite permit to fish on the west coast of Florida, and on arriving at the beforesaid bay of Tampa, there

came out several canoes of *Uchise* Indians, numbering perhaps fifty persons of both sexes, among them the Cacique Tunape and Captain Talope, who said they came [out] in order to journey to this city, being desirous of a conference with the Governor and Captain General. He replied to them saying, it would give him much pleasure, but that he could not transport more than six or eight, as his vessel was heavily laden, but on their insistence that there should be more, he finally embarked twelve, being those who he has brought, the others being left [at Tampa]. [He declares] that the treatment he has received from the before mentioned Indians, and from others met on those coasts has been as affectionate as brothers, and that he is ignorant of the motive of their journey as he does not understand their language. And in order that compliance with the verbal order of the Governor and Captain General of this city and island be evident, he declares this in Havana the 22nd of December, 1777.

(B) Tunape, Casique of the new village established by himself [on the site of] San Luis de Talimali, six leagues distant from the fort of San Marcos de Apalachee, declares through Don Tadeo de los Rios, interpreter of this language, the following:

That he is a native of the town of Coweta ¹, capital of the Province of the same name, belonging to the *Uchise* nation, and is one of its principal men. That from the time he began the use of speech and have some understanding, he was advised and counseled by his father until the time of his death, that he should be a lover of the great King of Spain, and that he should defend his vassals from their enemies, and that he should serve them in the meanwhile as they may employ him. In order to emphasize this, and for him to develop affection, he was carried at the age of 9 or 10 years to St. Augustine of Florida, at the time when Don Antonio de Benavides governed those provinces, who received them with much affability and offered them many courtesies.

That since then he has continued much inclined to the Span-

iards, and that ever since he learned how to manage firearms, he came to live with them at the before mentioned fort of San Marcos de Apalachee, where he remained, obeying with the greatest punctuality and affection whatever orders its commandant or the Governor of Florida gave him, serving in particular for the conveyance of letters from one part to another, in which activity he was occupied for about 20 years.

That when the before mentioned fort was submerged during a storm ⁹ and therein perished the larger part of its garrison and its commandant, Don Sebastian Sanchez, the very few who escaped fled precipitately to St. Augustine, leaving him to collect the dead and give them burial, in order that the wolves might not devour the corpses, and to conserve the cannon, pedreros, balls, bells, and other utensils which remained there without other guardian.

That immediately on the return of the Spaniards with the Commandant Don Alvaro Lopez to rebuild the fort, he not only immediately delivered to him that which he had gathered, and in the meanwhile, until they had [the new fort] enclosed, he and all his band maintained [guard] to defend them from whatever enemies might attack them, and freely provided them with fresh meat, bear fat, corn, beans, sweet potatoes, and gourds.

As a consequence of his apprehensions when Florida was delivered to the English, he advised the emperor, chiefs, and principal men of the Province of Coweta, and of those of the Tallapoosas, of his intention, with the aid of his band, to prevent the said English from establishing themselves at any point on the west coast, and on some portions of the east: that to force them from Apalachee he was disposed to besiege the fort in such a manner that not one of its garrison could go outside to gather oysters, to fish or to hunt birds and other animals. Thus deprived, without the least chance for relief, they had to relinquish it, and spiking the cannon, they fled one wild night in a schooner they had, and as soon as the declarant knew of this

on the following day, he went to the fort with his band and took possession of it ².

At the earliest opportunity he communicated with the Governor of Havana by means of the principal man Lajaliqui, and later repeated the message by the Captain Estimalauche, requesting the Spaniards to come and take delivery; [which] it appears was inconvenient to the governor.

He now comes on the same errand, and in case this should be impossible, requests the governor to order that he be given two drums [*caxas de guerra*] and a flag with the arms of the King. The former he requires to call his band together, the other to be raised on a staff, in order that all who see it will know that castle belongs to the Great King of Spain, and that he will defend it until the last drop of his blood is shed.

He also asks that the governor facilitate the going and coming of small Spanish vessels to the said fort of Apalachee, not only for the purpose of bringing [the goods] which they lack, which they will purchase with horses, meats, corn, beans, skins, and medicinal herbs, but that jointly the newly-born children as well as those, who, although then small, were heart-broken when the Spaniards withdrew, may become acquainted [with] them, and maintain a friendly intercourse and acquire affection for them [*i.e.* the Spaniards], as otherwise this will be lost with the passage of time and the English, who have long desired [to replace] them, will succeed.

He knows that at the moment there is found in Pensacola an Englishman ¹⁰, who has dispatched various messengers to the *Uchise* nation, [and] to those of the Tallapoosas, *Apiscas*, *Allavamos*, and *Chataas* ¹, urging friendship with the English from the sunrise, that they unite with them, that these be permitted to settle on Florida lands near the sea, and that they make war on the English of Savannah, Carolina, Virginia, Maryland and Philadelphia and the Indian nations which are their adherents. He is certain that the invitation will not be entertained by the

Uchises nor the Tallapoosas, because he knows these are ready to respond blindly to that asked of them in the name of the Great King of Spain, and even believes the same of the *Apizcas* and *Chizcas* because they fear these will open hostilities. But he is ignorant of what may happen with the *Allavamos* and *Chacaas* ¹, since these nations are closely allied and the latter is very numerous. He has news that although some *Cimarrones* ¹¹ [i.e. Seminols], which for their misdeeds had fled from the *Uchises*, had been persuaded by the English of St. Augustine to make war, as they did, against the English of Savannah, he knows that when the news of this reached the emperor and first warrior of the Province of Coweta, they were released [from their commitment] and ordered to return immediately to their respective villages, as otherwise [he would] send a force to destroy everyone, to [the execution of] which threat he is certain they will not give occasion.

That he, on whatever occasion arises, will sooner lose his life and that of all the force which accompanies him, before permitting any English to settle between the bar of Aix and the Boca de Ratones, and from the Punta de Tanche to St. Joseph's Bay, which is the territory he is prepared to guard and defend ¹². But this policy, meanwhile, can only persist during his lifetime and that of the elders who accompany him, since at his death, he fears that the youths, since they are unacquainted with the Spaniards, will be attracted to the English who are very persistent, and since these bring them what they need, and purchase what they have, he fears that by similar means they will succeed.

Since his efforts [to initiate trade] have never met with success, he did not undertake to enumerate the goods required, but they already completely lack powder, ball, guns, axes, hoes, and other indispensable articles required for defense from their enemies, to hunt animals, build their huts, or to dress themselves in the meager clothes they use, and even at the moment [they lack] provisions, since in the present year the harvests were poor, [for

which reasons] he humbly asks that the Governor and Captain General, by virtue of the paternal love with which the King of Spain regards him, with which he lived content, may graciously order they be provided with that which he selects, and anything else of those expressly required, as he may determine to be the most convenient. [He also recalls that] it is well understood that in his village as well as in others of its neighborhood, there are many Christians, who wish that all those who are born may so be also, for which they charged he should ask that the [Spaniards] should send there priests who could baptize, teach them the catechism, hear confessions and attend [them] when dying.

That with respect to the deaths caused by Juan, son of the Campechean, [he declared] this is already forgiven by the mourners, for the confirmation of which they brought a son of the most important of the deceased, who affirmed the declaration. In view of this [attitude] he also humbly petitions the Governor and Captain General to refrain from punishing anyone, since they now are actually in care of Juan's father, who has always looked after those of the same nation when they come [to Havana], and that furthermore the son was drunk when he committed the murders.

He finally stated that all which has been said is true, because he does not have more than the one tongue, with which he has spoken in the sight and hearing of all those who accompany him, who know it themselves, and from the beginning have confirmed it in general. So that it may be evident this is done in compliance with the verbal order of the Governor and Captain General of this city and island, which was by me conveyed to him, the within named Cacique Tunape declares the foregoing without signing it as he does not know [how to write] because of which deficiency it is signed by the said interpreter, Don Tadeo de los Rios, in Havana, December 22, 1777.

Juan Joseph Eligio de la Puente
Antonio Tadeo de los Rios
Navarro

5. [Enclosure 2 with No. 3]. Official letter from Don Juan Joseph Eligio de la Puente to Don Diego Joseph Navarro. Havana, January 12, 1778. A. H. N. [Madrid]. Leg. 3884, Exped. 1, Doc. 7.

In compliance with Your Lordship's notice that I would be expected to receive the declaration of the Cacique Tunape of the *Uchise* nation, and reply to him, he was made to understand clearly and distinctly, just as previously you had ordered told to the principal man Lajaliqui and the Captain Estimalauche [when they proposed] that the Spaniards take the fort of San Marcos de Apalachee and settle those lands, that such action continues [to be] impossible, and the same with regard to the priests he requests for the baptism of infants, their instruction in the catechism and the consolation of the dying. That in respect to the pardon of Juan, son of the Campechean, for the crime of murdering three Indians of his nation, [he was told] that the King will be informed, since from his sovereignty must originate the decision. And with regard to the sending of vessels laden with goods and materials to be exchanged for their produce, they should determine that which they lack, which he can accomplish readily, and if attended to promptly, one may expect to see shortly the relief of their need. In the matter of presents in the name of His Majesty, [these are itemized] in the accompanying memorandum. They remain satisfied and content with all [attention paid them], honoring Your Lordship with obsequious thanks. He and his companions depart with the hope that the piety of the King can always be depended upon in their need and for the approval of the proposed commerce with them. Upon this point, I must not overlook presentation to Your Lordship, that for its establishment, I conceive it indispensable that it be conducted in the manner prevailing in Florida, to which place you should assign a person of confidence in the King's service, who speaks the language of the Indians, through whom might be conducted the barter, thus avoiding either their being cheated, or that there arise controversies and resentments, which always result in fatal consequences, which must always be guarded against

by anticipation. It also appears that its success will be furthered if the persons engaged in this traffic are well known, and that there be employed only two small boats which are sufficient to carry and bring the products and produce with which one and the other may trade.

* * *

This is accompanied by the memorandum [Doc. 8], which with the permission of Your Lordship, I drafted and delivered on the 28th ultimo, to Don Juan Bautista Bonet, Commandant of the Navy.

6. [Enclosure 3 to No. 3]. Statement by Don Juan Joseph Eligio de la Puerta of Expenses incurred for the Entertainment of the Indians. Havana, January 12, 1778. A. H. N. [Madrid]. Leg. 3884, Exped. 1, Doc. 8.

Report on the twelve individuals, eleven of the *Uchise* nation and one of the Tallapoosa nation, who, in the schooner *San Antonio* [of which] Joseph Bermudez is master, were brought from Tampa Bay to this city the night of the 12th ultimo, and left to return there the afternoon of the 10th instant, whose names, and the expenses incurred for the presents which have been made them, for maintenance during their stay here, and for rations for their journey, to wit:

Names of the eleven *Uchises*: Casique Tunape, Captain Tolope, Chanilla, Sulitique, Suslache, Apatatasche, Ynculiche, Sinpuque, Injale, Aychue, Lusluaique.

Name of the Tallapoosa: Saslape.

Goods and articles presented to the said twelve Indians, and thirty-five others of both sexes who came in their company but remained waiting at Tampa Bay:

[Omitted]

The amount of the expenses incurred as evidence by the total of the foregoing is nine hundred sixty-five pesos, six and one-half reals. Havana, January 12, 1778.

7. Don Juan Bautista Bonet [Commandant of the Navy], to the Marques Gonzales de Castejon [Minister of the Navy]. Havana, December 28, 1777. A. H. N. [Madrid]. Leg. 3884, Exped. 1, Doc. 3.

The auditor of the *Tribunal de Cuentas* of this city, Don Juan Joseph Eligio de la Puente, a native of Florida, was granted this post by the King in recognition of his services there until the time of [its] delivery to the English. [He is] highly esteemed by all of the Indian tribes adjacent to that presidio, [as well by those] of Apalachee and Pensacola, as a consequence of which he enjoys a title in, and freedom of, their territory. By them he was given, in token of this, a fan [*abanico*] composed of feathers, arranged as each of those nations deemed significant.

When disputes arise between any of these tribes, representatives of either or both factions attempt to pass to this city by means of any fishing vessel, in order that Eligio may determine what is just, which decision is always accepted.

There have now arrived twelve of the principal [Indians] as Your Excellency will perceive from the accompanying note. Among them is a youth of from 10 to 11 years of age, son of a chief, who I am attempting to have left in my custody for his education, and by this means guarantee the sincerity of their expressions, as well as for its possible consequence to the monarchy, in view of the abundance of spars, other excellent woods, and a continuous production of tar, pitch and rosin of good quality, sufficient to supply this and other arsenals. All of this appears to me worthy of being brought to the King's attention by Your Excellency for a suitable decision, which I will execute thereafter as favorable opportunities arise, since the present opportunity to cultivate good relations with these people is of the greatest consequence to the monarchy.

8. Accompanying Memorandum, apparently that referred to in Doc. 5, by Don Juan Joseph Eligio de la Puente. Havana, December 26, 1777. A. H. N. [Madrid]. Leg. 3884, Exped. 1, Doc. 4.

A fishing sloop has brought from the coast of West Florida to this port, twelve Indians of the *Uchise* tribe of the Province of Coweta, the principal among whom [is called] Tunape, who relates that shortly before their departure from that coast, there had just arrived at Pensacola an English gentleman¹⁰, who dis-

patched emissaries to his nation, as well as to the Talapoosas, *Apizcas*, *Chizcas*, *Allavamos*, and *Chatas*, [urging] them to unite with the loyalists [*realistas*], that they permit them [*i.e.*, the English] to settle on the lands adjacent to the sea which the King of Spain ceded to them [*i.e.*, Florida], and that they participate in the war against the colonists and their Indian adherents. He is certain that the first two will not respond to the invitation, and even believes the same of the third and fourth, but not of the fifth and sixth, since he has some suspicion that these may be influenced.

The aforesaid Tunape comes for the third time to offer the fort of Apalachee (which Eligio says is only slightly smaller than Morro [Castle here]). Eight years ¹³ have passed since the English garrison was withdrawn because of its blockade by the selfsame Tunape and his band, who would not permit the garrison [to go] outside [the walls], even to fish in the surrounding river.

Tunape asks, in case the Spaniards do not care to take it, that he be given two drums [*cajas de Guerra*], a flag with the arms of the King [of Spain], powder, and ball, and he will continue as its custodian and will defend it against enemies, he will prevent, as he had done until the present, that any English establish themselves on any soil he is guarding, that only the Spaniards may pass and settle, and utilize the timber and fruits which they produce, and the fish which they secure on its coasts.

Finally, speaking with confidence, he says that the *Uchises* and Tallapoosas, who always travel as brothers, have no fear of the neighboring Indians, nor of the *Chalaque*, *Chicasas*, *Chicasaes*, *Cusupuyas*, *Chaschices*, *Yuches* and *Mojaas* ¹, [who are] English adherents, since all of them will gladly make war on the order of de King of Spain, or if he becomes involved.

Endorsements: (a) The sturdy trees produced in the said lands of Florida are pines, live-oaks (*encinas*) and other oaks, walnuts, white poplars and black, *vardas*, and junipers, of which the first are in such numbers that it is impossible to exterminate them.

They serve equally for masting vessels of any draught as well as for the distillation of choice and abundant rosin and pitch, from which subsequently is made the best tar.

(b) Under date of January 15 [1778 ?] Bonet reports the arrival of another vessel with six *Uchise* Indians offering to supply spars, and he anticipates arrival of still another group. [Since] these manifest loyalty, this friendship may influence the plans of the King as regards these territories.

9. Don Juan Bautista Bonet to the Marques Gonzales de Castejon. Havana, January 14, 1778. A. H. N. [Madrid]. Leg. 3884, Exped. 1, Doc. 10.

I will touch separately to Your Excellency upon the delicate expressions of affection for the King and his vassals made by the Indians of the districts of Tampa and Apalachee. I am informed by the master rigger and other intelligent persons of this place, that the number of pine trees of outstanding quality is immense, which can barely be distinguished from those of Flanders. I have sent from the carpenters of Rivera, Juan de Villavicencio and Miguel Santoyo to accompany the Indians who are found here, the object of which I have expressed to Your Excellency by the instructions given them, a copy of which is enclosed.

If the outcome is favorable, as I am promised, and of which I will give a report to Your Excellency, the great service it will be to the King to have this arsenal with such an important resource for the subsequent necessities, will be one of my greatest satisfactions.

[Enclosure]

Havana, January 8, 1778.

Instructions to be observed by Juan de Villavicencio and Miguel Santoyo, carpenters of Rivera, on the mission to the bay of Tampa to which they are assigned:

Immediately on arrival [to] examine the pines shown them by the Indians and the master of the vessel, which appear to be of easy removal to the river, in particular those which were recognized some years back, which according to tradition were suitable for spars in this arsenal.

Also to try and cut down in the dark of the moon 30 to 40 of the thickest and straightest, without knots, white, and the least resinous, which you can distinguish by sight in view of your experience, since you have been selected for this service with attention to the knowledge you are supposed to possess.

Also try and bring, in the first fishing vessel which returns to this port, three or four pieces of a yard [in length], for their examination and appraisal here, and [also] bleed 200 to 300 of the best apparent for that purpose, by which means you will secure the best quality, which will be those you describe when convenient. The Indians are to be charged with the collection of the gum which they exude, as also how to transport it to the river, since they very well know how to do it.

10. Don Juan Joseph Navarro to Don Joseph de Galvez. Havana, April 10, 1778. A. H. N. [Madrid]. Leg. 3884, Exped. 1, Doc. 11.

I have discussed with the principal auditor of this *Tribunal de Cuentas*, Don Juan Eligio de la Puente, the news communicated by Julian Flores, Joaquin Escalona, and the Cacique Tunape, of which I informed Your Excellency yesterday by dispatch No. ———, and the confidential [letter] communicated to him by the *Uchise* Indian Sibayque, and recognizing the zeal with which this able servant regards subjects related to the service and interests of the monarchy, I have asked him to express his opinions about these reports, based on his experience and extensive knowledge on Florida subjects and contiguous territory inhabited by the Indians, I would judge that he might appraise [*convenir*] the situation now and hereafter.

Preparatory to such a desirable objective, he has submitted to me the accompanying letter [Doc. 11] and is engaged in the preparation of a map of the Provinces of Florida, bearing all the information worthy of the King's attention, for decision as to the parts of the same provinces desirable to acquire and hold to control the navigation of the Gulf of Mexico and of its exit, the Bahama Canal, [used] by our squadrons and merchant vessels.

Immediately on delivery of this document, I will examine it with the Engineer Commandant of this plaza, with whom I have already discussed the subject, and transmit it to Your Excellency for those ends, which [due] to your great comprehension, it may be useful.

11. Don Juan Joseph Eligio de la Puente to Don Diago Joseph Navarro. Havana, April 1, 1778. A. H. N. [Madrid]. Leg. 3884, Exped. 1, Doc. 12.

Under date of yesterday, I offered to transcribe, as a separate memorandum for Your Excellency, my discussion of the information contributed by Julian de Flores, Joaquin Escalona and the Cacique Tunape, together with the news communicated to me by the *Uchise* Indian named Subayque on the 18th of the past month, which I fulfill with this, to wit:

Julian de Flores related that on the 2nd of the past month, there arrived at Pensacola from London, ten vessels, three of which were of war, and the remaining seven with provisions, guns, ball, clothing, and goods for the Indians, and that of those [tribes] counted in that continent, the English loyalists, which at present hold Pensacola, have as their adherents only the nation of the Cherokees, of whom they have there approximately 400 men. They live in distrust of the *Uchises*, Tallapoosas, *Apizcas*, *Chizcas*, *Allivamos*, and *Chataas*, since they could not, at the time when the northern insurgents were doing much damage and were overpowering the European troops, establish the least firm amity with them.

Joseph Escalona added that the *Uchises*, Tallapoosas and *Chizcas* assured them that they are determined no longer to obey other than that which the King of Spain orders them to do, and at his intercession, the first [named] did not kill an English Infantry captain who was journeying from Pensacola to St. Augustine, and [who had] had a strong argument with Tunape.

This [is confirmed], although with some variation, without doubt for the safeguarding of [either] he who wrote the letter, or he who served as interpreter, [by] hinting the same, and [by

that] which the Captain Wacapuchase ¹⁴ told me, who although old can serve in any undertaking.

The Indian Subayque, at the time of giving me a farewell embrace, said to me, that he hoped shortly to give me many in St. Augustine of Florida, to which I replied, this cannot be, because that plaza belongs to the English, and I could not go there, upon which he replied that which I copy literally from the footnote [of the letter], in words which are better suited to his idiom than to ours:

"You do not wish to tell me that which you know. Today is the 35th day since I left the town of Savannah [Sabana] where the Captain Aleck [Aliqui] ¹⁵ carried me to see the vessels which the English of Carolina, equipped with large cannon and many soldiers to go to take St. Augustine ¹⁶, and he told me he expects it to be given to the Spaniards who will come to receive delivery of it within six or eight moons; and that on the river of the *Chicazas* (which the Spaniards call Flint or White Earth, and the French entitle the Beautiful River) will be found other embarkations for descent to the great river (which is the Mississippi ¹⁷) and take Pensacola, to which attainment Mister Galphin [Maestre Galfen] ¹⁸ also marches by land, with guns, powder, ball, and clothing, to assemble the *Uchises*, Tallapoosas, *Apizcas*, *Chizcas*, *Allivamos*, and *Chataas*, and with them to make war on the English who live there, and those who come from where the sun rises [*trace de sol*] until they finish them at once. Consequently they [will] effect it, since notwithstanding Mister Stuart [*Maestre Estuard*] ¹⁹ has gone about asking them to join his party and offering them many things, he has only succeeded in allegiance of the *Chalaques* ¹, who are worthless.

In its conclusion, and forecasting it to be true that the northern colonists [will] attack the plaza of St. Augustine and that the outcome will be its surrender, as Captain Aleck told the Indian Subayque, I will turn to state, that based on my experience and knowledge, it appears to me that the mentioned colonists expect to capture it quickly, as well as the presidio of Pensacola and the other establishments which the royalists have on that continent, and that these neither ignore it as regards their preparations and plans with the Indians alluded to, whose adherence I believe Mister Galphin, a rich trader in skins with whom I am acquainted, will gain, as appears to me from the great affection which they have for him, which they do not have for the Brigadier Don Juan Estuard (Colonel John Stuart) who never has known how to attract them, which is clearly proved by that which the Captain Wacapuchase informs me, since having been

always a partisan of the English, he has broken his friendship with them. I conclude from all the foregoing that the colonists will finally possess all of Florida.

In virtue of which and as a consequence of my love for a sovereign of whom I have had, with the highest pleasure, the honor and fortune to be born a vassal, and having repeatedly affirmed my loyalty, I see myself in the necessity of presenting to the superior [comprehension] of Your Excellency that the Provinces of Florida in possession of the English was [for] us, excessively grave, as in detail on different occasions, through various reports and plans, has been brought to the deep comprehension of His Majesty, but in the power of the northern colonists I consider them much more prejudicial. Therefore I humbly supplicate, that Your Excellency, in view of the importance of the subject, and to augment the well known zeal with which Your Excellency attends to matters affecting the greater service of the King, may be disposed to order done with that [which] I obtained to report, the employment of which may be for your greater pleasure. God Protect Your Excellency the many years I desire.

APPENDIX

1. Caveta is Coweta, a town on the west bank of the Chattahoochee River, inhabited by the dominant tribe of the Lower Creeks. In conformity with common Spanish usage, the name of the town was extended to cover the entire territory which it dominated, hence "Province of Coweta" for the Lower Creek territory. In documents of the XVII and early XVIII centuries, it was called the "Province of Apalachicolo", and the Lower Creeks were collectively referred to as Apalachicolos. In the present instance they are called Uchises (*Uchiz*, *Uchizes*) and are not to be confused with the Yuchees (*Yuchi*). The names *Talapuzes* and *Talapuches* are the equivalent of Tallapoosa, which the Spanish applied to the Upper Creeks in general, although specifically, Swanton (1922 p. 286) regards it as the name of an Alabama

town. In view of the circumstance that McGillivray himself (Caughey, 1938 p. 226) used the expression "Lower Creeks or Talapuches", this interpretation may be incorrect. We follow the form Tallapoosa. The *Allivamos* and *Allavamos* are the Alabamas. The other large Indian nations are mentioned, as *Chalagues* for Cherokees; *Chataas*, and probably *Chacaas*, for Choc-taws; and *Chicasas* or *Chicasaes* for Chickasaws. *Chizcas* or *Chiscas*, is regarded as a synonym for Yuchi (Swanton, 1922 p. 119). By *Apizcas* is probably meant Abihka, a division of the Upper Creeks. The synonymy for the names *Cusupayas*, *Chaschices*, and *Mojaas* has not been ascertained, although presumed to represent Creek groups.

2. Tunapes statement that with the aid of his band he besieged the fort so narrowly that he obliged the English (presuming to mean the garrison) to stealthily depart, appears to be devoid of foundation. Captain Harries, commander of the first British detachment to garrison that post, who arrived early in 1764, gathered from Captain Don Bentura Diaz, Spanish commander by whom it was delivered, and who had just re-occupied it in August, 1763, that men of his force going for wood or water were frequently ambushed by Indians, and that some time before, perhaps in October, 1763, three had been killed. Harries also related in February 1764, that one Forester, a trader, whose habitation was 70-80 miles distant, feared his life would be imperiled during his return journey from the fort. John Stuart, the Indian Superintendent, held a council with headmen of five local villages at the fort on September 9, 1764, in which he urged amity with the garrison. It is not known whether Tunape was present. The reply to Stuart was made by *Chebayache*, chief warrior of Chescata-loofa (Chisca Town), who promised to maintain friendly relations with the garrison. Correspondence from the subsequent commanders of the post do not speak of, or hint at, friction with the Indians, while Governor Grant in writing to General Gage on July 30, 1767, said that the Indians had never complained of

the treatment accorded them by Swettenham or Wright, successive commanders of the post. Furthermore, Pampellone, in command there prior to these, stated (June 21, 1766) that provision shortage was relieved by the Indians continually bringing in fresh food. The size of the detachment constituting the garrison was continually reduced by authority until the abandonment of the fort as a military post late in 1769, and the structure delivered to a Mr. Gordon, who proposed to establish there an Indian store. The statement in Document 1, abstracting a letter of 1773, that the Indians then had already possessed the fort for three years, would indicate that their occupation began in 1770. It may be that as a consequence of disagreements arising over trade, they forced the departure of the trader's staff, as alleged (Boyd, 1941-42, XIX 403; xx, 84,203,386; XXI 46,143). The reference in Seibert (1929 II, 277,365) to an order of the Council of East Florida assigning a detachment to barracks at St. Marks fort, probably refers to the Castillo at St. Augustine. About the close of the Revolution (1783) Charles McLatchey established a trading post on the Wakulla River a short distance above the fort. The post itself was not re-occupied by a Spanish garrison until 1787 (Boyd, 1936 p. 14).

3. The name Chanilla is mentioned twice in these documents (1,6), and it cannot be determined whether these are the same or different individuals. In Document 1 it is given as *del Yndio Capataz Chanilla*, which has been rendered as the Indian leader Chanilla. Were the name of the master of the fishing vessel given, we would have concluded that the designation *capataz* indicated he was of the vessel's crew, probably the equivalent of mate, since however, we have not previously encountered the word applied to an Indian leader. But in view of the anonymity of the master, it is unlikely the mate would be particularized. Hence it is concluded that Chanilla was spokesman of the party of three.

4. We have here rendered *ano proximo* as "the year before", although strictly speaking, in the absence of *pasado*, it should mean

“next year”. However, from the context it is clear that the letters mentioned were dated the previous year, which is confirmed by the last paragraph of document 1, where the same letters are definitely dated 1775. However it is not certain that the rendering of *de otro ano* as “the year before” (*i.e.* before 1775) is exact. It literally means “of another year”, and while it could mean “year before last”, it also could be applied to one still earlier. Hence while in this case it could mean 1774, we incline, because Escuchape went to Havana in 1772, to the opinion that the year meant is 1773. If 1773 is correct, this might refer to the visit of Cacique Lajaliqui and the Captain Estimalauche. Although the reference is to only one visitor, it is improbable that a cacique would arrive unattended.

5. Escuchape and party.

6. This may refer either to Lajaliqui or Estimalauche.

7. Escuchape told Taitt in the spring of 1772, of his intention to visit Cuba during the following summer (Mereness, 1916 p. 548). According to Alden (1944 p. 327) he made a second visit to Cuba in 1775, from which he returned without talks or presents. He is the Escotchabie or Scutchabe of the English, and according to Taitt, was otherwise known as the Young Lieutenant of the Cowetas. As early as 1769 he was regarded as more friendly to the Spanish than any other Creek chief. He was a participant in the Pensacola congress of 1765. In May, 1769, he told Stuart that a conference between representatives of the whole Creek nation and the Spaniards was to be held at the mouth of the Apalachicola River in September of that year. This lead Stuart to arrange for a British war vessel to patrol the adjacent coast during the month to prevent the anticipated meeting, a precaution which was fruitless (Alden, 1944 p. 326).

8. Tunape, in English documents Tonabe or Tonaby, was one of the signatories of the treaty of Picolata, November 18, 1765, his residence being given as Apalache Old Fields. He was not singled out for distinction as the recipient of a medal. On the

Gauld-Pittman map of Apalachy (1767) (W. L. Clements Library), *Talahassa* or *Tonaby's town* is shown as about 5 miles N by NE of *Old Spanish fort* (San Luis). In the legend of the Purcell-Stuart map of 1778 (1773 ?) (Boyd, 1938 xvii, p.22), Tonaby is named as the headman of Tallahassa Taloofa or Old Fields Town, situated near the head of Tagabona alias West River of Appalatchi (Wakulla River), about 10 miles northwardly from Fort St. Marks, and consists of 36 houses, a square, 16 families and 30 gunmen. On this map Tallahassa Taloofa is located about a mile east of "Ruins of Sn Luis Fort and Town". While the site of this town cannot be precisely located, it is probably embraced in the present expanded limits of the capital city of Florida, to which it gave the name. We are unfamiliar with data relating to Tunape's subsequent life, although inferring that he died within a few years. It is likely that his band survived as the Tallehassa Indians mentioned by Captain Hugh Young (Young, xiii, p.88), who accompanied General Jackson on his march through Apalachee in 1818. He stated they are "settled on the road from Okalokina to Mikasukey [and number] only fifteen. Chief Okiahija a weak man and unfriendly. Character worthless, dishonest and inveterately hostile. They have neither arts nor cattle, but their land is excellent and gives them fine crops with very little labour". If the same band, they had deteriorated greatly in forty years. They may have been the nucleus of the Muscogee speaking present day "Cow Creek Seminoles", sometimes known as Tallahassee Indians.

9. The old wooden fort at St. Marks was inundated during a hurricane in 1758 and 40 men were drowned (Boyd, 1936 xv, pp. 9, 11). The fort was similarly flooded again in 1766.

10. Unidentified.

11. The employment of the word Cimarrones recalls a suggestion of the late Howard Sharp, that the word Seminole is corruptively derived therefrom, as the Muscogee language does not have the true *r* sound, for which they attempt to substitute an aspirate *l* or *hl*.

12. The hinterland approximately outlined by these coastal limits would appear to comprise most of the interior of the peninsula excepting: (1) the area ceded to the British by the Treaty of Picolata; (2) the territory occupied by the Seminole of Alachua; and (3) further suggests that the Calos or Caloosa were occupying the remainder of the coast to the southward of Boca de Raton. The Bar of Ais is probably the Fort Pierce Inlet of today, and Punta de Tanche is Cape Sable.

13. Eight years previous to 1777 goes back to 1769, the year of the military evacuation. As shown in note 2, while 1769 is the year in which Fort St. Marks was abandoned as a military post, rather full correspondence from its officers during the entire period of British occupation, indicates that subsequent to Stuart's council with the adjacent Indians in 1764, relations with the Indians were uniformly harmonious. Hence, as previously indicated, Tunape's assertion that he drove out the British garrison is not plausible, although probably correct enough if it refers to the trader's staff at a subsequent date.

14. From the allusion to Captain Wacapurchase, it may be inferred that Don Juan Joseph had had a personal interview with him, although nothing in the available documents indicates that Wacapurchase had been to Havana. Although at the time of the cession of Florida to the United States, a chief of one of the Lower Creek towns situated on the Apalachicola River was known as Vacca Purchase, it hardly seems possible, in view of the interval of more than forty years, that he is the person to whom Don Juan alludes. The Muscogee name for cow, *Waka*, is suggestive of the Spanish *vacca*. Since the Creeks became familiar with domestic cattle through the Spaniards, it is likely they accepted the Spanish name for them. *Pucase* is a Muscogee word meaning *master* or *lord*, and when used in conjunction with *Waka*, would indicate that its possessor was a noteworthy owner of cattle. This circumstance leads to the suspicion that Don Juan Joseph was actually referring to the leader of the Alachua band known to

the English as the Cowkeeper, who was generally regarded as an intensely loyal English partisan, which attitude he preserved to his death. However he may have given deliberately the idea to Don Juan Joseph of a break with the English in the hope of receiving Spanish bounty.

15. Aliqui is probably the Indian better known as Captain Aleck of Cussita (Kasihta). He was made a great medal chief at the Picolata congress of 1765, and was also a signatory of the Pensacola treaty of the same year.

16. A group of Creek chiefs, mainly Cussitas and Oakfuskie, were invited by Galphin to come to Charleston in 1777, where they were shown the military strength of the revolted colonists. Meanwhile Brigadier Prevost in Florida, was making plans for an attack on Georgia in the fall, with a force of loyalists, traders and Indians. Among the latter were the Cherokees, Creeks and Seminoles. These plans however, were thoroughly disrupted by tales related by the Indians who had been entertained in Charleston. Alexander McGillivray revealed to Stuart that the Indians returning from Charleston had "spread poison [talk]", and that as a consequence, parties were in pursuit of Stuart's deputies, Cameron and Taitt, with the object of murder (Shaw, 1931, p. 117).

17. This probably relates to preparations for Willing's raid on the Lower Mississippi River effected in February, 1778.

18. George Galphin, an Indian trader for 30 years, had had his headquarters at Silver Bluff on the Savannah River below Augusta. In 1775, the Provincial Congresses of Georgia and South Carolina appointed Galphin with two others as Indian Superintendents to the Creeks, and shortly afterward, Galphin, and two different associates, were appointed Indian Superintendents for the Southern District by the Continental Congress. Galphin sent emissaries in the guise of traders to every nation. His influence was especially strong in Coweta (a red or war town) and Cussita (white or peace town). His influence was exerted to keep the Indians neutral.

19. *Maestre Juan Estuard*, or John Stuart, was British Indian Superintendent for the Southern District. As a loyalist, he fled Charleston in 1775. He continued in this office until his death in Pensacola in 1779. His influence with the southern Indians was great, and it was through his efforts that most remained British partisans during the Revolution. These efforts were largely directed to the maintenance of trade with the Indians through Florida ports. He never had the military title of brigadier, although in November 1777 he was given a commission as colonel of the several nations and tribes within his District (Shaw, 1931, p.99).