

**Journal of James Seagrove,
Creek Indian Agent, 1793**

***LAMAR Institute Publication Series,
Report Number 220***

The LAMAR Institute

2018

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**Transcribed by
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The LAMAR Institute, Inc.

Savannah, Georgia

2018

Contents

Introduction.....	1
James Seagrove’s Journal, October 31-December 10, 1793.....	5
References Cited	18
Appendix I. Manuscript Images.....	19

Introduction

The following document is a transcription of handwritten document that is contained in the Butler Papers, which are archived at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. LAMAR Institute researcher Daniel Battle located the document at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in 2008, while reviewing the Butler Papers for information relevant to an unrelated study of the Kettle Creek battlefield in Wilkes County, Georgia. The discovery of this manuscript, which was unknown to researchers working in the southeastern states. Recognizing the historical value of the document, Battle took a series of digital photographs of it. Together, Mr. Battle and Daniel Elliott transcribed the document while on the Amtrak ride south to Georgia. The transcription is provided with only minimal editorial comments. All editorial comments are shown within brackets [*]. Many misspelled words, whose meanings are readily understandable were left as is. A timeline of relevant events from 1783 to 1796 is provided in Table 1. The transcription is followed by a list of references cited and digital images of the original manuscript (Appendix I).

Table 1. Timeline of Events

1783	Treaty of Augusta, later voided by 1796 Treaty of Coleraine
1784	Treaty of Pensacola between Spain and the Creek Nation
1785	Treaty of Galphinton, later voided by 1796 Treaty of Coleraine
1786	Treaty of Shoulderbone, later voided by 1796 Treaty of Coleraine
1789	Unsuccessful treaty talks between the Creeks and the U.S. at Rock Landing
1790	Treaty of New York signed between Creek Nation and U.S.
1792	James Seagrove appointed Creek Indian Agent by President Washington
1792	Unsuccessful treaty talks between Creeks and Spain (October)
1793	Hostilities between Georgians and Creek Nation (undeclared war)
1793	Conflicts at Traders Hill and Burnt Fort (March), Spanish Creek (June) and Coleraine Station (July) and Donnally's Town and Little Okfuskee, or Okfuskenena (September)
1793	Seagrove's meets with the Creek Nation
1794	Elijah Clarke leads settlers west to establish the short-lived "Trans-Oconee Republic"
1796	Benjamin Hawkins appointed General Superintendent for Indian Affairs by President Washington
1796	Treaty of Coleraine signed between Creeks and U.S.

The document is a travel journal kept by James Seagrove. James Seagrove was born in Ireland in 1767 and he died sometime after 1811. He was a prominent merchant and land owner in coastal Georgia. Following the American Revolution James moved to Camden County where he helped establish the settlements of St. Marys and Coleraine along the

St. Marys River. In 1792 President George Washington appointed James Seagrove to be the temporary United States Indian Agent for the Creek Tribe. Seagrove's journal begins on Thursday October 31, 1793 at Fort Fidus on the Oconee River. Fort Fidus was a United States Army fort located on the east side of the Oconee near present-day Milledgeville, Georgia. The journal ends on Tuesday December 10, 1793 while Seagrove remained in the Creek Nation. Seagrove's involvement in Creek Indian affairs appear to slack off after 1793. His 1793 journal demonstrates, however, that he played a very important role in Creek, Georgian and U.S. affairs during that year.

The year 1793 was a very tense time for relations between the Georgians, the Creek Nation, and the United States Government. Haynes (2013:241, Table 7) quantified the number of conflicts between Creeks and Georgians in the years following the American Revolution showing upsurges in conflicts in 1787-1788 and from 1792-1794. Theft raids by the Creeks reached a high of 134 in 1793. Notable conflicts between the Creeks and Georgians took place in March, 1793 at Trader's Hill and Burnt Fort; in June at Spanish Creek, in July at Coleraine Station and in September at Donnally's Town and Little Okfuskee, or Okfuskenena (Swanton 1922:251, 284).

Seagrove wrote to the Mad Dog of Tuckabatchee in the Upper Creek Nation on July 29 lamenting the death of mutual friend David Cornell, who was murdered at Coleraine, and discussing security details concerning Seagrove's meeting with the Creeks that was planned for September 10. This meeting had been requested by President Washington and Seagrove had planned to hold the meeting earlier on May 1, 1793, but those plans were delayed by the hostilities at Traders Hill.

Seagrove arrived at Fort Fidus on September 9 with plans to meet with the Creeks. On September 11, Seagrove wrote from Fort Fidus to Constant Freeman, assistant Creek Indian Agent under James Seagrove, in Augusta, Georgia discussing his plans for the meeting. In that letter Seagrove expressed his annoyance about the Georgian's strong resistance to his meeting with the Creeks. Seagrove's letter stated:

"Dear Freeman,

I have this moment heard of a waggon going to Augusta, and therefore shall just tell you that we all got safe here notwithstanding the plans mediated for my destruction. I was informed while in Augusta, that it was determined I should not reach this place alive. "that I was a most dangerous man, that I was taking measures to keep this country in peace. This may be considered by some a crime of the deepest dye, but as such I did not conceive it, and therefore am determined to persue my directions to that affect. We got on very quietly and without any great danger until within thirty miles of this station when we were met by Capt. Dickinson with twenty continental troops, detached by the officers in consequence of information that parties of villains were out on the road determined to destroy Colo Gaither & myself.

The officers here had, I have occasion to think just grounds for their fears for their safety. We however left the troops, and arrived at the garrison about 7 o'clock on the 9th inst. I found every body here well, but the Country round in a most determined state of opposition to all federal measures. There is several parties of horsemen out to prevent my having any intercourse with the Indians. They publickly declare they will oppose every attempt that can be made to peace. Some parties of Horse have actually had the insolence to appear before the garrison and forbid any person going to the nation. I shall however dispatch Aken and the black fellow this evening to go forward to meet the Indians and know their determination. I do not yet know whether or not the Indians are coming to meet us. I have not time to be particular. I give you this uncorrected line just to let you see what a blessed situation I am placed in.

I am Sir &c

James Seagrove" (Papers of the War Department 1793).

Seagrove wrote to Freeman on September 28 expressing further concerns about his pending visit to the Creek Country,

"I am most unpleasantly situated with respect to the business I set out on. I find that I am opposed by the armed force of this frontier militia in my endeavors to give them peace. Parties are continually out between this and the Oakmulgie to intercept me or any Indians or Messenger from, or to me; as yet they have not been successful. I have received expresses from the nation since I have been here, and from appearance of matters in that quarter, I am led to believe I can settle matters to satisfaction of the general government, if not counteracted by the bad conduct of the people of Georgia. A party of about one hundred men under command of Colo Alexander, and others went from Green County on the 15th instant and on the 20th entered a small Indian town on the Chataoucha river about forty five miles above the Cussetah town killed one Indian man, brought off as prisoners one man and four women. This information I have received from Tim Barnard who is now here, he had it from two Indians who were sent express after him and overtook him on the road the 17th instant, I cannot find that the white party lost any men I cannot discover by what authority these parties are sent out but I think it very unwarrantable. I have wrote Governor Telfair to put a stop to such practices in his State but as usual I have no reply to my request of any notice taken of so serious an application. There is a number of Indians now waiting for me on the Oakmulgee, who came forward with Barnard and Allen to escort me into the towns. I shall have this tomorrow with a guard of Federal troops, and hope to have Colo Gaithers Company as far as the Oakmulgee, from whence I will write you if I have time, by the return of the troops. The conduct of the Spanish agent in the nation is much changed in our favor."

On October 21, Seagrove wrote letters to Secretary of War Henry Knox and Georgia Governor Telfair regarding the prospects for peace with the Creek Nation. Seagrove cautioned that this peace was threatened by an expedition of Georgia militia against the Creek towns. On October 31, Seagrove again wrote to Knox expressing his concern that unless Governor Telfair took actions to prevent the Georgian's raids on the Creek towns

that a general war, which would also include the Choctaws and Chickasaws, would be inevitable. On November 5, Constant Freeman wrote from Fort Fidius to Secretary Knox expressing worries that unless Governor Telfair took steps to prevent the constant white incursions into Creek County, Seagrove's mission to seek peace with the Creeks may be in vain. On November 30, Seagrove reported to Secretary Knox and Governor Telfair on his visit to the Lower Creek towns and his successful negotiations with the Creek chiefs. In these two letters Seagrove reiterated that the transgressions and depredations by both whites and Indians must be halted and the guilty parties punished (Papers of the War Department 1793).

James Seagrove's Journal, October 31-December 10, 1793

Journal by J S Continued

1793

Fort Fidius on the Oconee

Thursday 31st Octbr [October]

Wrote the Secretary of War, and enclosed him four Augusta newspapers in which one published several of my letters to Governor Telfair, and several other publications relating to Indian matters particular. Telfair thanks to the officers and men who destroyed the Oakfuskee village—This serves to prove that it was done by his orders—Charles Weatherford came in today from the Oakmulgee from the Indians—all well there.

Thursday 1st November

Employed in writing, settling accounts & laying out goods to take with me to the nation. Many country people in today, but had orders given that not one of them should enter the Fort, as they grow very violent and threatening. Discovered a plot to be carrying on in the Nation by a person of the name of Jacob Townshend, who appears to be employed by a set of disaffected men in Georgia to keep up the flame of war between the Creeks and the United States, and to prejudice the chiefs of the nation against me so as to have my life taken.

November Day 2nd

Gave receipt to Constant Freeman Agent of the Depart. Of War for Eleven hundred dollars on account of cash ordered me by the Secretary of War for use of my department—last night seven pack horses belonging to Weatherford, Barnard and the Indians were stole[n] from the So. Side of the Oconee, and this morning were traced to Tom's Ford three miles above where the[y] were brought into Georgia. This undoubtedly was done by the worthy settlers of this frontier who are well versed in such things—and make their boast of it. Wrote Brigr. Jared Irwin in answer to his letter to his letter of the 29th. Ulto. Respecting an offer of two hundred mounted militia to escort me to the Creek Nation. I refuse accepting them on account of the offer coming too late &c. A Captain Joseph Carson came to the Fort today—he commanded a party of horse stationed at the Rock Landing—he offered to see me as far as the Oakmulgee. I wrote Carson an order and desired him to ready with Twenty men by the 4th inst. When I should be prepared to set off. This I do, in order to prevent my being robbed and murdered by the banditti of this neighbourhood who are now out on the So. Side of the Oconee with declared intention to that effect—The Mr. Townshend before mentioned having come from the nation under pretense of bringing letters to me—but in fact to let his employers know his success—and with a paper to which he had put the name of some Chiefs—desiring my

removal from office, and one of the hopeful Telfair party placed in my room—I had him brought into the fort—he being unwell I would not put him in the Guardhouse but ordered him to remain in one of the Blockhouses—and to consider himself a prisoner. Had him examined-- he confesses a part of his villainy in presence of Colonel Gaither & Mr. Timothy Barnard. Received several letters from the Nation—all appear to express a wish of my coming among them. Preparing for my departure by sending the goods over the Oconee today and making –them into packs.

Sunday 3

This morning early Jacob Townshend made his escape out of the fort, but having been omitted to give the sentry at the gate orders respecting him—this must serve to confirm his guilt and traitorous practices in my department... Sent in pursuit of him but to no purpose. He crossed the Oconee early—and is I have reason to think will recross above and go to his friend T.F. at Augusta where he may occasion mischief. Wrote my friends General Gunn John King and R. Forsyth on this business, and requested their assistance in case any attempt should be made against me—Four horses are stole[n] this night from the pen which is not fifty yds from the main guard—this reduces our number of pack horse eleven in all that have been stolen. Having been informed that an attempt would be made to take the goods now over the river I sent the garrison flat and took all on board and brought to this side as also all the horses remaining and kept guard on them all night.

Monday 4th

This morning dispatched the flat and goods down the river with a Serjeants Guard to the old Rock Landing fort, from whence Captain Carson advised me to set off—as thereby I stand a better chance of escaping the plunders—as they expect I will go the usual path to the Nation—and by this rout we shall go lower down & through the woods unfrequented. Sent our horses down in the night & crossed there over to prevent discovery, under care of Barnard, Weatherford & Mordecia &c. engaged in settling all my matters and paying all accounts I owed here to Robert Forsythe to day to be forwarded –

Tuesday 5th

At nine this morning left Fort Fidius for the Creek nation, accompanied as far as the Rock Landing by Colonel Henry Gaither Commander of the Federal Troops in Georgia and Major Rich – Brook Roberts. Parted from them about one o'clock—crossed the Oconee opposite Fort Massachusetts [Massachusetts] where I found, Barnard, Weatherford and the remains of our pack horses; also Captain Carson and thirteen Light Horse as my escort. Got about four miles wen [when] it began to rain very heavy and continued all afternoon and night—Camped about ten miles from the Oconee—this wet weather proves unfortunate as I am very unwell with a severe cold and sore throat as is also my Negro servant Jack—Severe fever today and night. The low rich ground on the So. Side of the Oconee where we crossed, is full three miles deep, but greatest part is overflowed when the river is high. Spent a most unpleasant night – most of our guard drunk—heard some of them express themselves unfavorable to our safety—I had every reason to believe that most of them would join any party that may attack us for the sake of plunder.

Wednesday 6th

Continued our journey—the weather clear and dry overhead but very sloppy riding—The country through which we rode to day but very poor chiefly pine barren. Could not make a long journey on account of keeping with our pack horses—carried tonight within ten miles of the Oakmulgee, on an eminence called Boxing Hill well known to the Indians and traders—no information so far—kept a very good lookout tonight—

Thursday Novbr. 7th

At ten this morning—we heard several guns fired which we supposed some of the friendly Indians on the So. Side of the Oakmulgee—This proved to be the case—for in half an hour after we fell in with the river, and discovered two Indians on the opposite bank they were very shy at first—placing themselves behind Trees—and answering very evasive—but on my sending Mr. Barnard down and he giving them the Signal Established—they came boldly forward with several others that had been concealed—The rains had swelled the river so as that we could not ford it; after and a small Indian canoe which we expected to find here, was taken away by the flood—This was very unpleasant situation to be in—for if any party's were after us—we were now exposed—My guard had wasted their provisions, or had not provided sufficient, and were very clamorous to return home—however the Captain & self did prevail on them to remain until next morning—sent Two Indians down along the river who found the cano[e] about Two miles below—sunk and a large hole in her. About two o'clock they brought her up—and after having stopped the hole with Skins and Clay—we employed the remainder of the day in passing over our goods &c. Before the Cano could be brought up—the Indians grew so impatient to be with—that some of them made a large Raft of old Trees—which the[y] crossed on, and others swam the Rivers tho running like a mill sluice and 300 yards wide by 5 oclock I had with me about 30 Chiefs of Different tribes who confessed great joy at seeing me. They did not much like to see our guard—but on explaining the reason for bringing them they were considered as friends, and all restraint laid aside. The Chiefs then considered me under their care and protection and placed themselves all close around my tent during the Night—Among them were many of my old Cussetah friends. Upon enquiry I find that the number of Indians now here waiting for me to be about one hundred and thirty, all chiefs and warriors—camped within 10 yds of the river—

Friday 8th

Wrote Colo Gaithers Capt Freeman & General Irwin, and discharged Captain Carson and his men who escorted me here, to whom I was obliged to give part of my provisions to carry them home—Wrote Mr S above under cover to Gaither— All hands employed from dawn of day until afternoon in passing our horses Goods and baggage—Our Cano being but 14 Inches wide & 25 long—took long time

I crossed the Oakmulgee about ten oclock—immediately on dismissing my slender guard—weather chusing [choosing] to trust myself among my Red friends where there was a probability of being surprised by the Georgians. I was receivd on the So. Bank by

upwards of a hundred friendly Indians—I may now fairly say I am now in the Indian County and with Savages—I hope more hospitable and kind than those I have left—worse they cannot be than some of the Georgia frontier settlers. The Indians swam over all our Horses—without drowning or injuring one—The Indian takes the water with the horse, and conducting him in a flanking direction with a stream steers them to a landing place they are very expert at this business. Gave the Indians a Drink and sent them off to their Camp about five miles – as some of them began to be noisy with the little rum I gave them—It being late and all hand very much fatigued we camped on the edge of the river—Spent a very disagreeable night, as one of the Chiefs to whom Mr. Barnard had brought a Keg of Rum took it to his camp, which the young fellows stole and drank out which set them a looking for more and several of them came to our camp and were noisy and troublesome but after some time went away—without being indulged with more liquor. I do not find any thing lost in my crossing this river.

Saturday 9th

Got our Pack Horses ready by nine and took up our March—This ford on the River I find about 100 Miles above the Confluence of this River and the Oconee, where the[y] form the Alatomaha—there is another ford seven miles above, where General Twiggs crossed and there halted until his return home to Georgia last Summer. I do not find the lands on or near this River better than in Georgia. The pine land comes within 200 yds of the River. Reached the Indian Camp found several of them had marched –crossed Stony Creek 4 miles from the River—and Bigg Toblesofkee 6 miles further. Camped at one oclock with all the Indians at Rooty branch 17 miles from Oakmulgee.

Wrote from this place to Joseph Cornell by Mad Tom of the Cusadas, and desired that on receipt of my letter he would set off to meet me in the Cusetah, Here I distributed the good which I brought out among the Indians except a few which I carry with me to provide provisions on the Road and at our General meeting wherever it may be. Passed a quiet night having this afternoon giving the Chiefs a spirited talk on the behavior of some of their young warriors last night Ins. They all seem very humble and persistent—the Warriors King of the Cussetahs called all the Indians around him-- and reprimanded them severely –They appear that sencible of having Don wrong—and promise never to do the like in future.

Sunday 10th

Early this morning several of our Indians set off home, they being entirely out of provisions. Near this place 37 Uchees & uchees parted from us as Did Mordicai and Barnard Horses for his house on the Flint River. Bad weather and we were out of provisions of every kind—Marched this day 30 miles – through a very poor Pine barren of sand hills until within five miles of Flint River when it turns to Oak and Hickory but very broken ground not equal to the Georgia Oconee Lands—began to Rain abt [about] 11 Oclock and continued all day. Arrived at Flint River at 4 oclock—found the ford impassible—sent 2 Indians for Cano's and provisions to the Buzzards Roost which is only three miles above—the river is abt. 100 yds wide there is rapids or small falls at this place and is the great Treading path ford to the nation. It is called the Islands ford. Gave

the Chiefs a good talk this evening whilst round our Camp Fire—it is the custom of 8 or 10 of the principal people to come and sit and talk with me every night and generally eat supper when we have it to give—Fortunately an Indian killed a Buck to day—or we should gone to bed supperless. Camped within 10 yds of the River on a very rich level piece of ground.

Monday 11th

Detained until Eleven waiting for the Cano's & provision but as there is no appearance of them- we conclude as the River hath fallen about 2 feet last night to put over baggage on the largest Horse and endeavor to cross—Six loads are passed over—one horse fell and wet his load—The Indians at length came with a Cano—a Keg Bread Corn &c crossed the remainder and about one o'clock 8 Indian Women came from the Town with provision which I paid them for in Goods—this proves a very reasonable Supply as we were destitute. About 2 o'clock began our march from the Flint River camped at the Pine Woods about 10 miles distant David Randon a half breed & some Indians came to our Camp to night from the Buzzard Roost to welcome me to their land.

Tuesday 12th

St. off at Nine—began to rain at Twelve, and continued all day—reached a small Cussetah Village at about 25 miles from our last Camp and some distance from the Cussetah Town. This Villg [Village] is on the waters of Town Creek—The land excellent for every kind of cultivation—the Houses made of Clay- are neat and good- proceeded on to another village on same Creek about five miles to the Plantn [Plantation] of the warriors King of the Cussitahs—who is in company—took our quarters with his Majesty—kindly received by the Queen of the Royal Family as well as all the Lady's and Gentlemen of the village who came to see me. Lodged in a New House just built. Served by the Queen and her attendants with Supper which consisted of what they Sofkey made of corn bread in a Mortar by the women until all the husk is taken off—then boiled with lye of ashes—which I find is their standing dish—A large Earthen vessel that could several Gallons is placed in the middle of the floor, round which the company sat on the Ground in the Stile of Taylors—in this vessel are placed two wooden spoons that will hold half a pint each—each person when he chuses [chooses] takes a spoonful & then puts the spoon in the dish for the next to do the same—and so on alternately—We had another dish of great Hominy with beans—Dumplings of Indian Meal & Bread made of Indian Meal Chesnuts & several Potatoes which is very good—They gave us Beef Pork & Venison all boiled together or reather [rather] Stewed- I relished their food very well. The Women are not allowed to eat with the men—or work or even to sit whilst they are eating. The women do all the labour necessary to the support or comfort of the family—the Men are very idle except when hunting. These unfortunate people have a custom never to kill a Dog—by which means the country swarms with them and destroy a vast deal of provisions—I counted upwards of twenty around this house and it is generally the case of all others—Travel 30 mi today.

Wednsy 13

The weather very wet and stormy could not proceed today—Three of our Horses missing—sent out Eight Indians in search of them—offered a Blanket--which brought the horses home in the Evening—Found about 8 miles off Dying to day with George Tool a half breed son of an Irishman who has lived 50 years with this Nation & is now a Treader [Trader] in the Cowetas—George gave us a good fat Hogg with Rice, Potatoes & Bread for Dinner, and as usual Sofkey. This man has about 100 head of Cattle a great number of fine Hoggs and made 1000 Bus Corn this year beside other articles—treated very kindly—A runner arrived from the Cussetahs about 2 oclock brings news that they are very desirous of my arrival. Purchased corn for our Horses & provisions for our people with Callico &c. made the Queen and some others presents which appeared very acceptable—especially some Blankets as we now have a heavy white frost—

Thursday 14

Set off about 11 oclock for the Cussetah Town. The King and all the men of the settlement around were to attend me—but very unfortunately I delivered him a keg of Rum abt [about] 5 Galls as a compliment for his faithful service—He told us to proceed on and he and his men would overtake us—we set off with only three Indians and kept on but no appearance of our King or Compy They breached the Kegg and finished it ere they started, so that I traveled his day with a slender guard, when most required—as we pass within four miles of the Coweta & broken Arrow Towns who are unfriendly. There being no prospect of the Indians coming on—I came to a determination to set off with Mr. Barnard and an Indian for the Cussetah Town-- and let the pack Horses follow as by remaining out another night the unfriendly Indians would have an opportunity of injuring me. I pushed on and came to a very large creek 8 miles from Town—got wet in it—arrived in the Cussetah Town at dark—I find I was not expected before tomorrow when I was to be received in form—a few minutes after arrival it appears to have been known as the Drums beat and a piece of Cannon was fired, with other demonstrations of joy—Took quarters at a house prepared for me by the Chiefs being (as I am told) much the best in Town—it is framed & floored with Planks has a fireplace & Two rooms with piazzas on both sides – it belong to an Old Spaniard from Mexico who has resided here 30 years his name Juan Anthony—no Chiefs or Indians call to see me tonight as it is supposed by them I am fatigued. I find the Distance from the Oconee to be as follows:

Oconee to Oakmulgee 40 miles

Oakmulgee to Flint River 35

Flint R to the Cussetah 70

145 Miles

Friday 15

At dawn of day Three Cannon were fired from the Town Square—And Drums beat, American, Spanish & French colours flying in the Square. I had the American Standard sent me by the Secretary of War on the Top of my quarters—

At Twelve received notice that the Kings and Chiefs with the Warriors were ready to receive me and were then assembled at the Square—I attended with Mr. Barnard—was met about 100 yards from the Square by about 200 Men all Dancing what they call the

Eagle tail Dance and singing and hoping—a bench was placed on which I was seated—they came dancing up to me and brushed my head, face, and breast several times over with Eagles tails- which with them is a kind of consecrating their beloved men—which title I now enjoy—after this I was presented with a very large Conch Shell filled with Black Drink which is made of the Cascena leaves boiled until it is very strong as brown as very strong Bohca Tea—the Custom and manner of Drinking is—to put it to your mouth—and as long as the persons continues a kind of song, you must continue to drink, which generally continues a minute—then you take it from your head—and spit some on the ground this is an invariable rule—the Indians drink a quart of this juice at a time, and it is no sooner down than a part of it is brought up from their bowels which is spouted from their mouth to the distance of yards on the Ground.

After drinking I was taken under the Arms by the Cussetah King and white Bird King and led into the public Square amidst the Singing & whooping of all the Indians—and seated along side of the King on his Cabbin as it is called where I was again presented with Black Drink. The King addressed me in a very agreeable Stile. Congratulating me on arrival and their Country in seeing with them their friend & father. I gave them a talk suited the occasion with which they were much pleased—continued talking and Smoaking [smoking] in the Square for three Hours—All matters appear very agreeable. There were present Cussetah, Cowetas Palachuckley [Palachacolas], Broken Arrow, Usuchees [Osochees], Great Town Uchees & some other Towns. Told them I should not open my business in a general way until the Chiefs of the Upper Towns were present and a full representation of the nation. Several of the Chiefs dined with me to day, and remained until late in the Evening talking over matters—I find it very necessary to prepare the minds of the Chiefs in private meetings for what I wish them to do in public—

Saturday & Monday 16

Went to the Square this morning—took black Drink remaind about an hour—Dined to day with the White bird king by invitation—he lives about a mile from my quarters. Had for dinner stewed Pork, Bread & thin drink or Sofkey—kindly treated—His family appear very decent and clean—He is unwell having the Chicken Pox; Several Strange Indians call today to see me—one a Cherokee who lives with Cowetas.

Sunday 17

Went to the Square the general place of meeting on business—Their Squares are formed by four buildings from 60 to 100 feet long which are called Cabbins—One the Kings and Chiefs site in, another the Old or great Warriors. The Other two are filled by their men of less not—but no boy or woman is suffered to enter the Square whilst the men are there or to know what is going forward. Near the Square is their hot house—this is a large building in the shape of a Sugar Loaf covered with Bark—the Construction very uncommon—Within Seats or Cabbins are placed all around the side of the building and in the Center is placed a large fire as there is but one small door in the building and no window or chimney—it becomes very hot with the small fire round which the men and women Dance almost every night and frequently all night—Indians coming from the

other towns generally sleep here as it is warm. The Hot House in this Town will hold one Thousand Men and not be much crowded.

Monday 18

This day whilst in the Square I received a Letter from Joseph Cornell at the Tucabackees informing me and the Chiefs of the lower Towns that the General meeting of the nation must be held in that Town and desiring our attendance in three days from this time. I consulted with the Chiefs and it was agreed we should attend. Heard a report today that some of the lower Towns people are gone out to war on Georgia. This news I find is brought by Mr. Galphin who passed by this Town in the Evening, but on the opposite side of the Chatahoochee with the War Whoop and went to the broken arrow Town—Sent for the Cussetah King and desired him to send and ascertain this business. The messenger returned in the night and from every act. I believe the whole a Lie of that infamous William [George] Galphin.

Tuesday 19th

Alexr. Cornell & His Brother in law arrived here today from Tucabachee to attend me up. Dined with the Cussetah King with Kinnard and others. Kinnard arrived yesterday. Many strange Indians to see me today. Among which the little Prince of the Broken Arrow & his Uncle fine bones James Dourozeaux from the Cowetas & Mr. Marshall a Trader in same town called. Cornell says matters are tolerable favourable in the Upper Towns—I continue to impress the Indians with favourable ideas of our Country and intentions toward them. Preparing for our journey Tomorrow—by providing Horses & provisions for self and all the Indian that are going—

Wednesday 20

Set off at Twelve o'clock today from the Cussetah Town for the Tucabachee, accompany'd by 25 Chiefs of the lower Creek towns. The Cussetah Town which I have no left is allowed to be the largest in the Creek land—it is situated on a beautiful rich level piece of land on the East side of the Chatahoochee River. The buildings extend for near Three miles—interspersed with plantations—the Land around is very good—This Town can send 600 Warriors into the field. They are the warmest friend the United States have—they are a kind well disposed Indian & great Beggars—their Women are tall, straight, well Shaped—they are kept at great distance by the men—who are exceedingly jealous of the Wives who are punished for any mischief with loss of both Ears as is also the Gallum [Illegible?] The unmarried are not under any such restraints or danger but about Woman dare not be seen speaking in private with a man. I find the Chatahoochee River about 200 yds wide at this place and a handsome Stream—boats that will carry 15 to 20 Tons may come as high as this or further—Traveled about 10 Miles and Camped with the Chiefs all around me.

Thursday 21st

Traveled today upward of 30 Miles apart good and some very bad Lands—Camped with the Indians & passed a pleasant night—Several Chiefs joined us today,

Friday 22nd

Camp 20 Miles from the Tucabachees Town Upper Creeks. This morning at Sunrise sent off an Indian with a letter to Joseph Cornell in the Town informing of our being here. At 2 O'clock met the same Express returning with information that I must quarter at the house of Jos Cornell on the South bank of the Tallapoosa River about two miles from the Tucabachee Town. I was met about half a mile from the crossing place of the river by the Mad Dog and Mr. Cornell who received me with marks of friendship, and conducted me over the river in a very small tottering Cono [Canoe]—which was paddled by his Majesty landed and conducted to my quarters about 100 yards from the river. The Tallapoosee at this place is about 150 yd wide—with steep banks on either side—those on the East are 100 feet above the water—we passed through a body of most excellent land to day and several fine Creeks of runs of Water—this Country abounds with fine streams for Mills. Informed by the Mad Dog that I shall be received in form tomorrow in the Square.

Saturday 23^d

At nine I received notice that the Chiefs were assembled and ready to receive me in the Square or Town House. Went there attended by Kinnard—Alex Cornell & Jos Cornell the interpreter—the ceremony of reception much the same as at the Cussetahs- except that they did not dance. I was taken under the Arms by the Mad Dog & King of the Town and Conducted through a great Crowd of Indians into the Square and Seated on a Cabbin on the right hand of the King. The Mad Dog addressed the audience on the Occasion informing of my rank consequence & & and that all respect ought to be paid me as the representative of a great nation—After drinking Black drink I delivered an introductory talk of some length—apologized for not entering on business today, as all the Chiefs from distant parts of the Nation are not yet arrived. They appear well pleased with what I have said—I find that Townshend the Agent of the party against me in Georgia has been doing me all the injury in his power in the Town of the W [White] Lieutenant and around—but I hope soon to upset all their plans—by opposing truth to falsehood—Talked several hours last evening with Joseph Cornell respecting the death of his Son David who was murdered on St. Marys last Summer when coming with letters to me from this Nation. The family are much exasperated and I fear it will be a business very difficult to settle. Heard today that the White Lieutenant son and two other Indians were killed near the great licks on Cumberland frontier by the white people of that Country—this I fear may detain the Lieut. From attending the meeting. The Town of Tucabachee is situated on a beautiful plain of Rich land on the West side of the Tallapoosee River—this plain I am told extend along the river for 20 Miles and from 2 to 4 Miles Deep which is all settled & planted in the Indian Stile [Style]— Opposite to this Town on the East side of the River is the Town and Settlements of the Big Tallassies—About Twenty Towns are represented to day—Introduced to all the Chiefs—Left the Square at Twelve and went to my quarters. Received very alarming accounts of plots against my life by those around me but hope to be able to avert the designs of my Enemy's—The greatest

difficulty's I have to surmount is owing to the villany of the disaffected in Georgia—who have gone so far as to employ assassins in this land to destroy me—
Gave a talk at my quarters this Evening to upwards of Twenty of the leading Chiefs preparatory to my business—Accounts received & confirmed of the death of the Lieutenants Son & two others, by the Cumberland people—

Sunday 24

A Very fine Frosty morning—Visited by the Mad Dog & [o]thers on their way to the Square. Arranged matters respecting the Death of David Cornell with his Father family and friends—no business today, owing to the White Lieutenant not arriving in time. He and several chiefs from the Upper Towns arrived this Evening. The Traitor and Georgia Agent Townshend—also came to my quarters this Evening—but I banished him therefore as soon as discovered and gave out orders that he should never appear where I was—Several white Traders called on me to day—I find them a low bred vitrious set of Men—Envyng and [Illegible?] the Characters of each other—and buryng themselves in public matters and giving improper advice to the Savages—as all these Traders are dependant on Panton &c it gives him an opportunity of making use of them against the peace & Interest of the U.S.—But if Peace can be established most of these Traders would prefer going to Georgia for their Supplies—as Panton imposes on them.

Monday 25th

Captain Pedro Olivar the Spanish Agent arrived at my quarters this Evening—on arrival as he says—Commenced my public Talks today in the Square continued them about Six hours—during which I said everything I thought just and right, and that could favour the cause of my country and bring these wretched Savages to a sence of their real interest and duty—I find what I said has made great impression on their minds—they seem very much alarmed at their situation and appear well content with the truths I have told them and promise to give me an Answer Tomorrow—matters so far seems to go pretty well. I had a very formal meeting with the White Lieutenant in the Square this Morning—He came from his Seat to embrace me—I met him in the middle of the Square when he took me in his arms where he held me for some time then took me by both arms, addressed me in a very nervous manly stile highly complimentary to my Country and self. This continued for a quarter of an hour when he had done I replied as well as I could—The audience were very attentive and when we finished they expressed much satisfaction at what passed between the Lieutenant & self—this man is a half Breed—he is very fair for such is upward of the Six feet and his influence seem much superior to any man in the Creek Nation—His general character is that of being a great friend to all white People. I have reason to believe that to him I ow[e] my life at this moment.

Tuesday 26th

I went to the Square after Black Drink I received the answer to the representatives of the nation to part of the talk delivered yesterday—they agreed to deliver up to me all prisoners in their nation belonging to the United States—the Spanish Agent attended the talks today and expressed himself well pleased with my conduct and gave the Indians a

talk confirming in some degree what I had said. He told me that His nation and mine were good friends & that his order were to be in friendship with my Country & me. This had a good effect – as it opened the Eyes of the Indians and proved to them that the preceding conduct of the Spanish governor of the Floridas and their Agents in Advising them to War against the Americans was improper. They mention this and expressed their surprize at the change. Adjourned to meet again tomorrow morning Several of the Chiefs dined with me to day—I loose no opportunity of talking with them—

Wednesday 27

Went to the Square at Ten this Morning, found all the Chiefs in Council, they continued in the Hot House deliberating on matters until three in the afternoon, when they returned an Answer to my demand. The proposed of which is that they are determined to live in peace and friendship with the United States—to Deliver to me all White Prisoners in their Nation—to return all Negroes, Horses & Cattle taken from Georgia for Twelve months past—to furnish with death two or more of their first agressors on St. Marys in March last. All acts of Hostility & depredation on either side to cease from this day; And all other matters to remain as settled by the Treaty of New York.” Matters being so far settled—Three Commissioners were appointed to see these things carried into effect as well as to arrange all other matters with me—These Men are the White Lieutenant of the Oakfuskees, the Mad Dog of the Tucabachees and Hallowing King of the Cowetas—who are ordered to attend me when I require. This being the Season for their going into the woods on their hunts they request I will allow them to return home, except the three before mentioned. They agreed to send runners to all the Towns and to all parties that are gon[e] ahunting to inform that all is peace, and not to injure the Persons or property of the people of the United States. They request I will send off express to the President of the U.S. and Governor of Georgia with this news—and also that I will write Governor Blount to restrain his people from making war on the Creeks—and more encroaching on their lands otherwise a general Warrant take place. They desire I will inform the President that the Cumberland people are many miles beyond the limits established and continue advancing year after year on the Creeks hunting ground between Cumberland and the Yazoo Rivers. This day a Treaty was read by the Spanish Agent in the Square and after a manner explained to the Chiefs—this Treaty was formed 28th Octr last at the Walnut Hills, between the Spaniards, Creeks, Chocktaws, Chickasaws & Cherokees—it is offensive and Defensive, and contains Nineteen Articles some of which are very injurious to the U States and to this Nation—There was not a single real Creek Indian at the Treaty—a few Alabama fellows of no consequence and went and no others—not a Cherokee was there however. The Treaty appears all compleat as if done by the respective nations. The Spanish Agent got the Chiefs of the Nation to sign a ratification of the Treaty—which I am convinced they did not understand—and will be displeased when they know the consequence.

Thursday 28th

This morning most of the Chiefs take their leave of me being on their return home. Gave them good advice and provisions for their journey’s—Employed in writing the Secretary

of War—Governor of Georgia and several others in Georgia. Most of the Indian Traders return home today—

Friday 29th

This day engaged with the three Commissioners appointed by the Nation. Agreed on several matters necessary to carry into effect the general business—everything between us perfectly agreeable so far. Kinnard left me this morning & James Akin the latter go's express to St. Mary's with the news & my letters to the Secretary of War to be forwarded by my Brother—Today Mr. Olivar the Spanish Agent took his leave and set off for his home at the Tuskegees—during his stay he behaved very genteel & with good Conduct—

Satdy 30

Employed all this day in Writing the Secretary of War, Governor of Georgia & others on public business—All is quiet today—the Indians all gon[e], except those belonging to this town, a number of whom are constantly around me gaping as if I was something uncommon—this is the land to acquire a sufficient share of patience in. Old Mr. Job-- had he been here would not have persevered even had he been free from outward sores.

Sunday 1st Decr 93

Employed in writing as yesterday & preparing duplicates—of my letters nothing new—

Monday 2

This morning at Ten—Mr. James Mr. Holmes set off for Mr. Barnards on Flint River with my dispatches. Mr. Barnard is to forward the Originals by the R. Landing & the Duplicates by Fort Telfair on the Altamaha to be forwarded as directed—

Tuesday 3

Very disagreeable weather—Rain & wind employed writing nothing new

Wednesday 4

Weather clear cold and dry—crossed the Talapoosa River after brakefast [breakfast] on a visit to Alexr Cornell, who lives on a very pleasant place on the river side. Mr Cornell is a very worthy half breed—he has had a very neat small house with two rooms in which I intend to reside after some time—but as my business lays chiefly with his uncle and he being a particular old whimsical fellow I must not offend him. Sent out Indians today in different directions in order to bring in the White prisoners.

Thursday 5th

Employed in writing a long letter to Governor Blount which I do at request of this Nation. Sent a copy of the same to the Secty of War. This evening a Mr. Reilley a Trader in the Kialeegees brought me in a young woman named Elsey Thompson who was made a prisoner two years past on the frontier of Cumberland—and her Father, Mother and sister were killed & she wounded. Reilley gave the Indians 200 Dollars to redeem her

from Slavery. She was born in Maryland, lived in Virginia and last in Cumberland 8 years before taken Age 21 ys

Friday 6

Very disagreeable weather with Thunder & Lightning which continues all night.

Satdy 7th

Wm. Gray set off this day with my Letter to Govr Blount—he is to go through the Cherokees escorted by a Creek Indian as far as necessary. I am to pay Gray £20 Stg [Sterling] for this service. The Talapoosee River rose last night 15 feet perpendicl [perpendicular].

Sunday 8

Engaged the Mad Dog and head Warrior to remain all winter and not go out ahunting—as I may want their service in case of unfavorable news or any disturbance—I am to pay them equal to their hunts. This Evening a Mr. Van a white settler in the Cherokees called on me—this man came in with young Teat a nephew of McGillivrays, who had been at school in Phila[delphia]—This man gave me much information respecting the dispute between Govr Blount's people and Cherokees—The account he gives is very unfavourable to the Govr & his people—He says the Cherokees are very desirous of peace—and wish to come and see me—I encouraged 2 or 3 of their principal men to come.

Monday 9

Writing and preparing dispatches for the Secty of War. Engaging Pack Horses to go to Fort Fidius to bring up blankets and strouds to give these people who are naked—I intend sending 40 Horses. Today a female child was brought to me about three years old It was taken when its Father, Mother and brother & a Negro Wench were killed in May last in the fork of the Oconee and Apalachee—This Child cannot speak a word of English—but prattles & sings Indian and is in every degree one except its colour—I have paid about fifty Dollars to the fellow who had it and who considered it as his Slave. It was taken by a gang that the Old Tallasse king sent out against Georgia. This man who formerly pretended friendship to the U.S. is now the Greatest Enemy the[y] have in this County.

Tuesday 10

Nothing New. The Indians mostly gone into the woods – for the winter.

To the Honble Pierce Butler

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Appendix I. Manuscript Images.

1793

Journal by J. S. continued

Fort Tidwell
on the Ocean
Thursday 31st
Oct^r

Wrote the Secretary of War, and enclosed him four Augustas News papers in which are published several of my Letters to Governor Telfair, and several other publications relating to Indian Matters—particular Telfair's thanks to the Officers and Men who destroyed the Oakfushee Village—This serves to prove that it was done by his Orders—Charles Wetherford came in to day from the Oakmulgee from the Indians— all well there.

Friday 1st
November

Employed in Writing, settling Accounts & laying out food to take with me to the Nation. Many Country people in to day, but had orders given that not one of them should enter the Fort, as they grow very insolent and threatening. Discovered a plot to be carrying on in the Nation by a person of the name of Jacob Fournisher, who appears to be employed by a set of desperate Men in Georgia to ~~keep~~ keep up the flame of War between the Creeks and the United States, and to prejudice the Minds of the Nation against me—So as to have my life taken.

ber }
ay 2 } gave a receipt to constant Freeman Agent of the Dep^t
of War for Eleven hundred Dollars on account of Cash ordered
me by the Secretary of War for use of my Department. —
Last Night Seven Pack Horses belonging to Wetherford,
Barnard and the Indians were stole from this Side
of the Oconee, and this morning were traced to Tom
Ford three miles above where they were brought into
Georgia. This undoubtedly is done by the worthy
settlers of this frontier, who are well versed in such
things - and make their boast of it.

Wrote Brig General Jared Irvin in answer to his
Letter of the 29th Ult^o respecting an offer of Two hundred
Mounted Militia to escort me to the Creek Nation.
I refuse accepting them on account of the offer coming
too late &c.

Captain Joseph Carson came to the
Fort to day - he commands a party of Horse Stationed
at the Rock Landing - he offers to see me as far as
the Oahmuelgee. I wrote Carson an order and desired
him to be ready with Twenty men by the 4th Inst^o
when I should be prepared to set off. This I do, in

in order to prevent my being Robbed and Murdered
by the banditti of this neighbourhood who are now
out on the ² Side of the Osceola with declared intention
to that effect. The Mr Townshend before mentioned
having come from the Nation under pretence of bring-
-ing letters to me - but in fact to let his employers
know his success - and with a paper to which he
had put the Names of some Chiefs - desiring
my removal from office, and one of the hopeful
Telfair party placed in my room - Had him
brought into the Fort - he being unwell I would not
put him in the Guard House, but ordred him to
remain in one of the Blockhouses - and to consider
himself a prisoner. Had him examined - he confesses
to a part of his Conspiracy in presence of Col Gaither &
Mr Timothy Barnard. Receiv several letters
from the Nation - all appear to express a wish
of my coming among them. Preparing for
my departure - by sending the goods over the
Osceola to day - and making them into packs -

unday 3 This Morning early Jacob Townshend made his
escape out of the Fort, he having been omitted to give
the sentry at the Gate order respecting him—This must
serve to confirm his guilt and Traitorous practices in
my Department: sent in pursuit of him but to no purpose
He crossed the River early and is I have reason to think
will recross above and go to his friend—T—f— at Augusta
where he may occasion mischief. Wrote my friends
General Gunn, John King and R Horsyth on this
business, and requested their assistance in case any
attempt should be made against me—
Four Horses are stole this night from the Pen
which is not 50 y^{ds}—from the main guard—this reduces
our number of pack Horse Eleven in all that have been
stolen. Having been informed that an attempt would
be made to take the goods now over the River—sent the
Garrison Flat and took all on board and brought to this
side as also all the Horses remaining and kept
Guard on them all night.

Monday 4th This Morning dispatched The Flat and Goods down the
River with a sergeants Guard to the Old Rock Landing Fort,
from whence Capt Carron advises me to set off - as thereby
I stand a better chance of escaping the plunderers - as they
expect I will go the usual path to the Nation - and by
this rout we shall go lower down & through the woods
unfrequented. Sent our horses down in the night &
crossed them over to prevent Oj's covary, under care of
Barnard, Wetherford & Mordicai &c. engaged in settling
all my matters and paying all accounts. I owed here
public or private - sent several letters under cover
to Robert Forsyth to day to be forwarded.

Tuesday 5th At nine this Morning left Fort Tidius for the Creek
Nation, accompanied as far as the Rock Landing
by Col. Henry Gaither Commander of the Federal Troops
in Georgia and Maj^r Rich^d Brook Roberts. parted
from them about One o'clock - crossed the Oconee
opposite Fort Massachusetts where I found, Barnard,
Wetherford and the remains of our pack Horses; also
Capt Carron and Thirteen Light Horse as my escort.

Goty.

5th Got about four Miles when it began to rain very heavy and continued all the afternoon and night - Camped about Ten Miles from the Oconee - This wet weather proves unfortunate as I am very unwell with a severe cold and sore Throat, as is also my Negro servant Jack - Severe fever to day and night. The low rich ground on the S^o Side of the Oconee where we crossed, is full three Miles deep, but greatest part is overflowed when the River is high. Spirit almost unpleasant night - most of our Guard drunk & heard some of them express themselves unfavourable to our safety - I have every reason to believe that most of them would join any party that may attack us for the sake of plunder.

Wednesday Continued our journey - the weather clear and dry over head but very sloppy riding - The country through which we rode to day but very poor chiefly Pine barren. could not make along journey on account of keeping with our Packhorses - Camped tonight within Ten Miles of the Ockmulgee, on an eminence called Boxing Hill well known to the Indians and Traders - no indians so far - kept a very good look out to Night

Nov: 7
Thursday

At Ten this Morning - we heard several Guns fired which we supposed some of the friendly Indians on the S^o side of the Oakmulgee - this prov'd to be the case for in half an hour after we fell in with the River; and disco-
-vered Two Indians on the opposite bank - They were very shy at first - placing themselves behind Trees - and answering very evasive - but on my sending Mr. Barnard down and he giving them the signal established - they came boldly forward with several others that had been concealed - The rains had swelled the River so as that we could not ford it; and a small Indian canoe which we expected to find here, was taken away by the flood - This was a very unpleasant situation to be in - for if any party's were after us - we were now exposed - My guard had wasted their provisions, or had not provided sufficient, and were very clamorous to return home - however the Capt & self did prevail on them to remain until next Morning - Sent Two Indians down along the River who found the canoe about Two miles below - sunk, and a large hole in her - about 2 O'clock they brought her up - and after having stoped the hole with Skins and Clay - we employed the remainder of the day in packing over
our

our goods &c. Before the Cano could be brought up - the Indians
grew so impatient to be with me, that some of them made a
raft of old Trees which they crossed on, and others swam the
River the running like a mill sluice and 300 yards wide by
5 o'clock had with me about 30 Chiefs of Different tribes who
expressed great joy at seeing me. They did not much like to
see our guard - but on explaining the reason for bringing them
they were considered as friends, and all restraint laid aside.
The Chiefs then considered me under their care and protection
and placed themselves all close round my Tent during the
Night - Among them were many of my old Cusitah friends.
Upon enquiry I find that the number of Indians now here
waiting for me to be about One hundred & thirty all Chiefs
and Warriors - camped within 10² of the River -

Friday 8th Wrote Colo. Gaither, Cap^t Freeman & General Irwin, and
discharged Cap^t Carson and his men who escorted me here,
to whom I was obliged to give part of my provisions to
carry them home - Wrote Mr S alone under cover to
Gaither - all hands employed from dawn of day until
afternoon in passing our Morses goods & baggage - Our
cano being but 14 Inches wide & 25 long - took long time

Dropped the Oakmulgee about 10 O'clock - immediately
on dismissing my slender guard - rather chusing to
trust myself among my Red friends than where there
was a probability of being surpris'd by the Georgians -
I was receiv'd on the S^t Bank by upwards of a hundred
Friendly Indians - I may now fairly say I am now
in the Indian Country and with Savages - I hope more
hospitable and kind than those I have left - worse they
cannot be than some of the Georgia frontiers Settlers.
The Indians swam all our Horses over - without
drowning or injuring one - The Indian takes the
Water with the Horse, and conducting him in a flanking
direction with the Stream steer them to a landing
place they are very expert at this business. Gave the
Indians a Drink and sent them off to their Camp about
five Miles - as some of them began to be noisy with the
little Rum I gave them - It being late and all hand very
much fatigued we camp'd on the edge of the River -
Spent a very disagreeable Night, as one of the Chiefs to
whom Mr Barnard had brought a Keg of Rum took it
to his Camp, which the young fellows stole and drank
out, which set them a looking for more - and several of
them

Nov^r.

They came to our camp and were noisy and troublesome
but after some time went away without being indulged
with more liquor. I do not find any thing lost in cross-
ing this River.

Saturdayth Got our Pack Horses ready by nine and took up our
March— This ford on the River I find about 100 miles
above the confluence of this River and the Oconee, above
the form the Alatomaha— There is another ford
seven miles above, where General Twiggs, crossed and
there halted until his return home to Georgia last
Summer. I do not find the lands on or near the
River better than in Georgia. The pine land comes
within 200 yards of the River. Reached the Indian
Camp, found several of them had marched— Crossed
Creek 4 miles from the River—and Bigg Tolla's place
6 miles farther. Camped at one o'clock with all
the Indians at Nooty branch 17 miles from Cahoon's place.
Wrote from this place to Joseph Cornell by
Mad Tom of the Fusadas, and desired that on receipt
of my Letter he would set off to meet me in the future
Nov

Here I distributed the good which I brought out among
the Indians except a few which I carry with me to
provide provisions on the Road and at our General
Meeting wherever it may be. Past a quiet night
having this afternoon given the Chiefs a private Talk
on the behavior of some of their Young Warriors last Conf.
They all seem very humble and penitent. The Warriors
King of the Susetahs called all the Indians around
him and reprimanded them severely - they appear
sensible of having don wrong - and promise never to
do the like in future.

¹⁰ Sunday: Early this morning several of our Indians set off home, they
being entirely out of provisions. Near this place 37 Mules &
Asses parted from us as did Mordicai & Barnards
Horses for his house on Flint River. Bad Weather and
we are out of provisions of every kind - Marched this
day 30 Miles - through a very poor Pine barren &
sand hills, until within five miles of Flint River when
it turns to Oak & Hickory but very broken ground - not
equal to the Georgia Decree Lands - began to Rain
at 11 o'clock and continued all day. Arrived at Flint

Thirt River at 4 o'clock - found the ford impossible - sent
Two Indians for canoes and provisions to the Burgard's Roost
which is only three miles above - The River here is abt
100 y^d wide - There is rapids or small falls at this place
and is the great Treading path ford to the Station - it
is called the Islands ford. Gave the Queps a good
talk this Evening whilst round our Camp Fire - it is
the custom of 8 or 10 of the principal people to come
and sit and talk with me every night and generally
eat supper when we have it to give - fortunately
an Indian killed a Buck to day or we should
go to bed superflous. Camped within 10 y^d of the River
on a very rich level piece of ground -

Monday 11 Detained until Eleven waiting for the canoes & provisions
but as there is no appearance of them - we conclude as
the River hath fallen about 2 feet last night to put our
baggage on the largest Horse and endeavour to cross -
Six loads are pooped over - one Horse fell and lost his load -
The Indians at length came with a canoe - a Hog - Bread
Corn &c. crossed the remainder and about one o'clock
8 Indian Women came from the Town with provisions

which I paid them for in goods - this proves a very
seasonable supply as we were destitute. About 2
o'clock began our march from the Flint River
camped in the Pine Woods about 10 miles distant.
David Randon a half breed & some Indians came
to our camp to night from the Buzzard Roost to
welcome me to their land.

Tuesday 12th A. off at nine - began to rain at Twelve, and continued
all day - reached a small Suspetah Killage at about 25 miles from
our last camp, and same distance from the Suspetah Town. This Kill is
in the waters of Town Creek - the land excellent for every kind of cul-
-tivation - the Houses made of clay - are neat and good - proceeded
on to another Killage on same creek about five miles to the Place
of the Warriors King of the Suspetahs - who is in company - took
our quarters with His Majesty - kindly received by the Queenly
Royal Family as well as all the Lady's and Gentlemen of the
Killage who came to see me. Lodged in a new House just built.
Served by the Queen and her attendants with Supper, which
consisted of what they call Soffey - made of Corn beat in a mortar
by the Women until all the husk is taken off - then boiled with lye
of Ashes - which I find is their standing dish - A large Earthen vessel
that will hold several Gallons is placed in the middle of the
floor

floor round which the Company set on the ground in the
Hole of Teylor - in this vessel are placed two wooden spoons
that will hold half a pint each - each person when he chuses
takes a spoonful & then puts the spoon in the dish for the next
to do the same - and so on alternately - We had another dish
of great Hominy with beans - Dumplings of Indian Meal &
Bread made of Indian Meal, Chesnuts & Sweet Potatoes which
is very good - They gave us Beef Tork & Venison all boiled
together or rather stewed - I liked their food very well.
The Women are not allowed to eat with the Men - or even to
sit whilst they are eating. The Women do all the labour
necessary to the support or comfort of the family - the Men
are very idle except when hunting. These unfortunate
people have a custom never to kill a Dog - by which means
the country swarms with them and destroy a vast deal
of provisions - I counted upwards of Twenty around this house
and it is generally the case at all others - Friville 30th May

Woods } 13 The Weather very Wet and Stormy could not proceed to
day - Three of our Horses missing - Sent out Eight Indians
in search of them - offered a Blanket - which brought the
Horses home in the Evening - found about 8 miles off
Dined to day with George Tool a half breed son of an

Irishman who has lived 50 years within this Nation & is
now a Reader in the Powetah - George gave us a good fat
Hogg with Rice, Potatoes & Bread for Dinner, and as
usual Soffey. This man has about 100 head of fattle
a great number of fine Hogs - and made 1000 Buttern
this year beside other Articles - treated very kindly -
A runner arrived from the Susetahs about 2 o'clock
bring news that they are very desirous of my arrival.
purchased Corn for our Horses & provisions for our people
with fallis &c. made the Queen and some others pre-
sents which appeared very acceptable - especially
some Blankets as we now have a heavy white frost -

Thursday
14

Set off about 11 o'clock for the Susetah Town. The
King and all the Men of the Settlement around were
to attend me - but very unfortunately I delivred him
a Hegg of Rum ab' 5 Gall. as a compliment for his faithful
service - He told us to proceed on and he and his Men
would overtake us - We set off with only three Indians
and kept on - but no apperance of our King or Comp.
They broached the Hegg and finished here they Staid,
so that I traveled this day with a slender guard

guard, when most required - as we pass within four miles of
The Towels & broken Arrow Towns who are unfriendly -
There being no prospect of the Indians coming on - I made
a determination to set off with Mr. Barnard and an Indian
for the Sussetah Town - and let the pack Horses follow - as
by remaining out another night the unfriendly Indians
would have an opportunity of injuring me. I pushed
on and came to a very large Creek 8 miles from Town - got
wet in it - arrived in the Sussetah Town at dark - I find
I was not expected before tomorrow, when I was to be received in
form - a few minutes after arrival it appears to have been here
as the Drums beat and a piece of Cannon was fired, with
other demonstrations of joy - Took quarters at a House
prepared for me by the Chiefs being (as I am told) much the
best in Town - it is framed & floored with Planks has a
fire place & Two rooms with piazzas on both sides - it
belongs to an Old Spaniard from Mexico who has resided
here 30 years his name Juan Anthony - No Chiefs or
Indians call to see me to night as it is supposed by them
I am fatigued - I find the Distance from Coonce to be
as follows

Coonce to Oakmulgee	40 miles
Oakmulgee to Flint River	35
Flint R. to the Sussetahs	70
	<hr/>
	145 miles

Fridayth At dawn of day Three cannon were fired from the Town Square - and Drums beat - American, Spanish & French Colours flying in the square. I had the American Standard sent me by the Secretary of War on the Top of my quarters -

At Twelve received notice that the Kings and Chiefs with the Warriors were ready to receive me, and were then assembled at the square - I attended with Mr Barnard - was met about 100 yards from the square by about 200 Men all Dancing what they call the Eagle-tail Dance - and singing and hooping - a bench was placed on which I was seated - they came Dancing up to me and brushed my head, face, and breast several times over with Eagle tails - which with them is a kind of consecrating their beloved Men - which title I know enjoy - I hope in sincerity - After this I was presented with a very large fork Shell, filled with Black Drink - which is made of the Fascina laves boiled - until it is very strong & as brown as very strong Bohea Tea - the custom and manner of Drinking is - to put it to your mouth - and as long as the pursons continues a kind of song, you must continue to drink, which generally continues a minute - then you take it from your head - and spit some on the ground - this is an invariable rule - The Indians drink a
quart

quart of this juice at a time, and it is no sooner down
then a part of it is brought up from their bowels which
is spouted from their mouth to the distance of yards on
the ground.

After drinking I was taken under the
Arms by the Sissetah Thing, and White Bird Thing and led
into the public square amidst the singing & ~~how~~ whooping
of all the Indians - and seated alongside of the Thing on
his labbin as it is called - where I was again presented with
Black Drink. The Thing addressed me in a very agreeable
style - congratulating me on arrival, and their Country in
seeing with them their friend & father. I gave them
a talk suited to the occasion with which they were much
pleased - continued talking and smoking in the square
for three hours - All matters appear very agreeable.
There were present - Sissetahs, Lowetas, Palachuckley,
Broken Arrow, Muschees, Great Iron Muschees - & some other
Towns - Told them I should not open my business in
a general way - until the Chiefs of the Upper Towns were
present and a full representation of the Nation. Several
of the Chiefs dined with me to day, and remained until
late in the Evening talking over matters - find it very
necessary to prepare the minds of the Chiefs in private
meetings for what I wish them to do in public

Saturday
Sunday 16 Went to the Square this Morning - took black Drink ^{remains}
about an hour - Dined to day with the White birding
by invitation - belives about a mile from my quarters -
Had for Dinner stewed Pork, Bread & thundunk or
Sofhey - kind by treated - His family appear very decent
and clean - He is unwell having the Quicken Pox; Several
strange Indians call to day to see me - one affrohee who
lives in the lowtas.

Sunday 17 Went to the Square the general place of meeting on
business - Their Squares are formed by four buildings
from 60 to 100 feet long which are called Cabbins - One
the Kings and Chiefs sit in, another the Old or great
Warriors - the other two are filled by their Men of less
Note - but no boy or Woman is suffered to enter the square
whilst the men are there or to know what is going forward.
Near the Square is their hot house - this is a large building
in the shape of a sugar loaf covered with Bark - the construction
very uncommon - within seats or cabbins are placed all round
the side of the building and in the center is placed a large fire
as there is but one small door in the building and no window or
chimney - it becomes very hot with a small fire round which
the Men and Women Dance almost every Night, and frequent
- by all Night - Indians coming from other towns generally sleep here
as it is warm.

The Hot House in this Town will hold one thousand men
and not be much crowded.

Monday 18 } This day whilst in the Square I received a letter from Joseph
Cornell at the Tusabackees informing me and the Chiefs
of the lower Towns that the General Meeting of the Nation
must be held in that Town - and desiring our attendance
in three days from this time. I consulted with the Chiefs
and it was agreed we should attend. Heard a report
to day that some of the lower Towns people are gone out to
War on Georgia - this news I find is brought by his father
who passed by this Town in the Evening, but on the opposite
side of the Tusabackee Chatahoochee with the War whoops
and went to the Broken Arrow Town - Sent for the Susetah
Thing and desired him to send and ascertain this business.
The Messenger returned in the night and from every ad.
I believe the whole adie of that infamous William Galphin.
Tuesday 19th Alex^r Cornell & his Brother in law arrived here to day from
Tusabackee to attend me up. Dined with the Susetah
Thing with Menard and others. Menard arrived yesterday
Many strange Indians to see me to day - among which
the little Prince of the Broken Arrow & his Uncle fine horses

James Dourozeaux from the fowles & W Marshall a
Trader in same town called. Cornell says matters are
tolerable favourable in the Upper Towns - I continue
to impress the Indians with favourable ideas of our
Country and intentions toward them. preparing for
our journey Tomorrow by providing Stores & provisions
for self and all the Indian that are going -

Wednesday
20

} Set off at Twelve o'clock today from the Cussetah Town
for the Tacabachee, accompany'd by 25 Chiefs of the Lower
Creek Towns. The Cussetah Town which I have now
left is allowed to be the largest in the Creek Land - it is situated
on a beautiful rich level piece of land on the ~~the~~ East side
of the Chatahoochee River - the buildings extend for near
Three Miles interspersed with plantations - The Land around
is very good - This Town can send 600 Warriors into the field
they are the warmest friend the United States have - they are
a kind well disposed Indian to great Beggars - Their Women
are tall, straight, well Shaped - they are kept at a great distance
by the Men - who are exceeding Jealous of their Wives - who are
punished for any misstep with loss of both Ears - as is also the fallen
The Unmarried are not under any such restraints or danger
but abound Woman - dare not be seen speaking in private with a Man -

20th I find the Katakoochee River about 200 y^d wide at this place and a handsome Stream - boats that will carry 15 to 20 Tons may come as high as this or further - Traveled about 10 Miles and Camped with the Chiefs all round me

Thursday 21st Traveled to day upwards of 30 Miles apart good and some very bad Lands - Camped with the Indians & passed a pleasant Night - Several Chiefs joined us to

day.
Friday 22nd: Camp 20 Miles from the Tucabachee Town Upper Creek This morning at Sunrise sent off an Indian with a letter to Joseph Cornell in the Town informing of our being here At 2 o'clock met the same Express returning with information that I must quarter at the house of Mr Cornell on the south bank of the Tallapoosie River about two Miles below the Tucabachee Town. I was met about half a mile from the crossing place of the River by the Mad Dog and Mr Cornell who received me with marks of friendship, and conducted me over the river in my small tottering Cano - which was paddled by his Majesty Landed and conducted to my quarters about 100 yards from

the river. The Salapoosee at this place is about 150 yds
wide with steep banks on each side - those on the East
are 100 feet above the water - We passed through a body
of most excellent land to day & several fine creeks &
runs of water - this country abounds with fine streams
for Mills - Informed by the Mad Dog, that I shall
be received in form Tomorrow in the Square

Saturday
25th At Nine I received notice that the Chiefs were assembled
and ready to receive me in the Square or Town House -
Went there attended by Hinard, Alex Cornell & Jo Cornell
the Interpreter - The Ceremony of reception much the
same as at the Suptatsh - except that they did not dance.
I was taken under the arms by the Mad Dog & King of the
Town and conducted through a great crowd of Indians
into the Square and seated on a fubbin on the right
hand of the King - The Mad Dog addressed the
Audience on the occasion informing of my rank & force -
= some of us and that all respect ought to be paid me
as the representative of a great Nation - After drinking
Black drink I delivered an introductory Talk of some
length - apologized for not entering on business today.

29. day, as all the ships from distant parts of the Nation are not yet arrived. They appear well pleased with what I have said - I find that Townshend the Agent of the party against me in Georgia has been doing me all the injury in his power in the Town of the W^o Lieutenant and around - but I hope soon to over set all their plans - by opposing truth to falsehood.

Talked several hours last evening with Joseph Cornell respecting the death of his Son David who was murdered on t^e Mary's last Summer when coming with letters to me from this Nation. The family are much exasperated and I fear it will be a business very difficult to settle. Heard to day that the white Lieutenants son and two other Indians are killed near the great licks on Cumberland frontier by the white people of that Country - This I fear may detain the Doctor from attending the meeting. The Town of Tucabachee is situated on a beautiful plain of Creech land on the West side of the Talapoosee River - This plain I am told extend along the river for 20 Miles & from 2 to 4 M^o deep which is all settled & planted in the Indian style.

Opposite to this Town on the East side of the River is
the Town and settlements of the Big Tallapoosa—
About Twenty Towns are represented to day— Introduced
to all the Chiefs— left the square at Twelve and went to
my quarters. Received very alarming accounts of
plots against my life by those around me— but
hope to be able to avert the designs of my Enemy's— The
greatest difficulty's I have to surmount is owing to the
Villiany of the deposed King of Georgia— who have gon so far
as to employ assassins in this land to destroy me—

Gave a talk at my quarters this
Evening to upwards of Twenty of the leading Chiefs
preparatory to my business— Accounts received & con-
-firmed of the death of the Lieutenant's Son & two others,
by the Cumberland people—

Sunday 24 A Very fine Frosty Morning— Visited by the Mad Dog &
others on their way to the square. Arranged matters
respecting the Death of David Fornell with his Father
family and friends— No business to day, owing owing
to the white Lieutenant not arriving in time— He and
several chiefs from the upper Towns arrived this Evening.

24. The Traitor and Georgia Agent Townshend, also came to my quarters this Evening - but I banished him there as soon as discovered - and gave out orders that he should never appear where I was - Several White Traders called on me to day - I find them a low bred vitious set of men - Envyin and traducing the characters of each other - and buyin themselves in public matters - and giving improper advice to the Savages - As all these Traders are dependant on Canton &c. it gives him an opportunity of making use of them against the peace & Interest of the U. S. - But if Peace can be established most of these Traders would prefer going to Georgia for their Supplies - as Canton imposes on them.

Monday 25. Capt. Pedro Olivar ^{the Spanish Agent} arrived at my quarters this Evening on avisit as he says - I commenced my public Talks to day in the Square - continued them about Six hours - during which I said every thing which I thought just and right, and that could

favour the cause of my Country and bring these wretched
Savages to a sense of their real interest and duty -
I find what I said has made great impression on
their minds - they seem very much alarmed at their
situation - and appear well content with the truths
I have told them - and promise to give me an Answer
Tomorrow - matters so far seems to go pretty well.
I had a very formal meeting with the White Lieutenant
in the Square this Morning - He came from his
Seat to embrace me - I met him in the middle of the
Square - when he took me in his arms - where he held
me for some time - then took me by both arms adressed
me in a very nervous manly stile highly complimentary
to my Country and self - this continued for a quarter of
an hour - when he had done I replied as well as I could -
The Audience were very attentive and when we
finished they expressed much satisfaction at what
past between the Lieutenant & self - This Man is
about Breed - he is very fair for such - is upward of
six feet - and his influence seem much superior to
any Man in the Freek Nation - His general Character
is

25th is that of being a great friend to all white People. I have
reason to believe that to him I owe my life at this moment.

Tuesday 26th. Went to the square, after Black Drink, I received the
Answer of the Representatives of the Nation to a part of
my Talk delivered yesterday - They agree to deliver
up to me all prisoners in their Nation belonging to the
United States - The Spanish Agent attended the Talks
today and expressed himself well pleased with my
conduct, and gave the Indians a talk confirming in
some degree what I had said - He told them that
his Nation and Mine were good friends & that his
Orders were to be in friendship with my Country & me -
This had a good effect - as it opened the Eyes of the Indians
and proved to them that the preceding conduct of the
Spanish Governors of the Floridas & their Agents in
advising them to War against the Americans was improper
They mentioned this, and expressed their surprize at
the change. Adjourned to meet again tomorrow morning
Several of the Chiefs dine with me to day - I have
no opportunity of talking with them

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the change. Adjourned to meet again tomorrow morning
Several of the Chiefs dine with me today — I lose
no opportunity of talking with them

Wednesday) Went to the Square at Ten this Morning, found all the
27) Chiefs in Council, they continued in the Hot House delib-
-erating on matters until three in the afternoon, when
they returned an Answer to my demands - the purport
of which is - that they are determined to live in Peace
and friendship with the United States - to Deliver to
me all White Prisoners in their Nation - to return
all Negroes, Horses & Cattle taken from Georgia for
Twelve Months past - to punish with Death two or
more of their first aggressors on S. Mary's in March
last - All acts of Hostility & depredation on either side
to cease from this day; and all other matters to remain
as settled by the Treaty of New York. Matters being
so far settled - Three Commissioners were appointed
to see these things carried into effect, as well as to
arrange all other matters with me - These Men are
The White Lieutenant of the Sashpuckee, the Old Dog
of the Tuckabachee, and Wallowing Things of the Foxetas who
are ordered to attend me when I require. This being
the Season for their going into the Woods on their hunts
they

they request I will allow them to return home, except
the three before mentioned. They agree to send runners
to all the Towns and to all parties that are gon a hunting
to inform that all is peace, and not to injure the Persons
or property of the people of the United States. They
request I will send off Express to the President of the U.S
and Governor of Georgia with this News—and also
that I will write Governour Blount to restrain his
people from making War on the Creeks—and enco-
-aching on their lands otherwise a general War must
take place they desire I will inform the President
that the Cumberland people are many Miles beyond
the limits established and continue advancing Year
after year on the Creeks hunting ground between
Cumberland and the Yazoo Rivers. This day a
Treaty was read by the Spanish Agent in the Square
and after a manner explained to the Chiefs— This Treaty
was formed on 28th Octo last at the Walnut Hills, between
the Spaniards, Creeks, Choctaws, Chicksaus & Shuchees—
it is Offensive and Defensive, and contains Nineteen Articles

some of which are very injurious to the U States and to
this Nation — There was not a single real Creek Indian
at the Treaty — a few Alabama fellows of no consequence
went and no others — Not a Cherokee was there however
the Treaty appears all compleat. as if done by the respec-
-tive nations. The Spanish Agent got the Chiefs of this Nation
to sign a Ratification of the Treaty — which I am convinced they
did not understand — and will be displeas'd when they know
the consequence.

Thursday
28

This morning most of the Chiefs take their leave of me, being on
their return home. Gave them good advice and provisions
for their journey's — Employed in writing the Secretary of
War — Governor of Georgia and several others in Georgia
Most of the Indian Traders return home to day —

Friday 29th: This day engaged with the three Commissioners appoi-
-nted by the Nation — Agreed on several matters necessary
to carry into effect the general business — every thing
between us perfectly agreeable so far — Munnard
left me this morning & James & their the letter go's
express to S^t Mary's with the news & my letter to the
Secretary of War, to be forwarded by my Brother in

29 To day Mr Olivar the Spanish Agent took his leave and set off for his home at the Tuskegees—during his stay he behaved very gentle & with good conduct—

Satd 30 Employed all this day in Writing the Secretary of War, Governor of Georgia & others on public business—All is quiet to day—the Indians all gone, except those belonging to this Town, a number of whom are constantly around me gaping—as if I was something uncommon—This is the land to acquire a sufficient share of patience in. Old Mr Job had he been here would not have persevered—even had he been free from outward foes.

Sunday } Employed in Writing as yesterday & preparing Du-
1st Decr 93 } plicates of my letters—Nothing new—

Monday 2 This Morning at 10 Mr James M Holmes set off for Mr Barnards on Flint River with my dispatches. Mr Barnard is to forward the Originals by the R Landing & the Duplicates by Fort Telfair on the Alatomaha to be forwarded as directed—

Tuesday 3 Very disagreeable weather Rain & Wind employed writing—Nothing new—

Wednesday Weather clear cold and dry - Crossed the Talapoochee
River after breakfast on a visit to Alex^r Cornell, who lives on
a very pleasant place on the river side - Mr Cornell is
a very worthy half breed - he has had a very neat
small House with two rooms - in which I intend to
reside after some time - but as my business lays
chiefly with his Uncle and he being a particular old
whimsical fellow I must not offend him.
Send out Indians to day in different directions in
order to bring in the white prisoners -

Thursday^{5th} Employed in writing along letter to Governor Blount
which I do at request of this Nation - send a copy of the
same to the Secty of War. This Evening a Mr Reilly a
Trader in the Chickasaws brought me in a young Woman
named Eliza Thompson who was made a prisoner two
years past on the frontiers of Cumberland - when her
Father, Mother and Sister were killed & three wounded.
Reilly gave the Indians 200 Dollars to redeem her from
Slavery. She was born in Maryland, lived in Virginia
and last in Cumberland 8 years before taken - age 21 yrs
Friday Very disagreeable weather with Thunder & Lightning
which continues all night

Satd^y 7th Mr Gray set off this day with my letter to Gov. Blount he is
to go through the Cherokee escorted by a Creek Indian as
far as necessary I am to pay Gray £20 Stg for this service
The Salapooose River rose last night 15 feet perpendicular.

Sunday 8 Engaged the Mad Dog and head Warrior to remain
all winter and not go out a hunting - as I may want
their service in case of unfavourable news or any
disturbance - I am to pay them equal to their hunts.

This Evening a Wakan a white settler in the Cherokee
called on me - this man came in with young Teal
a nephew of Mr Gillivray's who had been at school
in Phil^a - This man gave me much information
respecting the dispute between Gov. Blount's people
and Cherokee - The account he gives is very
unfavourable to the Gov^t & his people - He says
the Cherokee are very desirous of peace and wish
to come and see me - I encouraged 2 or 3 of their
principal men to come -

Monday 9 Writing and preparing despatches for the Sect of the
Engaging Pack Horses to go to Fort Tucker to bring
up Blankets and shrouds to give these people
who are naked - I intend sending 40 Horses

To day a female Child was brought to me about three
years old - it was taken when its Father, Mother & Brother
& a Negro wench were killed in May last in the fort
of the Oconee and Apalachee - this Child cannot speak
a word of English - but prattles & sings Indian and is
in every degree one except its colour - I have paid
about fifty Dollars to the fellow who had it and who
considered it as his slave. It was taken by agents
that the Old Fallacie thing sent out against Georgia
this Man who formerly pretended friendship to the U.S
is now the greatest Enemy the have in this Country.

Tuesday 10 Nothing New - The Indians mostly gon
into the Woods for the Winter -

For the Hon^{ble} Pierce Butler