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Kathryn H. Braund



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Introduction: A Journal of John Forbes, Part 2: The Continuation of a Journal of Talks with the Four Nations Assembled at Hickory Ground, May & June 1803

by Kathryn H. Braund

Near the end of May 1803, William Augustus Bowles, the dashing adventurer and agent provocateur, whose schemes had ruffled the Creek Country and Gulf Coast for two decades, stood with arms bound on a small island in the Tallapoosa River.¹ Shortly, newly-forged handcuffs replaced the rope and represented a subtle and effective symbol of the outlaw's transfer of custody from Indian to European control. Once in Spanish hands, Bowles floated peacefully away from the center of Creek power toward his ultimate demise in Havana's El Morro prison in December 1805. The story of Bowles's misadventures in the tumultuous post-Revolutionary South has been told and re-told, and still

Kathryn H. Braund is the Hollifield Professor of Southern History at Auburn University. She is the author of *Deerskins and Duffels: The Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-America, 1685-1815* (1993, 2008), co-author with Gregory A. Waselkov of *William Bartram on the Southeastern Indians* (1995), editor of Bernard Romans's *A Concise Natural History of East and West Florida* (1999), co-editor with Charlotte M. Porter, *Fields of Vision: Essays on the Travels of William Bartram, 1739-1823* (2010), and a collection of essays, *Tohopeka: Rethinking the Creek War* (2012).

Editor's note: Readers can access the first half of the journal, Mrs. John W. Greenslade, "A Journal of John Forbes, May 1803. The Seizure of William Augustus Bowles" *Florida Historical Quarterly* 9 (April 1931): 279-289 through the *Florida Historical Quarterly* website at <http://fhq.cah.ucf.edu/fhqonline/e-fhq-archive/>

1 Bowles's point of departure, the Creek village of Taskigi, or Tuskegee, and the site of the old French Ft. Toulouse, was the junction of the Coosa and Tallapoosa Rivers, where they form the Alabama River.

garners significant attention.² Inevitably described as handsome and charming, Bowles' actions have been cast as "adventures," and his conspiracies to undermine both Spanish authority and the commercial hegemony of Panton, Leslie and Company have been romanticized and analyzed since the publication of his own "memoir" in 1791.³

The self-appointed "Director General of the Creek Nation," he made his first appearance along the gulf coast during the American Revolution as a Loyalist, ultimately landing in Pensacola, where his headstrong disregard for authority resulted in either his expulsion or desertion from the British army. Seeking refuge among the Seminole towns, then under the hegemony of the Lower Creeks, Bowles emerged with a Creek wife and bold plans to establish a new trading empire to replace the Atlantic-coast Indian trading houses wrecked by the war and supplant that of Panton, Leslie and Company on the gulf. Aside from scheming with investors in the Bahamas to establish a viable commercial enterprise, he embarked on a program of harassment and privateering aimed at both Spanish military facilities and the trading stores of Panton, Leslie, and Company. By May 1803, this freebooting had already resulted in his arrest and brief imprisonment, as well as a trip to London, where the "tall, handsome, half incorrigible rogue and half idealist" sought to charm both polite society and the British government with hauteur and Indian couture.⁴

His capture, or arrest as it has been variously described, took place within the context of one of the most interesting events in the region: the 1803 Spring meeting of the Creek National Council. While U.S. agent Benjamin Hawkins took credit for the

2 Gilbert C. Din provides the most recent—and comprehensive—analysis of Bowles. See his *War on the Gulf Coast: The Spanish Fight against William Augustus Bowles* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2012) and "William Augustus Bowles on the Gulf Coast, 1787-1803: Unraveling a Labyrinthine Conundrum," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 89, no. 1 (Summer 2010): 1-25. See also J. Leitch Wright, Jr., *William Augustus Bowles: Director General of the Creek Nation* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1967).

3 *Authentic Memoirs of William Augustus Bowles, Esquire, Ambassador from the United Nations of Creeks and Cherokees, to the Court of London* (London: R. Faulder, 1791). For information on the trading companies, see William S. Coker and Thomas D. Watson, *Indian Traders of the Southeastern Spanish Borderlands: Panton, Leslie & Company and John Forbes & Company, 1783-1847* (Pensacola: University Presses of Florida, 1986). Kathryn E. Holland Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels: Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-America, 1685-1815* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993) examines the deerskin trade from the Creek perspective.

4 Quotation from Elisha P. Douglass, "The Adventurer Bowles," *William and Mary Quarterly* 3rd Series, 6, no. 1 (January 1949): 3.

establishment of the institution, in truth, it had developed out of the annual meetings of headmen from major Creek towns during the eighteenth century to deal with diplomatic issues and foreign affairs in general. In May 1803, upwards of four hundred Indians had gathered for talks and ceremonies at the Hickory Ground, an influential Creek town that had hosted such meetings since the 1760s. The gathering included headmen from every component of the Creek confederacy, which included the Upper towns from the Coosa and Tallapoosa river basins of modern Alabama, the Lower Creeks from the Chattahoochee River, and the Seminole towns of Florida. Bowles traveled to the meeting with the Seminoles, who though ostensibly part of the Creek nation, chaffed at the heavy-handed Creek leadership of their affairs. Their allegiance to, or at least cooperation or toleration of, Bowles was in many regards symptomatic of their efforts to shake off Creek domination. In addition to leading Creek headmen, representatives from the Cherokee, Choctaw, and Chickasaw tribes were present, as was the American agent to the Creeks, Hawkins. Representing the commercial interest of Panton, Leslie and Company was John Forbes, who was accompanied by Estevan Folch, son of the governor of West Florida and Spain's official representative at the meeting. Much of what we know about the Hickory Ground meeting of 1803 comes from the journals kept by Forbes, whose missions were two-fold: to collect the debts owed to his firm and to undermine the influence of Bowles among the Seminoles.

The first half of Forbes's manuscript journal, transcribed by Marie Greenslade, was published in the April 1931 issue of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*.⁵ This part of the journal, composed on the spot at Hickory Ground, was dispatched to Pensacola on May 27th, arrived there on the 31st and was then forwarded to Mobile. The manuscript version resides in the Marie Taylor Greenslade Papers at the George A. Smathers Libraries at the University of Florida in Gainesville. The first half of the journal contains a truncated version of events at Hickory Ground. As Forbes was sending off the first part of his journal via an African American slave who belonged to Samuel Moniac, a prominent Creek of mixed ancestry, the real business of the meeting was only just beginning, including the actual apprehension of Bowles. Mrs. Greenslade, a descendant of John Innerarity, a man closely associated with both Panton, Les-

5 "A Journal of John Forbes, May, 1803: The Seizure of William Augustus Bowles," *Florida Historical Society Quarterly* 9, no. 4 (April 1931): 279-289.

lie, and Company as well as the successor company owned by John Forbes, noted that a significant portion of the journal was missing, though she did not know the location of the missing section. The second half of the journal ultimately accompanied Forbes on his return to Pensacola. As the surviving document makes clear, when a very fatigued Forbes arrived in Pensacola, he presented the document to John Innerarity, who copied it and sent it on to William Simpson, the company's agent in Mobile. The only surviving copy of the second part of the journal came to reside in the Louisiana Research Collection at Tulane University's Howard-Tilton Library.⁶

Forbes's account of events at Hickory Ground is supplemented by Estevan (Stephen) Folch's manuscript journal, which has frequently been cited by scholars.⁷ The Folch document covers the entire journey, from May 5th through early June 1803. Additional scholarly scrutiny and comparison of the two accounts is needed to fully understand the relationship between these two accounts. While the Folch account is more complete and provides details not present in the Forbes account, it does appear to be nearly identical to the Forbes account in some instances, leading scholars to assume that Folch copied parts of the Forbes journal.⁸

The presence of Bowles at Hickory Ground and scholars' preoccupation with his capture—as well as the fact that the Folch journal has remained in manuscript and the second part of the Forbes journal is relatively unknown—has marginalized the real significance of the material. The Hickory Ground council deserves a closer reading and a renewed interest from scholars for more than simply Bowles capture. The second half of Forbes journal is filled with ethnographic content regarding the Creek Indians. The journal details the machinations among Creek factions and highlights the growing rift between Lower Creeks and Seminoles. The account reveals the circumspection with which the Creeks treated

6 The journal is M656 and was cited by Coker and Watson as "John Forbes's Talks to the Creek Indians at the Hickory Ground, May - June 1803, in [John Innerarity] to William Simpson, June 18, 1803," Historical Association Collection, Indian Affairs Papers, Howard-Tilton Library, Tulane University, New Orleans, LA.

7 "Journal of a Voyage to the Creek Nation from Pensacola in the year 1803," May 5, 1803, Papeles Procedentes de Cuba, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain, leg. 2372. A microfilm copy of the document may be found at the University of Florida's P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History (AGI PC 2372, Microfilm Box 34, Reel 836).

8 For a comparison of the two journals, see Coker and Watson, *Indian Traders of the Southeastern Spanish Borderlands*, 245, n1.

Bowles and their careful questioning of his credentials before turning him over to the Spanish. They appear not as a cat's-paw used by Hawkins and the traders, but as a sovereign people with a concern for diplomatic protocol. Among the more interesting details Forbes provides are descriptions of a black drink ceremony and an account of the installment of honorific "kings" along with ceremonial titles for tribal allies. The document reveals also the growing problems facing the Creeks, particularly the gnawing problem of indebtedness, the tensions over the increasing centralization of power in the form of the Creek National Council, and the problems Creeks faced not only in exerting control over Seminole towns, but the troublesome complications that resulted when their distant affiliates roiled the diplomatic waters.

The manuscript printed here, edited by Kelly Innerarity, who is a descendant of John Innerarity's older brother James, follows the editorial style used by Marie Greenslade in her transcription of the first part of the journal. The manuscript, as noted, is actually John Innerarity's handwritten copy of Forbes's journal. Original spellings were retained. Dashes in the transcript reflect the same in the original, where they usually served as terminal punctuation. In some cases, abbreviated words were completed, with the additions appearing in brackets. The inclusion of the bracketed material is designed to make unfinished words understandable but only in cases in which the meaning seems certain. For example, in instances where "Mr. F" appears in the journal and the context does not make clear whether this is Mr. Forbes or Mr. Folch, the editor opted to avoid emendation.

A Journal of John Forbes, Part 2: The Continuation of a Journal of Talks With The Four Nations Assembled at Hickory Ground May & June 1803

Edited by John Kelly Innerarity and Kathryn H. Braund

Pensacola June 18, 1803.

Mr. Wm Simpson,

My Dear friend,

About an hour ago Mr. Forbes and Mr. Stephen Folch arrived here—Mr. F is fatigued and cannot write for himself, but he has given me the continuation of his journal of which the following is a copy—Friday 27 10 OClock AM—

Just as I was busy dispatching Moniac's negro with my letter I saw the Chiefs go in a body to the place of Bowles residence—on my return to Col. H[awkin]'s—he informed me that they had determined upon examining him themselves, respecting his views his commission & the lies he had told—Several of the young Half-breeds slipped in amongst the crowd of Indians that surrounded him as they would admit no white person to be present, and brought us from time to time information that they were putting an infinitive of questions to him, which he answered as well as he could, & as some of them said like a foolish or madman—in

John Kelly Innerarity, a resident of Texas, submitted the typescript of the Forbes Journal with the following supporting information. This typescript is made from the only known copy of the second part of Mr. Forbes journal, the copy made by John Innerarity and sent to William Simpson, all three men belonging to Panton, Leslie and Company. The company was in a state of flux at the time with mounting unpaid debt and the death of two of the founding partners (William Panton and John Leslie) in recent years. John Innerarity was a new hire working as a clerk in Pensacola and William Simpson was not yet named as a partner. The significance of this submission is the content of the journal from the first line where Forbes writes that he had just sent the first half of the journal with Moniacs' Negro, to the final few lines where Forbes describes that while making their way out of the meeting back to Colonel Hawkins place "we had two or three views of the Appalachian mountains at a distance as we came along - they end precisely at the Hickory Ground." Some of that content includes Forbes' own account of his (Forbes) actions while Bowles was in the Nation and prior to his capture. Forbes' own accounts are in conflict with what has been written about his interaction with Bowles.

Citation: John Forbes report, Louisiana Research Collection, Tulane University, M656.

the evening the mad dog called upon us with the report of the examination—the means of delivering it Shewed that the Council had now made up its mind respecting his fate—he himself now became some what suspicious that all was not going right, but his every motion was watched by the Cherokees who live in the same house—and I believe two Creeks that the Singer had placed with him to defend him from the *whites*—a curious instance of their peoples duplicity is here mentioned. Bowles let drop an expression that testified doubts of the whites to the Big Warrior—No no says he don't be afraid of the whites, they will not be allowed to do you any harm *in this land*, you came with *Indians* & you shall go from [end of page 1] here with *Indians*—Bowles understood it one way—& the Big Warrior soon explained his meaning for

Saturday 28th.

In the morning we received an invitation to the Square to see two new Kings made. They were the Cherokee Interpreter & the Choctaw deputy Mingo Homaitabe—we found them seated side by side on the front Seat of the Kings [cabin] & beneath them a white deerskin.—Soon after our entrance they proclaimed silence and began cooling the black drink which had been brewed in the morning, two orators advanced & one spoke with considerable force of gesture respecting the ceremony that was to be performed, the Candidate Chosen & the virtues necessary to be possessed by a King; at ending he turned round and put into the Choctaws hand a white flag wing—The other followed him & ended with the same ceremony—All the Kings, Chiefs, Warriors & etc then got up, & gave him their hand—the Black drink was past around & the Ceremony ended—Upon presenting the Black drink, the waiters who served it give two hollows one deep toned & the other shallow, which they extend as long as they have breath—the patient is thereupon obliged to drink as long as they continue to hollow—the beverage is not badly tasted, nearly similar to weak Coffee without sugar but as so many drink out of the same Calabash & from a small hole & generally belch it out upon the ground ~~when~~ after they have drunk, Seeing so many occupied in such a filthy way renders drinking the Cassine no very agreeable thing to a white man—to return . . . on coming from the Ceremony—the Big Warrior who seems to be the Executive officer (& indeed is large enough to be an Elephant) came & informed the agent that [end of page 2] Bowles had been Sent that morning to the Taskugees (Old fort Toulouse) under

Guard & that they only waited for the irons to be put on to take their departure for Pensacola. I was anxious to see the Villain—and hesitated whether I should satisfy my curiosity, I felt impropriety, but at length considering I was unknown to him, & resolving not to speak to him, I resolved to go—accordingly Mr. Hile, Steven & I attended with three or four other white men rode down to where he was; it was a Small Island in the Talapoosie—he was standing with his hands tied behind him, & Brian Moltons with a Spanish flag some distance in front—at our approach he went pale, & said he supposed his hour was come—Mr. Hile Said no you have nothing to fear from us—he then ordered the handcuffs to be brought, which he allowed to be put on him without a struggle, observing that he had once been a prisoner, but never was tied before—As Soon as the Irons were rivited he was put aboard a Canoe & the Crowd of men, women & children immediately pushed it off—Mr. Barnard came a moment after to examine whether he had any papers but found none—On our return we understood his portfolio & papers had been carried to the Square where Col. H[awkin] s was busily employed examining them in presence of a great concourse of Indians—when I went there, I found him Seated with a number of anxious faces looking on expecting that a Commision would be found however after opening them all & handing them to the Col. it was generally agreed that there was none—altho Some Indians yet said [end of page 3] that they recollected having [unintelligible] seen it with a big Seal—In the evening a number of Chiefs came to our quarters, with a number of queries respecting Bowles, as if to Satisfy themselves once more that they had done right—they retired perfectly satisfied & some jokes passed upon Bowles friends who were Said to be crying in a corner.

Sunday 29th

Altho Sunday business continued the Choctaws & Chickasaws delivered their talks & in the afternoon I was informed by Alex[ande]r Cornells that I would be called upon in the morning to exhibit my claims against the State of Muscogee.

Monday 30th

We were all called into the Square, a deep Silence prevailed, and after serving the Black Drink with the usual Solemnity, an orator Stepped forward and delivered an oration purporting that

the assembly were to witness that the four Nations were to take the hand of the Governor of Pensacola in token of friendship, the hand of the beloved man, & the hand of their brother the Englishman.

In a little time the Ceremony began by the Kings & followed by the wisemen or Counsellors the warriors & etc—when Kenhagee came up he appeared agitated called up his interpreter (for he Spoke the Stinkard lingo) and turning up his eyes declared that it was not his intention to harm the Spaniards—that the man who had occasioned it was now gone, & he hoped that he would be forgot—Stephen answered that he was Satisfied & the Ceremony proceeded—After the conclusion I was called upon to deliver my Speech which was heard with profound Silence, after which I communicated a list of the negros that I had in the nation and received intelligence of Several upon the Spot—the Mad Dog told [end of page 4] the assembly, that by their own imprudence they had got themselves into trouble, debt and difficulties that it behoved those who had property to dispose of it as Soon as possible to pay their debts, and that they must now look into the business with intentions to extricate themselves—a Committee of Several principal men were named to go and examine my accounts with Mr. Durouzeaux, and they have been busy all day getting information on the Subject—Cornell the Singer & the Big Warrior were all the evening questioning the Colonel about the propriety of this and that charge & according to his report, he has recommended to them strongly to pay all the damages done by the Indians at St. Marks in the first place—he has recommended to them the necessity they are under to make good the loss on the principle of our having been Called to Settle that place by the Voice of the Nation, who promised us protection at Picolata, & Consequently are bound to make good their promises—he tells me that he has assured them it is impossible for them to go on in their plans of Civilization without an augmentation of their Salary, that at least ten thousand dollars more than they have are wanted to raise the Salaries of Certain Chiefs & add about 50 to the executive part of the Warriors all these advices, I am afraid will do no good, they are extremely jealous of their rights & afraid of any advice that is given them—besides paying for debts is a matter always disagreeable to them—Intelligence arrived from Sam[ue]l Moniac that he arrived & found Bowles & Molton at his house—they Kept him at the Coosadas all day yesterday.

Tuesday 31st

This morning I was called to the Square to receive the answer of the Nation—I was placed opposite [end of page 5] the Speaker, who had Semothlie the big warriors as prompters and took down the following Speech Sentence by Sentence in presence of Col[onel] H[awkins].

The Indians are all assembled; even down to the Semanolies have heard your talks: my friend, you desired me to consider you. we are all met; the three Rivers & from the Muchamicky; we are now going to determine upon your Claim—last fall you Sent us a Talk; it was the Same as you now have given—we are now to give you an Answer. at that time we were not all assembled to give you an answer, we are now assembled, the Kings headmen etc to reply to you—It is a very large thing you have put to us, however we think we have got it to bear, & we are going to reply to you—In respect to your Claims down about Mickasuiky Appalachy, etc this man (Semothle') is ordered to look in to them, & Talk about it when he gets there—Jack Kinnaird is also appointed to join him in this talk—The factors trusted with your goods & the traders they are ordered to look to them, to Call a meeting of the heads of that place, & come to a Conclusion what is to be done inst[antly]—Tuskenia Chupko (Long Lieut. of the Cowetas) & Tustanage Hopie are appointed to have a meeting from the Cowetas down to the Eufallus to Speak to the red people ordering them to pay their debts to traders & factors—Those men are appointed for the lower part of the Nation—there is some Salary due that part of the nation from the US.—The robbery was not committed by their own Consent, nor by the voice of the Nation, it obliges them now to take the Clothes from their Children to make up that breach—the demand is large; they Cannot come up to it at once, they may come up to it in time with our endeavors—we the other two rivers of the Upper towns—have appointed men to act in the Same manner as the lower towns,—The Big [end of page 6] Warrior of the Tuckabatchees is appointed to act for the Talapoosae river—This man is appointed to talk to the people to pay their traders—they have hogs Cattle & must pay anything they have—he is appointed to see these things done—he is to see the property of Such traders as are dead white or red, which he is to Collect & See that it is delivered up to pay the debt of the deceased as for Such as are dead, we have all heard the talk if there is not property enough we Shall help it —[It] is well known we Indians are a

poor people. we have nothing to pay debts with, if what we have mentioned does not come up to the debts, we have Cedar wood & other wood which must be made use of for that purpose—we are poor people this is all we can consider of, we have nothing else left us—if you think you cannot get Sale for these things we have mentioned, we Shall apply to Col. Hawkins who will get sale of them for us—This is what the Nation has considered of, all the towns met here together all agree to give you this as payment; if there is not enough there may be enough in time—We have nothing else that we can give, it is the voice of the whole nation here met, of all the towns—We have taken everything into Consideration, & this is all that we can conclude upon—we have not a long talk. It was a Short one you gave us & this is our answer. In respect of the Salary due from the United States I mentioned, I reserve 250 dollars for the expense of this meeting. this is to be taken out of our Salary—Hopoiimiloi Hacyi of the fish ponds is appointed for all the Upper Towns to give a talk in the meeting for payment to their Traders—This is what the headmen & warriors have concluded on at this meeting—this is all they [end of page 7] can say to your demands

In the morning I was called upon to give my reply which was as follows—My friend I am going to answer your talk which you delivered me yesterday in your Square—I have reflected upon it & will now give you my answer—This is the third time of my addressing you—The first time you made me promises; the second time you made me promises the third time when I came myself expecting their fulfillment, I still find nothing but promises.—This will never do. I cannot send these promises to buy Supplies for you, nor to pay my debts—I have been promising my friends over the Big [Water] for two years, and Sending them copies of your talks but I never can Send any more—The orders you have given to your headmen to Speak to your people to pay are very good; but have not these orders been given twice already, & what good has come from them? When will the hunters be able to pay? When you & I are in our graves

With respect to the robbery at St Marks, you Say it was not done by your consent nor by the voice of the nation—I ask you then who did it? Were they not Creeks who committed that robbery & were they not the very people whom we had come to Supply with necessities men whom we had Served & who had promised us protection—who do you think will ever confide in your promises again if

you do not make me Satisfaction? Who, do you think will ever carry them Supplies or fix a trading house amongst them? I here declare I never will—they Shall rob no more Stores of mine, unless I get Satisfaction for the past & Security for the future—

You offer me your Salary in part of my losses—I will not receive it—I do not [end of page 8] come here to beg your Charity I come here to demand Justice—Your children Shall not be deprived of their Clothing by the House of Panton—He has Clothed them before now, but these times are gone & I see you have forgot them—

You say you are poor & offer me wood & Staves—I say you are rich, & that I have no use for your wood & Staves—I only require about a thousand pieces of wood in a year to store with my Skins, which people cut and bring to me for a dollar apiece, I get my Staves from poor white people who owe me—I never want more than five or Six hundred dollars worth in a year. I say again that you are rich you have lands more than you want a small part would relieve both you & me from our distresses if you wish it—do not therefore tell me that you are poor, & have not wherewith to pay me—Say at once that you are resolved not to pay me—In about half an hour I was called upon to receive the following reply

I have received your talk & am going to give you an answer; yesterday you told us that the heads of the four Nations were here & that you wanted none of their lands—you gave them the talk for the whole nation, desiring them to consider you; they gave you their answer—you did not let them understand rightly your talk yesterday, nor did they understand the meaning of it—you told them you did not want their lands; they had nothing to give you but the Small Salary that was depending which they gave you—you now tell us you do not want to rob the old people of what was given them. it was considered of by the whole Nation that they were in the fault, & therefor they gave you that Salary agreed on by all that was present—we now find out your meaning, [end of page 9] you want Some lands the other way—we can perceive it by your talks—we did not understand your meaning we think you are encroaching upon us—we perceive that you thought to lead us on & Deceive us by not asking for lands & then to ask for them—did you expect to encroach on us for your goods? we tell you the Same today that we did yesterday; the Salary is ours we thought it was ours & we gave it to you—we cannot alter our talks So Soon—we thought it was your talks that our lands were Small, that you wanted now, & had you an intent to encroach upon us & use us in this manner? You

told us yesterday a long talk, & you altered it today, did you think there were few of us & did you wish to impose on us? we can talk no more in behalf of your claims, we have made our talk & we cannot alter it—You have refused our Staves & Cedar—you say you do not want them; Such were the Indian things we have no more to offer We cannot Say any thing else; if we were to Say any thing more we might tell a lie—The people are told they thought the Salary was theirs, but it is no longer theirs”—I was a good deal agitated, & told them that I must réply to some part of the Speech I had heard before I left their Square—“You insinuate that I told two talks—a man like me who always Speaks the truth cannot bear Such an accusation. I told you in my first talk that I did not want your lands—I do not. what can I do with your lands? can I send them to buy goods? but I told you in the Same talk that you must do for me what you had done for the United States factory—you Sold your lands to those who wanted them, and paid your debts with it—Do you call this giving two talks—I then rose & left [end of page 10] them—I did not feel at my ease, however I resolved upon refusing the trifle of Salary, which amounted to Somewhere about four thousand dollars—at 2 OClock the Mad dog came, advanced to me & took me affectionately by the hand—“I am an old man Says he. the Chiefs are young like you, & young people are apt to get angry, but you must not think hard of what passed in the Square—I loved the man who was before you & I love you things may take a turn by tomorrow, and the Chiefs are willing to hear anything else you may have to Say. I told him that I was not angry but I could not help feeling the insinuation that had been made by the Speaker that I had two talks; that I requested him to tell the Nation my resolution not to touch a dollar of their money, as every dollar I handled I would think I Saw the little children naked—the old man was moved—I told him my wants were not land, I only wanted to be paid in the same manner as the factory of the US—Sell your lands yourselves, or entrust Someone who will do you justice & pay my demand

In the afternoon they Sent for Col H[awkins] & after a very lengthy preamble they named him a Chief of the four Nations & desired him to converse freely with me & report my Sentiments or proposals—I took a pencil & wrote what follows

“Col. H[awkins] has Spoken with me, he tells me that you desired him to converse freely with me, to lay your case down & get your Sentiments—I now give them to you I did understand that an offer had been made you by Genl. W. [possibly James Wilkinson] to

pay all your just debts, & to allow you a large Sum annually besides Something in hand, which I believe was intended to include my claims—You refused it, & I confess [end of page 11] I felt hurt that you Should have omitted Such an opportunity of doing me justice of providing a fund for your future wants, & obviating the necessity of making any more Sales of your land—When you are out of debt & have 10 or 12 thousand dollars a year, you may be a Safe & happy people—

On the Colonels return he reported that the proposal had been heard with great attention—Some Speeches were made that indicated reluctance, but nothing was finally determined upon—at 7 OClock I was called, & questioned again whether I could take the wood, or Staves or Salary. I told them no—The Singer then assured me that he was sorry to say nothing more could be done, they had committed the fault, but they could not Sell their lands—that Strict orders would be issued to pay the debts & that a great many would be got in

Thursday 2nd.

The mystery is at length explained—Meigs the Cherokee Agent has been giving Some threatening talks to that people, and they have induced the Creeks to thwart my Views as they Saw the land must be sold to the US—Doublehead in a long Speech to Col. H[awkins] recapitulated the [unintelligible] grievances that his Nation had Suffered, at last Says he you came amongst us with your plans of Civilization—Your Views appear good & beneficent, but I much fear you are acting as a man who holds out a Handfull of Salt—to tame his wild Stock until he gets to trample upon them—He Said the Secretary of war had Sent them word that they had been asked thrice for liberty to cut a road thru their land “to beware of the fourth time” in this language to be made use of Says he, after being repeatedly told by you that we should Sell no more land but by our own consent? is our ruin determined upon? I will tell [end of page 12] you continued he as Soon as I heard Such a threat I dispatched runners to the Choctaws & Chickasaws to meet us here in this Square—here we have met, we have become the four nations as our people & we have resolved to Sell no more lands but with the Consent of the whole Confederacy—

All talks were finished in the course of the day & the Chiefs took their departure by twos & threes in the afternoon each coming to give us their hand—I had assurances from Semothle’ & the

other Commissioners that every exertion Should be made to get in my debts—

Friday 3d.

We rose early intending to return to Col. H[awkins]'s house—the Col. was with the Singer & the Cherokees patiently making out a law respecting Stolen property which the four nations had agreed should be paid for from the Stipend of the nation the thief belonged to, *but not to retrospect.*

Breakfast & at half past eight Started by a different road than the one we had come leaving the river Talapoosee on our left until we arrived almost opposite the Colonels house

The road was hilly & the Country poor in general but fine range—we had two or three views of the Appalachian mountains at a distance as we came along—they end precisely at the Hickory Ground—Arrived at the agents house in five hours 26 miles

Tate has obtained permission of the chiefs to cut cedar—So has Mr. Durant to pay their accounts, and Sehoys —