

1971

Apalachee Indians, 1704-1763

James W. Covington



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

Covington, James W. (1971) "Apalachee Indians, 1704-1763," *Florida Historical Quarterly*. Vol. 50 : No. 4 , Article 5.

Available at: <https://stars.library.ucf.edu/fhq/vol50/iss4/5>

APALACHEE INDIANS, 1704-1763

by JAMES W. COVINGTON*

One of Florida's most tragic incidents occurred when Governor James Moore of South Carolina and his small army composed of 1,000 Indians and fifty whites moved into the Apalachee area of North Florida and laid waste to what had been the center of the Franciscan missions.¹ Accounts of this raid describe the gallant defense made at Ayubale mission by Father Miranda and his neophytes, the defeat of the relief column from San Luis under command of Captain Ruiz Mexia, the torture of captives, the destruction of the Apalachee villages, and the removal of 3,000 or more Apalachees for resettlement in Georgia or South Carolina or for a life of slavery in New England or the West Indies. After Moore and his raiders had completed their destruction, the region was virtually deserted and contributed little to the welfare of Spanish Florida.

Apalachee was a tribal confederation within the cluster of Indian provinces which included Apalachicola, Timucua, Apalachee, Guale, and Orista as part of greater Spanish Florida.² The Apalachees were members of the Muskogean linguistic family; a southern group which included such tribes as Chickasaw, Upper Creek, Lower Creek, Natchez, Choctaw, and Tunica.³ They did some hunting and fighting in southern Georgia, but most of their approximately twenty villages were centered in the area around present-day Tallahassee. Despite the fact that they cultivated large fields of maize, pumpkins, and beans, they followed the practice of other southeastern agricultural Indians and often gathered roots, persimmons, and wild berries and hunted the bountiful supply of deer, bear, and the bison which existed at that time.

* Mr. Covington is chairman, senior seminar, University of Tampa.

1. Apalachee included the land lying between the Aucilla and Ochlockonee rivers. Michael Gannon, *The Cross in the Sand* (Gainesville, 1965), 51.
2. John R. Swanton, *The Indian Tribes of North America* (Washington, 1953), 122.
3. Clark Wissler, *Indians of the United States: Four Centuries of their History and Culture* (Garden City, 1949), 140.

Although Panfilo de Narváez in 1528 and Hernando de Soto in 1540 had passed through the Apalachee villages and had noted the fertility of the soil and prosperity of the inhabitants, it was not until 1633 that Spain showed interest by sending a resident missionary.⁴ Although the importance of the area was obvious to France, Spain, and England, the Spanish delayed until 1679 to erect a fort to protect the missions and seaport. Within three years this outpost, situated twenty miles south of Tallahassee, was captured and burned by a combined French and English force without serious resistance being offered. The forty-five man garrison and the 400 Indian auxiliaries offered almost no resistance to the attackers.

Gradually the Apalachee region became the main food supplier for Florida. The friars taught the Indians methods of cultivation and fertilization so that within a relatively short period of time, they were sending 3,000 to 4,000 bushels of maize and beans each year to St. Augustine. Since the best farm land was located away from the sea coast in inaccessible territory, St. Augustine came to depend heavily upon Apalachee for commodities. In addition, dried or salted wild turkeys for the navy and deer skins for Spain were carried to San Marcos Bay for shipping out to St. Augustine and Havana.⁵ On occasion groups of Indians travelled overland and sold bacon, lard, live pigs, chickens, and deer skins to people in East Florida.

In 1674, Bishop Gabriel Diaz Calderon from Santiago de Cuba visited Apalachee and founded five missions in present-day Jefferson County: San Lorenzo de Hibitachuco, San Francisco de Oconi, San Juan de Aspalaga, La Concepcion de Ayubale, and San Jose de Ocuya, and eight in Leon County: San Pedro de Patali, San Antonio de Bacuqua, San Damian de Cupahica (Escambi), La Purificcion de Tama, San Luis de Talimali, Santa

4. "The Narrative of Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca," in Frederick W. Hodge, ed., *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States, 1528-1543* (New York, 1907), 28-30; John Grier Varner and Jeanette Johnson Varner, trans. and eds., *The Florida of the Inca* (Austin, 1951), 203-10, 234-66; Maynard J. Geiger, *The Franciscan Conquest of Florida, 1573-1618* (Washington, 1937), 255-56; Charles W. Spellman, "The Golden Age of the Florida Missions, 1632-1674," *The Catholic Historical Review*, LI (October 1965), 355.

5. Herbert E. Bolton and Mary Ross, *The Debatable Land* (Berkeley, 1925), 26.

Cruz de Capoli, and Assumption del Puerto.⁶ It is not known how many Apalachee Indians lived in the area, but 5,000 to 7,000 persons would seem a reliable estimate.⁷ San Luis de Talimali was the most important town and mission, and it contained a native population of some 1,400 persons. It served as a military outpost complete with palisade, moat, four small cannon, a garrison of soldiers, and headquarters of the deputy governor.

With the exception of San Luis, the Apalachee missions were not very elaborate. The typical village included a large council house, an imposing leader's home, a food storage building, a church or chapel, some thirty or more houses, and the priest's house.⁸ Residences and mission buildings utilized the wattle and daub technique for construction: long pine poles were set firmly in the ground and horizontal wattles or smaller pieces of wood were tied to the poles by leather thongs.⁹ The framework was then covered with six- to ten-inch grass tempered clay. After this coating dried, palmetto thatched roof was affixed, and the house was ready for habitation.¹⁰

By 1700 some elements of Spanish tradition, particularly in religious practices, had been adopted by the Indians. Dressed in Spanish attire many attended the eleven o'clock Sunday morning and feast day masses and gave the correct responses in Latin. The church was divided into two sections— one side for the men

-
6. For details of the Calderon visit see Lucy L. Wenhold, ed., *A 17th Century Letter of Gabriel Diaz Calderon, Bishop of Cuba Describing the Indians and Indian Missions of Florida*, Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, XC, no. 16 (Washington, 1936). For location of the mission sites see Mark F. Boyd, "Mission Sites in Florida; An Attempt to Approximately Identify the Sites of Spanish Mission Settlements of the Seventeenth Century in Northern Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XVII (April 1939), 254-80.
 7. One estimate of the Apalachee population was 6,800, including 500 Chatot, 800 Apalachicola, and 300 Pensacola Indians. Charlton W. Tebeau, *A History of Florida* (Coral Gables, 1971), 16; "A Spanish Mission Site in Jefferson County, Florida," in Mark F. Boyd, Hale G. Smith, and John W. Griffin, *Here They Once Stood* (Gainesville, 1951), 130, gives the 1675 population figure at the Apalachee missions and Spanish forts as 6,860. Other tribes besides the Apalachees represented at the Apalachee missions included Oconee and Chatot bands and Yamasees.
 8. A cemetery connected with the Mission of San Damian was discovered in 1968. It contained forty-three burials and a separate division for children in the western end. The head of each burial was oriented towards the southeast. Florida Department of State, *Archives and History News*, I (November-December 1970), 1.
 9. Spellman "The Golden Age of Florida Missions," 357.
 10. Hale G. Smith, *Tallahassee: Historic Scenic Capitol of Florida* (Tallahassee, 1955), 14.

and the other for the women. As the Apalachees were fluent in Spanish, the priests often delivered their sermons in Spanish.¹¹ The Indians left donations of wood for the priests.

Since the Spanish authorities did not introduce large amounts of European trade goods into Apalachee, most of the major changes which took place in the Indian life style came as a result of Spanish civil and church officials taking offense at Indian customs. The women usually wore a single garment of woven moss or deerskin which extended from the waist to the knees, but upon Bishop Calderon's insistence the costume was extended to cover the whole body from the neck to the feet. Tribal dancing featuring scalps taken in raids was prohibited in the village council house, and in 1701 the governor of Florida banned the taking of scalps.¹² Since many injuries were inflicted in the playing of Indian ball games, these contests were forbidden by the officials.¹³

The prohibition of rituals which had been part of Apalachee culture for centuries led to a tragic and unsuccessful revolt. In 1647, a group of Indians killed three missionaries and destroyed seven churches; however, loyal Apalachees helped to suppress the uprising, and twelve of the ringleaders were executed. Although the rebellion had been crushed with the assistance of loyal Apalachees, the entire Indian male population was punished. The men were forced to contribute labor to repair and to construct fortifications at St. Augustine. As late as 1703 the principal cacique of Apalachee petitioned the governor to end this forced labor which had been going on for some sixty years.¹⁴ The labor, the cacique pointed out, was hard work and it caused long absences from families.

There were other reasons for discontent. The natives were forced to haul heavy loads of corn to St. Augustine, which involved a round trip of nearly 200 miles. On one occasion 200 bearers made the journey, but only ten returned; the others died

11. "Inquiry into the Deaths of the Fathers in Apalachee by Licenciado Don Ignacio de Leturiendo in June, 1705," Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain, 58-2-14: 54-54, (hereinafter referred to as AGI), photostat copy, Stetson Collection, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville. It also appears in Boyd, Smith, and Griffin, *Here They Once Stood*, 77.

12. "Order of Governor Joseph Zuniga Zerda, March 14, 1701," AGI 58-2-8: B3, 43-45.

13. Gannon, *Cross in the Sand*, 69.

14. Anthony Kerrigan, ed., *Barcia's Chronological History of the Continent of Florida* (Gainesville, 1951), 351.

from starvation.¹⁵ Many Indians were required to work on the cattle ranches or to construct homes for the settlers. Not only were they not paid, but they had to furnish their own food and axes. Even the Franciscan priests noted that the bad conduct of the soldiers was damaging the church's program. They also advised that the military post was not needed. There were other complaints. Cattle and hogs owned by white settlers in San Luis invaded the Indian's fields and destroyed the maize as they rooted through the unfenced area. The Indian women were required to make corn meal for the soldiers and settlers. The wife of the deputy commander severely disciplined the Indians; some of them had to supply her household daily with a pitcher of milk.¹⁶ Indians on the outlying ranches did not have the opportunity of learning prayers or hearing mass, and sometimes the young Indian women were forced into immoral conduct by the ranchhands. Sometimes in order to escape these conditions, Apalachee Indians fled to the English at Charles Town, Carolina, or into a part of the Georgia wilderness unpenetrated by the Spanish patrols.

The international intrigues and interests which culminated in Queen Anne's War (1702-1713) played a decisive role in events affecting Apalachee. With the decline of Spanish power, the French were afraid that England might seize Florida and menace Louisiana. Pierre le Moyne Iberville, founder of Louisiana, planned to counter the English move by destroying Carolina with a joint Spanish-French expedition by land and sea and, after Carolina was conquered, the French and Spanish Indians would conquer Virginia and perhaps, New York.¹⁷ Finally, Iberville, believing that the Apalachee Indians could play an important role in stopping English traders moving into Creek territory in Georgia, offered munitions, men, and provisions through the governor at Pensacola.

Governor Moore of Carolina was one of the few southern leaders who recognized the French threat, and he decided to take some preventive action. Traders in the administration of the

15. Gannon, *Cross in the Sand*, 57-58.

16. "Don Patricio, Cacique of Ivitachuco and Don Andres, Cacique of San Luis to the King, February 12, 1699," in Boyd, Smith, and Griffin, *Here They Once Stood*, 24-25.

17. Verner W. Crane, *The Southern Frontier, 1670-1732* (Ann Arbor, 1929), 71-78.

preceeding governor, Joseph Blake, had been encouraged to move through present-day Georgia into the southeast. Moore made sure that the most important tribes in that area, the Creeks and Cherokees, were firmly within the English camp, and he encouraged raids by the Lower Creeks into Spanish territory. Two such raids struck at Apalachee in 1701 and the Timucuan missions of Santa Fe de Toloco in 1702. In reprisal, Joseph de Zungia, governor of Florida, dispatched a combined Spanish-Apalachee force into southern Georgia where it fell into a well-planned ambush near the Flint River and lost more than half of its 800-man army. This skirmish is considered the first blow struck by the English in the efforts to control the Mississippi Valley.¹⁸

The threatened cessation of trade between the Creeks and Apalachees was another reason for the outbreak of fighting along the Florida frontier. The Creeks exchanged corn, furs, deerskins, and English trade items for horses from the Apalachees. When Spanish officials recommended that the Apalachee increase their prices to obtain guns, the Creeks, fearing that such a raise would destroy their profits, killed the Apalachee negotiators. They also began a series of raids on the missions to obtain horses, slaves, and gold.¹⁹

With the outbreak of Queen Anne's War, the Carolina Assembly authorized the raising of a force to attack Spanish Florida. In 1702, 500 Carolina militiamen and 300 to 600 Creeks, Yamasees, Cusabus, and Santee River Indians under the command of Moore moved against St. Augustine. The mission towns in northeastern Florida and St. Augustine were captured, but Moore lacked the heavy guns to pound the Castillo de San Marcos into submission, and he was forced to retreat when reinforcements from Cuba arrived.²⁰ As the expedition had cost

18. *Ibid.*, 74.

19. David H. Corkran, *The Creek Frontier 1540-1783* (Norman, 1967), 52; Corkran, *The Carolina Indian Frontier* (Columbia, 1970), 10. The horses obtained by the Creeks were exchanged for goods to the English traders who used the horses to carry deerskins from the Creek towns to Charles Towne. Evidence concerning the traffic in horses can be found in Joseph de Zuniga y Cerda to the King of Spain, March 20, 1702, A. M. Brooks Transcripts, Library of Congress Manuscript Division, and Zuniga to the King, September 30, 1702, AGI 58-2-8 B3, 7-10. Boyd, Smith, and Griffin, *Here They Once Stood*, 36 38

20. The story of the 1702 attack from the Spanish side has been told by Charles W. Arnade, *The Siege of St. Augustine in 1702* (Gainesville,

£8,500, and the captured slaves, gold ornaments, and other items did not reach that figure, it became necessary to levy taxes upon liquors, skins, and furs.

When news of French intrigues indicated that efforts were being made to lure the Lower Creeks from the Carolina alliance and to use the Apalachees against those who resisted French and Spanish bribes, the Carolina assembly commissioned Moore in 1704 to destroy the Apalachee missions and forts. Moore's successor as governor was Sir Nathaniel Johnson, a man who recognized the French threat against the Creeks. With Johnson's assistance, Moore presented a plan which would crush the Apalachee Indians and their Spanish allies. The colony would not pay for the soldiers or their horses; Moore would bear these expenses with the hope of recouping from the sale of captured Indians and the booty which he expected to find. After recruiting fifty whites, Moore followed the Lower Path to Okmulgee where he enlisted the services of some 1,000 Creeks from the ten towns along Ochese Creek (headwaters of Okmulgee River). The force then began moving in a southwestern direction towards Florida.²¹

The first mission town attacked was the village of La Concepcion de Ayubale. At approximately seven o'clock on the morning of January 25, 1704, the attackers began advancing through the village. The Apalachees and Fray Angel de Miranda took refuge in the church, where they were able to maintain an effective arrow counter-fire. By mid-afternoon, however, their supply of arrows was exhausted, and when Moore's soldiers set the thatched roof of the church afire, the friar and his twenty-six men and fifty-eight women and children surrendered. Only fifteen Creeks had been involved; the whites had suffered most of the casualties which included two men dead and fourteen wounded.²²

1959). James Moore has been described as having been a captain, gentleman, lord proprietor's deputy, secretary of province, governor, receiver general, and chief justice. He arrived in Carolina before April 1677, accumulated thirty-seven servants by 1684, and died of distemper before March 17, 1706-1707. See Agnes Leland Baldwin, *First Settlers of South Carolina* (Columbia, 1969).

21. Spanish survivors identified these Lower Creeks as being of the Chichimeca and Chisca tribes. These Indians were probably Chicha (Yuchi). "Testimony of Don Francisco de Fuentes," in *Inquiry into Apalachee deaths*, AGI 58-2-14: 54-54.
22. James Moore to Sir Nathaniel Johnson, April 16, 1704, in B. R. Carroll, ed., *Historical Collections of South Carolina*, 2 vols. (New York, 1836),

A relief force sent from Fort San Luis de Talimali was crushed the next day, and Moore had Apalachee in his grasp. Captain Juan Ruiz de Mexia with thirty mounted whites and 400 Indians had moved against the invaders at Ayubale, but when he depleted his entire supply of munitions, he was forced to retreat. As many as 200 Apalachee Indians were killed or captured; three Spaniards were killed and eight were captured. In retaliation for their losses, the English tortured and killed more than an equal number of captured Indians and Spaniards. Judging from Spanish testimony, there is evidence that as many as fifty male Apalachees assisted the enemy in the battle against Mexia. Perhaps they had fled the province earlier or had joined the English within the past several days.²³ Father Miranda, Captain Mexia, and four soldiers, all of whom had been captured, were released and sent by Moore to San Luis in the expectation that a ransom of 400 pesos, five horses, and five cows would be paid for each person. Moore would have preferred to attack San Luis, but since so many of his men were wounded he took what he believed was an easier approach. Captain Roque, however, refused to pay ransom.

Don Patricio, leader of the mission of San Lorenzo de Ivitachucco, who had travelled to San Luis with his men to join the force moving against Moore at Ayubale, feared that his own village might be captured and the women and children mistreated, and he received permission from the deputy governor to return. Don Patricio, realizing Moore's superiority, answered the demand to surrender by offering gold ornaments from the village church and food packs carried by ten horses.²⁴ Other

II, 375-76.

23. Manuel Solana to Governor Zuniga, July 8, 1704, AGI 58-2-7/2, 65-72. There may have been some Yamasees present in the force.
24. Although Don Patricio Hinachuba was the principal cacique of Ivitachucco, evidence indicates that he remained loyal to the Spanish and settled first at San Francisco Potano, then at the Mission of Nuestra Senora de Rosario near St. Augustine. See Boyd, Smith, and Griffin, *Here They Once Stood*, 14, 73, 102, and Moore to Johnson, April 16, 1704, in *ibid.*, 92. In 1719 a raiding party of Creek Indians led by whites attacked the Yamasee settlements near St. Augustine. Since the Apalachees had indicated that they would join the party, the Creeks planned to rendezvous at the Apalachee village located four miles from St. Augustine. Finding it deserted, they burned the storehouses and council house. John Barnwell to Governor Robert Johnson (1719), in Records, Colonial Office, 5-1265, Number 144, Public Record Office, London.

villages believed to have been sacked by Moore or the Creeks were San Francisco de Oconi, San Antonio de Bacuqua, San Martin de Tomole, and Santa Cruz y San Pedro de Alcantara de Ychun tafun. According to Moore, all of the population of three towns and the greater part of four others joined the long procession of Indians making their way to Carolina.²⁵ Moore took his time moving northward as groups came and joined his column at each night's stop, and he wanted as many as possible to leave Apalachee.

There were two factors that influenced the Apalachee Indians to accomodate themselves to the invaders. Those who had tried to defend themselves with bows and arrows against the muskets of the enemy were treated in a most cruel manner; some were tortured and killed and the others were taken into slavery. Once news of the well-armed Creeks and the terrible tortures had circulated throughout Apalachee land, there were few Indians who were willing to resist the invaders. It also seemed more logical to surrender or to try to escape than to assist the Spanish who had refused to trust the Indians with adequate weapons and whose soldiers and settlers had mistreated them.

Those Apalachees that did not join the Carolina force scattered to the east, south, and west.²⁶ Most of them went to Pensacola where they were welcomed. Since the Apalachees did not have the opportunity to pack enough food, they and the priests who accompanied them had a difficult time until they reached Saint Augustine or Pensacola. In the latter town, the population was forced to exist on half rations until the emergency passed.²⁷

Some Apalachees made their way to Mobile where they settled near the east mouth of the Tensaw River. From 1710 to 1751 the Apalachees were listed in the Mobile church register

25. According to Moore, he lost four whites and fifteen Indians in the Florida excursion. Moore to Johnson, April 16, 1704, in Carroll, *Historical Collections of South Carolina*, II, 574-76. Information concerning number of Indians removed and length of stay in Florida by Moore's band and other raiders is not adequate. Certain missions had been erected in Apalachee after the Calderon visit.

26. For an account of the Apalachees who fled to Mobile, then to Louisiana, and finally to Oklahoma, see James W. Covington, "The Apalachee Indians Move West," *Florida Anthropologist*, XVII (December 1964), 221-25.

27. Jose de Guzman, commander of Pensacola to the Viceroy, August 22, 1704, AGI 58-2-7/2.

and had their own missionary, church, and cemetery.²⁸ The governor of Pensacola hoped to lure the Apalachees back to Spanish territory by offering them presents, but the Indians explained "the French helped them more. They were not masters of their wives among the Spaniards."²⁹

Moore, his white soldiers, Creek warriors, and the many free and captive Apalachees slowly moved northward into Carolina. The ranks of the Apalachees included some 1,300 free Indians and approximately 325 men and 4,000 women and children as slaves. It was difficult to determine the difference between a free and a slave Apalachee. Probably it depended upon whether the village had surrendered without a fight or had resisted. In addition to the Indians, Moore's men carried back with them articles taken from sacked churches, herds of cattle and horses, and assorted items of plunder.³⁰

North Florida was a ruined land. Five of the fourteen mission sites in Apalachee had been destroyed and the others had been deserted by their residents. It was as Governor Moore described it: a land that no longer had any value to the Spanish nor was it a threat to the English.³¹ Five years later the English, calling for the area to be settled, described it as the best of any available in the southeast; it contained a bountiful supply of half wild horses and cattle unclaimed by the Spanish.³²

The Apalachee Indians who left Florida were not savages. Many bore Spanish names, and were able in a limited degree to converse in Spanish. They possessed farming skills and knew how to cultivate maize, fruit trees, and various garden crops. The Apalachees had learned how to care for and to use livestock,

28. Peter Hamilton, *Colonial Mobile* (Boston, 1897), 65, 96.

29. Dunbar Rowland and Alfred Sanders, ed., *Mississippi Provincial Archives, French Dominion*, 3 vols. (Jackson, 1927), I, 25.

30. Moore estimated the booty to be less than £100 per white man. Many of the slaves were put to work on Moore's plantation. Alexander Hewatt, "An Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia," in Carroll, *Historical Collections of South Carolina*, I, 140.

31. Moore to Johnson, April 16, 1704, in *ibid.*, 91-93. Another raiding party in June 1704, destroyed San Pedro y San Pablo de Patali, San Juan de Aspalaga, and San Cosmo y San Damian de Escambe. With the defeat of a Spanish force near Patali on July 4, the Spaniards realized that it was impossible to defend Apalachee and the commander of the blockhouse at San Luis recommended the abandonment of Apalachee. Boyd, Smith, and Griffin, *Here They Once Stood*, 17-18.

32. Thomas Nairne to Earl of Sutherland, July 10, 1709. Colonial Office, 5-382, No. ii, Public Record Office, London, England.

including horses, cattle, and swine, and at least one had learned how to milk a cow. Some were skilled with the ax and hammer and could erect buildings suitable for white occupancy.³³

The English were proud of their Indian guests and settled the greater part of them on the Savannah River near New Windsor, South Carolina, at a site just south of present-day Augusta, Georgia. Colonial authorities stated that there were 250 men in this group and that they "behaved themselves very submissive to the Government."³⁴ Heavy traffic in skins developed on the trail between Charles Town and the Apalachee villages, and the route became known as the Apalachee trail. Other Apalachee families were settled on the Ochese Creek among eleven Creek towns. Moore's raiders had been recruited from these Lower Creek towns, but relations between the two tribes were amicable, and at least one important Creek leader, and later his son, married Apalachee girls.

Most of the Apalachees were located near several towns inhabited by other recent arrivals, the Savannahs. Known as the Shawnee in the Cumberland Valley, portions of this Algonquin-speaking tribe migrated to the Savannah River in 1680. Although they engaged in Indian slave traffic and the profitable deer skin trade, the Savannahs were not satisfied with their location, and small bands continually migrated, until by 1731 all of them had moved elsewhere.³⁵ Most of them settled in the Appalachian Mountain area of Pennsylvania, but one band located among the Creeks in Alabama. The Muskogean-speaking Apalachees and the Algonquin-speaking Savannahs lived in harmony and, after the Yamasee War, at least one band of Savannahs moved with the Apalachees into lower Georgia.

As early as April 1704, the Carolina assembly passed a resolution providing for the welfare of the Apalachees and stipulating that ways of maintaining a peaceful co-existence would be discussed. The assembly did not completely trust the Florida Indians and forbade the trading of guns and ammunition to

33. For evidence of these skills see Boyd, Smith, and Griffin, *Here They Once Stood*, 22, 24, 25, 107; Frank I. Klingberg, ed., *The Carolina Chronicles of Dr. Francis Le Jau* (Berkeley, 1956), 57.

34. Governor and Council of Carolina to the Council of Trade and Plantations, September 17, 1709, Colonial Office, 5-1316 No. 37-39, Public Record Office.

35. Swanton, *Indian Tribes of North America*, 227.

them until they had proved their "sincerity." The Carolina assemblymen were not speaking in abstract terms when they sought to protect themselves from "cruelty as hath been committed by some of them."³⁶ The Apalachees had participated in several raids against the Carolina frontier and, now as a safeguard, they were located near tribes whose loyalty was known. In addition, the Carolina traders were advised not to use these Indians as burdeners (carriers of deer skins and trade goods) any further south than Savannah Town.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel had sent missionaries to the Carolina Indians as early as 1702. Reverend Samuel Thomas established a mission in the Cooper River area for the Yamasee Indians, but services were mainly attended by Negro and Indian slaves.³⁷ Captain Thomas Nairne applied to the Society for missionaries for the Apalachees and other Indians: "We have had a great instance lately what mighty influences the Spanish friars had upon the Indians of Saint James and Apalaha who though they saw their countries all fired and themselves daily killed and carried away [as] slaves by other Indians yet they maintained their fidelity and friendship to the Spaniards to the last. . . . These people have had Christian churches among them for an 100 years . . . they did not leave until absolutely forced What a good fight we have been fighting to bring so many people from something of Christianity to downright barbarity and heathernism."³⁸ There is no record of Apalachee missionaries, but in April 1710, Reverend Thomas dispatched an inquiry to the Society concerning the conditional baptism of several Apalachee slaves who believed that they might have been baptized by the Spanish priests.³⁹

Apparently the Apalachees were loyal to Britain. When Indian allies were needed in the Tuscarora uprising of 1711-1712, fifty-six Apalachees joined Colonel John Barnwell's company

36. Commons House of Assembly, April 27, 1704, *Commons House Journal 1702-1704*, 232, South Carolina Historical Commission, Columbia South Carolina.

37. C. F. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith* (London, 1704), 12.

38. Thomas Nairne to Doctor Marston, August 20, 1705, Mss. A, II, No. 156, Files, Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, London, England.

39. Entry, April 21, 1710, Journal of Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Ports, in "Documents Concerning Mrs. Samuel Thomas 1707-1710," *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, V (January 1904), 98.

and helped defeat the enemy in North Carolina. In this campaign one Apalachee was killed and two were wounded, but they carried seventeen scalps back as trophies. As a reward for their services the Indians were given a supply of corn for themselves and their families.⁴⁰

Although life in the new location was satisfactory, there were disturbing factors which ultimately forced the Apalachee to move elsewhere. Since Indian slaves were almost as valuable as deer skins, the free Apalachees were constantly harassed by both white traders and Indian slave hunters. In the South Carolina Indian Record Book it is noted that at least four free Apalachees were sold as slaves to planters in the coastal regions, but they were able eventually to obtain their freedom by appealing to the local courts. Phillip Gilliard made a practice of forcing Apalachee girls into his "harem" and beating them whenever they disobeyed the strict edicts that he prescribed. When Captain John Musgrove, a leading trader, needed some hands to hoe his corn fields, he would go to the Apalachee village and demand their services. If such a request was ignored, he obtained a pole and began beating the Indians.⁴¹ Judging from such evidence it does not seem surprising that as early as 1710 Adrian, a Christian Apalachee leader, together with some Caveta (Coweta?) leaders, visited St. Augustine and were given a welcome reception.⁴²

By 1715, of the 1,300 free Apalachees who had migrated to Carolina in 1704, only about half survived. The four Indian villages contained 275 men, 243 women, sixty-five boys, and fifty-five girls, a total of 638 persons.⁴³ The decrease can be attributed to slave raiders, migration back to Florida, disease, and inter-marriage with other tribes.

The continual pressure of white settlers moving into Indian country and the excesses of the Indian traders provoked the outbreak in 1715 which became known as the Yamasee War. The Yamasees struck the first blow on April 15, near Port Royal, but they were quickly joined by their allies including various Lower

40. For an account of this campaign see "The Tuscarora Expedition: Letters of Colonel John Barnwell," *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, IX (January 1908).

41. Chapman J. Milling, *Red Carolinians* (Chapel Hill, 1940), 173.

42. Kerrigan, *Chronological History of the Continent of Florida*, 354.

43. Johnson to Council of Trade and Plantations, January 12, 1720, Colonial Office, 5-358, Public Records Office.

Creek bands, Savannahs, Alabamas, Catawbias, Choctaws, and Apalachees.⁴⁴ The Indian's first targets were the various traders, their posts, and the plantations situated along the waterways.

The Apalachees were first involved in the war when they participated in a raid on New London, but they were repelled by the garrison of fifty or sixty men. In this same action small parties attacked and destroyed some twenty plantations along the Stono River and approached within twelve miles of Charles Town.⁴⁵ The Indians were blocked in their attempts to cross to Stono Island, and they retraced their path, burning Pon-pon Bridge.⁴⁶ After concluding this sweep, the Yamasees and their allies moved southward to await the inevitable counter-attack by the colonists.

The main force of the whites was directed against the Lower Creeks, Savannahs, and Apalachees, but events which took place in Cherokee country changed the whole course of the war. The Cherokees, after seemingly accepting an alliance with the Lower Creeks and Yamasees, suddenly turned upon their envoys, killing them at Tugaloo and other nearby Cherokee towns. As a result of this turn of events, settlers returned to their homes from the forts, and strong forces of militiamen began pushing the hostile Indians away from the line of settlements. Taking alarm, the ten towns of the Lower Creeks, the Savannahs, and the Apalachees fled some 100 miles southwestward to the Chattahoochee River where their villages were relocated. Meanwhile Colonel Maurice Moore with fifty whites from North Carolina and assorted militiamen from South Carolina moved from Charles Town through the heart of the Apalachee country to Augusta.⁴⁷

In the fall of 1715, Chiscalachisle, one of the leaders of the Lower Creeks from the Chattahoochee River bands, visited St. Augustine where he was welcomed by Governor Francisco de Corcoles y Martinez. The Spanish presented Chiscalachisle with so many gifts that he returned the following year with news that other bands were anxious to become Spanish allies. Likely the

44. Corkran, *The Creek Frontier, 1540-1783*, 57-60.

45. Henry Smith, "Willtown or New London," *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, X (January 1909), 26.

46. "Letter from George Rodd to Joseph Boone and Richard Bereford" (no date), *Year Book of the City of Charleston, 1894* (Charleston, 1894), 319.

47. Joseph W. Barnwell, "The Second Tuscarora Expedition," *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, X (January 1909), 41.

Lower Creeks visited St. Augustine since four Yamasee leaders had been warmly received there in May 1715.⁴⁸

After the destruction of the Apalachee mission chain and the seizure of other Florida Indians by slave hunters, the Spanish were hard pressed for Indian allies, and the friendly visit of Indian leaders in St. Augustine created a new approach to the matter. To develop cordial relations with other Indian allies and to re-establish a base in the Apalachee country, a patrol composed of Lieutenant Diego Pena, Ensign de Florencia, and three other men accompanied Chiscalachisle back to the Chattahoochee River so that they could ascertain the leaders and villages desiring Spanish assistance. Pena urged them to settle in units of village size in the fertile area along the river and creeks throughout the Apalachee area.⁴⁹ The Spanish were well received by the Lower Creek leaders, and a few returned with them to St. Augustine.

During his trip, Pena encountered isolated groups of Apalachees. He stayed one night in the largest settlement located in what is now northeast Barbour County, Alabama.⁵⁰ These Apalachees had harvested crops including corn, beans, and pumpkins and had sizeable stores of acorns, chestnuts, and buffalo meat.

In April 1717 Adrian, forty-six Apalachee and twenty-five Lower Creek leaders, and 125 followers visited St. Augustine. The Indians were taken to mass and afterwards they received numerous gifts, a supply of rum, and some muskets.⁵¹

APALACHEES AT PENSACOLA

Although a substantial portion of the Apalachees had gone to South Carolina in 1704, many had fled westward to Pensacola and Mobile. The Tallapoosas and Apalachees were consuming food that the soldiers could not easily spare. In order to conserve rations until a supply ship arrived, Don Gregorio de Salinas, governor of Pensacola, sent Taxjuana, a leader from the Tallapoosa village of Talisi, Juan Marcos, an Apalachee leader, and

48. John Jay TePaske, *The Governorship of Spanish Florida 1700-1763* (Durham, 1964), 199.

49. Mark F. Boyd, ed. and transl., "Diego Pena's Expedition to Apalachee and Apalachicola in 1716," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXVIII (July 1949), 6.

50. *Ibid.*, 21.

51. TePaske, *Governorship of Spanish Florida*, 202.

other Indians on a visit to Vera Cruz, Mexico, where they were well received. Taxjuana was baptized in the Roman Catholic faith and received, in honor of the occasion, the name of the viceroy, Don Baltasare Jose Antonio, as his Christian name. Before returning to Florida, Taxjuana was named campmaster general of the Tallapoosa Indians and Juan Marcos, governor of the Apalachee Indians.⁵²

The interim governor of Pensacola, Don Jose de Torres, dispatched Don Juan Fernandez de Orta, four Spaniards, Juan Marcos, the principal Apalachee leader, Taxjuana, the Tallapoosa leader, and assorted Tallapoosas and Apalachees to negotiate a treaty between the Spanish and the Coweta band of Lower Creeks. Brims, principal chief of Coweta, accompanied by other leaders met the Spanish and Indian envoys in Tequale, a Tallapoosa village, and agreed to establishment of friendly relations. The Cowetas promised to deliver to Juan Marcos all captive Apalachee and other Christian Indians held by the Lower Creeks. Assisted by interpreters Adrian and Juan Marcos, the Spanish made several attempts to free Apalachee slaves held by the Tallapoosas, and finally sixteen men, women, and children were released to Don Juan Fernandez de Orta at Tequale.

After the Coweta conference had adjourned, Chipacan, the son of Brims, talked with Don Juan and noted the harmony existing between the Lower Creeks, Spanish, and Apalachees. Chipacan's mother had been a Christian Apalachee, and he was married to a Christian Apalachee and regarded himself as a Christian.⁵³ Despite this affable meeting, Theophilus Hastings and John Musgrove, the English representatives, were able to counteract Spanish influence, and the Lower Creeks under direction of Brims maintained friendly relations with all three of the European colonial powers – France, England, and Spain.⁵⁴

Under pressure by the Spanish governor to remove some Indians from the fort at Pensacola, Juan Marcos established an Apalachee town on the Chicasas River some five leagues from Pensacola. At first, 100 Indians from Pensacola settled at this village known as Nuestra Senora de la Soledad y San Luis, and

52. Kerrigan, *Chronological History of the Continent of Florida*, 359.

53. *Ibid.*, 361.

54. Crane, *The Southern Frontier*, 259-61.

they were joined by others from Mobile.⁵⁵ Since the time of the settlement had been too late to plant crops, the village was supported by corn from Pensacola, but Juan Marcos requested supplies of seeds and hoes be sent from New Spain so that the settlement might become self-supporting. When eight convicts sent to work on the fort at Pensacola deserted and fled into the woods, the Apalachee Indians were dispatched on scouting trips to find them. Although the villagers were in good humor, disquieting rumors spread through the place that French Apalachees were planning to destroy the village. The establishment of this village was a risky enterprise, but it was the only way within their limited budget that the Spanish could maintain the loyalty of the Indians.

Nuestra Senora de la Soledad y San Luis was doomed to virtual extinction. When San Marcos de Apalachee was firmly established, the inhabitants from two or more Apalachee villages from the hills of lower Alabama and Georgia located there. In 1719 Juan Marcos led many of his people to Apalachee but some still remained at Soledad. The villagers at Soledad were told to elect a new leader and were forbidden to give away any of the church ornaments until a priest arrived. After the capture of Pensacola in 1719 by the French, little was heard of the Apalachees. Juan Marcos did visit Pensacola after the Spanish regained power saying that he had come as the representative of the Coweta leader seeking support against the French and their Indian allies. He was told to lead the Tallapoosas, Tequales, and Apalachees to San Marcos de Apalachee where they would be given ample supplies. When the English arrived in Pensacola in 1763, they found some sixty Christian Indians who called themselves "Apalachian" living in huts near the Spanish fort. After selling their land to English merchants, they left with the Spaniards for Vera Cruz, Mexico.⁵⁶

55. Kerrigan, *Chronological History of the Continent of Florida*, 372.

56. Report of Lieutenant-Colonel James Robertson, in James W. Covington, ed., "The British Meet the Seminoles," *Contributions of the Florida State Museum* (Gainesville, 1961), 5. A recent article discloses the fact that forty families of Yamasee Apalachinos from the villages of Escambe and Punta Rosa left with the Spaniards. See Robert L. Gold, "Conflict in San Carlos: Indian Immigrants in Eighteenth Century New Spain," *Ethnohistory*, XVII (Winter-Spring, 1970), 1-10.

EVENTS AT SAN MARCOS DE APALACHE

During the years 1717 and 1718 Lieutenant Diego Pena made return trips to Apalachee and Apalachicola. In 1717 he visited Coweta where he held a council with the leading Indians of the neighborhood. The English threat was still present, however, and little was accomplished. Adrian, the Apalachee leader, and two of his men served as observers for the Spanish and informed St. Augustine of any developments. Enroute to Coweta, Pena passed several settlements, towns governed by Augustus of the Tama group and a cattle ranch owned by Apalachees.⁵⁷ On the 1718 trip he visited Talasi in the Tallapoosa country, but he saw no evidence of the Apalachees.

In order to regain a strong position in the Apalachee area and to forestall a French advance against St. Joseph's and Pensacola, Spain began building the Castillo de San Marcos de Apalache in 1718 and encouraged the Apalachees and Lower Creeks to settle in the neighborhood. Adrian told the Spaniards that the Apalachees would stay in the Georgia hills until there were the means to protect them. Nevertheless Adrian and his people were pleased to see the reconstruction of the fort, and they marched along with Captain Don Jose Primo and his work crew from St. Augustine to the site.

The main reason for the establishment of San Marcos de Apalache was to establish a listening post to ferret out French and English intrigues among the Indians.⁵⁸ Accordingly the Creeks and Apalachees were encouraged to settle in the Apalachee country, and at least ten Lower Creek and Apalachee villages from the Apalachicola area migrated there.⁵⁹ The Spanish did

57. Mark F. Boyd, "Documents Describing the Second and Third Expeditions of Lieutenant Diego Pena to Apalachee and Apalachicola in 1717 and 1718," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXI (October 1952), 116. The Tamathli were originally part of the Creek Confederation and lived in southwestern Georgia. They may have been affiliated with the Altamaha Yamasee whose name sometimes appears as Tama. When this group moved to Florida they were assigned to the mission called La Purificacion de la Tama. After the destruction of the mission by Moore, the group moved to Saint Augustine but returned to Apalachee by 1715. See Swanton, *Indian Tribes of North America*, 113-14.

58. Dorris L. Olds, "Some Highlights in the History of Fort St. Marks," *Florida Anthropologist*, XV (June 1962), 35-36.

59. Lawrence C. Ford, *The Triangular Struggle for Spanish Pensacola 1689-1739* (Washington, 1939), 99, states that ten villages moved, but Crane, *The Southern Frontier*, says only two made the move. It was during this

not have sufficient funds to maintain the villages around San Marcos de Apalache, and the English had large supplies of guns, ammunition, whiskey, and other commodities which they traded to the Lower Creeks, thus controlling their loyalty. Eventually the Lower Creeks migrated elsewhere. By 1739 only Tamasle was located in Apalachee, and perhaps this village contained a few Apalachees who originally had lived in Tama.⁶⁰

After 1720 it was difficult to label any Indian or band in Florida as being Apalachee. Those living near San Marcos de Apalache must have been absorbed by the Lower Creeks in the Florida panhandle and southern Georgia. Some members of Lower Creek and Yamasee bands settled near San Marcos de Apalache for a short period, and they were called Apalachian by persons who visited the area.⁶¹ At the time of the cession of Florida to England in 1763 some Indians from the villages of Sabacola and Tamasle were taken from San Marcos de Apalache to Havana. In addition, eighty people from the villages of Nuestra Senora de la Leche and Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe de Tolomato near St. Augustine migrated to Cuba.⁶² The Indians from the St. Augustine villages were probably Yamasee.

period that the Apalachees living in the St. Marks and Lower Georgia area ceased to have an identity as Apalachees and became assimilated into various bands of the Lower Creek Confederacy.

60. Lucy L. Wenhold, transl. and ed., "The Trials of Captain Don Isidoro De Leon." *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXV (January 1957), 252. In 1716 the village of Savacola (Sawokii) was situated in Russell County, Alabama, but the portion of the band that had been exposed to Christianity as early as 1675 at Santa Cruz de Sabacola probably migrated to Apalachee when the Spanish requested the removal of the Lower Creeks. According to Spanish custom the town was usually named after the leader of the town. Salacarlache was probably a small Lower Creek village.
61. In 1724 raids by the Yuchi Indians forced the liquidation of the Yamasee villages in Apalachee and their removal to the neighborhood of Saint Augustine. Fray Joseph Escodero to Marques de Monteleon, October 20, 1734, A. M. Brooks Transcripts.
62. Robert L. Gold, "The East Florida Indians Under Spanish and English Control: 1763-1765," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XLIV (July 1965), 108; Gold, "The Settlement of the East Florida Spaniards in Cuba 1763-1766," *ibid.*, XLIII (January 1964), 216-31. (Accents of foreign words have been deleted.)