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THE EAST FLORIDA INDIANS UNDER SPANISH AND ENGLISH CONTROL: 1763-1765

by ROBERT L. GOLD

FLORIDA was smoothly transferred from Spanish to British control following ratification of the 1763 Treaty of Paris. Spain regretfully traded her St. Augustine province in North America to Great Britain for Cuba, which had surrendered to an English onslaught during the Seven Years' War. Despite the illegal property transactions of England and Spain, the two nations generally observed most of the international provisions of the Paris pact during the transfer of eighteenth-century Florida. The exchange of colonial rule in the province was therefore marred by surprisingly few moments of discord. The entire transfer process, of course, was accommodated by the Spanish crown's determination to evacuate and resettle the total population of colonial Florida. Actually, the Spanish Floridians and their possessions were removed to New Spain and Cuba before any significant British movement to Florida was inaugurated.

Perhaps the eighteenth-century Catholic Church enjoyed its most rewarding experience in Florida when the Christianized Indians of the colony voluntarily joined the mass migration of 1763. Many of the Catholic Indians actually petitioned the crown for permission to evacuate with Spanish citizens and soldiers. Non-Christian Indians were reported to have displayed dismay upon learning of the Spanish exodus, and the frequently hostile tribes of the Apalache hinterlands surprisingly requested the privilege of continuing under the protection of His Catholic Majesty. Amid such an appreciative atmosphere of Hispanic rule, the Spanish Floridians departed from East and West Florida with their remaining native allies. After the disastrous decline of the Florida missionary system in the sixty years before 1763, the Church undoubtedly found some satisfaction in the decision of the proselytized population to accompany the Spaniards from the St. Augustine and Pensacola presidios. Indigenous people thus

departed from the environs of St. Augustine, Apalache, and Pensacola to Spanish havens in the Caribbean.

Prior to 1763, the Florida Indians had continually beleaguered the Spaniards. Vacillating between English and Spanish alliances, the Indians frustrated Spain's endeavors to obstruct Britain's southern advances, and they interfered with the crown's efforts to control central Florida, the Gulf coast, and the ever-changing Anglo-Spanish borders. Disconcerted Hispanic officials knew that unless the opportunistic Indians were constantly deluged with feasts and gifts of rum, weapons, powder, and trinkets, Spain's tribal leagues would soon be sundered. Even alliances based upon presents could be wrecked if the other European states offered the natives more or better gifts. The cost of such undependable unions often approached as much as 9,000 pesos annually. Spanish authority over Apalache (the Tallahassee area), Guale (southeastern Georgia), and Timucua (central and northeast Florida and Southern Georgia) was therefore seriously debilitated as the British and French competed with the Spaniards for Indian friendship. By 1763, only Apalache was under Spain's dominion, and the Creek tribes of the area were never totally subject to Spanish control.¹

1. The title Creek is a short name for Ochese or Ocheese Creek Indians. Those Indians residing in the vicinity of the Flint and Chattahoochee rivers were called Lower Creeks, while the natives of the Coosa, Tallapoosa, and Alabama rivers were called Upper Creeks. The Lower Creeks of British East Florida inhabited the St. Johns River valley west of Picolata. Verner W. Crane, "The Origin of the Name of the Creek Indians," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, V (December 1918), 339-42; Wilbur R. Jacobs (ed.), *Indians of the Southern Colonial Frontier: The Edmond Atkin Report and Plan of 1755* (Columbia, 1954), 56-62. For a careful history and description of the Creeks see John R. Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors*, Bulletin Number 73, Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution (Washington, 1922); Governor Juan de Ayala Escobar to the crown, St. Augustine, November 19, 1717, Archivo General de Indias (cited hereafter as AGI) estante 58, cajon 1, legajo 35/folio 74; the visit of the chief of Cavetas to St. Augustine, St. Augustine, December 15, 1717, AGI 58-1-30/68; Governor Juan de Ayala Escobar to the crown, St. Augustine, December 22, 1717, and February 28, 1718, AGI 58-1-30/68/73/75; Governor Antonio de Benavides to the crown, St. Augustine, September 30, 1718, AGI 58-1-30/84; Benavides to the crown, St. Augustine, October 15, 1723, AGI 58-1-29/59; Royal Cedula to the governor of Florida, Ildefonso, June 16, 1725, AGI 58-1-24/169; Benavides to the crown, St. Augustine, October 15, 1728, AGI 58-1-29/100; John Jay TePaske, *The Governorship of Spanish Florida, 1700-1763* (Durham, 1964), 193-226. All documents cited as AGI were obtained from the Stetson Collection of Spanish Records located in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, Gainesville, Florida.

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When Melchor Feliu assumed the St. Augustine governorship in 1762, he swiftly arranged treaties with the Lower Creek Indians of Florida. Faithfully believing that a policy of kindness would insure peaceful relations with Spain's indigenous subjects, Feliu concluded agreements with the frequently troublesome Tallapoosas and the Uchizes. Throughout most of the eighteenth century, Spanish Florida continued to enjoy cordial relations with the Yamasees. Governor Feliu hoped that the Creek treaties would enable his government to settle Canary Islanders in the exposed Tolomato locality (north St. Augustine) and offer the unprotected residents of La Chua and Santa Fe ² security from Indian attack. While involved in treaty negotiations, however, Feliu was also busy strengthening the defenses of St. Augustine and the surrounding area. ³

Feliu soon learned that his precautions were neither superfluous nor inopportune. As the Spanish Floridians commenced their evacuation from the *presidio* in 1763-1764, the local Indians reacted ferociously to news of the imperial exchange. Although they were notified that their landed rights would not be altered with the advent of British administration, the skeptical Indians brutally assaulted outposts and plantations on the Anglo-Spanish frontier. Indian barbarities continued to occur in Georgia and South Carolina even after presents were distributed. The Indians were credited with killing more than 4,000 persons and scattering approximately 1,000 families. Accounts from the north also disclosed that Indian warriors fought regular soldiers in formation and seized their forts. ⁴

Regardless of these aggressive activities, the Spaniards continued their preparations to leave Florida. The Yamasees were not adversely affected by the Indian uprising since the Spanish authorities proceeded with plans to evacuate their native friends.

2. Those areas were in proximity to today's city of Gainesville.

3. Governor Feliu to Minister Julian de Arriaga, St. Augustine, February 20, 1763, AGI 86-6-6/88, Santo Domingo, legajo 2542; Feliu to Arriaga, St. Augustine, February 20, and May 28, 1763, AGI 87-3-13/30-31.

4. Feliu to Arriaga, St. Augustine, April 16, 1764, AGI 86-6-6/43, Santo Domingo, legajo 2543; Major Ogilvie to the board of trade, St. Augustine, January 26, 1764, Public Record Office: Colonial Office 5/540. Cited hereafter as PRO:CO; all documents cited as PRO:CO are located in the microfilm collection of the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, Gainesville, Florida.

Pensacola's Yamasees Apalachinos were carried to Vera Cruz, and a few Apalache Indians accompanied the Spanish soldiers to Havana. Catholic Indians from St. Augustine were also transported to Havana for resettlement. More than 150 Indians left Florida during the evacuation of 1763-1764.⁵

Nineteen Indian families were conveyed from St. Augustine to Havana. Previously, they lived in the nearby villages of Nuestra Senora de la Leche and Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe de Tolomato, where they planted maize and vegetables while serving the Spaniards as guides, scouts, and couriers. The migrating Indians totaled eighty-nine persons: twenty men, thirty-two women, and thirty-seven children (eighteen boys and nineteen girls).⁶ Arriving in Havana they first received one and one-half reales per diem from September 1763 to April 1764. Later, they received weekly payments of three and one-half reales. By 1766, it was obvious that the Cuban environment was not particularly salutary for the Florida natives. Of the total number of emigres, only fifty-three remained alive, eleven Indian males had perished during the first two years in Cuba.⁷ The Indian settlement in Cuba proved catastrophic for the Florida Yamasees.

Some Apalache Indians also joined the Spanish exodus. Promising to become Catholics, five Indians from the towns of Sabacolo and Tamasca traveled with Captain Don Bentura Diaz and his command to Havana. The Apalache garrison and its Indian wards planned to leave San Marcos in the fall of 1763,

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5. Acts establishing the Pensacola Indians near Vera Cruz, 1764-1766, Archivo General de la Nacion, Mexico 911, Ramo de Tierras, legajo 466; Governor Feliu and Don Juan Elixio de la Puente to the governor of Cuba, St. Augustine and Havana, January 22, 1764, and January 27, 1770, AGI 87-1-5/4. Santo Domingo, legajo 2595; Puente to the governor of Cuba, Havana, September 22, 1766, AGI 87-1-5/3, Santo Domingo, legajo 2595.
 6. One statistical account shows twenty Indian men as emigres of St. Augustine, while another report mentions a total of only fourteen male exiles. Feliu and Puente to the governor of Cuba, St. Augustine and Havana, January 22, 1764, and January 27, 1770, AGI 87-1-5/4, Santo Domingo, legajo 2595; Puente to the governor of Cuba, Havana, September 22, 1766, AGI 87-1-5/3, Santo Domingo, legajo 2595.
 7. Feliu and Puente to the governor of Cuba, St. Augustine and Havana, January 22, 1764, and January 27, 1770, AGI 87-1-5/4, Santo Domingo, legajo 2595; Puente to the governor of Cuba, Havana, September 22, 1766, AGI 87-1-5/3, Santo Domingo, legajo 2595; Mark F. Boyd, "History of Eighteenth-century Florida and Don Juan Elixio de la Puente" (unpublished manuscript).

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but the misfortunes of Captain John Harries delayed their departure until February 1764.⁸

While Captain Diaz was planning his departure and awaiting the appearance of his English replacements, the little Apalache outpost was visited by a large number of non-Christian Carolina Indians. Fearing their intentions, Diaz quickly wrote to Conde de Riela requesting such desirable gifts as rum, syrup, tobacco, vermilion, mirrors, knives, glass beads, colored ribbons, colored silk and wool, muskets, shot, and gun powder for the Indians. In his letter to the Cuban governor, Diaz complained that he had been forced to give the menacing visitors seventy pesos worth of rum which his son purchased in Pensacola; rum was one of the Indians' preferred bartering commodities. Some of the tribesmen who descended upon San Marcos appeared at the fort to talk with three Indians recently returned from Havana who discoursed freely on their experiences and lavishly praised Spanish generosity. Nevertheless, Diaz continued to encounter difficulties with the Indians who, he claimed, were unresponsive to kindness, compulsion, or obligations, and whose friendship was only negotiable upon the distribution of gifts. When the Spanish soldiers of Apalache were finally relieved in February 1764, the succeeding British occupants of Fort St. Marks encountered many of the same problems reported by Captain Diaz.⁹

On September 3, 1763, forty-seven Yamasee Apalachinos sailed with Governor Don Diego Ortiz Parilla and the members of the *presidio* of San Miguel de Pensacola to Vera Cruz. They

8. Captain Diaz to Conde de Riela, Apalache, November 6, 1763, AGI 86-7-11/16; Diaz to Conde de Riela, Apalache, January 19 and 21, 1764, AGI 86-7-11/20. Captain John Harries was ordered by the British Army command to relieve the Spanish garrison at Apalache. For a thorough account of Harries' odyssey to Apalache, see the following letters: Captain Harries to Lord Amherst, Pensacola, December 11 and 14, 1763; Captain Harries to General Gage, Pensacola, February 7, 1764; General Gage to Captain Harries, New York, March 31, 1764; Captain Harries to General Gage, Apalache, February 25, 1764, Mark F. Boyd, "From a Remote Frontier: Letters and Documents Pertaining to San Marcos de Apalache, 1763-1769, during the British occupation of Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XIX (April 1941), 402-12; *ibid.*, XX (July 1941), 82-6.

9. Captain Diaz to Conde de Riela, Apalache, November 6, 1763, AGI 86-7-11/16; Diaz to Conde de Riela, Apalache, January 19 and 21, 1764, AGI 86-7-11/20; Captain Harries to General Gage, Apalache, May 11, 1764, Boyd, "From a Remote Frontier," XX, 89; *ibid.*, XIX, 193, 206, 208.

then journeyed by land to Tempoala, where a village called San Carlos was established near the Chacalacas River. Land and farm implements were distributed to the Indians so that they could support themselves.¹⁰ The colony was directed by Lieutenant Don Pedro de Amoscotigue, under the informal protection of the former Governor Parilla of Pensacola. Amoscotigue took command of the Indian affairs after his predecessor, Don Joseph de Rivera, was accused of mismanaging their finances.¹¹

Spain, then, attempted to guarantee the Christianized Indians of Florida social and economic advantages in Cuba and New Spain. Regardless of nationality, many Florida natives were allowed to migrate to other areas of the Spanish Indies as long as they were of the Catholic faith or professed intentions to convert to Catholicism. Apparently the Yamasees of Pensacola enjoyed better fortune in New Spain than the Yamasees of St. Augustine discovered in Cuba, but the royal Spanish officials considered the unfortunate fate of the St. Augustine Indians simply a circumstantial accident which paralleled the unexpected calamities that beset the Spanish emigres in Cuba following the evacuation of 1753-1764.¹² They therefore pretended to maintain both groups of Indians safely and comfortably outside of Florida.

While the Spaniards of Cuba and New Spain were occupied with resettling Florida soldiers, citizens, and Indians, the British were concerned with the settlement of East and West Florida and the pacification of the remaining Indian population. England's colonial ministers realized that their inherited Indian problems would have to be solved quickly if plans to populate the Floridas were to be executed without war and bloodshed. An Indian agreement was thus a colonial priority after Florida's transfer to Great Britain.

Before the last Spaniards abandoned Florida, Britain's George III issued a detailed proclamation, October 7, 1763, for the management of the colonies. He divided Florida into two ad-

10. Acts establishing the Pensacola Indians near Vera Cruz, 1764-1766, Archivo General de la Nacion, Mexico 911, Ramo de Tierras, legajo 466.

11. *Ibid.*

12. The suffering of the Spanish Floridians in Cuba is described by Robert L. Gold, "The Settlement of the East Florida Spaniards in Cuba, 1763-1766," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XLII (January 1964), 216-31.

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ministrative provinces: East Florida and West Florida.¹³ While this defined the new provinces' administrative and geographic status and encouraged colonial settlement, the document was primarily issued to propitiate the incensed Indian population.¹⁴ The Indian uprising of 1763, usually known as "the conspiracy of Pontiac," made the necessity of an Indian accommodation particularly urgent. Since the board of trade was aware that Indian discontent resulted from the American settlers' trading abuses and their unwelcome infiltrations into the Indians' hunting grounds, the king was urged to publish alleviating answers to the Indians' complaints in his 1763 proclamation.¹⁵

The proclamation promoted several new colonial policies. Indian domains and trade henceforth would be under imperial control. Extension of governmental power over such significant realms of Indian life demonstrated a willingness to accept the Indians as state wards. Their protection was to be maintained even as the British colonies expanded westward beyond the "temporary" boundaries into Indian territory; western expansion, of course, was to be controlled through government purchase of the Indians' lands. The recently acquired Floridas were immediately opened for settlement so that land speculators and frontiersmen could be directed away from the Indian environs in the north and

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13. Great Britain, *By the King: A Proclamation, October 7, 1763* (Printed by Mark Baskett, 1763). A copy of this proclamation is located in the manuscript collection of the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, Gainesville, Florida.
 14. Clarence W. Alvord, *The Mississippi Valley in British Politics*, 2 vols. (Cleveland, 1917), I, 182-84; Charles L. Mowat, *East Florida as a British Province, 1763-1784* (Berkeley, 1943), 10; Mowat, "The Land Policy in British East Florida," *Agricultural History*, XIV (April 1940), 75-77; Clarence W. Alvord, "The Genesis of the Proclamation of 1763," *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society*, XXXVI (1908), 20-52; Helen L. Shaw, *British Administration of the Southern Indians, 1756-1783* (Lancaster, 1931), 26-31.
 15. Jacobs (ed.), *Indians of the Southern Colonial Frontier*, *passim*; Alvord, "Genesis of the Proclamation of 1763," 22; Clarence E. Carter, "Some Aspects of British Administration in West Florida," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, I (December 1914), 365; Albert T. Volwiler, *George Croghan and the Westward Movement, 1741-1782* (Cleveland, 1926), 171; Oliver M. Dickerson, *American Colonial Government, 1696-1765* (New York, 1962), 253; John Richard Alden, "The Albany Congress and the Creation of the Indian Superintendencies," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXVII (September 1940), 193-210.

west. Imperial management of western migration and Indian affairs was thus established by the proclamation.¹⁶

Britain's newly proclaimed Indian policies were put into operation in Florida by John Stuart, Indian superintendent of the Southern Department from 1761 to 1779. Recognizing the conciliatory value of Indian conferences, Stuart organized three meetings at Mobile, Pensacola, and Picolata, where initial problems were settled and where a peaceful precedent for British occupancy of the Floridas was arranged. Stuart's efforts contributed significantly to the organization of the Southern Department and the maintenance of peace in the southern colonies from 1763 to 1775.¹⁷

The Creek Congress of East Florida convened approximately five and one-half months after the Pensacola meetings were concluded on June 4, 1765. Prior to John Stuart's Picolata negotiations, the government of East Florida established very cautious contacts with the neighboring tribes. Governor James Grant hoped to avoid meeting the Indians en masse until the arrival of Stuart and the organization of local conferences. In a letter to the board of trade he remarked that he would "avoid having any Intercourse with them 'till that time (Stuart's arrival)." ¹⁸ Grant also wanted more troops in his colony: "We have not 200 men to do Duty, which are by no means sufficient to protect this Country against a numerous Nation of Indians consisting of near

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16. Arthur Herbert Basye, *The Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations: Commonly Known as the Board of Trade, 1748-1782* (New Haven, 1925), 128; John Richard Alden, *John Stuart and the Southern Colonial Frontier: A Study of Indian Relations, war, trade, and Land Problems in the Southern Wilderness, 1754-1755* (Ann Arbor, 1944), 240-42, and 265; Dickerson, *American Colonial Government*, 348-49, and 356; Alvord, *Mississippi Valley in British Politics*, I, 175-76, and 188-89; Alvord, "Genesis of the Proclamation of 1763," 51-2; Volwiler, *George Croghan and the Westward Movement*, 171.
 17. Creek Congress at Picolata, Picolata, November 15-18, 1765, PRO:CC 5/548; Creek Congress at Pensacola, Pensacola, May 26-June 4, 1765; Chickasaws and Chactaws Congress at Mobile, Mobile, March 20-April 4, 1765, Dunbar Rowland (ed.), *Mississippi Provincial Archives, English Dominion: 1763-1766* (Nashville, 1921), 188-255; Alden, *John Stuart and the Southern Colonial Frontier*, 192-214, and 334-36; Shaw, *British Administration of the Southern Indians*, 31-2, and 37-48.
 18. Governor James Grant to the board of trade, East Florida, November 22, 1764, PRO:CO 5/540; *ibid.*, March 1, 1765, PRO:CO 5/540.

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four thousand Men.”¹⁹ When Indians visited both St. Augustine and Apalache, however, they were received with courtesy, provisions, and presents. At Apalache, Captain Harries on May 11, 1764, glumly reported:

Major Ogilvie has great plenty of rum at St. Augustine but has sent me only one puncheon for the use of the Indians and that not full. they are insatiable in the two articles of rum and tobacco; I wish I had three more puncheons of tolerable good rum wch might be multiplied into five good enough for the Indians, one hogshead of good tobacco, one hundred weight of rice, twenty bushels of Indian corn, twenty or thirty blankets for the winter might enable one to weather one year, and without presents there is no satisfying them. Don Bentura Diaz the officer whom I relieved, assured me that the donations here every year by his Catholic Majesty exceeded two hundred pounds sterling, but I am convinced that less than half that sum will conciliate them to the English government. . . .²⁰

Governor Grant's government practiced the same "gift" policies to appease the natives in East Florida as Governor George Johnstone's administration in West Florida; the Spaniards, of course, had been forced to follow similar procedures to purchase Indian cordiality.²¹ Grant obviously recognized that peaceful Indian relations, even though purchased by presents, were essential to the development of his province:

Peace and Harmony with the neighbouring Indians, will be very material to the Colonists, the least Disturbance with them, would effectually prevent the Country's being settled, the Indians have been accustomed to be at War with the Spaniards, & as the Ideas of those Savages, are in a great measure local, it will no doubt be expedient, to give them

19. *Ibid.*, September 2, 1764, PRO:CO 5/540.

20. Mark F. Boyd, "From a Remote Frontier," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XX (July 1941), 89.

21. Grant to John Pownall, London, July 30, 1763, PRO:CO 5/540; Grant to the board of trade, East Florida, September 2, 1764, PRO:CO 5/540; *ibid.*, November 22, 1764, PRO:CO 5/540; *ibid.*, March 1, 1765, PRO:CO 5/540; the June 1765 report of Governor George Johnstone and Superintendent John Stuart, Pensacola, June 12, 1765, Rowland, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, I, 186-87; Captain Harries to Lord Amherst, Pensacola, December 11, 1763, Boyd, "From a Remote Frontier," XIX, 403; General Gage to Captain Harries, New York, March 31, 1764, *ibid.*, 410; Harries to Gage, Apalache, May 11, 1764, *ibid.*, XX, 89; Lieutenant Pampellonne to General Gage, Apalache, October 18, 1764, *ibid.*, XX, 296.

a favorable Impression . . . by making Presents to them, which will keep them in good Humor, and will induce them to relinquish any Claim, which they may pretend to have to the new Country, in which they never would permit the Spaniards to establish a single plantation.²²

Even after Superintendent Stuart's diplomatic work was completed in 1765, the distribution of presents continued in Florida.

Following the publication of the proclamation of 1763, regular yearly subsidies were given to the governments of Georgia and East and West Florida for Indian expenses. East Florida was initially assigned 1,500 pounds in 1764, but thereafter received 1,000 pounds annually. West Florida was granted 2,000 pounds annually until 1780. British money provided the Indians with such supplies as scissors, combs, knives, razors, hoes, hatchets, pots, calico, shirts, blankets, "gartering," tobacco, rice, corn, and rum.²³ The costs of provisioning the demanding natives were obviously high, but much less than the price of war which might have resulted if the Indians remained dissatisfied.

Although Florida authorities attempted to meet the needs of those tribesmen who visited St. Augustine and Apalache in the months before the Picolata conference, the English continued to be apprehensive of Indian aggression. General Thomas Gage, commander-in-chief of England's armed forces in America, was also alarmed about the future Anglo-Indian relations in the southern provinces:

. . . we are now in the happy Situation to the Southward, to be courted by all the Nations, from the Quarrells they have with one another. Their Education and the whole Business of their Lives is War and Hunting, and it is not possible for us to divert that Active Spirit, Inherent in Them, as well as the rest of Mankind, to Occupations which are more innocent and more Industrious. The Savage Nations therefore can

22. Grant to Pownall and the board of trade, London, July 30, 1763, PRO:CO 5/540.

23. Assorted presents for a proposed meeting with East Florida Indians in 1766, East Florida, January 13, 1766, PRO:CO 5/540; Johnstone to the board of trade, West Florida, January 29, 1764, PRO:CO 5/547; General account of the receipt and expenditures of the civil establishment of East Florida, East Florida, March 11, 1765, PRO:CO 5/540; Harries to Gage, Apalache, May 11, 1764, Boyd, "From a Remote Frontier," XX, 89; Mowat, *East Florida as a British Province*, 35, 38; Clinton N. Howard, *The British Development of West Florida, 1763-1769* (Berkeley, 1947), 119-23.

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never be a long Time at Peace, and if we have not Dexterity enough to turn their Rage for war from Ourselves, and direct it to other Objects; I fear we shall often feel the ill Effects of it.²⁴

The second visitation of John Stuart was therefore anxiously awaited; the Indian superintendent initially visited Apalache in September 1764. Governor Grant was especially eager to welcome the superintendent because he wanted to arrange the boundaries of his province and proceed with property settlement.²⁵

During his first trip to Apalache, Superintendent Stuart sought to calm the chiefs of five Creek villages when he discovered "that their Uneasiness and that of their Nation proceeds principally from Jealousy on Account of their lands."²⁶ Recognizing the Creeks' concern for their property, the superintendent temporarily assuaged the anxiety of the Indian leaders with a short conciliatory speech. In order to appease his audience, he stated:

I likewise recommend to you in particular, who reside in the neighborhood of this Fort, to behave like Friends & Brothers to the English who have succeeded the Spaniards in the possession of it and who are more able and willing to assist you in every respect, and you will upon all occasions find them when well used, kind & Obliging as Brothers ought to be.

I sent your Nation a copy of the King's Royal Instructions to his Governor concerning your Lands, which you may be assured will be strictly observed, nor shall they anywhere be settled beyond the limits established at the late Congress without your consent. I have no more to add but to wish you plenty of Game, Peace & Prosperity, that you may multiply, and your Children grow up to be men & Women.²⁷

Apparently satisfied with Stuart's statements, one of the chiefs

24. Gage to Lord Halifax, New York, January 21, 1764, Clarence E. Garter (ed.), *The Correspondence of General Thomas Gage with the Secretaries of State and with the War Office and the Treasury, 1763-1775*, 2 vols. (New Haven, 1933), I, 13.

25. Grant to the board of trade, East Florida, September 2, 1764, PRO:CO 5/540; Grant to the board of trade, St. Augustine, December 9, 1765, PRO:CO 5/540; Journal of Picolata Congress, Picolata, November 15-18, 1765, PRO:CO 5/548; The Picolata Treaty, Picolata, November 18, 1765, PRO:CO 5/548; Boyd, "From a Remote Frontier," XX, 203-07; Mowat, *East Florida as a British Province*, 21-3; Alden, *John Stuart and the Southern Colonial Frontier*, 229-33.

26. Boyd, "From a Remote Frontier," XX, 204.

27. *Ibid.*, 206-07.

replied, "I now see you are the Great Kings beloved man come to smoke with us, we have shaken hands together and my heart is glad. The Spaniards are gone and you are now on the ground which we lent them, we approve of it, and shall always hold you fast as Brothers."²⁸ After the departure of the superintendent, the Apalache outpost experienced peace and tranquillity, although the commanders of that station were frequently suspicious of their native neighbors.²⁹

Stuart arrived in East Florida for his second visit in the fall of 1765, and on November 15, 1765, Governor Grant, Superintendent Stuart, and his deputy superintendent commenced the Picolata conferences with the Upper and Lower Creek chiefs. Picolata, rather than St. Augustine, was chosen as the site of the congress because the natives declined to cross the St. Johns River with their horses. The Indians were represented by Tallechea, Estime, Captain Aleck, Sempoyaffe, Latchige, Wioffke, Chayhage, Tellegeia, and several other important warriors. The Cow-keeper, chief of Latchaway (Alachua) did not attend the gathering because of "the Sickness of his Family."³⁰ When the British commissioners discerned that the Indians were "disposed to be Refractory" concerning territorial cessions, a postponement of the talks was considered. But the younger chiefs of the assembled tribes, anxious to acquire the available rum and presents, convinced their elders to grant the English "a little Land, of which they had such Plenty."³¹

28. *Ibid.*, 207.

29. Great Britain occupied San Marcos de Apalache only until the autumn of 1769. Boyd, "From a Remote Frontier," XX, 203-09, 293-310, 382-97; *ibid.*, XXI, 44-52, 135-46.

30. The Cow-keeper later visited St. Augustine on December 23, 1765. Hearing about the magnanimous reception given to the other Creek chiefs, Cow-keeper and an entourage of sixty persons traveled to the East Florida capital for an eight-day sojourn. After receiving a great medal, Cow-keeper departed for Alachua with many gifts and provisions. Governor Grant was quite impressed with him: "The Cow-keeper is One of the most intelligent Indians I have met with, 'til his Business was settled he kept perfectly Sobor, he told me He had no Objection to the Limits which had been fixed, & expressed great Satisfaction at having a Line drawn, as that would prevent Disputes: I made him a great Medal Chief . . . & We parted upon the best Terms." Grant to the board of trade, St. Augustine, January 13, 1766, PRO:CO 5/540.

31. Journal of the Picolata Congress, Picolata, November 18, 1765, PRO:CO 5/548; Grant to the board of trade, St. Augustine, December 9, 1765, PRO:CO 5/540; Alden, *John Stuart and the Southern Colonial Frontier*, 229-31.

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The Leading Men appeared Averse to Our Measures, expressed the greatest Indignation at the Interpreters, for daring to make such proposals, And upon One of the young Ones saying that he did not see why they came to the Meeting, if they intended to differ with the white People about a little Land, of which they had such Plenty, that he could see no good reason for their Conduct, & therefore thought that the Land should be given up - Our other Friends immediately altered their Sentiments, and agreed in Opinion with him, the rest of their Council did not oppose the Measure, and when they were in this Disposition We sent for them to agree about the Terms for Limits, And the Treaty was signed the 18th of November, by which they have Ceded a very extensive Territory to His Majesty, which in all probability will be sufficient for the Settlement of this Province for many Years. ³²

Negotiations were concluded on Sunday, November 17, 1765, but the East Florida delegation presided over ceremonies honoring the chiefs on the following day. Festivities were highlighted by the award of medals to the chiefs. Tallechea, Estime, and Captain Aleck received large medals, while smaller medallions were given to Sempoyaffe, Latchige, Wioffke, and Chayhage. "The Superintendent presented the Chiefs to the Govr who hung the Medals about their Necks the Superintendent afterwards gave them a Charge Explaining to them the dutys of their Office which ceremony was performed under the discharge of the Fort Guns repeated by those on board the East Florida Schooner." ³³ The Picolata session cost 500 pounds; 1,200 pounds less than the Pensacola conference. ³⁴

The five-article treaty of Picolata contained basically the same terms as the West Florida treaties. East Florida's Indian arrangements, however, did not include trade or commissary stipulations since Stuart's trade regulations were only established in West Florida. The first article pledged both peoples to "a Perfect Sincere & Perpetual Peace and Lasting friendship;" according to this article the Creek nations were bound and obliged not to permit or com-

32. Grant to the board of trade, St. Augustine, December 9, 1765, PRO:CO 5/540.

33. Journal of the Picolata Congress, Picolata, November 18, 1765, PRO:CO 5/548.

34. Grant to the board of trade, East Florida, September 2, 1764, PRO:CO 5/540; Grant to the board of trade, St. Augustine, December 9, 1765, PRO:CO 5/540; Journal of the Picolata Congress, Picolata, November 15-18, 1765, PRO:CO 5/548; The Picolata Treaty, Picolata, November 18, 1765, PRO:CO 5/548.

mit any hostility, injury, or damage against English settlers. In the second section, the British promised to "encourage" proper persons to provide the Creeks with sufficient supplies to "Answer all their wants." The third and fourth articles established a "Blood for Blood" judgment policy:

And that if any Indian or Indians whatever shall hereafter Murder or Kill a White man, the Offender or Offenders shall without any delay, Excuse, or Pretence whatever be immediately put to Death in a publick manner in the presence of at least Two of the English, who shall happen to be nearest to the place where the Offence is committed.

And if any White man shall Murder or Kill an Indian such white man shall be tried for the Office in the same manner as if he had Murder'd a Whiteman & if found guilty shall be Executed accordingly in the presence of some of the Relations of the Indian who has been kill'd, if they, the Relations, shall chuse to attend the Execution.³⁵

Article V concerned the boundaries of East Florida. Great Britain was ceded all properties east of the St. Johns River as well as a sizeable section of territory on the west bank of the waterway. Governor Grant and John Stuart signed the treaty for England and thirty-one chiefs of thirteen Creek nations placed their seals or marks on the agreement.³⁶

Other Indian conferences were held during the British era in both East and West Florida. Since the 1765 meetings could not settle all problems, further negotiations were required, especially in West Florida where war erupted between the Creeks and the English. In East Florida, Governor Grant pressed the board of trade to permit new Indian congresses: "A Measure of that kind, when we have nothing to ask, would be very pleasing to them. It would remove the Suspicion they have of our Intention to get possession of their whole Country, & would gain their Affections at no great Expense. The Superintendent is of the same way of thinking."³⁷

East Florida enjoyed peaceful relations with the Creeks following the Picolata meeting, although reports both from Apalache

35. The Picolata Treaty, Picolata, November 18, 1765, PRO:CO 5/548.

36. *Ibid.*

37. Grant to the board of trade, St. Augustine, December 9, 1765, PRO:CO 5/540; *ibid.*, January 13, 1766, PRO:CO 5/540.

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and from Don Juan Elixio de la Puente³⁸ indicated that many native Floridians preferred Spanish rather than British control of Florida. Puente, who relished every rumor suggesting that England's possession of his former homeland was in jeopardy, claimed that the disgruntled Indians wanted the Spaniards to return as rulers of Florida. Regardless of their reservations concerning British dominion, the tribes of East Florida generally cooperated with the new residents of St. Augustine and Apalache, despite Puente's hopes to the contrary. In November 1767, Lord Shelburne, president of the board of trade, congratulated Governor Grant for the peaceful state of affairs: "Your Manner of treating the Indians has been very judicious, and the perfect Tranquility in which the Colony under your Command has remained while they have been exposed to several Insults in the neighboring Province, bears ample Testimony in your Favour."³⁹ Both Floridas continued to offer gifts and supplies in conjunction with occasional conferences, but the West Florida Indians appeared to be less receptive to the overtures than the Creeks of East Florida.⁴⁰

Spain's departure from Florida in 1763 did not significantly affect Indian affairs in the new British provinces. The Spanish Floridians carried away their few Christianized allies and willed the remaining Indians and the unpleasant indigenous problems to

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38. According to Mark F. Boyd, Don Juan Elixio de la Puente was the most prominent Floridian of the eighteenth century. His distinguished career included thirty years of military and civil service under the Spanish crown. After his voluntary exile from Florida in 1763, the patriotic Puente deluged his superiors with plans and projects to regain La Florida. Personal conversations with Mark F. Boyd; Boyd, "History of Eighteenth-century Florida and Don Juan Elixio de la Puente."
39. Lord Shelburne to Grant, Whitehall, November 14, 1767, PRO:CO 5/548.
40. Grant to the board of trade, East Florida, April 26, 1766, PRO:CO 5/541; Grant to the board of trade, St. Augustine, August 5, 1766, PRO:CO 5/541; State of Indian affairs in the southern provinces of America from 1765-1766, Florida, August 30, 1766, PRO:CO 5/541; Shelburne to Grant, Whitehall, November 14 and February 19, 1767, PRO:CO 5/548; the Second Picolata Congress, Picolata, November 21, 1767, PRO:CO 5/549; Grant to Shelburne, St. Augustine, December 10, 1767, PRO:CO 5/549; Memorial of Governor James Grant, London, January 1772, PRO:CO 5/545; Report of Governor George Johnstone, Pensacola, June 23, 1766, Rowland, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, I, 511-15; Johnson, *British West Florida*, 76-82.

the future occupants of the peninsular colony.⁴¹ Faced with the spreading Pontiac rebellion in the north, Great Britain quickly sought to stabilize Anglo-Indian relations and establish peace in the Floridas through the distribution of gifts and the prudent management of native congresses. Initially, England's colonial program for East and West Florida seemed successful, but Indian affairs in the years after 1765 were often fraught with difficulty and disappointment.

41. English colonial correspondence revealed, however, that the Spaniards continued to trade with the East Florida Indians from Havana during the British Period, 1763-1784. The Cubans, who were accused of "tampering" with the Lower Creeks, apparently arranged Indian meetings in their capital city. The Spanish fishing fleets conveyed the Creek chiefs to Cuba, and also served the Spaniards as trading vessels in the Bay of Tampa and elsewhere in the Florida coastal waters, Gage to Shelburne, New York, April 28, 1768; Gage to Lord Hillsborough, New York, April 1, 1769; Gage to Hillsborough, New York, July 7, 1770, Carter, *The Correspondence of General Thomas Gage, I*, 138, 170, 210, 222, and 262; James W. Covington, "Trade Relations Between Southwestern Florida and Cuba, 1600-1840," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXVIII (October 1959), 116-17.