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NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Cloak and Dagger in Apalachicola Province in Early 1686

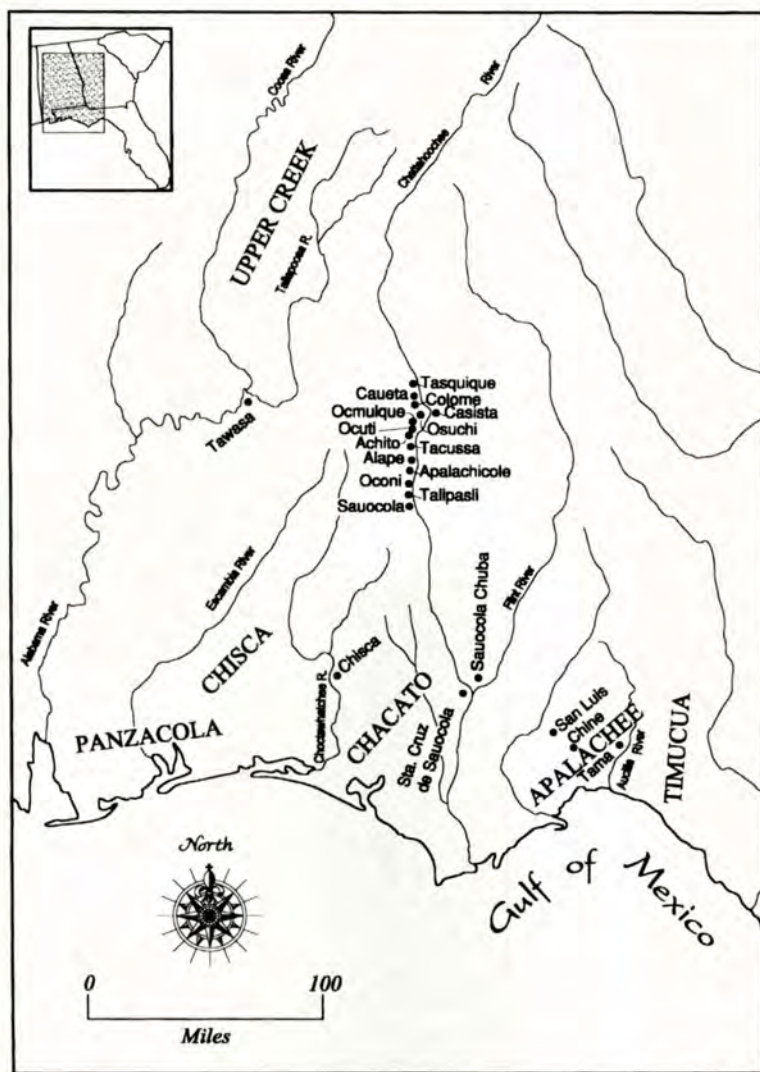
by JOHN H. HANN

Stories of espionage awake a certain interest by their very nature. The ones presented here provide the bonus of valuable insights into life in Apalachee and along the Chattahoochee River in 1685-86 in the wake of the arrival of the first Englishmen in the settlements on that river. It was a turning point in the history of the peoples of those two regions. The spies were Yamasee whom Apalachee's deputy-governor left behind when he ended his second invasion of the Chattahoochee River towns early in 1686. Reports that British traders from the recently founded outpost of Charles Town were in the towns prompted the two sorties.

The Yamasee, of course, were not the first such spies to have been employed. In the wake of the deputy-governor's first expedition in the fall of 1685, fray Juan Mercado reported from Santa Cruz de Sauocola of word from a Sauocola native recently arrived from upriver that he saw four Englishmen helping Indians of Osuchi in the construction of a council house while the rest were in Caueta. The Indian's description of the British as white and short like the Spaniards reveals that the Indians there probably were taller than the average European they saw. Somewhat prior to that report, the deputy-governor, Antonio Matheos, had sent ten Apalachee to gather intelligence on continued British presence in the Chattahoochee River towns.¹

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1. Juan Márquez Cabrera to Antonio Matheos, n.d. [December 1685]; Matheos to Márquez Cabrera, December 26, 1685; fray Juan Mercado to Matheos, today Sunday [November 1685], Archivo General de las Indias (hereinafter AGI), Mexico 56, *Coleccion "Misiones Guale,"* vol. 3, doc. dd., John Tate Lanning Collection (hereinafter JTLCL), Thomas Jefferson Library, University of Missouri, St. Louis.



The three documents presented here are part of a corpus of documents generated by Spanish Florida's authorities as part of their efforts to thwart the spread of British influence among ancestors of today's Mikasuki and Seminoles living along the Chattahoochee River in the 1680s. Seventeenth-century Spaniards'

relations with those peoples have attracted little attention to date except in the work of John R. Swanton. He used the limited Spanish sources easily available when he published *Early History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors* in 1922. Most books about the Creek and Seminoles give scant attention to their ancestors beyond the mid-eighteenth century. The few that do either largely ignore substantial Spanish documentation that begins in the 1680s or focus more on the northern Europeans who established the first contacts with those peoples than on the natives themselves.

The increased Spanish attention to peoples of the Chattahoochee River settlements arose from fears that British traders from Charles Town would win influence among them. Spaniards and missionized peoples such as the Apalachee had maintained a desultory commerce with towns in the vicinity of Columbus, Georgia, since the mid-1640s, and Spaniards regarded them as part of their world. Several of the most informative documents derived from two expeditions that Matheos launched from Apalachee in 1685 and 1686 to capture British traders who accompanied and followed the legendary Henry Woodward, who appeared on the Chattahoochee in 1685. Those episodes generated considerable intelligence-gathering by the Spanish and British designed to divine each others' intentions and, for the Spaniards, to monitor the Chattahoochee River peoples' compliance with promises given to sever contact with the British.

Because Spaniards often used names and spellings that differ from the more familiar English ones when referring to the region's native peoples, towns, and rivers, this nomenclature merits attention. Spaniards grouped the nine or ten southernmost towns together under the name "province of Apalachicola," using the name of the principal town among them. Most if not all of the inhabitants of the southern towns spoke a language known today as Hitchiti, the ancestor of today's Mikasuki language.² Those towns were Sauocola, Oconi, Talipasli, Apalachicola, Alape, Tacussa, Osuchi, Ocuti, Achito, Ocmulque.³ Generally, Spaniards spoke of the four northernmost settlements as the province of Caueta or Casista for

2. James M. Crawford, "Southeastern Indian Languages," James M. Crawford, ed., *Studies in Southeastern Indian Languages* (Athens, 1978), 26; Mary R. Haas, "The Position of Apalachee in the Muskogean Family," in Anwar S. Dil, comp., *Language, Culture, and History: Essays by Mary R. Haas* (Stanford, 1978), 282-93.

3. Matheos to Márquez Cabrera, February 8, 1686, AGI, Santo Domingo (hereinafter SD) 639, vol. 3 of *Colección "Misiones Guale,"* doc. dd., JTLG.

the two villages that were dominant over the rest, north and south. Caueta, Casista, and Colome spoke Muskogee or Creek, a language similar to that of Florida's modern Seminoles.⁴ But occasionally Spaniards alluded to northern as well as southern towns as part of Apalachicola Province, probably in a melding of the unity resulting from Caueta's hegemony and respect for the still surviving preeminence of the chief of the town of Apalachicola among the southern towns and the degree of independence they still enjoyed. Tasquique, the northernmost town, spoke Yamasee, a language very similar, if not identical, to Hitchiti.⁵ The Ocuti also probably were Yamasee-speakers.⁶

The Yamasee of this era were a very numerous, scattered, and diverse people about whom little is known. Some then lived in Guale and Timucua territories along Georgia's coast; others had settled among the Chattahoochee River peoples; many lived among the British of South Carolina. Still others, like the spies of the last two of these documents, were immigrants to Apalachee Province, whom Spaniards referred to most commonly as Tama, Tamaja, or Tama-Yamasee.⁷

When Spaniards spoke of the Apalachicola River in the 1670s and 1680s they intended a stream that combined today's Apalachicola and Chattahoochee. But at some point prior to 1740 they also began referring to the two streams as the "River of the Chacatos" for a people living in the vicinity of Marianna until 1675 who established a village on that river by the 1680s. The Chacatos' name, rendered also as Chactos and Chatos, is probably the source of the

4. William Bartram, *Travels of William Bartram*, ed. Mark Van Doren (New York, 1955), 365-66; Crawford, "Southeastern Indian Languages," 25-27; Diego de la Peña, Diary of this Trip, of Apalache and of the province of Apalacheicola ordered to be made by the Señor Governor and Captain General Don Pedro de Oliver y Fullana, AGI, SD 843, Stetson Collection (hereinafter SC) (filed under 1717) P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville; Peña to Juan de Ayala Escobar, October 8, 1717, in Mark F. Boyd, "Documents Describing the Second and Third Expeditions of Lieutenant Diego Peña to Apalache and Apalachicola in 1717 and 1718," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 31 (October 1952), 134; John R. Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors* (Washington, D.C., 1922).
5. Peña, Diary 1716; Peña to Ayala Escobar 1717, in Boyd, "Documents Describing the Second and Third Expeditions of Lieutenant Diego Peña to Apalache and Apalachicola in 1717 and 1718," 134.
6. John H. Hann, "St. Augustine's Fallout from the Yamasee War," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 68 (October 1989), 185.
7. John Hann, *Apalachee: The Land between the Rivers* (Gainesville, 1988), 33, 35-37; Chapman J. Milling, *Red Carolinians* (Chapel Hill, 1940), passim.

name Chattahoochee presently attached to the upper portion of the river.⁸ Spaniards of this era identified Charles Town as San Jorge or St. George in English.

Initially the British alluded to all the people of the Chattahoochee River as Cowetas (their rendering of Caueta) and Kasihtas or Cussitas for the dominant Muskogee-speaking towns. After 1690, however, they began to refer to these people in general as Ochee-see Creeks because of the eastward migration of some of the towns to the Ocmulgee River, then known as Ochee-see Creek or River, when Spaniards built a fort on the Chattahoochee. After the migrants returned to the Chattahoochee in 1716 in the wake of the Yamasee War, the English began to refer to those people as Lower Creeks to distinguish them from Muskogee speakers farther north who became known as Upper Creeks.

Spaniards never adopted the name Creek during this period, but ultimately substituted Uchisi (their version of Ochee-see) for the Apalachicola to refer to the province's southern towns, alluding, for example, in 1738 to the "province of Uchisi and Cabeta."⁹ A generation earlier Diego Peña used Uchisi to designate the Hitchiti language.¹⁰ Spaniards used Uchisi as early as 1680 to refer to a people who probably were descended from the Ichisi (Chisi or Achese), who lived on the Ocmulgee River in the vicinity of Macon during the Hernando de Soto era.¹¹

Other names appear in the documents that require identification or elaboration. Sauocola, originally in the Columbus region just south of Talipale, was located downriver in 1685-86 on the Apalachicola River's west bank near the Chattahoochee State Hospital or between the forks of the Chattahoochee and Flint. The Chichimeco were the Westo of English sources. The Chisca were

8. Don Juan de Castilla, notary public, to Joseph de la Quintana, January 6, 1740. AGI, SD 2565, SC. John E. Worth, *Timucuan Chiefdoms of Spanish Florida*, vol. 2 (Gainesville, 1998), 223, n. 4 and 200, gives Castilla's first name as Francisco, based on a copy of Castilla's report distinct from the one reproduced in the Stetson Collection. He suggests "that the Stetson copy may have been flawed."

9. Alonso, Marqués del Toro, letter, April 18, 1738, AGI, SD 2593, SC.

10. Peña to Ayala Escobar, 1717, in Boyd, "Documents Describing the Second and Third Expeditions of Lieutenant Diego Peña to Apalache and Apalachicola in 1717 and 1718," 134.

11. Lawrence A. Clayton, Vernon James Knight Jr., and Edward C. Moore, eds., *The De Soto Chronicles. The Expedition of Hernando de Soto to North America in 1539-1543*, 2 vols. (Tuscaloosa, 1993), 76-77, 229, 270; Pablo de Hita Salazar to the King, May 14, 1680. AGI, SD 839, Jeannette Thurber Connor Collection (hereinafter JTCC), reel 3, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History.

similar to the Westo in being a feared predatory people. Those mentioned here probably came from a settlement on the Choctawhatchee. Later Spaniards referred to them as Yuchi, who are the Uchee of English sources. The Chine, a people from west Florida possibly related to the Chacato, lived in a mission settlement in Apalachee during this era. The Ticopache, the Tukabachee of English sources, migrated to the Chattahoochee from the Upper Creek country. The Tawasa lived just below the junction of the Coosa and Tallapoosa Rivers at this time. Their ethnic identity is disputed. The Chacato mentioned here had been living among them since an attempt on the life of their friar in 1675. Nothing is known about the identity of the Estanani. *Chicasa* was a native word meaning abandoned village site. At this time all of the river towns in the vicinity of today's Columbus were located on the west bank of the river with the exception of Casista.¹²

Fray Mercado wrote his letter in November 1685 some time after Matheos's return from his first foray into the Apalachicola country. Matheos addressed his two letters presented here to Governor Juan Márquez Cabrera a little over three months after his return from his second expedition in early February 1686. On that foray he had burned the four northern towns whose leaders had refused to parley with him or to promise to end their contact with the British traders.

In the wake of Matheos's first expedition, the sergeant-major Domingo de Leturiondo had conducted a formal visitation of Apalachee Province during which he interviewed several Apalachicola leaders, the town of Apalachicola's Chief Pontocolo,¹³ Achito's Chief Acolaque, and Sauocola's *osinulo*,¹⁴ Ysfane Juan. On talking with those leaders, Leturiondo perceived that neutrality was the river towns' policy at that time. Consequently, he warned the gover-

12. John Hann, "The Chacato Revolt Inquiry," in *Visitations and Revolts in Florida, 1656-1695*, *Florida Archaeology* 7 (1993), 31-75; "Florida's Terra Incognita: West Florida's Natives in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century," *Florida Anthropologist* 4 (1988), 61-107; "Late Seventeenth-Century Forebears of the Lower Creeks and Seminoles," *Southeastern Archaeology* 15 (1996), 66-80; Domingo de Leturiondo to Márquez Cabrera, November 28, 1685, AGI, SD 639, vol. 3 of Colección "Misiones Guale," doc. dd., JTLG.

13. His name was spelled elsewhere as Pentecolo.

14. *Osinulu* or *usinulo* among the Apalachee meant "beloved son." It was applied to a particular son (or possibly daughter in the absence of a son). Special roles were assigned to the *usinulo* both in pregame ceremonies for the ball game and those that accompanied the raising of a goalpost. See Hann, *Apalachee*, 104.

nor that additional expeditions to capture the British traders would be futile and that the hostile retaliatory measures the governor was contemplating against those towns would be counterproductive. He felt that they would achieve nothing more than to force the Apalachicola and the northern towns into alliance with Spain's English enemies and thereby endanger survival of the missions as proved to be the case.¹⁵

The governor ignored that sound advice. On learning of the continued English presence in those towns, Márquez Cabrera ordered Matheos to return to the Chattahoochee with a large force from Apalachee. If he found solid evidence that the Indians were hiding the English or if the Indians fled from their villages at his approach, he was to burn the villages and their provisions and seek to capture the chiefs.¹⁶ Ultimately, the southern towns, led by Chief Pontocolo, avoided that fate by feigning acquiescence to the governor's demands. When the leaders of the four northern towns refused even to meet with Matheos, he burned the towns and their provisions. He left the Yamasee spies behind to monitor the southern towns' compliance with their pledges and to report any news of an English presence. For cover, the Yamasee were to say that they no longer wished to live among Spaniards and, for this reason, had remained in the river towns. It was a reasonably credible assertion, as many Yamasee living in Spanish territory had already migrated to English or neutral territory.¹⁷

1. Fray Juan Mercado to Antonio Matheos, Santa Cruz, today Sunday.

Señor Lieutenant Antonio Matheos:

When I was in that [place] of San Luis, by virtue of the reports that I had, I urged that your honors should believe that the English enemy was still in Apalachicola, which truth the heathens who are there at present caused to disappear. An Indian native to Sauocola, who came from around there the day before yesterday (*que vino antes de an-*

15. Leturiondo to Márquez Cabrera, November 28, 1685.

16. Márquez Cabrera to Matheos, n.d.; Matheos to Márquez Cabrera, December 26, 1685.

17. Matheos to Márquez Cabrera, January 12, 1686; February 8, 1686; March 14, 1686; May 19, 1686; May 21, 1686, AGI, SD 639, vol. 3 of Colección "Misiones Guale," doc. dd., JTLC and AGI, Mexico 56, vol. 5 of Colección "Misiones Guale," 1^a doc, JTLC.

*tier*¹⁸ *de por alla*), says that he saw four Englishmen who were helping the Indians in the place of Osuchi in the construction of the council house (*obra de buxio*) that they were building. He must give his opinion on this (*el deuia de juzgar*) that the Englishmen were something else because he said that they were not very big, that they are white, and that they are short like the Spaniards, and that the others are in Caueta. And that one of them [is] married, in their manner of speaking, with a niece of Juiaui, kinswoman (*deuda*) of the caciques of San Luis. The said Indian reported this before the Father preacher Argüelles [and] before me and the cacique of Sauocola, who persuaded and ordered (*mando*)¹⁹ the said Indian, who, because he had seen them, he himself should go and tell it to your honor. I am making this report so that, if something should happen, I will not be at fault by omission. I have nothing to say as to this place; that I have said more than enough. Only that I had eight men at mass today. May God protect your honor and give him all the health that I desire. Santa Cruz, today Sunday. Chaplain and friend of your honor.=

Fray Juan Mercado

2. Antonio Matheos to Juan Márquez Cabrera, San Luis, May 19, 1686.

Señor Governor and Captain General:

I received the one from your lordship dated the twenty-third of the past month, which came from hand to hand and reached mine on the thirtieth day of the said month. And similarly I received another one from your lordship of the twenty-sixth of the said [month], that Rodrigo Ximénez brought and that reached my hands on the fifteenth day of the current [month]. And my not having responded to this one immediately, as your lordship ordered me, has been because none of the Indians whom I had

18. Literally this expression means "before the day before yesterday," as *antier* is a colloquial form of *anteayer*, which means "day before yesterday." The friar may well have meant "the day before the day before yesterday," but that seems a clumsy way of saying "three days ago."

19. *Mando* here could be rendered also as "sent."

sent to Apalachicola has arrived until today, when two of them came. And the other two remained in the said province for the purpose of something that your lordship will see farther on. The news that they bring is to say that they had been in all the places of the said province as I ordered them [to do]. They received a good welcome in them except in the ones of Casista and Caueta. For, having sent messengers (*correos*)²⁰ to the aforesaid spies before they arrived at the said villages in which they said that they did not want them to come to them because they were from Apalache and, consequently, their enemies. And, therefore, that they should not attempt to come to them because they would not be able to remain peaceful (*quietos*). And, notwithstanding this, the two spies resolved to go there, at the risk of what could possibly happen to them, sending word to them with the last messenger that they were not Apalache but rather Estemas,²¹ and that they were coming for nothing other than to see their relatives and to buy something and that, accordingly, they should take it well. And on the two spies' arriving between the said two places [Caueta and Casista] at a time when they were playing the ball game, they remained there until the game ended without anyone having come to speak to them during this meantime, although one of these spies had some relatives there.

And while going toward the place of Casista, before they entered into it, the cacique of the said village came to them and said to them, Where were they going? and whether he had not ordered them not to enter into his village. For, in addition to not having anything to eat in it in the wake of its burning, no one would speak to them because they knew that they were coming on some investigation on which they had sent them and, consequently, they were their enemies [and] they would not enter into his village. With that, on his giving them a canoe in order to

20. *Correos* could be rendered also as "messages."

21. A Connor Collection copy of this document rendered the name as "Esthamas." An earlier letter by Matheos identified the spies as Tama who were living in Apalachee.

cross the river, they went to Tasquique,²² where, and in Colome, they welcomed them very well and said to them that, although the Christians had burned their villages, they had patience [with them], because they [themselves] had their guilt, although the ones entirely responsible were the caciques of Casista and Cabeta, who had deceived and entangled all the rest in bringing the Englishmen and forcing them to receive them. And they had gone to the woods and, for this reason, they burned their places. But, that if another [such] occasion came up, they would not flee. For they knew now how the Spaniards conducted themselves. In Caueta, they gave them the same reception as in Casista, giving [them] to understand that, even though they were planting, they did not intend to remain there. And, accordingly, the said spies also say that there is nothing at all done or begun to be done [in the way of rebuilding] in these two places.²³ And in the other two, which are Colome and Tasquique, there are many, both finished and begun.

The said spies also stated that Apalachecole's cacique told them that they should come at full speed to warn me that, while five men from his place were hunting in the chicassa of Calosa,²⁴ which is five days distant from the said province by trail, they had heard many shots and that from afar they had seen very many people who were coming toward the Flint River. That they did not determine what people they were because they had seen them from afar. And one of the five who was hunting left at once to give this news to the said cacique. For this [reason] the said two spies remained there and to learn what people it is. They also stated that the said cacique told them that he would be on the lookout by posting sentinels. And on learning what people it was, whether they were Englishmen, Chichimecos, or Chiscas, and whether they were coming to that

22. Here the Connor copy rendered this as Taiquique, but reproduced it as Tasquique when the name next appeared.

23. This raises the possibility that Caueta and Casista moved eastward in 1686 rather than at the decade's end when Spaniards placed a fort on the Chattahoochee to be able to respond quickly to English intrusions.

24. Connor's copy spelled it Calossa. Its identity is unknown. A later report suggests that the travelers were an Englishman and Yamasee from Charles Town.

province [Apalachecole] or to this one [Apalache], he would advise me as quickly as possible. They say also that the Englishmen who were there went to the province of Ticopache to speak with the caciques and leading men and that, after returning to Caueta, they went to San Jorge, leaving word that they would return to see them within two months with many more people.

This report appears to me to have little foundation, because only the said cacique and another man from another place gave them [sic] [and] because, although the Tamas²⁵ have brothers and relatives there, they say that they said nothing at all to them. I consider the spies to be as honorable as all of them. With respect to the people whom they say are coming, I consider it also a fable, because I do not think that they would advise us [of it], if it were true. Nonetheless, I will warn the lieutenant of Timucua so that he may be on alert. That they are always so around here.²⁶

They say that the said cacique of Apalachicola is scheduled to come to this province next month. I reckon that he will have another tale thought up [by then] like the last one. They say also that he wanted to come for the royal arms (*armas Reales*)²⁷ to bring them to his village. He has not replied to the message that I sent him because the Indian who carried it has not returned. The said cacique stated that he had not been able to find chestnuts (*Castañas*). He sent a little bit of white and yellow earth that Juan de Florencia, who will leave here the day after tomorrow, will bring to your lordship.²⁸ Stones, blue-stones, there are none around there (*por alla*).²⁹ They say that there is some

25. It appears as Esthamas again in the Connor copy.

26. This phrase might be rendered also as "They are always around here."

27. This seems to refer to the royal coat of arms. In some mission territories it was customary to post the royal arms in the council house.

28. The beginning of this passage appears to have been transcribed badly in the Connor copy. "White and yellow earth" appears in it as "*tamarilla y blanca*" rather than as "*tierra amarilla y blanca*."

29. The initial "Stones" was the Spanish word for "earth" in the Connor copy. *Por alla* could well belong to the next sentence.

in Timucua, very good, and that it turns red (*colorada*) when it is burned at the fire.³⁰

The cacique of Tabasa [Tawasa] came and brought twenty-four Christian men and women. I did not give him the ax or the beads as your lordship ordered me in your [letter], because he had gone already. That it would have been a shame to give them to him. For he is the very greatest dog;³¹ for they set out on the trail in his presence³² when two of his vassals were coming. And they wanted to kill one of them, who had carried my message, but the Chacatos turned on them (*solbieron sobre ellos*)³³ and caught one. And they gave him a very good beating (*una valiente soua*). And one wanted to finish it off with a small hatchet if he who carried the message had not told him not to do any such thing as I had not ordered them to do harm to anyone. And if things were not in the shape that they are, the cacique would not have gone until the rest of the Christians would have come. And they brought the valiant one tied up (*y trujeran amarrados al valiente*).³⁴ But it is necessary to dissemble until his San Martín arrives.³⁵ I reckon that all of

30. In the Connor version this sentence is followed by: "I shall make an investigation as to what district it is in," which is missing in the transcription that Lanning made.

31. Matheos was fond of calling the Indians "dogs."

32. In this phrase and in the one that follows it, it is not clear who is the antecedent for "his."

33. I have not found any word that resembles *solbieron* that fits this context. When I translated the Connor version of the document in 1987, I rendered "*solbieron sobre ellos*" as "turned on them." I have retained that rendition because it fits the context of the sentence that follows.

34. My rendition of this phrase is tentative because "*valiente*" is singular and its apparent modifier "*amarrados*" is plural. The import of this sentence and the ones that immediately precede it is vague as it is not clear whether Matheos was thinking of detaining the chief by force or whether he was permitted to leave quickly because he lacked the food to feed him or the munitions to cope with a possible showdown.

35. San Martín probably was the name of a ship bringing needed supplies. But Matheos may have used *san martin* in its colloquial sense that "someone who seeks only his own pleasure will have a day of reckoning when he will have to suffer."

them are thinking that we Christians are not men and it is very necessary, when the occasion arises, to give them to understand what is what (*lo que es*).³⁶

According to what the said cacique of Tauassa said, the Chickasaws (*chicassas*) arrived at his village saying that they were coming to this province. The latter have not appeared. It could be that they have changed their mind (*se arrepintieran*).³⁷ The Chicogachas [Ticopachas]³⁸ also have done so, if it is true that the English were there. And as to the gifts that your lordship says are to be given to them, it appears to me that it will be better not to give them anything unless one shows signs that he deserves it.

As to the report that your lordship orders me to make about the trail that goes to the bay of the Holy Spirit,³⁹ I have not neglected it. I have made abundant inquiries up to now, but not what is sufficient for what seems to me to be necessary for what your lordship has in mind because of the Indians being at war (*guerreros*)⁴⁰ with one another and because of not knowing the land, although I have written about what I have been given reports about more than six months ago as the bearer of this will inform your lordship. I have written this report, in which I have indicated the places and rivers and distance that there is from one to another. And my not having sent it to your lordship is because it appears to me that it is not good enough to be understandable, although I, as I have done it, have no trouble understanding it. It is possible to go to the place of Panzicola in canoes from here from St. Marks, bringing along experienced Indian pilots (*Yndios platicos*), such as there are in the province in the place of the Chines. And it is

36. In Lanning's version a comma follows "*lo que es*," suggesting that what follows should be part of the same sentence.

37. Literally *arrepentirse* means "repent, rue, regret."

38. Chicogaches is written as Ticopaches in the Connor copy.

39. The Bay of the Holy Spirit, in this time and context, is undoubtedly the bay that Spaniards believed to be at the mouth of the Mississippi River rather than de Soto's bay of the Holy Spirit, Tampa Bay. At this time Apalachee was very much involved in the search for La Salle.

40. Literally this means "warriors" or "warlike." The context calls for "war."

necessary to communicate from there with the Indians of la Mobila,⁴¹ who are twelve leagues distant from Panzacola. That these Mobilas have never come to this province as they have wars with the Panzacolas. And it would not be difficult to acquire reports about the said bay by speaking with them. Farther on beyond the Mouilas⁴² and the river of this name is that (*el*) of Estanani, which is three days by trail,⁴³ although the first (*primer*) place of this province, which is called Ducascaxi,⁴⁴ is, according to what the Indians say, seven days distant from the sea, going by way of the said river. And it appears so to me according to the sailor's chart. That this river is fifty leagues distant from the said bay.⁴⁵ That if this (*esta*) [province] of Apalchicole were not in the state that it is, with your lordship giving me permission as I requested last year,⁴⁶ one could go to and come back from Panzacola and Estanani [by land] in less than a month. And I would give your lordship reports that would be all but certain (*sino zertesas*)⁴⁷ about the said bay. I reckon that, unless (*sino*) this investigation is made first, there will not be much assurance at the least of the expedition being successful. Your lordship will decide on everything as he may please.

I dispatched the maize to the lieutenant of Timucua. According to the report that I have had, I reckon that it [or he] is already in Santa Fée.⁴⁸ Four Indians were necessary

41. The Lanning copy has "Nobila" here, but it is Mobila in the Connor copy and Lanning used "Mobilas" just below, referring to the people.

42. The Connor copy rendered this as "Mobila."

43. The Connor copy has "four days." the "*el*" suggests that there was a river named Estanani as "river" is the only masculine antecedent for "*el*" in this context.

44. Bucascaxi was the spelling in the Connor copy. Swanton did not mention Estanani or Ducascaxi.

45. The Connor copy has "not fifty leagues distant."

46. When the governor learned of the La Salle settlement, Matheos had volunteered his services to go to look for it or gather information on it. The governor ordered the building of one or two galliots in Apalachee for that purpose.

47. My rendition here is tentative. *Sino* can be rendered also as "if not," "except, unless, besides, solely" and "otherwise."

48. The mission of Santa Fée or a point on the river of that name within its jurisdiction was a transfer point where produce sent to St. Augustine via the fluvial-coastal-fluvial of the Aucilla, Gulf, and Suwannee was put on packhorses belonging to Santa Fée's chief for the remaining distance to St. Augustine. Tocobaga Indians living in Apalachee handled the transport as far as the Santa Fe River.

for the canoe. Alonso de Morales paid one because he was carrying twenty arrobas [500 lbs.] of maize for himself. The canoe did not cost anything because of its being in the service of his Majesty. I paid the other three Indians with the ten knives that came from the war-stores (*munición*) and two more that I put in in order to hire their labor. The Portuguese and the smith (*herrero*) remain in this garrison. And Francisco Vélez will withdraw as your lordship orders. He is not the bearer of this because of his being little experienced on the trails. Lorenzo Guerrero will go with it, who has promised me to put it in your lordship's hand in six days. May God preserve your lordship for many years. San Luis, May nineteenth of the year sixteen hundred and eighty-six. Servant and server of your lordship, who kisses his hand.=

Antonio Matheos

3. Antonio Matheos to Márquez Cabrera, San Luis, May 21, 1686.

Señor Governor and Captain General.

Sire, today at two in the afternoon one of the two spies reached here who remained in the province of Apalache-cole waiting to see what resulted from the latest news about the people who they were saying were coming back from San Jorge, as I informed your lordship in a letter dated the nineteenth of the current [month], which Lorenzo Guerrero is bringing. And what the said spy says, and the other one separated [from him] in order to remain in that province. They agreed between themselves to distribute themselves in different regions. The other one, who was cacique, went to the place of Ocuite⁴⁹ so he could keep watch from there on what happened. And this one went to some little houses (*casillas*)⁵⁰ belonging to *Yamases* that are two leagues distant from the place of Cauetta, where he stayed with the people whom he found there, giving them to understand that they had no wish to return to

49. This was undoubtedly meant to be Ocute.

50. *Casillas* has the sense of "small and isolated houses or lodgings such as a gate-house or guardhouse in a field." Here it probably indicates an isolated hamlet.

this province [Apalachee] and that he had fled from his companions for this reason. Remaining in the said spot until the next day, he heard three shots at mid-day from the direction of the place of Apalachecole. And his companions also were saying that the Yamasee (*el yamas*) and the Englishman had already entered into the said place, I mean to say companions to the masters (? *anos*)⁵¹ of the houses where this said spy was. A man from the said place arrived at this time in search of *sesina*,⁵² and he certified what he was speaking of. And on seeing this, the said spy hid the bow (? *la conya*),⁵³ arrows, and quiver and took off in the direction of the said place of Apalachecole, placing a deerskin over his shoulders to disguise himself more (*dissimularse mas*) because everyone from that province ordinarily walks about in this manner. And on approaching the said place, he met a young man (*muchacho*) who took the said spy for a native of that countryside because he saw nothing strange in his garb (*traje*) or in his speech (*lengua*) because he understands the said province very well. And on arriving close to the houses of the said village of Apalachecole with the said young man, he saw that they were placing sentinels along the trails with their muskets. And when the said spy went toward where the said Yama-sees (*yanseses*) were, as he is one also, they began to converse and he to dissimulate as before. And they told him that they were posting those sentinels just in case some people from Apalache should come. And on going with them as far as the council house (*bujio*) of Apalachecole, he saw that all the caciques, men, and women, and young people (*muchachos*)⁵⁴ were coming to see the new people. And he also saw the other spy, his companion, to be seated on a bench (*barbacoa*) speaking with some Yameses [sic] among those who had come. And so, as he saw his said companion, he called this spy over and made him sit close

51. *Años*, meaning "years," does not make sense in this context. I am assuming that it is a copyist's error for *amos*.

52. There appears to be no such word. Conceivably it is a miscopying of *cacina*, the native tea.

53. There is no such word as *conya*. The context calls for "bow" (*arco*). Inserting an "r" between "*la*" and "*conya*" would provide the word "*arco*."

54. *Muchachos* could be rendered also as "young men."

to him. And the Yameses asked him why he had returned and why he had not come to this province [Apalachee] with his companions. To this the said spy responded: because neither he nor his companion had any desire to live in it; [that] they had left the rest and had remained there. And with this, coming together with what the other one had told them, they said to them that they had the right spirit, that after walking through all the places of that province, they would all go to San Jorge. They also told them how forty-five Yamases were coming and an Englishman with them. And this said spy saw the one and the other with his own eyes with such specificity that he said the Yameses were carrying twenty-seven muskets (*escopettas*) and thirty pistols (*pesttolas*) and one machete each one⁵⁵ their hats (*sombreros*) and waist-jackets (*justadores*). He said also that an Englishman came out at this time, who is a lad (*mozo*) of the build (*cuerpo*) and age of Diego de Florencia.⁵⁶ When he questioned this spy through a Yamasee (*y a mas* [sic]) interpreter as to why he had returned, he gave the same reply to him as to the rest. With that the Englishman said to him solely that he should be of good cheer; that he would not do him any harm, because he had come only at the order of his governor to see those lands and to trade for our beaver skins and deerskins; that the rest was for the Apalaches. And the said Englishman, on turning toward the companion of this spy, knowing that he was a cacique, said to him, Are you a cacique of the king? And when he replied to him, yes, he did not speak with them further.

The said spy heard it said after this that a Yamasee Indian, who comes as squad leader of the rest, said that it was he who had entered into the stockade (*vsttaca*)⁵⁷ and place of Santa Catalina⁵⁸ and had killed or carried off the people

55. It is not clear in the context whether "each one" (*cada vno*) applies to the machete or to what follows (*vn machette cada vno sus sombreros y*).

56. Diego de Florencia was a member of San Luis's most important Spanish family, a soldier, merchant, and ship owner.

57. I am presuming that this was meant to be *estaca* rather than a reference to the province of Yustaga as the latter does not make sense.

58. This refers to the British-inspired attack on the Santa Catalina de Ahoica mission in 1685.

whom he encountered. And that the young people (*muchachos*) had been divided among the braves (*valientes*)⁵⁹ and they had given the women to the Englishman except for one who had died in her place from grief (*pesadumbre*) and from not wanting to eat. And that the Englishmen and they had what they had need of, powder and balls as well as provisions and, that ships would set out for St. Augustine, because it was a place [that was] land of the English⁶⁰ and that another like number would come to Apalache by land, which are little places and it would set fire to all of them.

The said spy stated also that he saw an Indian enter with a *sucuche*⁶¹ of food and an Englishman behind him, going to where the recently arrived one was. And they embraced one another as if they were giving the welcome to each other. And the Indian who came with the said Englishman, on coming to where the said spy was, and the other Yamasés, he asked them if they had encountered an Englishman who was going back to San Jorge with some Chichimecos to obtain arms and munitions. They replied to this that they had met him in the *chicasa* of Calosa.

The said spy also stated that all the caciques of that province were there except for the one of Cauetta. And that the one from Casista was the one who distributed the Englishmen's orders.

And when these two spies saw everything that was occurring, they resolved to come to give me a report. But they [the Apalacheoli] did not permit the other one, because of [his] being a cacique, to go out to any area without a sentinel. And as they did not take any care with this other

59. *Valientes* could be rendered also as "courageous or valiant ones."

60. The English of the time brazenly made this claim on the basis of land grants by their King Charles II placing South Carolina's border a little south of St. Augustine, ignoring 100 years of Spanish occupation of that site and of others north of it.

61. *Sucuche* may be an Apalachee word for a container of some sort. I have seen it in expressions such as "*sucuche de tolocano*." *Tolocano* was the Apalachee's equivalent of K-rations.

one, because of [his] being a very young man (*mosuelo*), they decided that he among the two should come to report to me. And in addition to what this spy had seen, they⁶² told me he would flee when the opportunity arose. And that he had heard it said that the captain who was in that province was in the place of Casista very ill⁶³ and another three Englishmen with this one.

Sire, this is all the said spy told me. It appears to me from this that my opinion has always been correct as to the poor regard I have had for the cacique of Apalachecole. For, on dispatching the spies, he told them that they should come to advise me about the people his vassals had seen in the *chicasa* of Calosa, as I report to your lordship in the said letter that Lorenzo Guerrero is carrying. This is not a bad occasion for learning the intention that he has; for he said he would advise me on learning who the people were. And if he does not do so, there is no need to provide proofs of his tricks (*trapazas*), although it could be possible that he may avail himself of them (*de las*)⁶⁴ as he is accustomed to, because of this spy having escaped.

Two soldiers are going to Cauacola on [the day of] the date of this [letter] to detain whatsoever suspicious person who is found there and the cacique of Tauasa, who is still there in the place of the Chatos [Chacatos] so that no one may carry any news about those (*las*) [the reports] that we have had from there. I have regaled the spy who brought this news and he went away very content. And I have continued to look at the effort that has been made; for I do not know that anyone could have done it better. I shall dispatch a corporal to Sauacola tomorrow with ten soldiers so that the Indians may work with less fear (*susto*), because they cannot fail to have it in view of these reports. If God should will that the cacique who remained in Apalachecole should escape, we should have reports about both the

62. It is not clear who were the antecedents for this "they."

63. This probably refers to Henry Woodward, who had to be carried back to Charles Town on a litter.

64. Use of the feminine article here suggests that *las* refers to "tricks."

design of the English and the trail they have used. Your lordship will dispose about the rest that is to be done. There are few munitions [here]. The soldiers come from there and do not bring any. And there is no end to its being expended here, so that it is necessary [that] some come at least. May God preserve your lordship for many years. San Luis, May twenty-first of sixteen hundred and eighty-six.= I kiss the hand of your lordship.

Anttonio Matteos [sic] =

The fate of the cacique-spy remains unknown. Herbert E. Bolton states that Governor Márques Cabrera sent a third expedition to the Apalachicole country to capture Englishmen reported to be there and that Cabrera's successor launched two more expeditions prior to sending a garrison to build a fort there late in 1689.⁶⁵ Bolton provided no details on the last three expeditions and documentation for them, similar to what Matheos provided about his first two forays, has not appeared. Only the building of the fort in Apalachicole country is similarly documented.

65. The building of that fort, however, is well documented, as is its abandonment as well.