

1955

Mission to the Creek Indians in 1794

Richard K. Murdoch



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

Murdoch, Richard K. (1955) "Mission to the Creek Indians in 1794," *Florida Historical Quarterly*. Vol. 34 : No. 3 , Article 6.

Available at: <https://stars.library.ucf.edu/fhq/vol34/iss3/6>

MISSION TO THE CREEK NATION IN 1794

Edited by RICHARD K. MURDOCH

So much effort has been directed to the story of the resolving of the post-Revolutionary War problems of the United States and Great Britain that insufficient attention has been paid to equally vexing problems with Spain and her allies, the southern Indians. In some respects this is not strange for even during the 1790's, the attention of the American people was directed toward Great Britain for it was with this nation that the new republic's economic future was most intimately associated. The two decades subsequent to the birth of the new nation saw constant friction along the Florida-Georgia frontier which often erupted locally into violent acts of vandalism, robbery, and even murder. A fair portion of the time of the State Department was taken up in attempts to negotiate officially with the Spanish agents accredited to the United States and unofficially in dealing with various Indian chieftains who were supposedly under the protection of the Spanish government. Naturally these unofficial negotiations were undertaken in Indian territory by official agents of the new republic. It did not require much time for the Indians to realize the advantage of their position as they were wooed first by one side and then by the other. The strange thing is that they did not press this advantage to the greatest possible limit as both governments were willing to go to great extremes to assure friendly relations with as many Indian groups as possible. At the first rumor of the conclusion of an agreement between the Indians and one government, the other would put a mission in the field to attempt to negotiate a second agreement that would nullify the terms of the first. This, after all, was the traditional pattern of frontier diplomacy as practiced for centuries by the colonial powers in the new world.

The United States seemed to have won a great diplomatic

victory by the conclusion of the Treaty of New York in 1790 even though it was necessary to make large concessions to obtain the agreement of McGillivray and his Creek chieftains. However the immediate results of this treaty were a bitter disappointment to the administration of President Washington as few of the anticipated advantages occurred. Hostilities between Georgians and Creeks continued along the Oconee-Altamaha frontier region and their tempo seemed to increase late in 1792 and early in 1793 as more property was stolen and more revenge raids were made by the aggrieved parties. State officials in Augusta were unwilling to assist federal agents in putting the terms of the hated treaty to the test. The handful of federal agents scattered along several hundred miles of wilderness trails were quite incapable of exerting any sort of control over the frontier settlements whose inhabitants had no desire or intention of cooperating with these agents. This attitude rendered the work of negotiating with the Indians almost impossible for no sooner would the agents resolve one problem than another would develop.

Across the undemarcated frontier the governor of East Florida faced approximately the same set of problems although he did have one technical advantage in that the Indians were in general allied in one way or another with his government. American blandishments tended to render this loyalty ephemeral and at times non-existent. Royal agents were just as hard put to resolve these problems of conflicting loyalties as were their counterparts on the Georgia side of the line. To add to the general feeling of uneasiness in St. Augustine the newly appointed governor of East Florida was a rather timid soul filled with apprehension lest every rumor from the frontier region actually represented the forerunner of a hostile move against his province, inspired, so he professed to believe, by firebrands from Paris filled with the new revolutionary zeal. Events transpiring in

Europe were only half-understood in Havana, New Orleans and St. Augustine, and were frequently grossly exaggerated. The governor feared that these zealots of revolution might recruit supporters within the United States, stressing the moral debt owed to France as a result of the 1778 agreements. After recruiting aid, the French agents might then persuade some or even all of the southeastern Indians to forsake their traditional loyalty to Spain and join forces with the assembling Franco-American army. While evidence does indicate that some such efforts were made along the Georgia frontier and in the upper regions of South Carolina, much of what was reported to Spanish officials was either unsupported rumor or, in some cases, pure malicious exaggeration carefully planted to alarm the timid governor. It was to check on these reports that he sent out several agents both official and unofficial to pass through the Indian lands, gathering chieftains together wherever possible for the purpose of consultation. All were to be exhorted to remain loyal to the Spanish Crown.

The Spanish in East Florida had long maintained a system of reporting among the Indians, relying on influential figures, usually half-breeds, to inform St. Augustine, St. Marks or Pensacola of any unusual activities taking place in the southeastern region. In addition the various trading posts of the firm of Pantan and Leslie were obligated by the terms of their royal charter to obtain the latest information from their Indian customers and to forward it through channels to Havana. Certain specifically designated royal Indian agents also made established rounds through the Indian towns. Yet in spite of this network of information gatherers which worked remarkable well considering the receptibility of the Indians to bribes and extravagant promises, the governor of East Florida late in 1793 did not feel satisfied that he was fully conversant with current happenings in the Creek country. He therefore decided to send a special

mission to the Lower Creeks to ascertain what if anything might be the success of the rumored attempts of Franco-American agents to turn the loyalties of these Indians away from Spain. He finally selected John Hambly, a long-time resident of the province, a successful storekeeper, and a man well-versed in Indian ways, as his most trusted lieutenant. He was instructed to make a lengthy journey to the Cusseta towns along the lower Chattahoochee and Flint rivers. He was to meet with at least two Spanish agents already in this area, Pedro Oliver and John Kinnard, the latter a well-known chieftain and leader of the Lower Creeks. Apparently Hambly was given a detailed set of instructions together with several letters or "talks" to be read to the assembled chieftains. The governor ordered the agent to be especially watchful for any signs of activity of the newly appointed American Indian agent, James Seagrove, already considered by the Spanish to be in league with the Franco-American plotters. Among the instructions handed Hambly was one to keep a careful log or diary of his trip. The following document represents Hambly's effort to comply with the governor's order to keep a complete account even to including frequent references to the weather which was mostly bad. The original of this diary written in Spanish by Hambly himself is located in the Archivo General de Indias: Santo Domingo, legajo 2563, in Spain, but for the purposes of this article, a photostatic copy in the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., was utilized. In translating the text, an attempt has been made to retain the original Spanish spelling of proper names even to the inclusion of inconsistencies in spelling, while in the footnote material, reference is made to the spellings as appearing in Henry Gannett's, *A Guide to the Origin of Place Names in the United States* (Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1947) and in the *Rand McNally Commercial Atlas and Marketing Guide* (86th edition, 1955). It was the author's desire to avoid the controversy that sometimes rages

over the most acceptable spelling of certain southern Indian names.

As a postscript, it might be pointed out that the value of this document lies not so much in its actual content as in the manner in which the mission was carried out. The document does contribute certain expressions of unofficial views of frontier problems. It also shows clearly how carefully Hambly was briefed before he left not to take any steps not agreed to before he left St. Augustine.

*Diary of Don Juan Hambly On His Recent Trip
to the Lands of the Indians*

January 14, I reached Sn Agustin at the order of the governor ¹
1794 where I was detained until the eighteenth.

18. I left Sn Agustin with a "talk" from the governor for the Indian, Juan Kinnard,² one of the chiefs of the Lower Creeks³ and a letter for Don Pedro Oliver.⁴

19. I came to N. S. de la Concepcion ⁵ at ten at night.

20. I was occupied in preparation: for my trip.

21. I set out on foot because there was no horse arranged for the projected trip.

1 . The "governor" of East Florida at the time of Hambly's journey was Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada, a rather weak-willed and not too energetic official who became firmly convinced in 1793 that a joint Franco-American expedition against one or both of the Floridas was about to strike out from the upper Oconee country in Georgia. For a more detailed account of this expedition, see Richard K. Murdoch, *The Georgia-Florida Frontier 1793-1796: Spanish Reaction to French Intrigue and American Designs* (University of California Press, 1951).

2 . Juan (Jack) Kinnard was a Scotch half-breed who lived in considerable comfort on an extensive plantation near the confluence of the Flint and Chattahoochee rivers in the lands of the Lower Creeks among whom he had great influence and by whom he was often called "king" or chief. According to a local Georgia map of 1818, "Kenerd's Place" was located on the north bank of Ketchofoonas Creek (now spelled Kinchafoonee) which flows into the Flint River near present-day Albany in Dougherty County, Georgia. In addition, he was regarded as the mouthpiece of the northern Seminoles. He was considered by the Spanish to be one of their most trusted Indian agents and allies although at times his attitude toward them was offensive and overbearing, especially if he knew that the Spanish were in need of his considerable influence among the Creeks. In the opinion of local American officials Kinnard was the logical successor to Mc-

22. At sunset I reached Lachua.⁶
23. I waited all day for a horse.
24. As yesterday, [I was] detained for [the lack of] a horse.
25. Late in the afternoon I obtained one from the Negro settlement of Payne.⁷
26. I left and reached the old fields of San Francisco.⁸
27. I met Kenhigic⁹ to the west of Santa Fe.¹⁰

Gillivray after the latter's death in 1793. By occupation Kinnard was a farmer and horse trader.

3. Lower Creeks (including the northern Seminoles) was that portion of the Creek Nation residing along the lower reaches of the Flint and Chattahoochee rivers.
4. Pedro Oliver, probably half French, was a faithful Spanish agent among the Lower Creeks. He was a lieutenant in the service of Governor Carondelet of Louisiana and was frequently sent on delicate missions with broad powers to negotiate agreements with Indian chieftains. In 1792 he settled down on the Little Tallassee River among the Creeks.
5. Nuestra Senora de la Concepcion cannot be identified from the available information although it presumably refers to the site of a former mission. Several locations with somewhat similar names are known to have existed in the immediate vicinity of St. Augustine.
6. Lachua or Alachua was a broad area in what is now Alachua County, Florida. The name appears on Romans' map of 1776 on the road from Poppa to San Pedro. The site of King Payne's Negro slave settlement at Prairie was in the Lachua region.
7. Payne (Paine) or King Payne of the Seminoles, the nephew of Cowkeeper and brother of Bowlegs, was an influential Seminole chief regarded by the Spanish as an ally although often suspected of theft of property. He had an extensive plantation in the Alachua plain, populated by many Negro slaves, some stolen from their Georgia masters. Here he raised horses which he frequently sold to the military in St. Augustine. He was killed at Alachua Savanna in 1812 by Georgia troops under the command of Colonel Newman.
8. San Francisco (de Potano) mission was one of the Timuquan missions evacuated by the Spanish in 1706. It was located just to the south of present-day Gainesville and appears on the Mitchell map of 1755 and Romans' map of 1776.
9. Kenhigic (Kinhaizce) remains a mystery although from internal evidence it appears that he may have been an influential figure among the Seminoles. It is possible that the person referred to by Hambly may have been Kinache of the Miccosukee.
10. San Tomas de Santa Fe mission was another of the Timuquan missions evacuated in 1706 and was located near a large Indian village of the same name. Hambly may be referring to the ruins of the mission or to the Santa Fe River nearby. He presumably crossed this river near present-day High Springs, Florida.

28. I took the letters from Don Juan Leslie ¹¹ to his brother since his horse had become exhausted, and I camped at the Sawaney. ¹²
29. I crossed the Sawaney camping in the country sometimes inundated by the San Pedro. ¹³
30. I crossed the Assilley River, ¹⁴ and pitched my tent.
31. I reached the Mickasuckie ¹⁵ with the horse exhausted.

February 1. I bought another horse, sent the letters to Don Roberto Leslie ¹⁶ and gave him an account of my intended expedition with a request both to him and to the commander of the Fort of San Marcos ¹⁷ that the two of them employ their powers with Kenhigic and the other neighboring chiefs in order that they might offer all the help that they can to the Plaza of San Agustin.

2. It rained incessantly all the day.
3. I set out for Mickasuckie.
4. I crossed the Okeelockaneys, ¹⁸ both big and little.
5. I reached the Flint River ¹⁹ in the afternoon.

-
11. Juan (John) Leslie, a long time resident of East Florida, was a partner of William Panton, in the firm of Panton, Leslie and Company, Indian traders and Spanish agents. For further information on both Leslie and Panton, see Marie Taylor Greenslade, "William Panton," *Florida Historical Society Quarterly*, XIV, 107-129.
12. Sawaney or Suwanee River.
13. San Pedro presumably refers to a river of that name, now called the Econfina, in Taylor County, Florida.
14. Assilley or Aucilla River.
15. Mickasuckie may refer to Lake Miccosukee in Leon and Jefferson counties, Florida, or more likely to an Indian village to the north of this lake for on the return leg of his journey, Hambly refers to "staying in Mickasuckie."
16. Roberto (Robert) Leslie was a younger brother of John Leslie who took an active part in his brother's trading business. He frequently went on trips to visit with the Indians to foster better trade relations.
17. Fort of San Marcos (de Apalache) was a small Spanish garrison post near the mouth of the St. Marks River in present-day Wakulla County, Florida. It was maintained as a means of spying on and controlling the trade going north into the Creek lands. The fort had been besieged for several days by William Augustus Bowles and his renegade Indian followers about a year before Hambly's journey. There was a trading post owned by Panton and Leslie in the immediate vicinity.
18. Okeelockaneys or Ochlockonee River.
19. Flint River was the main trading route into the Creek lands.

6. I crossed the river and reached the home of Kinnard.
7. I explained the "talk" of the governor to the Cuseta²⁰ King Kinnard and the others, and they decided to send one of his [Kinnard's] men to Don Diego Seagrove²¹ with a letter of which I annex a copy as faithful as my memory enables me to recall.
8. I took leave of Kinnard without anything new and camped.
9. I crossed the Chattahottchey²² right at the Hitchities²³ and put my camp in order.
10. I lost the road but an Indian pointed it out to me.
11. I followed and overtook Ricardo Burford²⁴ of the Altamaha²⁵ (we have adjoining plantations) and then Diego Aikein²⁶ of the Tuckabatchies²⁷ who joined up with us.
12. Very early in the morning, King Manso²⁸ of the

-
20. Cuseta (Cussita) was one of the small groups of the Lower Creeks living in the region between the Flint and Chattahoochee rivers.
 21. Diego (James) Seagrove was the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Southern Department, from 1790 to 1796. He made his headquarters with his brother who had a trading post at Trader's Hill on the St. Marys River in present-day Charlton County, Georgia, a short distance from the hamlet of Coleraine. He also held the post of civil magistrate in Patrickston, present-day St. Patrick. Seagrove was regarded by the Spanish as the chief thorn in their side in Indian matters as he kept up constant communication with the Creeks in an effort to swing them away from their normal Spanish ties. He was not too well liked in Georgia because of his ties with the federal government and his insistence on observing the obnoxious terms of the Treaty of New York.
 22. Chattahottchey or Chattahoochee River.
 23. Hitchites refers to Hitchities or Hachetes, a Lower Creek group and their village on the lower reaches of the Chattahoochee River.
 24. Ricardo (Richard) Burford presumably was one of the small number of settlers who remained in East Florida after the retrocession of 1783.
 25. Altamaha River represented the southwestern boundary of white settlement in southern Georgia at the time of Hambley's journey.
 26. Diego Aikin (James Aiken) was a plantation owner possessing property along the St. Johns River.
 27. Tuckabatchies or Tuckabatchee refers to a group of Upper Creeks and their town located on the Tallapoosa River in present-day Elmore County, Alabama.
 28. King Manso was one of the numerous chiefs of either the Lower Creeks or the northern Seminoles.

Tallacies²⁹ came to our lodgings and asked in a friendly manner from whence we came and enquired if the goods which we brought in the company of Burford pertained to Seagrove, or if they were his [Burford's]. I replied to this that they were his [Burford's], whereupon he left and Burford and I went on to Tuckabatchies. We had walked about two miles when an Indian appeared to us in a sudden meeting, asking us where we were going and I humored him, then asked if King Manso had been to our encampment. He said yes indeed, and that he [King Manso] had returned to his home. He then asked me for a flint and I gave him two, a after which he left. I came to Tuckatchies [*sic*] at three in the afternoon, and I acquainted Seagrove of the talk of Kinnard which appeared to cause him not a little commotion, and he then told me that he had tried to see me several times. As he had never dealt with me before except with great pleasure, it pleased him to be able to tell me that in regard to the information that I brought however alarming it might be, that for his part he was satisfied that it was groundless. In addition he had had letters from the Commander of the Frontiers of Georgia and from others as recently as the seventeenth of the previous month without them making mention of the subject which [he said] these rumors spread about with the design of putting the Indians in a state of consternation and of keeping them agitated. He will write to the Georgians immediately cautioning them to be on the lookout for whatever mischief the Indians might make across the frontiers of Georgia as they [Georgians] could seek satisfaction only from the Spanish government. I

29. Tallacies or Tallassee probably refers to a group of Upper Creeks and their town just to the north of the town of Tuckabatchee, also in Elmore County, Alabama.

added that since the Governor of Florida had sent me to see the Indians, I could not promise anything to anyone from Georgia concerning where I might receive an exact reply. [I added also] that I was trying to find out if the Savages were fit [to act] as go-betweens as the Georgians were already very angry with the Spaniards, and that it required very little to arouse their anger and that they were always desirous of there not being a living soul in Florida. And he said to me that it would be well not to spread false stories of that nature throughout the Nation. I replied to him saying that notwithstanding that which he might think or tell me, that I was forced to fulfill my obligation and that he should execute his in the same [manner] - As the river was not fordable and the beaten path impassible, I desired to meet an Indian who could show the way to the home of Don Pedro Oliver, but I could not find one.

13. It was at four in the afternoon that I met a white man, an acquaintance from Tuckabatchies. I accompanied him to his home.
14. Having set out in the morning we reached open ground covered by the waters which were in freshet.
15. I reached the home of Don Pedro Oliver at about eight in the morning where they informed me that he had gone by that stream that same morning to Mobile. I crossed the river and followed on the land until I overtook him as he was returning during the afternoon. He said to me that it pleased him that I had come in person observing that I had good reason to believe that if I should have sent the letter by an Indian, it would not have arrived in his hands.
16. In the house of Don Pedro I wrote to Senor Pan-

- ton ³⁰ giving him the reason for the intended expedition against Florida and Louisiana. Don Pedro gave me his reply to the letter of the governor.
17. I took leave of Don Pedro, crossed the river ³¹ with Julian ³² above Ochlewallies; ³³ and then I made camp.
18. I reached Tuckabatchies and after having breakfasted with Senor Seagrove, I asked him if he had anything for me to transmit (I was motivated to do this since when I passed there earlier, he showed me a little packet of letters addressed to Don Juan MacQueen ³⁴ in Havana which he was thinking of delivering to Captain Oliver in order that the latter communicate them, but when I told him that he [MacQueen] was in San Agustin, he decided to send them with me on my return). He answered that he had nothing to send with me but that he would write a short letter for his brother which I might carry in a bundle to Kinnard if he would not already be gone in which case I might take it and deliver it to Senor Atkinson ³⁵ who would direct it to its destination. I left Tuckabatchies at about two, Julian having gone on ahead.
19. After having crossed the River Thuckas, ³⁶ I met the second chief of the Cusetas, spoke to him, and then

-
30. Panton refers to William Panton of the firm of Panton, Leslie and Company. See note 11 for further reference to Panton.
31. The "river" presumably refers to the Tallapoosa.
32. Julian presumably refers to a half-breed interpreter, Julian Cerrballo, employed by the governor of East Florida.
33. Ochlewallies presumably refers to Oklawaha, a wandering band of Seminoles who settled in Lower Creek country.
34. Juan (John) MacQueen or McQueen was the son of a North Carolina planter. He came to East Florida in 1790 and soon entered the service of the governor of that province as an advisor and military aide. He commanded a small force of rural militia in 1792 in the campaign to drive the rebels out of the St. Marks region.
35. Atkinson presumably refers to Andrew Atkinson who settled in East Florida in 1792 and who soon was appointed captain in the local militia.
36. River Thuckas may refer to the present-day Tallapoosa or to the Chattahoochee as Hambly had to cross both of them.

gians. It rained all night without cessation.

20. I left for Cusetas but the paths were so flooded by incessant rains that we had to go around by way of Entichies.³⁷ Because of this we were not able to reach Cusetas until the afternoon.
21. Since Kinnard had not as yet returned home, the Cuseta King himself received the letter of the governor, and [I told him he] ought to convoke the lower towns upon my return.
22. I wrote Tacobo³⁸ to tell Rouzeaux,³⁹ the interpreter of the Lower Creeks, to prohibit the interpreters from not complying with their obligations, and that I desired definitely that this be done. Not having received a reply, I asked the Cuseta King that he inform the towns adjoining in order that the chiefs who were meeting in them should come to hear the words of the governor with the view to make their replies in writing and to send them to S. S., it being completely determined for the congress [to be held] on the 24th. In the afternoon the Cuseta King ordered me to be called to tell me that he had several letters and that he desired their contents to be explained to him. They were addressed to Diego Seagrove so I told him that I did not desire to open them. Then he himself broke the envelop of a letter we camped. He had a letter from Don Diego Seagrove giving him the account according to which the Indian told me of the Cuseta Indians murdered by the Geor-

37. Entichies may refer to any of several Hitchetee towns lying in the vicinity of the Cuseta towns.

38. Tacobo remains unidentifiable although there are several Timucuan place names of a similar spelling.

39. Rouzeaux apparently refers to Jaime Dourouzeau, Derousseaux or Durousseaux (DeRousseau), a metizo often employed by both the Louisiana and East Florida officials as interpreter, agent and guide.

from Lt. Roberts⁴⁰ from the “port of the rocks”⁴¹ which contained mostly Seagrove’s personal business in which he said that he had just heard from Charleston that Great Britain had declared war, but that he doubted it. The other was from Governor Mathews⁴² written on February 5th in which he told the aforementioned Seagrove a full account of that which had passed between him and White Tail King⁴³ at the “port of the rocks” on the 29th, 30th and 31st of January. [The letter contained] that which he advised the Cuseta King and the others who were present. In it Governor Mathews repeated all the harm which the Indians had done without saying a word of any recompense or satisfaction about the deaths of Cuseta Indians caused by the Georgians. He told them only that if they desired to make peace, there would be a handing back of the bodies of the dead on both sides and a burial of them. He would dig up a new live oak and plant it above the pit and that a suitable vine growing into a tree would exhale incense to wipe out the injuries committed by both parties. But [he added] that the Indians had to consent to hue to the line according to that which was agreed upon at the Congress of New York,⁴⁴ and that the prisoners and goods which had been taken were to be given up and

-
40. Lt. Roberts may refer to Richard Brooks Roberts, later a major in the Georgia militia, who was active along the Oconee and Altamaha rivers in the years after 1790.
 41. “Port (Point) of Rocks” presumably is the same as Rock Landing on the Oconee River near present-day Dublin in Laurens County, Georgia.
 42. Governor Mathews refers to George Mathews, a rather unpopular two-term governor of Georgia at a time when the land sales and Indian problems were at their peak. An excellent discussion of the governor’s later career is to be found in Rembert W. Patrick, *Florida Fiasco: Rampant Rebels on the Georgia-Florida Border, 1810-1815* (University of Georgia Press, 1954).
 43. White Tail King may be the same as White Lieutenant of the Okfuskee who was a bitter foe of Seagrove and the Georgians.
 44. Congress of New York refers to the meeting of federal officials and Creek chieftains from which came the Treaty of New York in 1790.

handed back; and to show their good disposition for this peace, they [the Indians] should send at once all the prisoners and property which they possessed; and that if the Indians did not accede to these terms, the Americans would cover their lands with blood.

23. Nothing particular [happened]. I wrote again to Rouzeaux.

24. I explained the letter of the governor to the congregated chiefs and in the presence of Julian, Juan Antonio ⁴⁵ and Tomas Kerr. ⁴⁶ I received their reply and a letter from Rouzeaux. Before finishing the letter there came a Negro from Beard's Bluff ⁴⁷ across the Altamaha who told us (in the meantime it had been expressed in the aforementioned place to a white man named Townsend ⁴⁸) that the Americans were across the river for several days; that it was a question where they were and that they told him that they were going against the Plaza of San Agustin. This information which I explained to the Cuseta King put him in great consternation for he had heard earlier that the Americans were making preparations to attack the Plaza in the spring. He immediately dispatched several Indians in haste to the Flint River with orders to scout all the suspected places and he advised Kinnard in order that he might do the same.

45. Juan Antonio may refer to a Georgia settler named Joseph Anthony.

46. Thomas Kerr (Carr) may refer to a Georgian of that name, a colonel in the local militia who had a great interest in opening up the Indian lands to white settlement.

47. Beard's Bluff (Baird's Bluff) was a small community in present-day Long County, Georgia, near Ludowicz, where there was a crossing of the Altamaha River.

48. Townsend refers to Jacob Townshend, a trader among the Lower Creeks who acted as agent for both the Spanish and American governments. He was associated with William Panton in certain trading transactions and often reported Indian activities to the Spanish by way of letters to Panton.

25. I left Cusetas and in the afternoon a friend of Julian having overtaken us, he informed me that since [my] leaving the town, there had arrived an advice from the Upper Creeks⁴⁹ informing that the tenth of March had been selected for a general meeting of all the nation but that this did not meet with universal approval - [since they were] reminded that in the last general congress it was agreed that Seagrove should write to President Washington asking his reply as to what they had decided, and they believed that this [still] should be done; and that in the last assembly it was agreed that there should be a general congress of Choctaws, Chickasaws, Cherokees and Creeks, including the Seminoles, and that it should be held in the presence of Don Pedro Oliver and Don Diego Seagrove; but that it seemed impossible in such a short time that they should settle everything that they were to hear Seagrove say to them.
26. Nothing particular [happened].
27. In the afternoon I came to the home of Kinnard and told him of all that had transpired which vexed him very much. I told him that I believed definitely that Seagrove had deceived them and would still deceive them; that it was necessary to have the greatest vigilance since it was presumable that under the existing conditions the Americans were marching for their [the Indians'] lands. He told me that in reality it surprised him but that he would go to find out what Seagrove had to say, and that in the meantime he would be glad to send his people to survey and observe all the footpaths and that after the meeting and settling his business, he would go to see the governor in person.

49. Upper Creeks were that portion of the Creek Nation located along both banks of the middle reaches of the Chattahoochee River in both Georgia and Alabama.

28. Detained on account of my horses, when I said it was time to mount, Kinnard said to me that the reply of Seagrove to his [Kinnard's] letter was that he [Seagrove] was much overcome by laughter that Kinnard took so much notice of the letter of the governor when there really was nothing at all to be concerned about and that the Spanish were terrified at nothing. I begged that he order the letters that he had been sent, be sent by one of his Negroes with an Indian to St. Marys. But Kinnard declared in reply that coming as it had, he was vexed by what he [Seagrove] sent him, that his letters could stay where they were because he held for truth all that the governor of San Agustin wrote him, and that if he had to send these letters, the conveying of them would cost more than 300 pesos.

Mar. 1. I left the house of Kinnard. It rained incessantly all night.

2. It continued to rain all day.

3. I crossed the Flint River.

4. I arrived at the Little Okulockany⁵⁰ where the water was so high that I was not able to cross that night.

5. I crossed the Big Okulockany.⁵¹ It rained so hard during the night that the water rose many feet.

6. I began to build a sort of canoe.

7. I worked on the canoe.

8. I finished my canoe and crossed to the other side and found nothing there except a chapel more than three-quarters of a mile away.

50. Little Okulockany (Ochlockonee) probably refers to Little River, the western tributary of the Ochlockonee River in present-day Gadsden County, Florida.

51. Big Okulockany (Ochlockonee) refers to the main course of the Ochlockonee River.

9. I crossed the river and several gullies as the land was not flat.
10. The victuals were almost finished and the horses were very weary.
11. I came to Wackalla ⁵² near the Fort of San Marcos de Apalachee.
12. I went to the fort.
13. I came to the store of Mr. Leslie.
14. In the house of Mr. Leslie.
15. In his house.
16. In his house.
17. In his house.
18. In his house still resting.
19. I left the house of Mr. Leslie.
20. I arrived about four miles from Mickasuckie.
21. I entered Mickasuckie.
22. I stayed in Mickasuckie hoping that one or two Indians might accompany me as it was impossible to go on alone as the water was so high.
23. I left and reached a little town.
24. I left the little town with two Indians, put up two shelters, and then encamped.
25. Passed the winding Laguna de Puente ⁵³ and night fell.
26. I reached Sawaney with the water in flood, and looking for a canoe, I found one about a mile from the wharf; crossed the river and camped.
27. I found the road so bad due to the inundation of the water that I had to detour from the path and go through the woods.
28. At sunset I reached Santa Fe and observing that

52. Wackalla or Wakulla River.

53. Laguna del Puente refers to the swampy and often flooded areas to the west of the Suwanee River in present-day Madison County, Florida.

the river was rising, I realized it was useless to cross it at night.

29. I crossed several very flooded lagoons and camped.
30. Nothing new [happened].
31. I made a halt at a distance of about 6 miles from Picolta.⁵⁴

April 1. In the morning I reached the store of San Fernando,⁵⁵ crossed the St. Johns River about 12, and found myself obliged to camp at 6 miles from San Agustin as it was not possible to find horses to reach the town.

1. I entered the Plaza of San Agustin de Florida and finished the diary.

* * * * *

From all noted above I can do no less than opine that Seagrove thinks that the Indians were disposed to lend assistance to the Spanish government as they were well informed of the projected expedition with the destination to invade both provinces of Florida - with cunning the Lower Towns were advised to assemble in Tuckabatchies - with courage regardless of what happens, to divert them by his deceiving letter while in the meantime the Americans marched through their lands, or what is likewise presumable, to protect the Nation from hurt, because according to that it was possible to inquire and to know in the meantime if he were among the Indians. All of them except a few who Seagrove won over with gifts - all I say expressed themselves to be the implacable enemies of the Americans. - John Hambly - This is a copy of the original which temporarily is in my care in the office. San Agustin de la Florida 10th of April of 1794. Manuel Rengil.

* * * * *

Translation of the discourse with which the King of Cusitas

54. Picolta (Picolota) was the picket post to the west of St. Augustine on the St. Johns River.

55. San Fernando refers to some unidentifiable location close to St. Augustine, possibly the site of Hambly's own store at St. George.

and warriors of Cowetas and Ositches answered to that received from the Governor of Florida.

Our friend and father. We have seen your discourse: We believe its contents if they (the French) thinking to pass through the Nation do not follow in peace. We have tried to maintain the peace for a long time, and we have consented to raise our sons in perfect tranquility. But these people (the Americans) in the meantime while we keep the peace, have killed two of our men. We knew that they were prepared to commence war. When we had done all possible to preserve harmony, they sent one of our men from their fort after having made fun of him for some time; they untied him and he has not as yet appeared here. We know that they intend to take possession of this pueblo and for this reason we must proceed with great care. Senor Seagrove has told us that notwithstanding all these events we should remain quiet, hoping that when the discourse comes from the north it will clear up all these things. The next moon the Four Nations are to celebrate a treaty.