

**GEORGIA
HISTORICAL
COLLECTIONS**

—
VOL. III

PART I

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American Ethnological Society

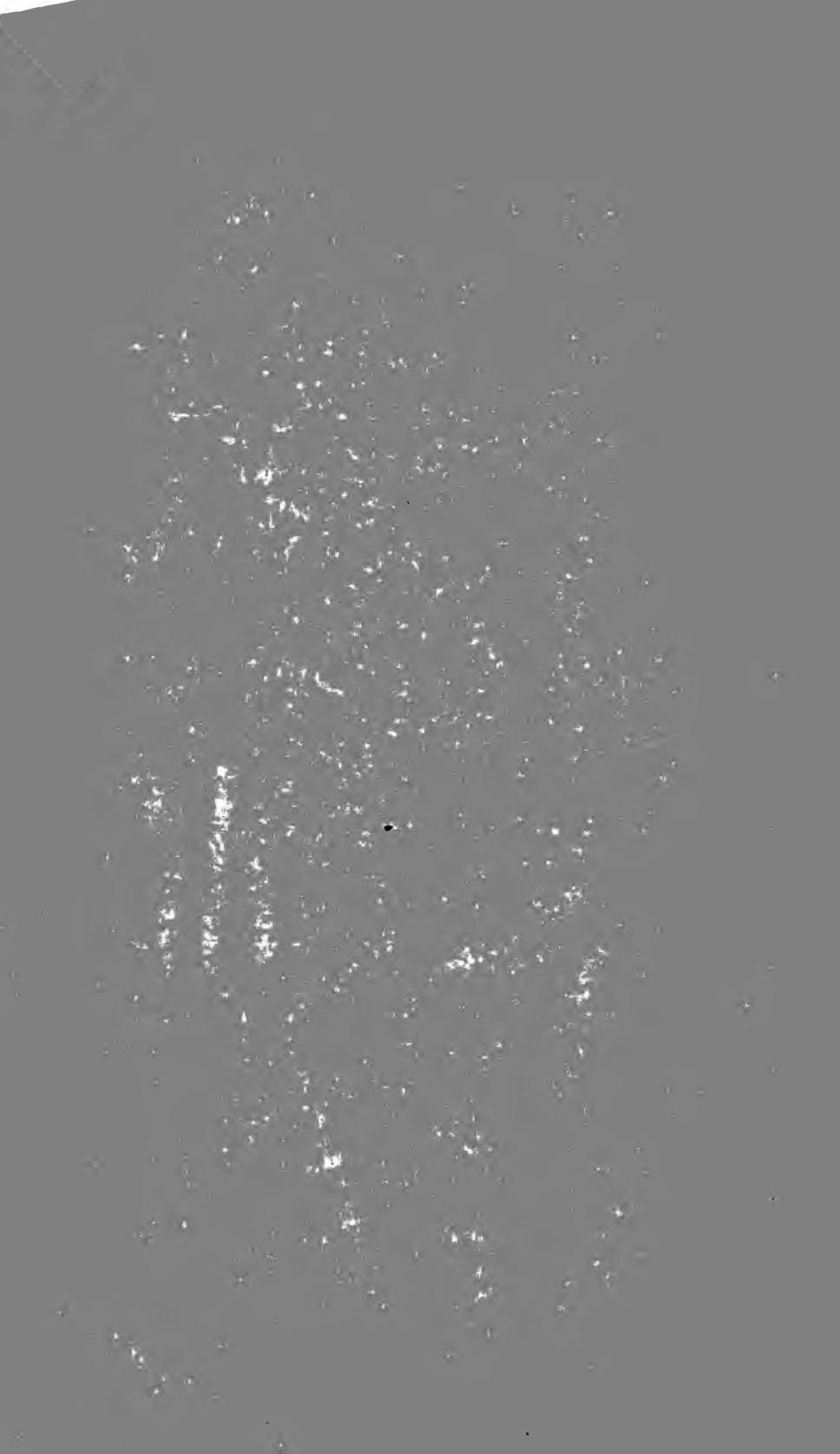
NEW YORK

COLLECTIONS

OF THE

GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

VOLUME III. — PART I.



COLLECTIONS

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VOLUME III.

PART I.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE Georgia Historical Society having, for some years, been in possession of several manuscript volumes of the late Colonel Benjamin Hawkins, the earliest agent of the United States for Indian Affairs, their examination and publication by the Society, became an object of interest. Accordingly, they were referred to a committee, whose report attested their value, as materials for the early history of Georgia, and especially for that of the confederacy of the Creek or Muscogee Indians, who formerly owned and swayed, the southwestern portion of the State. That report recommended the immediate publication of one of these manuscripts, which the author has called "*A Sketch of the Creek Country in the years 1798 and 1799.*" As a member of the Society, I proposed to superintend this publication, and to defray its expense, as the resources of the Society were already anticipated by the erection of a Library and Historical Hall. The Society did me the honor to accept my proposition.

The Georgia Historical Society has now been in existence for nine years. During that period, it has published two volumes of Collections and Transactions, and the present publication will constitute the first part of the third volume.

The introduction to the first volume, thus alludes to these manuscripts of Mr. Hawkins: "In relation to the department of Indian history, a department so interesting in itself, and so intimately blended with the early settlement of this State, the Society has obtained some very rare and valuable manuscripts, which contain long and minute accounts of the manners and customs of the Indians; proceedings of Indian agents; treaties with various tribes; all greatly augmenting the materials of aboriginal history."

The eight volumes of manuscripts, in possession of the Society, attest the industry and enlightened zeal of the author. He has preserved and transmitted to us, his *talks* and treaties, made with various Indian tribes; his correspondence with the General Government and with State authorities; vocabularies of aboriginal languages, and invaluable records of the manners, customs, rites and civil polity of the tribes.

It is reported, that many valuable papers of Mr. Hawkins have been irreparably lost to the world, by the burning of his residence in the Creek country. The present manuscripts, it is supposed, have been preserved by their having been submitted to the Governor of the State, at Milledgeville, for his perusal. Colonel Hawkins was still living in the year 1825. In that year, these volumes were in Savannah, under the charge of Mr. Joseph Bevan, who had been appointed by the General Assembly "to collect, arrange and publish, all papers relating to the original settlement or political history of the State." I learn this fact from a published report of his, made to Governor Troup. At the decease of Mr. Bevan, they were probably returned to the executive department at Milledgeville. At the institution of the Historical Society, a fortunate accident brought these valuable papers to the knowledge of J. K. Tefft, Esq., the corresponding secretary of the Society, and the actual cashier of the Bank of the State of Georgia, at Savannah. At his pressing instance, in favor of the Society, they were solicited and obtained, for the Society's library.

It is a singular fact, unparalleled in this age of printing, that there are five copies existing, of this "Sketch of the Creek Country." The most plausible motive for this curious multiplication of written copies, was the desire of speculators in Indian lands, to learn the topography, resources and character of the Creek country.

In this publication I have used the original manuscript of Mr. Hawkins, which has been attested by Mr. Tefft, who has a wide reputation for his collection of autographs, and for his admirable taste in that department of æsthetics. The writing and condition of the volume, give evidence of its having been written as early as the year 1800.

THE AUTHOR.

COLONEL BENJAMIN HAWKINS, was for more than thirty years, employed by the Government of the United States, in its intercourse with Indian tribes. The influence which he obtained and exercised among these tribes, is forcibly stated by Mr. Gallatin: "Mr. Hawkins, under the modest name of '*Beloved Man of the Four Nations*,' did govern, or, at least, exercise during his life, a considerable influence over the Creeks, Choctaws, and even the Chicasaws and Cherokees." A legitimate curiosity prompts me to trace the public career of a man, who, on the highest authority, rendered efficient and valuable services to his country, for a long series of years.

The first official notice of Mr. Hawkins, presents him as joint commissioner with Andrew Pickens, Joseph Martin, and Lachlan McIntosh, to negotiate with the Creek Indians, in the year 1785. They concluded the treaty of *Galphinton*. In the same year, the treaty of *Hopewell* was concluded with the Cherokees. By the treaty of New York, in 1790, the Creek Indians placed themselves under the protection of the United States, and of no other Power. By the treaty of Galphinton, they had acknowledged themselves to be within the limits of Georgia, and *members of the same*. These two inconsistent states of political relationship, and which are the origin of all subsequent controversies between the State of Georgia and the Indian tribes, led to the appointment, by General Washington, of three commissioners to treat with the Creek confederacy. Accordingly, he nominated to the Senate, in June, 1795, Benjamin Hawkins, of North Car-

olina, George Clymer, of Pennsylvania, and Andrew Pickens, of South Carolina, as commissioners for that object.

Mr. Hawkins was at this time, a Senator of the United States, from North Carolina.

In the year 1801, he was appointed by Mr. Jefferson, "principal agent for Indian affairs south of the Ohio," and as joint commissioner with General Wilkinson and Andrew Pickens, he negotiated treaties with the Chicasaws, Choctaws and Natchez.

From that period, he remained as agent of the United States among the Creek Indians, till the year 1816, when at his own request, as shown by his official letters, he was succeeded in that office, by David Brydie Mitchell, of Georgia. Colonel John Crowell succeeded this last agent; and from a letter of complaint against Crowell, written to the War Department in 1825, by Mr. Hawkins, it appears that he was then living in the Creek nation. I have not been able to learn the time of Mr. Hawkins's decease.

From the several volumes of correspondence, official and private, of Colonel Hawkins, I have made some extracts which very forcibly pourtray the high qualities of his mind, for the government and control of unlettered, semi-civilized tribes. This demands sound judgment and inflexible justice. An apparent indifference towards the women of the tribes, who are the objects of great jealousy, is not an unimportant quality. I have been assured from high authority, that this was one of the sources of Mr. Hawkins's extraordinary influence. In another part of the world, I have witnessed a like influence acquired by an agent of the United States, over a semi-civilized people. To their minds, it implies a moral superiority over other men, when accompanied by ordinary manly energies. It is a self-control, the more respected by such people, as it is the object of their chief indulgence, and of their liveliest jealousies.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Hawkins to a friend.

CUSSETUH, Nov. 25, 1797.

A few days ago, whilst I was sorely afflicted with rheumatism, so as not to be able to turn in my blanket, the

arrival of the Queen of Tuckabatchee was announced to me. That town is sixty miles distant. I invited herself and her friends, to spend two or three days with me, which they did. Early one morning, she came to my bed side and sat down. I awoke, and she accosted me thus :

My visit is to you ; I am a widow ; I have a son so high ; (holding her hand three feet from the ground ;) I have a fine stock of cattle, and I wish them secured for my use and for my son. I know you are the *Iste-chate-lige-ose-tat-chemis-te-chaugo*, (the beloved man of the Four Nations,) and my relations are not careful of my interests. If you will take the direction of my affairs, the chiefs have told me you may settle my stock where you please, and it shall be safe. When you go to Tuckabatchee, you will have a home. Perhaps I am too old for you, but I'll do any thing I can for you. I shall be proud of you if you will take me. If you take a young girl into the house I shall not like it, but I will not say one word ; may be I can't love her, but I won't use her ill. I have brought some *aus-ce* (cassine yupon) for you. I want some clothes for my boy and for myself. You can give them to me, and make the traders take cattle for pay. If you direct them they won't cheat me. I was taken prisoner by the Chickasaws, with my boy, when he was so high (about two feet.) I ran off from them, and was seventeen days in the woods, getting to my nation. I had no provisions when I set out, and was like to perish. When you were in the upper towns last year, I went twice to see you, and dressed myself. You took me by the hand and asked me to sit down. I wanted to speak to you then, but I could not. I said then I would never have an *Iste-chate* (red man.)

I replied to her, you shall be gratified ; you may return home. I will have your cattle put out at a proper place, and I will take care of them and of your son. If you have any desire to call me *cha-e-he*, (my husband,) do so ! But you must not forget, I have not yet determined to set up in that capacity in either of the Four Nations. But you are at liberty, as you already have one child, and know the trade, to carry it on under my name, and to choose any assistant you may deem suitable. The children will be mine and I will take care of them and of you.

It is not customary among the Creeks to associate with the women ; and it is a curious fact, that there are white men in the nation who have been here five years, without ever entering an Indian house. I visit them, take them by the hand, talk kindly to them, and eat frequently with them. This day I had four Indian women to dine with me, with some chiefs and white men, a thing, they tell me, unknown before, to either of them. One thing I have noticed, in all I have conversed with, they have a great propensity to call every thing by its name. And, if the concurrent testimony of the white husbands may be relied on, the women have much of the temper of the mule, except when they are amorous, and then they exhibit all the amiable and gentle qualities of the cat.

Extract of a letter to William Faulkner, Esq.

CUSSETUH, NOVEMBER 25, 1797.

I am now, and have been in this town, which is on the Chattahoche, among the lower Creek towns, (an hundred and sixty miles from Fort Wilkinson, the residence of Colonel Gaither on the Ocenee,) for more than a month, and much engaged in the duties enjoined on me by my office. It is not necessary to detail to you the difficulties I have encountered daily, in adjusting with these people the differences in the way of a friendly intercourse between them and their neighbors. The men are bred in habits proudly indolent and insolent ; accustomed to be courted, and to think that they conferred a favor when they were naked, by receiving clothes and comforts from the British agents ; and they will reluctantly and with great difficulty, be humbled to the level of rational life. I spend the day at their public places, in conversation ; or at my hut, where I entertain a number ; and the evenings I devote till midnight at the town house, to see their dancing and amusements, or at my hut, studying their language, or making arrangements to decide on disputed property, and adjusting the misunderstandings between the Four Nations. As business increased on me, I found my mind and exertions always ready to rise above it ; or as it would be better expressed, to be equal to my wishes, and even beyond my expectations. In this situation I

had one visiter sorely afflictive, a severe attack in my left leg and foot of the gout or rheumatism, for eight or ten nights, sometimes not able to turn in my blankets, yet constantly crowded with visiterers, and obliged to attend to the head men and warriors of twelve towns, invited to convene at Cowetuh, a neighboring town.

I have one faithful assistant in Mr. Barnard, one of the interpreters. The white and red men are much indebted to his constant, persevering and honest exertions to do justice to all applicants. It sometimes falls to the lot of one man, though apparently in the humble walks of life, to render more effectual service to his fellow creatures, than thousands of his neighbors. This has been the case with Mr. Barnard. He was a trader in this nation before the war, and remained in it during the whole progress of it, constantly opposing the cruel policy which pressed these people to war with the Americans, and urged their being neutral. He repeatedly risked his life and fortune in the cause of humanity, and he remains to witness that the purity of his actions has given him a standing among the red people, which could not be purchased with money.

I have, since I left you, seen much of the western country, witnessed the downfall of a character whom I highly valued, when I first had the pleasure of knowing you, and seen a check given, I hope an effectual one, to a base system for the destruction of the Four Nations by the *E-cun-nau-nux-ulgee*, (people greedily grasping after all their lands,) and I have the happiness to know, that I have contributed much to the establishment of the well grounded confidence which the Four Nations have in the justice of the United States; and this confidence is so well grounded, that the malice or wickedness of the enemies of our Government cannot destroy it.

I may here introduce some of the appellations and epithets applied by the Creek Indians to white men, one of which is used in the foregoing letter.

E-cun-nau-nux-ulgee: People greedily grasping after the lands of the red men, against the voice of the United States.

Tucke-mico: The Dirt King, applied to Governor Blount of Tennessee. The Cherokee name of this gentleman is

Dirt Captain ; and in both nations it arose from their opinion of his insatiate avidity to acquire Indian lands.

Chesse-cup-pe-tun-ne : *The Pumpkin Captain* ; a name given to Captain Chisholm.

E-cun-nau-au-po-po-hau : *Always asking for land*. This name was given to Governor Clark of Georgia.

Iste-chate-lige-osestate-chemis-te-chaugo : *The beloved man of the Four Nations* ; a name given to Colonel Hawkins.

Iste-chate : Red man.

Iste-hut-ke : White man.

Iste-semole : Wild man ; a Seminole.

Extract of a letter to James Burgess, Creek Interpreter.

CUSSETUH, NOVEMBER 27, 1797.

I have received your letter of the 14th of this month, in answer to mine of the 30th October. It is the first I have had from you. This letter you send me, I have read with attention ; and if you had not informed me you were sick, I should have supposed you were deranged in mind. Perhaps it is a delirium arising from sickness ; in that case it is a misfortune, not a fault. If I did not believe something of this sort really to affect you, I would let you know, that if you do not know *your* duty, I know *mine*.

Whoever heard of your being talked of about what was done at Coleraine ? Nobody but your own imagination ! You were only an interpreter, and I know the Indians never fault them, for doing their duty faithfully. I can tell you another thing. You overrate your standing, when you say the Indians blame you. 'The fact is they have not blamed you, and for a very obvious reason. The Indians do not suffer the white men in their land even to mention, much less to influence them in their treaties.

Another thing. You talk of Chulapockey, and the complaint of the Indians about it, and the trifle of goods ; that these things must be settled before I leave the land. What do you mean by this stuff ? Do you not know the Chulapockey line was settled by Mr. Gillivray and the Indians who went to New York ? Don't you know that this nation appointed agents to go and run the line, and that

Bowles's* coming, prevented it? Did you not hear the chiefs tell me this publicly at Coleraine; and did you not know they told the truth?

What do you mean when you say if the Indians suffer you must suffer? Have you not, as it was your duty to do, told them boldly and plainly, what all the interpreters at Coleraine were ordered to do, that the Indians have now nothing to fear. The United States have guarantied their country to them. Did you not hear the plan of government explained at Coleraine, to better the condition of the Indians? And don't you know I am here to carry that plan into execution? Don't you know the Indians took part with Great Britain against the United States, and did us much injury; and that the retaliation on our part is to forgive them, because they were a poor, deluded people; to enlighten their understandings and to better their condition, by assisting them with tools and implements of husbandry, and teaching them the use of them, by furnishing them with blacksmiths, and spinning wheels, cards, looms and weavers. Where have you been that you have forgotten these things? Don't you know that we have placed an army, at great expense, to protect the Indians in the enjoyment of their rights, and that we established two stores, to supply the Indians at cost and charges?

You want me to clear you. Of what? Can you clear yourself, if you have not explained these things faithfully to the Indians? You cannot. You ask me to send you a certificate of what is done here, signed by two or three chiefs. What do you mean by this? Must Iste-chate-lige-osetat-chamis-te-chaugo have a certificate from three Indians? You are surely dreaming.

One piece of information I can give you. The Indians have appointed seven commissioners to see the line run, agreeably to the treaty of New York, and it will be run just after the new year.

You must visit me about the 25th of next month, at the store on Oconee, there to explain your conduct, and receive you salary.

BENJAMIN HAWKINS.

* This man Bowles, was at one time a portrait painter in Savannah.

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THE CREEK CONFEDERACY.

ALL tradition among the Creeks points to the country west of the Mississippi, as the original habitat of those tribes. This universal tradition is confirmed by Du Pratz, Bernard Romans, Adair, Bartram and Hawkins. Our author asserts their migration, on the authority of Tusselohiah Micco, from the forks of Red river, *Wechate-hatche Aufuskee*. We may entirely defer to the result of Mr. Gallatin's investigation of this subject, as the most correct. His comprehensive research and powerful analysis, have presented to the scientific world, all that can be known, perhaps, of that which is involved in the cimmerian darkness of ante-historical periods. In the second volume of the "Archæologia Americana," he says: "In the year 1732, when Georgia was first settled, the territory of the Creek Confederacy, including at that time the Seminoles, was bounded on the west by Mobile river, and by the ridge that separates the waters of the Tombigbee, from those of the Alabama; on the north by the Cherokees, on the northeast by the Savannah, and on every other quarter by the Atlantic and the gulf of Mexico. It is believed, that at the end of the seventeenth century, the Creeks occupied south of the 34th degree of north latitude, the eastern as well as western banks of the Savannah.

"It is not possible to ascertain, when the Confederacy was consolidated to that extent. It now consists of several tribes, speaking different languages. The Muskhooges are the prevailing nation, amounting to more than seven-eighths of the whole. The Hitchitees who reside on the Chattahoochee and Flint rivers, though a distinct

tribe, speak a dialect of the Muskhogee. The Seminoles or *Isty-Semole*, ('wild men,') who inhabit the peninsula of Florida, are pure Muskhogeas, who have gradually detached themselves from the confederacy, but who were still considered as members of it, till the United States treated with them as an independent nation. The name of Seminoles was given to them, on account of their being hunters, and attending but little to agriculture. A vocabulary is wanted, in order to prove conclusively, the identity of their language with the Muskhogee.

"There is some diversity in the accounts given by the Muskhogeas of their origin. The chiefs of the delegation, who attended at Washington, in the year 1826, agreed, that the prevailing tradition among them was, that the nation had issued out of a cave near the Alabama river. The Hitchitees said, that their ancestors had fallen from the sky. These modes of speaking, common to several of the tribes, only show that they have lost the recollection of any ancient migration, and that they consider themselves as aborigines.

"The Utchees and the Natchez, who are both incorporated in the confederacy, speak two distinct languages, altogether different from the Muskhogee. The Natchez, a residue of the well known nation of that name, came from the banks of the Mississippi and joined the Creeks less than one hundred years ago. The original seats of the Uchees were east of the Coosa, and probably of the Chattahoochee, and they consider themselves the most ancient inhabitants of the country. It appears certain, that at the beginning of the eighteenth century, they were, at least in part, seated on the western banks of the Savannah. It has already been seen, that in 1736, they claimed the country above and below Augusta. In the year 1715, was that of the signal defeat of the Yamassees (in South Carolina.) The Yamassees were driven across the river, (Savannah,) and it is probable that the Uchees were amongst their auxiliaries, and that weakened by this defeat, they found it safer to remove to a greater distance from the English settlements, towards Flint river," (and Florida.)

"These five languages, the Muskhogee, the Hitchitsee, Uchee, Natchez and the Alabama or Coosada, are, it is

believed, the only one spoken by the different tribes of the Creek confederacy. The Uchee is the most guttural, uncouth, and difficult to express with our alphabet and orthography, of any of the Indian languages within our knowledge.

“Although partial and transient collisions with the Creeks, occurred subsequently to the settlement of Georgia, no actual war with them took place for near fifty years. They took an active part in that of the Revolution, against the Americans, and continued their hostilities till the treaty concluded at Philadelphia, in 1795. They then remained at peace eighteen years; but at the beginning of the last war with Great Britain, a considerable portion of the nation, excited, it is said, by Tecumseh, and probably receiving encouragement from other quarters, took arms, without the slightest provocation, and at first committed great ravages. They received a severe chastisement; and the decisive victories of General Jackson, at that time and some years later, over the Seminoles, who had renewed the war, have not only secured a permanent peace with the southern nations, but have placed them all under the absolute control of the United States. The Creeks and Seminoles, after some struggles among themselves, have ceded the whole of their territory, and accepted in exchange, other lands beyond the Mississippi.”

Such is the succinct, but comprehensive account of the Creek Confederacy, by Mr. Gallatin. Bernard Romans, who wrote his book in 1770, says that, “this confederacy, of remnants of tribes, are very cunning fellows. They are a mixture of Cowittas, Talepoosas, Corsas, Apalachias, Conshaes or Coosadas, Oakmulgees, Oconeas, Okchoys, Alibamons, Natchez, Wetumkas, Pakanas, Taensas, Chacsihomas, Abekas, and other tribes.” Classifying these numerous tribes by the science of philology, they must be reduced to the number of five, as Mr. Gallatin has shown.

They are jealous, says Romans, of their lands, and endeavor to enlarge their territories by conquest, and claiming large tracts from the Cherokees and Choctaws. They have forced these two tribes into alliance, and they wish to unite all tribes and languages under one general confederation or commonwealth. As an instance of their

jealous policy, it may be related, that in 1764, Messrs. Rea and Galphin, having contracted to supply Pensacola with beef, the Creeks would not allow any other cattle than *oxen* to pass through their territory.

To my mind, it is evident, that the whole Atlantic coast, from the Mississippi to the country of the Six Nations, in the north, has for centuries past been the theatre of constant revolutions among the aborigines of the soil. Wars, conquests, subjugations, extinctions and productions of new races, migrations and new settlements, I do not doubt, have marked the life of western as well as of eastern nations. On this continent there are no Persepolitan, Etruscan, Egyptian or Runic inscriptions, to attest the rise and decay of nations, their wars, conquests and migrations; and where no records have been made of such movements among races and tribes, the modern science of comparative philology has detected, by speech, the far distant emigration of tribes of men, with as great certainty, as the comparative anatomist detects congeners, among fossil mammals. Thus, the Anglo-Saxon derives his origin through Teutonic and Zend, to Sanscrit in central Asia, with positive certainty.

The historians of Carolina and Georgia, have preserved some slight vestiges of the original inhabitants. The Shawnees appear to have been a peculiarly roving, romantic race. Lawson reports that the Catawbans in Carolina, drove back the Shawnees from the Pedee and Santee rivers. At one time, they were repelled by the Six Nations and retired to the valley of the Ohio. At another, they were found on the Savannah river, which was called *Chisketalla fau hache*; and sometimes *Sauvanogee*, the name for *Shawanoe*. This is the report of Mr. Hawkins. It was called *Isundiga*, by the Carolina tribes. My own opinion is, that the river was so called, from the tribe of Savannahs occupying its banks; who belonged to the great Uchee family. There are many indications however, which favor the settlement of Shawnees on this river.

Hawkins says, that "the village of Sauvanogee, on the waters of Coosa and Tallapoosa, is inhabited by Shawanee. They retain the language and customs of their countrymen to the northwest, and aided them in their late

war with the United States. Some Uchees have settled with them."

Entertaining the suspicion, that these Shawanee were in reality Uchees, I found confirmation in Bartram. He says, "their (Uchees) own national language is radically different from the Muscogulgee tongue; and is called Savannah or Savannauc, Savanogee. I was told by the traders, that it was the same as the dialect of the Shawanese. The Uchees are in confederacy with the Creeks, but do not mix with them."

The language of the Shawanese is most certainly not like Uchee; and this contradiction of the traders I cannot well explain. Yet I have the conviction, that the tribe of Savannahs were Uchees. All travellers concur in assigning to the Uchees great influence in the confederacy; and Bartram asserts that "they excite the jealousy of the whole Creek union." Palachoocla or *Parachoocla*, the capital of the confederacy, with two thousand inhabitants, on the waters of the Chattahoochee, is a very ancient Uchee town. There is at this day an old Indian station in Carolina, on the Savannah river, called Parachoola, which is Uchee. *Saukechuh*, (saltketchers,) where Governor Craven defeated the Yamassees, is most likely to be a Uchee word. Indeed, until the contrary shall be proved by comparative vocabularies, I shall think that the Savannahs, Sevannahs and Uchees, who conquered and expelled the Westos and Stonos, were one people with the Yamassees.

The Yamassees were, in turn, expelled from Carolina by the English, and took refuge in Florida. The Yamacraws belonged to this tribe. The Uchees seem to have been a conquering people, whose tide of success having been checked, flowed back towards the west, and there met the advancing waves of the Muscogee emigration from the west, rolling eastwardly. Policy and self-preservation combined to suggest a coalition. And thus, from these principles, acting upon other nomadic or migrating tribes, may have sprung the powerful Creek or Muscogee confederacy.

The existence of the numerous aboriginal tribes within the borders of the United States will, ere long, belong only to history. The generations of Indians that have passed away since the first English settlements in Amer-

ica, have left no monuments to attest their dominion. There exist in the valleys of the great west, striking evidences of an anterior civilization, which are objects of wonder to the Indians of our day as well as to ourselves. The only vestiges of their creation, that will be left to posterity, are the books of missionaries printed in their idioms, and vocabularies, unsatisfactory but invaluable to science. Too much honor and praise cannot be accorded to those enlightened men, who have devoted themselves to the preservation of these vestiges which are to become the fossil, organic remains of intellectual humanity. Du Ponceau and Gallatin are the two names which stand pre-eminent in this department of scientific labor. The one has closed his honorable career; the other still devotes, with advancing years, his philosophic mind to these subjects of human and scientific interest. At this moment he is preparing for press a volume of ethnographic investigations in California and New Mexico. The labors of the scholar and historian, will beautifully close the career of the benevolent and disciplined statesman.

WM. B. HODGSON.

JUNE 20, 1848.

A SKETCH OF THE CREEK COUNTRY,

IN THE YEARS 1798 AND 1799.

257.1(7)9

By Benjamin Hawkins

THE origin of the name Creek is uncertain. The tradition is, that it was given by white people, from the number of Creeks and water courses in the country. The Indian name is Muscogee.*

The Creeks came from the west. They have a tradition among them, that there is, in the fork of Red river, west of the Mississippi, two mounds of earth; that at this place, the Cussetuhs, Conetuhs and Chickasaws, found themselves; that being distressed by wars with red people, they crossed the Mississippi, and directing their course eastwardly, they crossed the falls of Tal-lapoo-sa, above Took-au-bat-che, settled below the falls of Chat-to-ho-che, and spread out from thence to Oc-mul-gee, O-conee, Savannah, and down on the seacoast, towards Charleston. Here, they first saw white people, and from hence they have been compelled to retire back again, to their present settlements.

The country lying between Coosau, Tallapoosa and Chat-to-ho-che, above their falls, is broken. The soil is stiff, with coarse gravel, and in some places, stone. The trees are post oak, white and black oak, pine, hickory and chesnut, all of them small. The whole is well watered, and the rivers and creeks have rocky beds, clad in many places with moss greatly relished by cattle, horses and deer, and are margined with cane or reed, on narrow strips or coves, of rich flats. On the Coosau, sixty miles above its junction with Tallapoosa, there is limestone, and it is to be found in several places from thence up to Etow-woh, and its western branches.

* G is always hard in Creek. Mus-co-gee, a Creek Indian; Mus-co-gul-gee, the Creeks. Che-lo-kee, a Cherokee. Che-loc-ul-gee, the Cherokees.

The country above the falls of Oc-mul-gee and Flint rivers, is less broken than that of the other rivers. These have their sources near each other, on the left side of Chattohoche, in open, flat, land, the soil stiff, the trees post and black oak, all small. The land is generally rich, well watered, and lies well, as a waving country, for cultivation. The growth of timber is oak, hickory, and the short leaf pine; pea-vine on the hill sides and in the bottoms, and a tall, broad leaf, rich grass, on the richest land. The whole is a very desirable country. Below the falls of these two rivers, the land is broken or waving. The streams are, some of them, margined with oak woods; and all of them with cane or reed. The upland of Oc-mul-gee is pine forest; the swamp wide and rich; the whole is fine for stock. On its right bank, below the old Uchee path, there is some light pine barren, with saw palmetto and wiregrass.

Flint river, below its falls, has some rich swamp, for not more than twenty miles. Its left bank is then poor, with pine flats and ponds, down within fifteen miles of its confluence with Chat-to-ho-che. These fifteen miles is waving, with some good oak in small veins. On its right bank there are several large creeks, which rise out of the ridge dividing the waters of Flint and Chattohoche. Some of them are margined with oak woods and cane; and all the branches, for seventy miles below the falls, have reed; from thence down there are bay galls and dwarf evergreens, and cypress ponds, with some live oak. Between these rivers, there is some good post and black oak land, strewed over with iron ore, and the ridge dividing their waters has a vein of it, extending itself in the direction with the ridge. Within twenty-five miles of the confluence of the rivers, the live oak is to be seen near all the ponds, and here are limestone rocks. The land here is good in veins, in the flats and on the margins of the rivers. The trees of every description are small. The range is a fine one for cattle.

That exclusive body of land between Flint river, O-ke-fi-no-cau, A-la-ta-ma-ha and the eastern boundary of the creek claims, is poor pine land, with cypress ponds and bay galls. The small streams are margined with dwarf evergreens. The uplands have yellow pine, with dwarf

saw palmetto and wiregrass. The bluffs on St. Illas, are, some part of them, sandy pine barren ; the remainder is a compact, stiff, yellowish sand or clay, with large swamps ; the growth is the loblolly bay, gum and small evergreens. The whole of these swamps is bogs. In the rainy season, which commences after midsummer, the ponds fill, and then the country is, a great part of it, covered with water ; and in the dry season it is difficult to obtain water in any direction, for many miles.

Bees abound in the O-ke-fin-a-cau and other swamps, eastward of Flint river. The wortleberry is to be found in the swamps, and on the poorest of the land bordering on the cypress ponds. When the woods are not burnt for a year or more, the latter are on dwarf bushes, grow larger, and in great abundance.

The dwarf saw palmetto, when the woods are not burnt, in like manner bears a cluster of berries on a single stem, which are eaten by bear, deer, turkeys and Indians. The berries are half an inch in diameter, covered with a black skin, and have a hard seed ; they are agreeable to the taste, sweet, accompanied with bitter, and when full ripe they burst, and the bees extract much honey from them. The China briar is in the flat, rich, sandy margins of streams. The Indians dig the roots, pound them in a mortar, and suspend them in coarse cloth, pour water on them and wash them. The sediment which passes through with the water is left to subside ; the water is then poured off, and the sediment is baked into cakes or made into gruel sweetened with honey. This briar is called *Coonte*, and the bread made of it, *Coon-te-tuc-a-li-sa*, and is an important article of food among the hunters. In the old beaver ponds, in thick boggy places, they have the bog potatoe (*Uc-lau-wau-he-āhā*) a small root, used as food in years of scarcity.

The O-ke-fin-o-cau is the source of the St. Mary's and Little St. Johns, called by the Indians *Sau-wau-na*. It is sometimes called *E-cun-fin-o-cau*, from *E-cun-nau*, earth ; and *Fin-o-cau*, quivering. The first is the most common amongst the Creeks. It is from *Ooka* a Chactau word for water, and *Fin-o-cau*, quivering. This is a very extensive swamp, and much of it a bog ; and so much so,

that a little motion will make the mud and water quiver to a great distance. Hence the name is given.

Ho-ith-lepoie Tus-tun-nug-ge-thluc-co, an Indian who resided in it many years, says that, "the Little St. John's may be ascended far into the swamp, and that it is not practicable to go far up the St. Mary's, as it loses itself in the swamp; that there is one ridge on the west side of the St. John's, and three on the east. The growth is pine, live and white oak; the soil good; the lakes abound in fish and alligators. On the ridges and in the swamps there were a great many bear, deer, and tigers. He lived on the ridge west of the St. John's, and was, with his family, very healthy. Being unwilling to take part in the war between the United States and Great Britain, he moved there to be out of the way of it, was well pleased with his situation, and should have continued to reside there, but for the beasts of prey, which destroyed his cattle and horses. He could walk round the swamp in five days."

The land between Chat-to-ho-che and Alabama, bordering on the southern boundary of the United States, is better than that on the east side of Flint river. The Ko-e-ne-cuh rises between these two rivers, and makes the bay Escambia at Pensacola. Between Ko-e-ne-cuh and Chat-to-ho-che, the land is broken or waving. The ridge dividing their waters, has high flats of light land, well set with willow-leaved hickory, and iron ore in places, and all the streams have reed or cane on their margins.

This country has the appearance of being a healthy one, and the range is fine for cattle, hogs, and horses. The pine flats have the wiregrass, and in some places, the saw palmetto. The soil of the waving land is, some of it, stiff and red, with stones on the ridges. The pine land is stiff, generally, and pretty good for corn.

The Tal-la-poo-sa from its falls to its confluence with the Coosau, about thirty miles, has some good flat land. The broken land terminates on its right bank, and the good land spreads out on its left. There are several pine creeks on this side, which have their source in the ridge dividing these waters from Ko-e-ne-cuh. The land bordering on them is rich; the timber large, and cane abundant. This good land extends to the Alabama, and down it for thirty miles, including the plains, (He-guc-pul-gee.)

These are seventeen miles through, going parallel to Alabama south 20° west. They are waving, hill and dale, and appear divided into fields. In the fields the grass is short, no brush; the soil in places is a lead color, yellow underneath, within the abode of the ants, and very stiff. In the wooded parts the growth is generally post oak, and very large, without any under brush, beautifully set in clumps. Here the soil is a dark clay, covered with long grass and weeds, which indicate a rich soil. One observation applies to all the fields; in the centre the land is poorest, the grass shortest, and it rises gradually to the wooded margins, where it is tall, and the land apparently rich. Four large creeks meander through the plains to the Alabama. They all have broad margins of stiff, level, rich land, well wooded and abounding with cane. There is, notwithstanding these creeks, a scarcity of water in the dry season, and all the creeks were dry in 1799, and not a spring of water was to be found.

The Alabama is margined with cane swamps, and these, in places, with flats of good land or poor pine flats. The swamps at the confluence with the Tombigby and below on the Mobile, is low and subject to be overflowed every spring. Above, it is of great width, intersected with lakes, slashes, and crooked drains, and much infested with musketoes. The people who cultivate this swamp, never attempt to fence it, as the annual freshes, always in the spring, rise from three to ten feet over it. The land, bordering on the swamp, and for a mile back, is a poor, stiff clay; the growth is pine and underbrush, back of this broken pine barren, there are cypress ponds, and veins of reeds in the branches. The range is said to be a fine one for cattle. The settlement of Ta-en-sau borders on the Mobile and Alabama, on the left side. On the same side of Alabama, fifty miles above its confluence with the Tombigby, the high broken lands commence and extend for sixty or seventy miles upwards, and abound in places with large, fine, tall cedar.

The land between Alabama and Ko-o-ne-cuh, below the plains, is broken or waveing; the soil is stiff, very red in places, and gravelly; for thirty miles then succeeds stiff pine barren. Limestone, a creek which enters the Alabama, has some good broken land, with limestone,

which gives name to the creek. At its sources there is a fine body of land called the "dog woods," the growth is oak, chesnut, poplar, lind and dogwood. This vein of land is nearly twenty miles in length, and eight wide. The dogwood is very thick set, and some of them large, ten inches diameter. The whole is finely watered.

The Coosau has its source high up in the Cherokee country. E-tow-woh and Oos-te-nau-lih, are its main branches. The land on these rivers is rich, and abounds with limestone. Sixty miles above the confluence of the Coo-sau with Tallapoosa, there is a high, waving, limestone country settled by the Indians of Coo-sau, Au-be-coo-che nau-che and Eu-fau-lau-hat-che. The settlements are generally on rich flats of oaks, hickory, poplar, walnut and mulberry. The springs are fine; there is cane on the creeks, and reed on the branches. The surrounding country is broken and gravelly. The land fit for culture, is generally the margins of the creeks, or the waving slopes from the high broken land.

Throughout the whole of this country, there is but little fruit of any kind; in some of the rich flats there are fox grapes and muscadines; the small cluster grapes of the hills is destroyed by fire, and the persimmon, haw and chesnut, by the hatchet; there are a few blackberries in the old fields, red haws on the poor sand hills, and strawberries thinly scattered, but not a gooseberry, raspberry or currant, in the land.

The traveller, in passing through a country as extensive and wild as this, and so much in a state of nature, expects to see game in abundance. The whole of the creek claims, the Seminoles inclusive, cover three hundred miles square; and it is difficult for a good hunter, in passing through it, in any direction, to obtain enough for his support.

The towns, with a description of their position, and the lands of their neighborhood.

There are thirty-seven towns in the Creek nation; twelve on the waters of Chat-to-ho-che, and twenty-five on the waters of Coo-sau and Tal-la-poo-sa. The small towns or villages belong to some one of these. The old

towns have the exclusive right of governing the ceremony of the Boos-ke-tuh.*

The towns on Chat-to-ho-che.

- | | |
|------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1 Cow-e-tuh. | 7 Hitch-e-tee. |
| 2 Cow-c-tuh-tal-lau-has-see. | 8 Pā-lā-chooc-la. |
| 3 Cus-se-tuh. | 9 O-co-nee. |
| 4 U-chee. | 10 Sau-woog-e-lo. |
| 5 Oo-se-oo-che. | 11 Sau-woog-e-loo-che. |
| 6 Che-au-hau. | 12 Eu-fau-lau. |

The towns on Coo-sau and Tal-la-poo-sa.

- | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1 Tal-e-see. | 14 O-che-au-po-fau. |
| 2 Took-au-bat-che. | 15 We-wo-cau. |
| 3 Aut-tos-see. | 16 Puc-cūn-tal-lau-has-see. |
| 4 Hoith-le Waulee. | 17 Coo-sau. |
| 5 Foose-hat-che. | 18 Au-be-coo-chee |
| 6 Coo-loome. | 19 Nau-chee. |
| 7 E-cun-hut-kee. | 20 Eu-fau-lau-hat-che. |
| 8 Sau-va-no-gee. | 21 Woc-co-coie. |
| 9 Mook-lau-sau. | 22 Hill-au-bee. |
| 10 Coo-sau-dee. | 23 Oc-fus-kee. |
| 11 Hook-choie. | 24 Eu-fau-lau. |
| 12 Hook-choie-oo-che. | 25 Ki-a-li-jee. |
| 13 Tus-ke-gee. | |

The towns of the Simenolies deserve a place here, as they are Creeks. They inhabit the country bordering on the gulf of Mexico, from A-pa-la-che-co-la, including Little St. John's and the Florida point. They have seven towns.

- | | |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1 Sim-e-no-le-tal-lau-haf-see | 5 Oc-le-wau-hau thluc-co. |
| 2 Mic-co sooc-e. | 6 Tal-lau-gue chapco pop-cau |
| 3 We-cho-took-me. | 7 Cull-oo-sau hat-che. |
| 4 Au-lot-che-wau. | |

Sim-e-lo-le or Sim-e-no-le, means *wild*. These towns

* Hereafter described.

are made from the towns O-co-nee, Sau-woog-e-lo, Eu-fau-lau, Tum-mault-lau, Pā-lā-chooc-le and Hitch-e-tec. They are called *wild* people, because they left their old towns and made irregular settlements in this country to which they were invited by the plenty of game, the mildness of the climate, the richness of the soil, and the abundance of food for cattle and horses. The range is equally fine for hogs, but they are raised with difficulty, as the ponds and swamps abound with alligators.

A description of the towns on Coosau and Tal-la-poo-sa, generally called Upper Creeks.

1. *Tal-e-see*, from Tal-o-fau, a town, and *e-see*, taken. Situated in the fork of Eu-fau-le on the left bank of Tal-la-poo-sa, opposite Took-au-bat-che. Eu-fau-be has its source in the ridge dividing the waters of Chat-to-ho-che, from Tal-la-poo-sa, and runs nearly west to the junction with the river; there it is sixty feet wide. The land on it is poor for some miles up, then rich flats, bordered with pine land with reedy branches, a fine range for cattle and horses.

The Indians have mostly left the town, and settled up the creek, or on its waters, for twenty miles. The settlements are some of them well chosen, and fenced with worm fences. The land bordering on the streams of the right side of the creek, is better than that of the left; and here the settlements are mostly made. Twelve miles up the creek from its mouth it forks; the large fork of the left side has some rich flat swamp, large white oak, poplar, ash and white pine. The trading path from Cus-setuh to the Upper Creeks crosses this fork twice. Here it is called big swamp, (opil-thluc-co.) The waving land to its source is stiff. The growth is post oak, pine and hard shelled hickory.

The Indians who have settled out on the margins and branches of the creek, have, several of them, cattle, hogs and horses, and begin to be attentive to them. The head warrior of the town, Peter McQueen, a half breed, is a snug trader, has a valuable property in negroes and stock and begins to know their value.

These Indians were very friendly to the United States, during the revolutionary war, and their old chief, Ho-bo-

ith-le Mic-co, of the halfway house, (improperly called the Tal-e-see king,) could not be prevailed on by any offers from the agents of Great Britain, to take part with them. On the return of peace, and the establishment of friendly arrangements between the Indians and citizens of the United States, this chief felt himself neglected by Mr. Seagrove, which resenting, he robbed and insulted that gentleman, compelled him to leave his house near Took-au-bat-che, and fly into a swamp. He has since then, as from a spirit of contradiction, formed a party in opposition to the will of the nation, which has given much trouble and difficulty to the chiefs of the land. His principal assistants were the leaders of the banditti who insulted the commissioners of Spain and the United States, on the 17th September, 1799, at the confluence of Flint and Chat-to-ho-che. The exemplary punishment inflicted on them by the warriors of the nation, has effectually checked their mischief-making and silenced them. And this chief has had a solemn warning from the national council, to respect the laws of the nation, or he should meet the punishment ordained by the law. He is one of the great medal chiefs.

This spirit of party or opposition, prevails not only here, but more or less in every town in the nation. The plainest proposition for ameliorating their condition, is immediately opposed; and this opposition continues as long as there is hope to obtain *presents*, the infallible mode heretofore in use, to gain a point.

2. Took-au-bat-che. The ancient name of this town is Is-po-co-gee; its derivation uncertain; it is situated on the right bank of the Tallapoosa, opposite the junction of Eu-fau-be, two and a half miles below the falls of the river, on a beautiful level. The course of the river from the falls to the town, is south; it then turns east three-quarters of a mile, and short round a point opposite Eu-fau-be, thence west and west-by-north to its confluence with Coosau, about thirty miles. It is one hundred yards wide opposite the town house to the south, and here are two good fords during the summer. One just below the point of a small island, the other one hundred yards still lower.

The water of the falls, after tumbling over a bed of

rock for half a mile, is forced into two channels; one thirty, the other fifteen feet wide. The fall is forty feet in fifty yards. The channel on the right side, which is the widest, falls nearly twenty feet in ten feet. The fish are obstructed here in their attempts to ascend the river. From appearances, they might be easily taken in the season of their ascending the rivers, but no attempts have hitherto been made to do so.

The rock is a light gray, very much divided in square blocks of various sizes for building. It requires very little labor to reduce it to form, for plain walls. Large masses of it are so nicely fitted, and so regular, as to imitate the wall of an ancient building, where the stone had passed through the hands of a mason. The quantity of this description at the falls and in the hill sides adjoining them, is great; sufficient for the building of a large city.

The falls above spread out, and the river widens to half a mile within that distance, and continues that width for four miles. Within this scope are four islands, which were formerly cultivated, but are now old fields margined with cane. The bed of the river is here rocky, shoally, and covered with moss. It is frequented in summer by cattle, horses, and deer; and in the winter, by swans, geese and ducks.

On the right bank opposite the falls, the land is broken, stoney and gravelly. The hill sides fronting the river, exhibit this building rock. The timber is post oak, hickory and pine, all small. From the hills the land spreads off level. The narrow flat margin between the hills and the river is convenient for a canal for mills on an extensive scale, and to supply a large extent of flat land around the town with water. Below the falls a small distance, there is a spring and branch, and within five hundred yards a small creek; thence within half a mile, the land becomes level and spreads out on this side two miles, including the flats of Wol-lau-hat-che, a creek ten feet wide, which rises seventeen miles from its junction with the river, in the high pine forest, and running south-south-east enters the river three miles below the town house. The whole of this flat, between the creek and the river, bordering on the town, is covered with oak and the small hard shelled hickory. The trees are all small;

the land is light, and fine for corn, cotton or melons. The creek has a little cane on its margins, and reed on the small branches; but the range is much exhausted by the stock of the town.

On the left bank of the river, at the falls, the land is broken pine forest. Half a mile below there is a small creek which has its source seven miles from the river, its margins covered with reed or cane. Below the creek the land becomes flat, and continues so to Talesee on the Eu-fau-bee, and half a mile still lower, to the hills between this creek and Ca-le-be-hat-che. The hills extend nearly two miles, are intersected by one small creek and two branches, and terminate on the river in two high bluffs; from whence is an extensive view of the town, the river, the flat lands on the opposite shore and the range of hills to the northwest; near one of the bluffs there is a fine spring, and near it a beautiful elevated situation for a settlement. The hills are bounded to the west by a small branch. Below this, the flat land spreads out for one mile. It is a quarter of a mile from the branch on this flat to the residence of Mr. Cornells, (Oche Haujo,) thence half a mile to the public establishment, thence two miles to the mouth of Ca-le-be-hat-che. This creek has its source thirty miles to the east in waving, post oak, hickory and pine land; in some places the swamp is wide, the beach and white oak very large, with poplar, cypress, red bay, sassafras, Florida magnolia, and white pine. Broken piny woods and reedy branches on its right side; oak flats, red and post oak, willow leaved hickory, long and short leaf pine and reedy branches on its left side. The creek at its mouth is twenty-five feet wide. The flat between it and the river is fine for corn, cotton and melons, oak, hickory, and short leaf pine. From this flat to its source, it is margined with cane, reed, and palmetto. Ten miles up the creek, between it and Kebihatche, the next creek below and parallel with this, are some licks in post and red oak saplin flats; the range on these creeks is apparently fine for cattle; yet from the want of salt or moss, the large ones appear poor in the fall, while other cattle, where moss is to be had, or they are regularly salted, are fat.

They have 116 gun men belonging to this town; they

were formerly more numerous, but have been unfortunate in their wars. In the last they had with the Chickasaws, they lost thirty-five gun men; they have begun to settle out in villages for the conveniency of stock raising, and having firewood; the stock which frequent the mossy shoals above the town, look well and appear healthy; the Indians begin to be attentive to them, and are increasing them by all the means in their power. Several of them have from fifty to one hundred, and the town furnished seventy good beef cattle in 1799. One chief, Took-aubatche Haujo, has five hundred, and although apparently very indigent, he never sells any; while he seems to deny himself the comforts of life, he gives continued proofs of unbounded hospitality; he seldom kills less than two large beeves a fortnight, for his friends and acquaintances.

The town is on the decline. Its appearance proves the inattention of the inhabitants. It is badly fenced; they have but a few plum trees, and several clumps of cassine yupon; the land is much exhausted with continued culture, and the wood for fuel is at a great and inconvenient distance, unless boats or land carriages were in use; it could then be easily supplied; the river is navigable for boats drawing two and a half feet in the dry season, from just above the town, to Alabama. From the point just above the town to the falls, the river spreads over a bed of flat rock in several places, where the depth of water is something less than two feet.

This is the residence of Efau Haujo, one of the great medal chiefs, the speaker for the nation at the national council. He is one of the best informed men of the land, and faithful to his national engagements. He has five black slaves, and a stock of cattle and horses; but they are of little use to him; the ancient habits instilled in him by French and British agents, that the red chiefs are to live on presents from their white friends, is so riveted, that he claims it as a tribute due to him, and one that never must be dispensed with.

At the public establishment there is a smith's shop, a dwelling house and kitchen built of logs, and a field well fenced. And it is in the contemplation of the agent, to have a public garden and nursery.

The assistant and interpreter, Mr. Cornells, (Oche

Haujo,) one of the chiefs of the Creek nation, has a farm well fenced and cultivated with the plough. He is a half breed, of a strong mind, and fulfils the duties enjoined on him by his appointment, with zeal and fidelity. He has nine negroes under good government. Some of his family have good farms, and one of them, Zachariah McGive is a careful, snug farmer, has good fences, a fine young orchard, and a stock of hogs, horses and cattle. His wife has the neatness and economy of a white woman. This family and Sullivan's, in the neighborhood, are spinning.*

3. *Aut-tos-se*, on the left side of Tallapoosa, below and adjoining Ca-le-be-hat-che. A poor, miserable looking place, fenced with small poles; the first on forks in a line and two others on stakes hardly sufficient to keep out cattle. They have some plum and peach trees; a swamp back of the town and some good land back of that, a flat of oak, hickory and pine. On the right bank of the river, just below the town, they have a fine rich cove of land which was formerly a cane brake, and has been cultivated.

There is, below the town, one good farm made by the late Richard Bailey, and an orchard of peach trees. Mrs. Bailey, the widow, is neat, clean and industrious, and very attentive to the interests of her family; qualities rarely to be met with in an Indian woman. Her example has no effect on the Indians, even her own family, with the exception of her own children. She has fifty *bee-hives* and a great supply of honey every year; has a fine stock of hogs, cattle and horses, and they all do well. Her son, Richard Bailey, was educated in Philadelphia by the Government, and he has brought with him into the nation so much contempt for the Indian mode of life, that he has got himself into discredit with them. His young brother is under the direction of the Quakers in Philadelphia. His three sisters promise to do well, they are industrious and can spin. Some of the Indians have cattle; but in general, they are destitute of property.

* January 1st, 1801. Mr. Cornells has a flock of sheep presented to him by the agent, of which he is very careful. His farm is in fine order, the fences well made and straight, his garden 150 feet square, well paled, laid off and planted with the variety usual in good gardens. He has a nursery of peach trees, and two bushels of peach stones to plant, by order of the agent, for a public nursery. He is very attentive to all improvements suggested to him, and has now prepared a field of two acres for cotton. He has a field of rye which looks well, and is about to sow a field of oats. He retains his Indian dress, but has the manners of a well bred man.

In the year 1766 there were forty-three gun men, and lately they were estimated at eighty. This is a much greater increase of population than is to be met with in other towns! they appear to be stationary generally, and in some towns are on the decrease; the apparent difference here, or increase, may be greater than the real; as formerly men grown were rated as gun men, and now boys of fifteen, who are hunters, are rated as gun men; they have for two years past been on the decline; are very sickly, and have lost many of their inhabitants; they are now rated at fifty gun men only.*

4. *Ho-ith-le Waule*, from *Ho-ith-le, war*, and *wau-le*, to *share out or divide*. This town had, formerly, the right to declare war; the declaration was sent first to *Took-aubatche*, and thence throughout the nation, and they appointed the rendezvous of the warriors. It is on the right bank of the *Tallapoosa*, five miles below *Aut-tos-see*. In descending the river on the left side from *Aut-tos-see*, is two miles across *Ke-bi-hatche*; thence one mile and a half *O-fuck-she*, and enter the fields of the town; the fields extend down the river for one and a half miles; the town is on the right bank, on a narrow strip of good land; and back of it, under high red cliffs, are cypress ponds. It borders west on *Autoshatche* twenty-five feet wide.

These people have some cattle, and a few hogs and horses; they have some settlements up *O-fuck-she*; the increase of property among them, and the inconvenience attendant on their situation, their settlement being on the right side of the river, and their fields and stock on the left, brought the well-disposed to listen with attention to the plan of civilization, and to comment freely on their bad management. The town divided against itself; the idlers and the ill-disposed remained in the town, and the others moved over the river and fenced their fields. On this side the land is good and level, and the range out from the river good to the sources of *O-fuck-she*. On the other side, the high broken land comes close to the river. It is broken pine barren, back of that.. The situation of the

* January 1st, 1801. Richard Bailey being dead, much of the Indian appears. The fifty bee-hives are reduced to one, and his son Richard is neither an Indian nor white man; yet he promises to mend, as the agent for Indian affairs is soon to reside in his neighborhood. The date to the calculation of numbers, is here noted from a British return, but it is probably erroneous.

town is low and unhealthy ; and this remark applies to all the towns on Tallapoosa, below the falls.

O-fuc-she has its source near Ko-e-ne-cuh, thirty miles from the river, and runs north. It has eight or nine forks, and the land is good on all of them. The growth is oak, hickory, poplar, cherry, persimon, with cane brakes on the flats and hills. It is a delightful range for stock, and was preserved by the Indians for bears, and called the beloved bear-ground. Every town had a reserve of this sort exclusively ; but as the cattle increase and the bears decrease, they are hunted in common. This creek is sixty feet wide, has steep banks, and is difficult to cross, when the waters are high.

Kebihatche has its source to the east, and is parallel with Ca-le-be-hat-che ; the margins of the creek have rich flats bordering pine forest or post oak hills.

5. *Foosce-hat-che* ; from foo-so-wau, a *bird*, and hat-che, *tail*. It is two miles below Ko-ith-le-wau-le, on the right bank of Tal-la-poo-sa, on a narrow strip of flat land ; the broken lands are just back of the town ; the cornfields are on the opposite side of the river, and are divided from those of Ho-ith-le-wau-le by a small creek, Noo-coosechepo. On the right bank of this little creek, half a mile from the river, is the remains of a ditch, which surrounded a fortification, and back of this for a mile, is the appearance of old settlements, and back of these, pine slashes.

The cornfields are narrow, and extend down, bordering on the river.

6. *Coo-loo-me*, is below and near to Foosce-hat-che, on the right side of the river ; the town is small and compact, on a flat much too low, and subject to be overflowed in the seasons of floods, which is once in fifteen or sixteen years, always in the winter season, and mostly in March ; they have, within two years, begun to settle back, next to the broken lands ; the cornfields are on the opposite side, joining those of Foosce-hat-che, and extend together near four miles down the river, from one hundred to two hundred yards wide. Back of these hills there is a rich swamp of from four to six hundred yards wide, which, when reclaimed, must be valuable for corn or rice,

and could be easily drained into the river, which seldom overflows its banks, in spring or summer.

They have no fences; they have huts in the fields to shelter the laborers in the summer season from rain, and for the guards set to watch the crops while they are growing. At this season some families move over and reside in their fields, and return with their crops into the town. There are two paths, one through the fields on the river bank, and the other back of the swamp. In the season for melons, the Indians of this town and Fooscehat-che show in a particular manner their hospitality to all travellers, by calling to them, introducing them to their huts or the shade of their trees, and giving them excellent melons, and the best fare they possess. Opposite the town house, in the fields, is a conical mound of earth thirty feet in diameter, ten feet high, with large peach trees on several places. At the lower end of the fields, on the left bank of a fine little creek, Le-cau-suh, is a pretty little village of Coo-loo-me people, finely situated on a rising ground; the land up this creek is waving pine forest.

7. *E-cun-hut-ke*; from e-cun-nau, *earth*, and hut-ke, *white*, called by the traders *white ground*. This little town is just below Coo-loo-me, on the same side of the river, and five or six miles above Sam-bel-loh, a large fine creek which has its source in the pine hills to the north, and its whole course through broken pine hills. It appears to be a never-failing stream, and fine for mills; the fields belonging to this town, are on both sides of the river.

8. *Sau-wa-no-gee*, is on a pine forest, three miles below Le-cau-suh, and back from a swamp bordering on the river; their fields are on both sides of the river, but mostly on the left bank, between the swamp and the river, on a vein of rich canebrake land; they are the Shaw-anee, and retain the language and customs of their countrymen to the northwest, and aided them in their late war with the United States. Some Uchces have settled with them; they are industrious, work with their women and make plenty of corn; they have no cattle, and but few horses and hogs; the town house is an oblong square

cabin, roof eight feet pitch, the sides and roof covered with the bark of the pine; on the left side of the river.

9. *Mook-lau-sau*, is a small town one mile below Sau-va-noo-gee, on the left bank of a fine little creek, and bordering on a cypress swamp; their fields are below those of Sau-van-no-gee, bordering on the river; they have some lots about their houses fenced for potatoes; one chief has some cattle, horses and hogs; a few others have some cattle and hogs.

In the season of floods, the river spreads out on this side below the town, nearly eight miles from bank to bank, and is very destructive to game and stock.

10. *Coo-sau-dee*, is a compact little town situated three miles below the confluence of Coosau and Tallapoosa, on the right bank of Alabama; they have fields on both sides of the river; but their chief dependence is a high, rich island, at the mouth of Coosau. They have some fences, good against cattle only, and some families have small patches fenced, near the town, for potatoes.

These Indians are not Creeks, although they conform to their ceremonies; the men work with the women and make great plenty of corn; all labor is done by the joint labor of all, called public work, except gathering in the crop. During the season for labor, none are exempted from their share of it, or suffered to go out hunting.

There is a rich flat of land nearly five miles in width, opposite the town, on the left side of the river, on which are numbers of conic mounds of earth. Back of the town it is pine barren, and continues so westward for sixty to one hundred miles.

The Coo-sau-dee generally go to market by water, and some of them are good oarsmen. A part of this town moved lately beyond the Mississippi, and have settled there. The description sent back by them that the country is rich and healthy, and abounds in game, is likely to draw others after them. But as they have all tasted the sweets of civil life, in having a convenient market for their products, it is likely they will soon return to their old settlements, which are in a very desirable country, well suited to the raising of cattle, hogs and horses; they have a few hogs, and seventy or eighty cattle, and some horses. It is not more than three years since they had

not a hog among them. Robert Walton, who was then the trader for the town, gave the women some pigs, and this is the origin of their stock.

There are four villages below this town on A-la-ba-ma, which had formerly a regular town; they are probably the ancient A-la-ba-mas.

1st. *E-cun-chate*; from E-cun-nā, *earth*, and chāte, *red*. A small village on the left bank of Alabama, which has its fields on the right side, in the cane swamp; they are a poor people, without stock, are idle and indolent, and seldom make bread enough, but have fine melons in great abundance in their season. The land back from the settlement, is of thin quality, oak, hickory, pine and ponds. Back of this, hills, or waving. Here the soil is of good quality for cultivation; that of thin quality extends nearly a mile.

2d. *Too-wos-sau*, is three miles below E-cun-chā-te, on the same side of the river, a small village on a high bluff; the land is good about, and back of the village; they have some lots fenced with cane, and some with rails, for potatoes and ground nuts; the corn is cultivated on the right side of the river, on rich cane swamps; these people have a few hogs, but no other stock.

3rd. *Pau-woc-te*; a small village two miles below Too-was-sau, on a high bluff, the same side of the river; the land is level and rich, for five miles back; but none of it is cultivated around their houses; their fields are on the right bank of the river, on rich cane swamp; they have a few hogs and horses, but no cattle; they had, formerly, the largest and best breed of hogs in the nation, but have lost them by carelessness or inattention.

4th. *At-tau-gee*; a small village four miles below Pau-woc-te, spread out for two miles on the right bank of the river; they have fields on both sides, but their chief dependence is on the left side; the land on the left side is rich; on the right side the pine forest extends down to At-tau-gee creek; below this creek the land is rich.

These people have very little intercourse with white people; although they are hospitable, and offer freely any thing they have, to those who visit them. They have this singular custom, as soon as a white person has eaten of any dish and left it, the remains are thrown

away, and every thing used by the guest immediately washed.

They have some hogs, horses and cattle, in a very fine range, perhaps the best on the river; the land to the east as far as Ko-e-ne-cuh, and except the plains, (Hi-yuc-pul-gee,) is well watered, with much canebrake, a very desirable country. On the west or right side, the good land extends about five miles, and on all the creeks below At-tau-gee, it is good; some of the trees are large poplar, red oak and hickory, walnut on the margins of the creeks, and pea-vine in the valleys.

These four villages have, in all, about eighty gun men; they do not conform to the customs of the Creeks, and the Creek law for the punishment of adultery is not known to them.

11. *Hook-choie*; on a creek of that name which joins on the left side of Ki-a-li-jee, three miles below the town, and seven miles south of thlo-tlo-gul-gau. The settlements extend along the creeks; on the margins of which and the hill sides, are good oak and hickory, with coarse gravel, all surrounded with pine forest.

12. *Hook-choie-oo-che*; a pretty little compact town, between O-che-au-po-fau and Tus-ke-gee, on the left bank of Coosau; the houses join those of Tus-ke-gee; the land around the town is a high, poor level, with highland ponds; the corn fields are on the left side of Tallapoosa, on rich low grounds, on a point called Sam-bel-loh, and below the mouth of the creek of that name which joins on the right side of the river.

They have a good stock of hogs, and a few cattle and horses; they formerly lived on the right bank of Coosau, just above their present site, and removed, lately, on account of the war with the Chickasaws. Their stock ranges on that side of the river; they have fenced all the small fields about their houses, where they raise their peas and potatoes; their fields at Sam-bel-loh, are under a good fence; this was made by Mrs. Durant, the oldest sister of the late General McGillivray, for her own convenience.

13. *Tus-ke-gee*; this little town is in the fork of the two rivers, Coo-sau and Tal-la-poo-sa, where formerly stood the French fort Toulouse. The town is on a bluff

on the Coo-sau, forty-six feet above low water mark; the rivers here approach each other within a quarter of a mile, then curve out, making a flat of low land of three thousand acres, which has been rich canebrake; and one-third under cultivation, in times past; the centre of this flat is rich oak and hickory, margined on both sides with rich cane swamp; the land back of the town, for a mile, is flat, a whitish clay; small pine, oak and dwarf hickory, then high pine forest.

There are thirty buildings in the town, compactly situated, and from the bluff a fine view of the flat lands in the fork, and on the right bank of Coosau, which river is here two hundred yards wide. In the yard of the town house, there are five cannon of iron, with the trunions broke off, and on the bluff some brickbats, the only remains of the French establishment here. There is one apple tree claimed by this town, now in possession of one of the chiefs of Book-choie-oo-che.

The fields are the left side of Tal-la-poo-sa, and there are some small patches well formed in the fork of the rivers, on the flat rich land below the bluff.

The Coosau extending itself a great way into the Cherokee country and mountains, gives scope for a vast accumulation of waters, at times. The Indians remark that once in fifteen or sixteen years, they have a flood, which overflows the banks, and spreads itself for five miles or more in width, in many parts of A-la-ba-ma. The rise is sudden, and so rapid as to drive a current up the Tal-la-poo-sa for eight miles. In January, 1796, the flood rose forty-seven feet, and spread itself for three miles on the left bank of the A-la-ba-ma. The ordinary width of that river, taken at the first bluff below the fork, is one hundred and fifty yards. This bluff is on the left side, and forty-five feet high. On this bluff are five conic mounds of earth, the largest thirty yards diameter at the base, and seventeen feet high; the others are smaller.

It has been for sometime a subject of enquiry, when, and for what purpose, these mounds were raised; here it explains itself as to the purpose; unquestionably they were intended as a place of safety to the people, in the time of these floods; and this is the tradition among the old people. As these Indians came from the other side

of the Mississippi, and that river spreads out on that side for a great distance, it is probable, the erection of mounds originated there; or from the custom of the Indians heretofore, of settling on rich flats bordering on the rivers, and subject to be overflowed. The name is *o-cun-li-ge*, mounds of earth, or literally, *earth placed*. But why erect these mounds in high places, incontestably out of the reach of floods? From a superstitious veneration for ancient customs.

The Alabama overflows its flat swampy margins, annually; and, generally, in the month of March, but seldom in the summer season.

The people of Tuskegee have some cattle, and a fine stock of hogs, more perhaps than any town of the nation. One man, Sam Macnack, a half breed, has a fine stock of cattle. He had, in 1799, one hundred and eighty calves. They have lost their language, and speak Creek, and have adopted the customs and manners of the Creeks. They have thirty-five gun men.

14. *O-che-au-po-fau*; from Oche-ub, a *hickory tree*, and po-fau, *in, or among*, called by the traders, *hickory ground*. It is on the left bank of the Coosau, two miles above the fork of the river, and one mile below the falls, on a flat of poor land, just below a small stream; the fields are on the right side of the river, on rich flat land; and this flat extends back for two miles, with oak and hickory, then pine forest; the range out in this forest is fine for cattle; reed is abundant in all the branches.

The falls can be easily passed in canoes, either up or down; the rock is very different from that of Tallapoosa; here it is ragged and very coarse granite; the land bordering on the left side of the falls, is broken or waving, gravelly, not rich. At the termination of the falls there is a fine little stream, large enough for a small mill, called, from the clearness of the water, *We-hemt-le, good water*. Three and a half miles above the town are ten apple trees, planted by the late General McGillivray; half a mile further up are the remains of Old Tal-e-see, formerly the residence of Lochlan McGillivray and his son, the general. Here are ten apple trees planted by the father, and a stone chimney, the remains of a house built by the

son, and these are all the improvements left by the father and son.

These people, are some of them, industrious. They have forty gun men, nearly three hundred cattle, and some horses and hogs; the family of the general belong to this town; he left one son and two daughters; the son is in Scotland, with his grandfather, and the daughters with Sam Mac-nac, a half breed, their uncle; the property is much of it wasted. The chiefs have requested the agent for Indian affairs, to take charge of the property for the son, to prevent its being wasted by the sisters of the general, or by their children. Mrs. Durant, the oldest sister, has eight children. She is industrious but has no economy or management. In possession of fourteen working negroes, she seldom makes bread enough, and they live poorly. She can spin and weave, and is making some feeble efforts to obtain clothing for her family. The other sister, Sehoi, has about thirty negroes, is extravagant and heedless, neither spins nor weaves, and has no government of her family. She has one son, David Tale, who has been educated in Philadelphia and Scotland. He promises to do better.

15. *We-wo-cau*; from *we-wau*, *water* and *wo-cau*, *barking or roaring*, as the sound of water at high falls. It lies on a creek of the same name, which joins *Guc-cun-tallau-has-see*, on its left bank, sixteen miles below that town. *We-wo-cau* is fifteen miles above *O-che-au-pofau* and four miles from *Coosau*, on the left side; the land is broken, oak and hickory, with coarse gravel; the settlements are spread out, on several small streams, for the advantage of the rich flats bordering on them, and for their stock; they have cattle, horses and hogs. Here commences the moss, in the beds of the creeks, which the cattle are very fond of; horses and cattle fatten very soon on it, with a little salt; it is of quick growth, found only in the rocky beds of the creeks and rivers north from this.

The hills which surround the town are stoney, and unfit for culture; the streams all have reed, and there are some fine licks near the town, where it is conjectured salt might be made. The land on the right side of the creek, is

poor pine barren hills, to the falls. The number of gun men is estimated at forty.

16. *Puc-cun-tal-lau-has-see*; from E-puc-cun-nau, a *may-apple*, and tal-lau-has-see, *old town*. It is in the fork of a creek which gives name to the town; the creek joins on the left side of Coosau, forty miles below Coosau town.

17. *Coo-sau*; on the left bank of Coo-sau, between two creeks, Eu-fau-lau and Nau-che. The town borders on the first, above; and on the other below; they are a quarter of a mile apart at their junction with the river. The town is on a high and beautiful hill; the land on the river is rich and flat for two hundred yards, then waving and rich, fine for wheat and corn. It is a limestone country, with fine springs, and a very desirable one; there is reed on the branches, and pea-vine in the rich bottoms and hill sides, moss in the river and on the rock beds of the creek.

They get fish plentifully in the spring season, near the mouth of Eu-fau-lau-hat-che; they are rock, trout, buf-faloe, red horse and perch. They have fine stocks of horses, hogs and cattle; the town gives name to the river, and is sixty miles above Tus-ke-gee.

18. *Au-be-coo-che*, is on Nau-che creek, five miles from the river, on the right bank of the creek, on a flat one mile wide. The growth is hard-shelled hickory. The town spreads itself out and is scattered on both sides of the creek, in the neighborhood of very high hills, which descend back into waving, rich land, fine for wheat or corn; the bottoms all rich; the neighborhood abounds in limestone, and large limestone springs; they have one above, and one below the town; the timber on the rich lands is oak, hickory, walnut, poplar and mulberry.

There is a very large cave north of the town, the entrance of which is small, on the side of a hill. It is much divided, and some of the rooms appear as the work of art; the doors regular; in several parts of the cave saltpetre is to be seen in crystals. On We-wo-cau creek, there is a fine mill seat; the water is contracted by two hills; the fall twenty feet; and the land in the neighborhood very rich; cane is found on the creeks, and reed on the branches. From one or two experiments, tobacco grows well on these lands.

This town is one of the oldest in the nation ; and sometimes, among the oldest chiefs, it gives name to the nation, Au-be-cuh. Here some of the oldest customs had their origin. The law against adultery was passed here, and that to regulate marriages. To constitute legal marriage, a man must build a house, make his crop and gather it in, then make his hunt and bring home the meat ; putting all this in the possession of his wife, ends the ceremony and they are married, or as the Indians express it, the woman is bound, and not till then. This information is obtained from Co-tau-lau, (Tus-se-ki-ah Mic-co,) an old and respectable chief, descended from Nau-che. He lives near We-o-coof-ke, has accumulated a handsome property, owns a fine stock, is a man of much information, and of great influence among the Indians of the towns in the neighborhood of this.

They have no fences, and but a few hogs, horses and cattle ; they are attentive to white people who live among them, and particularly so to white women.

19. *Nau-chee* ; on Nauchee creek, five miles above Au-be-coo-che, below the fork of the creek, on a rich flat of land, of a mile in width, between two small mountains. This flat extends from the town three-quarters of a mile above the town house. The settlements are scattered on both sides of the creek for two miles ; they have no worm fences, and but little stock. One chief, a brother of Chin-a-be, has a large stock of hogs, and had ninety fit for market, in 1798.

This town is the remains of the Nat-chez who lived on the Mis-sis-sip-pi. They estimate their number of gun men at one hundred ; but they are, probably, not more than fifty. The land, off from the mountains, is rich ; the flats on the streams are large and very rich ; the high, waving country is very healthy and well watered ; cane grows on the creeks, reed on the branches, and pea-vine on the flats and hill sides. The Indians get the root they call tal-e-wau, in this neighborhood ; which the women mix with bears' oil, to redden their hair.

20. *Eu-fau-lau-hat-che*, is fifteen miles up that creek, on a flat of half a mile, bordering on a branch. On the left side of the creek, the land is rich and waving ; on the right sides are steep hills sloping off, waving, rich

land ; hickory, oak, poplar and walnut. It is well watered, and the whole a desirable limestone country ; they have fine stocks of cattle, horses and hogs.

21. *Woc-co-coie* ; from *woc-co*, a *blow-horn*, and *coie*, a *nest*, these birds formerly had their young here. It is on Tote-pauf-cau creek, a branch of Po-chuse-hat-che, which joins the Coo-sau, below Puc-cun-tal-lau-has-see. The land is very broken, sharp-hilly and stoney ; the bottoms and the fields are on the small bends and narrow strips of the creek ; the country, off from the town, is broken.

These people have some horses, hogs and cattle ; the range good ; moss, plenty in the creeks, and reed in the branches. Such is the attachment of horses to this moss, or as the traders call it, salt grass, that when they are removed, they retain so great a fondness for it, that they will attempt, from any distance within the neighboring nations, to return to it.

22. *Hill-au-bee* ; on Col-luffa-de, which joins Hill-au-bee creek, on the right side, one mile below the town. Hill-au-bee joins the Tallapoosa on its right bank, eight miles below New-yau-cau. One chief only, Ne-hau-thluc-co Hau-jo, resides in the town ; the people are settled out in the four following villages.

1st. *Thlā-noo-che au-bau-lau* ; from *thlen-ne*, a *mountain*, *oo-che*, *little*, and *au-bau-lau*, *over*. The name is expressive of its position. It is situated over a little mountain, fifteen miles above the town, on the northwest branch of Hill-au-bee creek ; the town house of this village is on the left side of the creek.

2d. *Au-net-te chap-co* ; from *au-net-te*, a *swamp*, and *chap-co*, *long*. It is situated on Choo-fun-tau-lau-hat-che, which joins Hill-au-bee creek, three miles north from the town ; the village is ten miles above the town.

3rd. *E-chuse-is-li-gau* ; (where a young thing was found.) A young child was found here, and that circumstance gives it the name. This village is four miles below the town, on the left side of Hill-au-bee creek.

4th. *Ook-tau-hau-zau-see* ; from *ook-tau-hau*, *sand*, and *zau-see*, a *great deal*. It is two miles from the town, on a creek of that name, a branch of Hill-au-bee, which it joins a quarter of a mile below Col-luffa-dee, at a great shoal.

The land on these creeks, within the scope of the four villages, is broken and stoney, with coarse gravel; the bottoms and small bends of the creeks and branches, are rich. The upland is generally stiff, rich and fit for culture. Post oak, black oak, pine and hickory, all small, are the growth. The whole abounds in veins of reeds, and reedy branches. They call this the winter reed, as it clusters like the cane.

The villages are badly fenced, the Indians are attentive to their traders; and several of them are careful of stock, and have cattle and hogs, and some few have horses. Four half breeds have fine stocks of cattle. Thomas has one hundred and thirty cattle and ten horses. Au-wil-au-gee, the wife of O-pi-o-che-tus-tun-nug-gee, has seven cattle. These Indians promised the agent, in 1799, to begin and fence their fields; they have one hundred and seventy gun men in the four villages.

Robert Grierson, the trader, a native of Scotland, has by a steady conduct, contributed to mend the manners of these people. He has five children, half breeds, and governs them as Indians, and makes them and his whole family respect him, and is the only man who does so, in the Upper Creeks. He has three hundred cattle and thirty horses; he has, on the recommendation of the agent for Indian affairs, set up a manufactory of cotton cloth; he plants the green-seed cotton, it being too cold for the black-seed. He has raised a quantity for market, but finds it more profitable to manufacture it; he has employed an active girl of Georgia, Rachael Spillard, who was in the Cherokee department, to superintend, and allows her two hundred dollars per annum. He employs eleven hands, red, white and black, in spinning and weaving, and the other part of his family in raising and preparing the cotton for them. His wife, an Indian woman, spins, and is fond of it; and he has a little daughter who spins well. He employs the Indian women to gather in the cotton from the fields, and has expectations of prevailing on them to take an active part in spinning.

Hill-au-bee creek has a rocky bottom, covered in many places with moss. In the spring of the year, the cattle of the villages crowd after it, and are fond of it. From

thence they are collected together by their owners, to mark and brand the young ones.

The climate is mild; the water seldom freezes; they have mast every other year, and peaches for the three last years. The range is a good one for stock. The owners of horses have a place called a *stomp*. They select a place of good food, cut down a tree or two, and make salt logs. Here the horses gather of themselves, in the fly season. They have in the villages a few thriving peach trees, and there is much gravelly land, which would be fine for them.

23. *Oc-fus-kee*; from *Oc*, *in*, and *fuskee*, *a point*. The name is expressive of the position of the old town, and where the town house now stands on the right bank of *Tal-la-poo-sa*. The town spreads out on both sides of the river, and is about thirty-five miles above *Took-aub-at-che*. The settlers on the left side of the river, are from *Chat-to-ho-che*. They once formed three well settled villages on that river. *Che-luc-co ne-ne*, *Ho-ith-le-tigau* and *Chau-kethluc-co*.

Oc-fus-kee with its villages, is the largest town in the nation. They estimate the number of gun men of the old town, at one hundred and eighty; and two hundred and seventy in the villages or small towns. The land is flat for half a mile on the river, and fit for culture; back of this, there are sharp, stoney hills, the growth is pine, and the branches all have reed.

They have no fences around the town; they have some cattle, hogs and horses, and their range is a good one; the shoals in the river afford a great supply of moss, called by the traders salt grass; and the cows which frequent these shoals, are the largest and finest in the nation; they have some peach trees in the town, and the cassine yupon, in clumps. The Indians have lately moved out and settled in villages, and the town will soon be an old field; the settling out in villages, has been repeatedly pressed by the agent for Indian affairs, and with considerable success; they have seven villages belonging to this town.

1st. *New-yau-cau*; named after New York. It is on the left bank of *Tallapoosa*, twenty miles above *Oc-fus-kee*; these people lived formerly at *Tote-pauf-cau*, (*spunk-knot*), on *Chat-to-ho-che*, and moved from thence in 1777.

They would not take part in the war between the United States and Great Britain, and determined to retire from their settlements, which, through the rage of war, might feel the effects of the resentment of the people of the United States, when roused by the conduct of the red people, as they were placed between the combatants. The town is on a flat, bordering on the river; the adjoining lands are broken or waving and stony; on the opposite side they are broken, stony; the growth is pine, oak and hickory. The flat strips of land on the river, above and below, are generally narrow; the adjoining land is broken, with oak, hickory and pine. The branches all have reed; they have a fine ford at the upper end of the town; the river is one hundred and twenty yards wide. Some of the people have settled out from the town, and they have good land on Inn-nook-fau creek, which joins the right side of the river, two miles below the town.

2d. *Took-au-bat-che tal-lau-has-see*; this village received in part a new name in 1797. Tal-lo-wau mu-chos-see, (new town.) It is on the right bank of the river, four miles above New-yau-cau; the land around it is broken and stony; off from the river the hills are waving; and post oak, hard shelled hickory, pine, and on the ridges, chesnut is the growth.

3rd. *Im-mook-fau*; (a gorget made of a conch.) This village is four miles west from Tookaubatche Tal-lau-has-see, on Immookfau creek, which joins the right side of Tallapoosa, two miles below New-yau-cau. The settlers are from Thu-le-oc-who-cat-lau and Sooc-he-ah; they have fine rich flats on the creek, and a good range for their cattle; they possess some hogs, cattle and horses, and begin to be attentive to them.

4th. *Tooh-to-cau-gee*; from tooh-to, a corn house, and cau-gee, fixed or standing. The Indians of Oc-fus-kee, formerly built a corn house here, for the convenience of their hunters, and put their corn there for their support, during the hunting season. It is on the right bank of Tallapoosa, twenty miles above New-yau-cau; the settlements are on the narrow flat margins of the river, on both sides. On the left side the mountains terminate here, the uplands are too poor and broken for cultivation; the path from E-tow-wah, in the Cherokee country, over the

tops of these mountains, is a pretty good one. It winds down the mountains to this village; the river is here one hundred and twenty yards wide, a beautiful clear stream. On the right side, off from the river flats, the land is waving, with oak, hickory and pine, gravelly, and in some places large sheets of rock which wave as the land. The grit is coarse, but some of it is fit for mill stones; the land is good for corn, the trees are all small, with some chesnut on the ridges; the range is a good one for stock; reed is found on all the branches; on the path to New-yau-cau, there is some large rock; the vein lies southwest; they are in two rows parallel with each other, and the land good in their neighborhood

5th. *Au-che-nau-ul-gau*; from *Au-che-nau*, *cedar*; and *ul-gau*, *all*; *a cedar grove*. These settlers are from *Loo-chau po-gau*, (the resort of terrapins.) It is on a creek, near the old town, forty miles above *New-yau-cau*. This settlement is the farthest north of all the Creeks; the land is very broken in the neighborhood. West of this village a few miles, there are large reedy glades in flat land; red, post and black oak, all small; the soil is dark and stiff, with coarse gravel, and in some places stone; from the color of the earth in places, there must be iron ore; the streams from the glades form fine little creeks, branches of the Tallapoosa. The land on their borders is broken, stiff, stony and rich, affording fine mill seats, and on the whole it is a country where the Indians might have desirable settlements; the path from *E-tow-woh* to *Hill-aubee* passes through these glades.

6th. *E-pe-sau-gee*; this village is on a large creek which gives name to it, and enters the Tallapoosa, opposite *Oclus-kee*. The creek has its source in the ridge, dividing the waters of this river from *Chat-to-ho-che*; it is thirty yards wide, and has a rocky bottom; they have forty settlers in the village, who have fenced their fields this season, for the benefit of their stock, and they have all of them cattle, hogs and horses. They have some good land on the creek, but generally it is broken, the strips of flat land are narrow; the broken is gravelly, with oak, hickory and pine, not very inviting. Four of these villages have valuable stocks of cattle. *McCartney* has one

hundred ; E-cun-chā-te E-maut-lau, one hundred ; 'ote-cuh Haujo, one hundred, and Tools Micco, two hundred.

7th. *Sooc-he-ah* ; from Sooc-cau, a hog ; and heah, here, called by the traders, *hog range*. It is situated on the right bank of Tallapoosa, twelve miles above Oc-fus-kee. It is a small settlement ; the land is very broken ; the flats on the river are narrow ; the river broad and shoally. These settlers have moved, and joined Immoockfau, with a few exceptions.

24. *Eu-fau-lau* ; on the right bank of Tallapoosa, five miles below Oc-fus-kee, on that side of the river, and but two in a direct line ; the lands on the river are fit for culture ; but the flats are narrow, joined to pine hills and reedy branches.

They have hogs and cattle, and the range is a good one ; they have moss in the shoals of the river ; there are, belonging to this town, seventy gun men, and they have begun to settle out for the benefit of their stock. This season, some of the villagers have fenced their fields. They have some fine land on Hat-che-lus-ta, and several settlements there but no fences ; this creek joins the right side of the river, two miles below the town. On Woc-cau E-hoo-te, this year, 1799, the villagers, five families in all, have fenced their fields, and they have promised the agent to use the plough the next season. On black creek, Co-no-fix-ico has one hundred cattle, and makes butter and cheese. John Townshend, the trader of the town, is an honest Englishman, who has resided many years in the nation, and raised a numerous family, who conduct themselves well. His daughters, who are married, conduct themselves well, have stocks of cattle, are attentive to them, make butter and cheese, and promise to raise cotton and learn to spin. The principal cattle holders are, Conofixico, who has one hundred ; Choc-lo Emautlau's stock is on the decline, thirty ; Well Geddis Taupixa Micco, one hundred ; Co Emautlau, four hundred, under careful management. John Townshend, one hundred and forty, and Sally, his daughter, fifty.

25. *Ki-a-li-jee* ; on the right side of Kialijee creek, two and a half miles below the junction with Hook-choie. This creek joins the right side of Tallapoosa, above the falls ; all the rich flats of the creek are settled ; the land

about the town is poor and broken; the fields are on the narrow flats, and in the bends of the creek; the broken land is gravelly or stony; the range for cattle, hogs and horses, is the poorest in the nation; the neighborhood of the town and the town itself, has nothing to recommend it. The timber is pine, oak and small hickory; the creek is fifteen feet wide, and joins Tallapoosa fifteen miles above Took-au-bat-che. They have two villages belonging to this town.

1st. *Au-che-nau-hat-che*; from au-che, *cedar*; and hat-che, *a creek*. They have a few settlements on this creek, and some fine, thriving peach trees; the land on the creek is broken, but good.

2d. *Hat-che chub-bau*; from hat-che, *a creek*; and chub-bau, *the middle, or half way*. This is in the pine forest, a poor, ill-chosen site, and there are but a few people.

The remaining villages of the towns on Coosau and Tallapoosa.

1st. *Sou-go-hat-che*; from sou-go, *a cymbal*; and hat-che, *a creek*. This joins on the left side of Tallapoosa, ten miles below Eu-fau-lau. It is a large creek, and the land on the forks and to their sources, is stiff in places, and stony. The timber is red oak and small hickory; the flats on the streams are rich, covered with reed; among the branches the land is waving and fit for cultivation.

They have thirty gun men in this village, who have lately joined Tal-e-see. One of the chiefs. O-fau-mulgau, has some cattle, others have a few, as they have only paid attention to their stock within two years, and their means for acquiring them were slender.

Above this creek, on the waters of Eu-fau-lau-hat-che, there are some settlements well chosen. The upland is stiff and stony or gravelly; the timber is post and red oak, pine and hickory; the trees are small; the soil apparently rich enough, and well suited for wheat, and the streams have some rich flats.

2d. *Thlot-lo-gul-gau*; from thlot-lo, *fish*; and ul-gau, *all*; called by the traders fish ponds. It is on a small, pond-like creek, a branch of Ul-kau-hat-che, which joins Tallapoosa four miles above Ocfuskee, on the right side. The town is fourteen miles up the creek; the land about

it is open and waving ; the soil is dark and gravelly ; the general growth of trees is the small hickory ; they have reed in the branches.

Hannah Hale resides here. She was taken a prisoner from Georgia, when about eleven or twelve years old, and married the head man of this town, by whom she has five children. This woman spins and weaves, and has taught two of her daughters to spin ; she has labored under many difficulties ; yet by her industry has acquired some property. She has one negro boy, a horse or two, sixty cattle, and some hogs ; she received the friendly attention of the agent for Indian affairs, as soon as he came in the nation. He furnished her with a wheel, loom, and cards ; she has an orchard of peach and apple trees. Having made her election at the national council, in 1799, to reside in the nation, the agent appointed Hopoithle Haujo to look out for a suitable place for her, to help her to remove to it with her stock, and take care that she receives no insults from the Indians.

3d. *O-pil-thluc-co* ; from *O-pil-lo-wau*, a *swamp* ; and *thluc-co*, *big*. It is situated on a creek of that name, which joins *Puc-cun-tal-lau-has-see* on the left side. It is twenty miles from Coosau river ; the land about this village is round, flat hills, thickets of hickory saplins, and on the hill sides and their tops, hickory grub and grape vines. The land bordering on the creek is rich, and here are their fields.

4th. *Pin-e-hoo-te* ; from *pin-e-wau*, a *turkey* ; and *choo-te*, *house*. It is on the right side of a fine little creek, a branch of *E-pee-sau-gee*. The land is stiff and rich, and lies well ; the timber is red oak and hickory ; the branches all have reed, and the land on them, above the settlement, is good black oak, saplin and hickory. This, and the neighboring land, is fine for settlement ; they have here three or four houses only, some peach trees and hogs, and their fields are fenced. The path from *New-yau-cau* to *Cou-e-tuh-tal-lau-has-see* passes by these houses.

5th. *Po-chuse-hat-che* ; from *po-chu-so-wau*, a *hatchet*, and *hat-che*, a *creek*. This creek joins Coosau, four miles below *Puc-cun-tal-lau-has-see*, on its right bank ; this village is high up the creek, nearly forty miles from its mouth, on a flat bend on the right side of the creek ; the

settlements extend up and down the creek for a mile. A mile and a half above the settlements there is a large canebrake, three-quarters of a mile through, and three or four miles in length.

The land adjoining the settlement is waving and rich, with oak, hickory, and poplar. The branches all have reed; the neighboring lands above these settlements, are fine; those below, are high, broken hills. It is situated between Hill-au-bee and Woc-co-coie, about ten miles from each town; three miles west of the town, there is a small mountain; they have some hogs.

6th. *Oc-fus-coo-che*; (little Ocfuskee;) is a part of the small village, four miles above New-yau-cau. Some of these people lived at *Oc-fus-kee-nene*, on the *Chat-to-ho-che*, from whence they were driven by an enterprising volunteer party from Georgia, the 27th September, 1793.

The towns classed, and a Commander appointed over each class.

At a meeting of the national council, convened by order of the agent for Indian affairs, at Tookaubatche, the 27th November, 1799, the chiefs, after a long and solemn deliberation, on the affairs of the nation, which were laid before them by the agent for Indian affairs, came to a resolution to adopt the plan of the agent, "to class all the towns, and to appoint a warrior over each class, denominated the warrior of the nation."

The towns thus classed, with the warriors for the nation, are:—

1st. *Hook-choie*, *We-wo-cau*, *Puc-cun-tal-lau-has-see*, *O-pil-thluc-co* and *Thlot-lo-gul-gau*. For these five towns they appointed *Sim-mo-me-jee* of *Wewocau*.

2d. *Ki-a-li-jee* and *Eu-fau-lau*. For these two towns, they appointed *E-maut-lau Hut-ke*.

3d. *Hill-au-bee*, *Woc-co-coie* and *Pochusehatche*. For these three towns they appointed *Cussetuh Tus-tun-nug-gee*, of *Hill-au-bee*, and *Thle-chum-me Tustunnuggee*, of *Woc-co-coie*.

4th. *Au-bee-coo-che*, *Nau-che*, *Coosau* and *Eu-fau-lau-hat-che*. For these four towns, they appointed *Olohtau Haujo*.

5th. Ho-ith-le-wau-le, Ecunhutke, Sauvanogee, Mook-lau-sau and Took au-bat-che. For these five towns, they appointed O-poie E-maut-lau, of Ho-ith-le-wau-le.

These five classes comprise the towns called Ke-pau-yau, or warriors of the nation. But on the present occasion, when their existence as a nation depends on their ability to carry the laws into effect, the chiefs assembled unanimously agreed that the E-tall-wau, *white towns*, should be classed as warriors.

6th. Oc-fus-kee and its villages, Sooc-he-ah, New-yau-cau, Im-mook-fau, Took-au-bat-che, Tal-lau-has-see, Took-to-cau-gee, Au-che-nau-ulgau, Oc-fus-coo-che and E-pe-sau-gee. For this town and its villages, they appointed Hopoie Tus-tun-nug-gee, of Oc-fus-kee, and Tal-lo-wau-thlucco Tus-tun-nug-gee.

7th. O-che-au-po-fau and Tus-kée-gee. For these two towns, they appointed Ho-po-ithle Ho-poie.

8th. Tal-e-see, Aut-tos-see, Foose-hat-che and Coo-loo-me. For these four towns, they appointed Foose-hat-che Tus-tun-nug-gee, of Tal-e-see, and Eu-fau-lau Tus-tun-nug-gee, of Foose-hat-che.

9th. Hook-choie-oo-che, Coo-sau-dee, E-cun-chā-te, Too-wos-sau, Pau-woc-te, and At-tau-gee. For these towns and villages, they appointed Ho-ith-le-poie Hau-jo and Tus-tun-nuc, of Hook-choie-oo-che.

6 and 8 are E-tall-wau, or white towns.

The towns on Chat-to-ho-che, generally called the Lower Creeks.

The name of this river is from Chat-to, *a stone*; and ho-che, *marked or flowered*; there being rocks of that description in the river, above Ho-ith-le-ti-gau, at the old town Chat-to-ho-che.

1. *Cow-e-tugh*; on the right bank of Chat-to-ho-che, three miles below the falls, on a flat extending back one mile. The land is fine for corn; the settlements extend up the river for two miles on the river flats. These are bordered with broken pine land; the fields of the settlers who reside in the town, are on a point of land formed by a bend of the river, a part of them adjoining the point, are low, then a rise of fifteen feet, spreading back for

half a mile, then another rise of fifteen feet, and flat a half a mile to a swamp adjoining the high lands; the fields are below the town.

The river is one hundred and twenty yards wide, with a deep steady current from the fall; these are over a rough, coarse rock, forming some islands of rock, which force the water into two narrow channels, in time of low water. One is on each side of the river, in the whole about ninety feet wide; that on the right is sixty feet wide, with a perpendicular fall of twelve feet; the other of thirty feet wide, is a long sloping curve, very rapid, the fall fifteen feet in one hundred and fifty feet; fish may ascend in this channel, but it is too swift and strong for boats; here are two fisheries; one on the right belongs to this town; that on the left, to the Cussetuhs; they are at the termination of the falls; and the fish are taken with scoop nets; the fish taken here are, the hickory shad, rock, trout, perch, cat fish, and suckers; there is sturgeon in the river, but no white shad or herring; during spring and summer, they catch the perch and rock with hooks. As soon as the fish make their appearance, the chiefs send out the women, and make them fish for the *square*. This expression includes all the chiefs and warriors of the town.

The land on the right bank of the river at the falls, is a poor pine barren, to the water's edge; the pines are small; the falls continue three or four miles nearly of the same width, about one hundred and twenty yards; the river then expands to thrice that width, the bottom being gravelly, shoal and rocky; there are several small islands within this scope; one at the part where the expansion commences is rich and some part of it under cultivation; it is half a mile in length, but narrow; here the river is fordable; enter the left bank one hundred yards above the upper end of the island, and cross over to it, and down to the fields, thence cross the other channel; at the termination of the falls, a creek twenty feet wide, (*O-cow-ocuh-hat-che, falls creek,*) joins the right side of the river. Just below this creek, and above the last reef of rocks, is another ford. The current is rapid, and the bottom even.

In ascending the river on this side, on the river path,

travelling at the rate of three miles the hour, the following distances are noted.

- 1h. 30m. Cross a creek running to the right, three feet wide. The land, the whole distance, is poor, broken and unfit for culture.
- 12m. Some settlements on the river bank, at We-at-lo-tuck-e. The land is stiff and rich.
- 58m. Cross Hātehe Cānāne, (crooked creek,) running to the right, ten feet wide; the land stiff and good; oak, hickory, and a few poplar.
- 39m. Chat-to-hat-che, (stony creek,) running to the right ten feet wide; the land broken and poor. There is one settlement on the path, and one at the creek.
- 49m. Woc-coó-che, (calf creek,) over broken land; pine, willow-leaved hickory, and post oak; the land bordering on the creek is rich; there is one plantation, on the left bank, under fence, and some peach trees around the houses. The creek is forty feet wide and runs to the right.
- 41m. To a creek running to the right, bordered with fine winter reed.
- 55. Hal-e-woe-ke, sixty feet wide, running to the right. One plantation on the left bank of the creek; the land broken, chesnut, pine, post oak, hickory, and red oak.
- 27m. To a branch running to the right.
- 8m. A reedy branch running to the right, the land rich.
- 3m. A branch, reedy, running to the right.
- 11m. A reedy branch running to the right.
- 17m. O-sun-nup-pau, (moss creek,) sixty feet wide, running to the right. The bottom rocky with moss; the land for this stage is broken; a mixed growth of post and red oak, pine and hickory.

On the left bank of the river at the falls, the land is level; and in approaching them one is surprised to find them where there is no alteration in the trees or unevenness of land. This level continues back one mile to the poor pine barren, and is fine for corn or cotton; the timber is red oak, hickory and pine; the banks of the river

on this side below the falls are fifty feet high, and continue so, down below the town house; the flat of good land continues still lower to Hat-che thluc-co, (big creek.)

Ascending the river on this bank, above the falls, the following stages are noted in miles.

2½ miles, the flat land terminates; thence

3½ miles, to Chis-se hul-cuh running to the left; thence

4 miles, to Chusse thluc-co twenty feet wide, a rocky bottom.

5 miles, to Ke-tā-le, thirty feet wide, a bold, shoally, rocky creek, abounding in moss. Four miles up this creek, there is a village of ten families, at Hat-che Uxau, (head of a creek.) The land is broken with hickory, pine and chesnut; there is cane on the borders of the creek and reed on the branches; there are some settlements of Cowetuh people made on these creeks; all who have settled out from the town, have fenced their fields, and begin to be attentive to their stock.

The town has a temporary fence of three poles, the first on forks, the other two on stakes, good against cattle only; the town fields are fenced in like manner; a few of the neighboring fields, detached from the town, have good fences; the temporary, three pole fences of the town, are made every spring, or repaired in a slovenly manner.

Mr. Marshall, the trader here, has set up a manufactory of cotton cloth, at the recommendation of the agent; the cotton raised by him the last season, is fine; it is the green-seed; the experiment was commenced with the green-seed, and this year the black-seed of the seacoast has been tried; it is very good, but the season too short for it, although there was no frost this year, 1799, till the 13th of November. In light, rich, sandy land it will certainly succeed. The traders here adopted with spirit, the plan of the government; they have made gardens, fenced their fields, and they have this year raised wheat, rye, and barley.

2. Cow-e-tuh Tal-lau-has-see; from Cow-e-tuh, Tal-lo-fau, a town; and hasse, *old*. It is two and a half miles below Cowetuh, on the right bank of the river. In going down the path between the two towns, in half a mile cross Kotes-ke-le-jau, ten feet wide, running to the left is a fine

little creek sufficiently large for a mill, in all but the dry seasons. On the right bank, enter the flat lands between the towns. These are good, with oak, hard-shelled hickory and pine; they extend two miles to Che-luc-in-te-ge-tuh, a small creek five feet wide, bordering on the town. The town is half a mile from the river, on the right bank of the creek; it is on a high flat, bordered on the east by the flats of the river, and west by high broken hills; they have but a few settlers in the town; the fields are on a point of land three-quarters of a mile below the town, which is very rich, and has been long under cultivation; they have no fence around their fields.

Here is the public establishment for the Lower Creeks; and here the agent resides. He has a garden well cultivated and planted, with a great variety of vegetables, fruits and vines, and an orchard of peach trees. Arrangements have been made, to fence two hundred acres of land fit for cultivation, and to introduce a regular husbandry to serve as a model and stimulus, for the neighboring towns who crowd the public shops here, at all seasons, when the hunters are not in the woods.

The agent entertains doubts, already, of succeeding here in establishing a regular husbandry, from the difficulty of changing the old habits of indolence, and sitting daily in the squares, which seem peculiarly attractive to the residents of the towns. In the event of not succeeding, he intends to move the establishment out from the town, and aid the villagers where success seems to be infallible.

They estimate their number of gun men at one hundred; but the agent has ascertained, by actual enumeration, that they have but sixty-six, including all who reside here, and in the villages belonging to the town.

They have a fine body of land below, and adjoining the town, nearly two thousand acres, all well timbered; and including the whole above and below, they have more than is sufficient for the accommodation of the whole town; they have one village belonging to the town, *We-tum-cau*.

We-tum-cau; from *we-wau*, *water*; and *tum-cau*, *rumbling*. It is the main branch of *U-chee* creek, and is twelve miles northwest from the town. These people

have a small town house on a poor pine ridge on the left bank of the creek below the falls; the settlers extend up the creek for three miles, and they cultivate the rich bends of the creek; there is cane on the creek and fine reed on the branches; the land higher up the creek, and on its branches is waving, with pine, oak, and hickory, fine for cultivation, on the flats and out from the branches; the range is good for stock, and some of the settlers have cattle and hogs, and begin to be attentive to them; they have been advised to spread out their settlements on the waters of this creek, and to increase their attention to stock of every kind.

3. *Cus-se-tuh*; this town is two and a half miles below Cow-e-tuk Tal-lau-has-sec, on the left bank of the river. They claim the land above the falls on their side. In descending the river path from the falls, in three miles you cross a creek running to the right, twenty feet wide; this creek joins the river a quarter of a mile above the Cow-etuh town house; the land to this creek, is good and level, and extends back from the river from half to three-quarters of a mile to the pine forest; the growth on the level, is oak, hickory and pine; there are some ponds and slashes back next to the pine forest, bordering on a branch which runs parallel with the river; in the pine forest there is some reedy branches.

The creek has its source nearly twenty miles from the river, and runs nearly parallel with it till within one mile of its junction; there it makes a short bend round north, thence west to the river; at the second bend, about two hundred yards from the river, a fine little spring creek joins on its right bank; at the first bend north there is a mill seat; the water might here be stopped with a dam, and taken across by a canal, at a little expense of labor, to the river, and the mills might be either here or at the river. About one mile up from the bend, there is another good mill seat in the neighborhood of the pine forest.

The flat of good land on the river continues two and a half miles below this creek, through the Cussetuh fields to Hat-che-thluc-co. At the entrance of the fields on the right, there is an oblong mound of earth; one quarter of a mile lower, there is a conic mound forty-five yards in diameter at the base, twenty-five feet high, and flat on the

top, with mulberry trees on the north side, and evergreens on the south. From the top of this mound, they have a fine view of the river above the flat land on both sides of the river, and all the field of one thousand acres; the river makes a short bend round to the right, opposite this mound, and there is a good ford just below the point. It is not easy to mistake the ford, as there is a flat on the left, of gravel and sand; the waters roll rapidly over the gravel, and the eye, at the first view, fixes on the most fordable part; there are two other fords below this, which communicate between the fields, on both sides of the river; the river from this point comes round to the west, then to the east; the island ford is below this turn, at the lower end of a small island; from the left side, enter the river forty yards below the island, and go up to the point of it, then turn down as the ripple directs, and land sixty yards below; this is the best ford; the third is still lower, from four to six hundred yards.

The land back from the fields to the east, rises twenty feet, and continues flat for one mile to the pine forest; back of the fields, adjoining the rise of twenty feet, is a beaver pond of forty acres, capable of being drained at a small expense of labor; the large creek bounds the fields, and the flat land to the south.

Continuing on down the river from the creek, the land rises to a high flat, formerly the Cussetuh town, and afterwards a Chickasaw town. This flat is intersected with one branch. From the southern border of this flat, the Cussetuh town is seen below, on a flat, just above flood mark, surrounded with this high flat to the north and east, and the river to the west; the land about the town is poor, and much exhausted; they cultivate but little here of early corn; the principal dependence is on the rich fields above the creek; to call them rich must be understood in a limited sense; they have been so, but being cultivated beyond the memory of the oldest man in Cussetuh, they are almost exhausted; the produce is brought from the fields to the town in canoes or on horses; they make barely a sufficiency of corn for their support; they have no fences around their fields, and only a fence of three poles, tied to upright stakes, for their potatoes; the land up the

river, above the fields, is fine for culture, with oak, hickory, blackjack and pine.

The people of Cussetuh associate, more than any other Indians, with their white neighbors, and without obtaining any advantage from it; they know not the season for planting, or if they do, they never avail themselves of what they know, as they always plant a month too late.

This town with its villages is the largest in the Lower Creeks; the people are and have been friendly to white people, and are fond of visiting them; the old chiefs are very orderly men and much occupied in governing their young men, who are rude and disorderly, in proportion to the intercourse they have had with white people; they frequently complain of the intercourse of their young people with the white people on the frontiers, as being very prejudicial to their morals; that they are more rude, more inclined to be tricky, and more difficult to govern, than those who do not associate with them.

The settlements belonging to the town, are spread out on the right side of the river; here they appear to be industrious, have forked fences, and more land enclosed than they can cultivate. One of them desires particularly to be named, *Mic E-maut-lau*. This old chief has with his own labor, made a good worm fence, and built himself a comfortable house; they have but a few peach trees, in and about the town; the main trading path, from the upper towns, passes through here; they estimate their number of gun men at three hundred; but they cannot exceed one hundred and eighty.

Au-put-tau-e; a village of Cussetuh, twenty miles from the river, on Hat-che thluc-co; they have good fences, and the settlers under the best characters of any among the Lower Creeks; they estimate their gun men at forty-three. On a visit here the agent for Indian affairs was met by all the men, at the house of Tus-se-kiah Mic-co. That chief addressed him in these words: "Here, I am glad to see you; this is my wife, and these are my children; they are glad to see you; these are the men of the village; we have forty of them in all; they are glad to see you; you are now among those on whom you may rely. I have been six years at this village, and we have

not a man here, or belonging to our village, who ever stole a horse from, or did any injury to a white man."

The village is in the forks of Hache thlucco, and the situation is well chosen; the land is rich, on the margins of the creeks and the cane flats; the timber is large, of poplar, white oak and hickory; the uplands to the south, are the long-leaf pine; and to the north waving oak, pine and hickory; cane is on the creeks and reed in all the branches.

At this village, and at the house of Tus-se-ki-ah Micco, the agent for Indian affairs has introduced the plough; and a farmer was hired in 1797, to tend a crop of corn, and with so good success, as to induce several of the villagers to prepare their fields for the plough. Some of them have cattle, hogs and horses, and are attentive to them. The range is a good one, but cattle and horses require salt; they have some thriving peach trees, at several of the settlements.

On Ouhe-gee creek, called at its junction with the river, Hitchetee, there is one settlement which deserves a place here. It belongs to Mic-co thluc-co, called by the white people, the "bird tail king." The plantation is on the right side of the creek, on good land, in the neighborhood of pine forest; the creek is a fine flowing one, margined with reed; the plantation is well fenced, and cultivated with the plough; this chief had been on a visit to New York, and seen much of the ways of white people, and the advantages of the plough over the slow and laborious hand hoe. Yet he had not firmness enough, till this year, to break through the old habits of the Indians. The agent paid him a visit this spring, 1799, with a plough completely fixed, and spent a day with him and showed him how to use it. He had previously, while the old man was in the woods, prevailed on the family to clear the fields for the plough. It has been used with effect, and much to the approbation of a numerous family, who have more than doubled their crop of corn and potatoes; and who begin to know how to turn their corn to account, by giving it to their hogs. This Micco and his family, have hogs, cattle and horses, and begin to be very attentive to them; he has some apple and peach trees, and grape vines, a present from the agent.

The Cussetuhs have some cattle, horses and hogs ; but they prefer roving idly through the woods, and down on the frontiers, to attending to farming or stock raising.

The three towns just described, have had a powerful stimulus to their industry, in the regulations adopted by the agent for his supplies. Heretofore, there was no market for provisions. The wants of the traders were few, and those procured with beads, binding, thread or needles. There is now a regular market, and weights and measures are introduced. To call the supply of a single table a regular market, requires some explanation. The annual expenses of the agent's table, for the two last years, has been 2,750 dollars ; and for 1799, the articles were paid for in money and merchandise ; 1000 dollars of the former, and 1,750 of the latter ; this was more than would be supplied by the three towns. The prices established were :

Pork, gross, per cwt.	\$3 00	Capons, per pair .	0 25
Pork, net, per hundred	4 00	Fowls, 4 for . . .	0 25
Bacon, do	10 00	Eggs, per dozen .	0 12½
Beef, do	3 00	Butter per lb. in the	
Corn, per bushel . . .	0 50	spring . . .	0 25
Potatoes,	0 50	During summer . .	0 17
Pumpkins,	0 18	Cheese,	0 17
Ground Peas,	0 50	Oil of hickory nut per	
Field Peas,	1 00	bottle	0 75

4. *U-chee* ; is on the right bank of Chat-to-ho-che, ten and a half miles below Cow-e-tuh-tal-lau-has-see, on a flat of rich land, with hickory, oak, blackjack and long-leaf pine ; the flat extends from one to two miles back from the river. Above the town, and bordering on it, Uchee creek, eighty-five feet wide, joins the river.* Opposite the town house, on the left bank of the river, there is a narrow strip of flat land from fifty to one hundred yards wide, then high pine barren hills ; these people speak a tongue different from the Creeks ; they were formerly settled in small villages at Ponpon, Saltketchers, (Sol-ke-chuh,) Silver Bluff, and O-ge-chee, (How-ge-chu,) and were

* The two forks eight miles up ; on the right, We-tum-cau ; the left, Hosa-po-li-gee.

continually at war with the Cherokees, Ea-tau-bau and Creeks.

In the year 1729, an old chief of Cussetuh, called by the white people Captain Ellick, married three Uchee women, and brought them to Cussetuh, which was greatly disliked by his towns people; their opposition determined him to move from Cussetuh; he went down opposite where the town now is, and settled with his three brothers; two of whom, had Uchee wives; he, after this, collected all the Uchees, gave them the land where their town now is, and there they settled.

These people are more civil and orderly than their neighbors; their women are more chaste, and the men better hunters; they retain all their original customs and laws, and have adopted none of the Creeks; they have some worm fences in and about their town, and but very few peach trees.

They have lately begun to settle out in villages, and are industrious, compared with their neighbors; the men take part in the labors of the women, and are more constant in their attachment to their women, than is usual among red people.

The number of gun men is variously estimated; they do not exceed two hundred and fifty, including all who are settled in villages, of which they have three.

1st. *In-tuch-cul-gau*; from in-tuch-ke, a *dam across water*; and ul-gau, *all*; applied to *beaver dams*. This is on Opil-thluc-co, twenty-eight miles from its junction with Flint river. This creek is sixty feet wide at its mouth, one and a half miles above Timothy Barnard's; the land bordering on the creek, up to the village, is good. Eight miles below the village the good land spreads out for four or five miles on both sides of the creek, with oak woods; (Tuck-au-mau-pa-fau;) the range is fine for cattle; cane grows on the creeks, and reed on all the branches.

They have fourteen families in the village; their industry is increasing; they built a square in 1798, which serves for their town house; they have a few cattle, hogs and horses.

2d. *Pad-gee-li-gau*; from pad-jee, a *pidgeon*; and li-gau, *sit*; *pidgeon roost*. This was formerly a large town, but broken up by Benjamin Harrison and his associates,

who murdered sixteen of their gun men in Georgia; it is on the right bank of Flint river, and this creek, adjoining the river; the village takes its name from the creek; it is nine miles below the second falls of the river; these falls are at the Island's ford, where the path now crosses from Cussetuh to Fort Wilkinson; the village is advantageously situated; the land is rich, the range good for cattle and hogs; the swamp is more than three miles through, on the left bank of the river, and is high and good canebrake; on the right bank, it is one mile through, low and flat; the cane, sassafras and sumach, are large; this extensive and valuable swamp extends down on one side or the other of the river, for twelve miles.

They have but a few families there, notwithstanding it is one of the best situations the Indians possess, for stock, farming and fish. Being a frontier, the great loss they sustained in having sixteen of their gun men murdered, discourages them from returning.

3d. *Toc-co-gul-egau*; (tad pole;) a small settlement on Kit-cho-foone creek, near some beaver dams on branches of that creek; the land is good but broken; fine range, small canes and pea vines on the hills, and reeds on the branches; they have eight or ten families; this establishment is of two years only, and they have worm fences. U-che Will, the head of the village, has some cattle, and they have promised to attend to hogs, and to follow the direction of the agent for Indian affairs, as soon as they can get into stock.

Some of the Uchees have settled with the Shaw-a-nee, at Sau-va-no-gee, among the Creeks of the upper towns.

5. *Oose-oo-chee*; is about two miles below Uchee, on the right bank of Chat-to-ho-chee; they formerly lived on Flint river, and settling here, they built a hot house in 1794; they cultivate with their neighbors, the *Che-au-hau*, below their land in the point.

6. *Che-au-hau*; called by the traders Che-haws, is just below, and adjoining Oosc-oo-che, on a flat of good land. Below the town, the river winds round east, then west, making a neck or point of one thousand acres of canebrake, very fertile, but low, and subject to be overflowed; the land back of this, is level for nearly three miles, with red, post, and white oak, hickory, then pine forest.

These people have villages on the waters of Flint river; there they have fine stocks of cattle, horses and hogs, and they raise corn, rice and potatoes, in great plenty.

The following are the villages of this town:

1st. *Au-muc-cul-le*; (pour upon me;) is on a creek of that name, which joins on the right side of Flint river, forty-five miles below Timothy Barnard's. It is sixty feet wide, and the main branch of Kitch-o-foo-ne, which it joins three miles from the river; the village is nine miles up the creek; the land is poor and flat, with limestone springs in the neighborhood; the swamp is cypress in hammocks, with some water oak and hickory; the pine land is poor with ponds and wire grass; they have sixty gun men in the village; it is in some places well fenced; they have cattle, hogs and horses, and a fine range for them, and raise corn, rice and potatoes in great plenty.

2d. *O-tel-le-who-yau-nau*; (hurricane town;) is six miles below Kitch-o-foo-ne, on the right bank of Flint river, with pine barren on both sides; they have twenty families in the village, which is fenced; and they have hogs, cattle and horses; they plant the small margins near the mouth of a little creek; this village is generally named as belonging to Che-au-hau; but they are mixed with Ooseo-ches.

3. *Che-au-hoo-che*; (little che-au-hau;) is one mile and a half west from Hit-che-tee, in the pine forest, near Au-he-gee; a fine little creek, called at its junction with the river, Hit-che-tee; they begin to fence and have lately built a square.

7. *Hit-che-tee*; is on the left bank of Chat-to-ho-che, four miles below Che-au-hau; they have a narrow strip of good land, bordering on the river, and back of this it rises into high, poor land, which spreads off flat. In approaching the town on this side, there is no rise, but a great descent to the town flat; on the right bank of the river the land is level, and extends out for two miles, is of thin quality; the growth is post oak, hickory, and pine, all small, then pine barren and ponds.

The appearance about this town indicates much poverty and indolence; they have no fences; they have spread out into villages, and have the character of being honest and industrious; they are attentive to the rights

of their white neighbors, and no charge of horse stealing from the frontiers, has been substantiated against them. The villages are,

1st. *Hit-che-too-che*, (Little Hit-chetee,) a small village of industrious people, settled on both sides of Flint river, below *Kit-cho-foo-ne*; they have good fences, cattle, horses, and hogs, in a fine range, and are attentive to them.

2d. *Tut-tal-lo-see*; (fowl;) on a creek of that name, twenty miles west from *Hit-che-too-che*. This is a fine creek on a bed of limestone; it is a branch of *Kitch-o-foo-ne*; the land bordering on the creek, and for eight or nine miles in the direction towards *Hit-che-too-che*, is level, rich, and fine for cultivation, with post and black oak, hickory, dogwood and pine. The villagers have good worm fences, appear industrious, and have large stocks of cattle, some hogs and horses; they appear decent and orderly, and are desirous of preserving a friendly intercourse with their neighbors; they have this year, 1799, built a square.

8. *Pā-lā-chooc-le*; is on the right bank of *Chat-to-ho-che*, one and a half miles below *Che-au-hau*, on a poor, pine barren flat; the land back from it is poor, broken, pine land; their fields are on the left side of the river, on poor land.

This was formerly the first among the Lower Creek towns; a peace town, averse to war, and called by the nation, *Tal-lo-wau thluc-co*, (big town.) The Indians are poor, the town has lost its former consequence, and is not now much in estimation.

9. *O-co-nee*; is six miles below *Pā-lā-chooc-le*, on the left bank of *Chat-to-ho-che*. It is a small town, the remains of the settlers of *O-co-nee*; they formerly lived just below the Rock landing, and gave name to that river; they are increasing in industry, making fences, attending to stock, and have some level land moderately rich; they have a few hogs, cattle and horses.

10. *Sau-woo-ge-lo*; is six miles below *O-co-nee*, on the right bank of the river, a new settlement in the open pine forest. Below this, for four and a half miles, the land is flat on the river, and much of it in the bend is good for corn. Here *We-lau-ne*, (yellow water,) a fine flowing

creek, joins the river; and still lower, Co-wag-gee, (partridge,) a creek sixty yards wide at its mouth. Its source is in the ridge dividing its waters from Ko-e-ne-cuh, Choc-tau hatche and Telague hatche; they have some settlements in this neighborhood, on good land.

11. *Sau-woog-e-loo-che*; is four miles below Oconee, on the left bank of the river, in oaky woods, which extend back one mile to the pine forest; they have about twenty families, and plant in the bends of the river; they have a few cattle.

12. *Eu-fau-lau*; is fifteen miles below Sau-woog-e-lo, on the left bank of the river, on a pine flat; the fields are on both sides of the river, on rich flats; below the town the land is good.

These people are very poor, but generally well behaved and very friendly to white people; they are not given to horse-stealing, have some stock, are attentive to it; they have some land fenced, and are preparing for more; they have spread out their settlements down the river, about eight miles below the town, counting on the river path, there is a little village on good land, *O-ke-teyoc-en-ne*. Some of the settlements are well fenced; they raise plenty of corn and rice, and the range is a good one for stock.

From this village, they have settlements down as low as the forks of the river; and they are generally on sites well chosen, some of them well cultivated; they raise plenty of corn and rice, and have cattle, horses and hogs.

Several of these Indians have negroes, taken during the revolutionary war, *and where they are, there is more industry and better farms*. These negroes were, many of them, given by the agents of Great Britain to the Indians, in payment for their services, and they generally call themselves "*King's gifts*." The negroes are all of them, attentive and friendly to white people, particularly so to those in authority.

Timothy Barnard's.

This gentleman lives on the right bank of Flint river, fifteen miles below Pad-je-li-gau. He has eleven children by a U-heck woman, and they are settled with and around him, and have fine stocks of cattle in an excellent range.

He has a valuable property, but not productive ; his farm is well fenced on both sides of the river ; he has a peach orchard of fine fruit, and some fine nectarines, a garden well stored with vegetables, and some grape vines presented to him by the agent. He is an assistant and interpreter, and a man who has uniformly supported an honest character, friendly to peace during the revolutionary war, and to man. He has forty sheep, some goats, and stock of every description, and keeps a very hospitable house. He is not much acquainted with farming, and receives light slowly on this subject, as is the case with all the Indian countrymen, without exception.

Government.

The Creeks never had, till this year, a national government and law. Every thing of a general tendency, was left to the care and management of the public agents, who heretofore used temporary expedients only ; and amongst the most powerful and persuasive, was the pressure of fear from without, and *presents*. The attempt, in the course of the last and present year, to establish a national council, to meet annually, and to make general regulations for the welfare of the nation, promises to succeed. The law passed at the first meeting, to punish thieves and mischief-makers, has been carried into effect, in a few instances, where the personal influence of the agent for Indian affairs, was greatly exerted. On a trying occasion, the chiefs were called on to turn out the warriors, and to punish the leaders of the banditti, who insulted the commissioners of Spain and the United States, on the 17th of September. After this was repeatedly urged, and the agent agreed to be responsible for all the consequences, the chiefs turned out the warriors, and executed the law on the leader and a few of his associates, in an exemplary manner. While this transaction was fresh in the minds of the Indians, the agent for Indian affairs convened the national council, and made a report on the state of the nation to them, accompanied with his opinion of the plan indispensably necessary, to carry the laws of the nation into effect.

The council, after mature deliberation, determined that

the safety of the nation was at stake ; that having a firm reliance on the justice of the President of the United States, and the friendly attention of his agent for Indian affairs, they would adopt his plan.

1st. To class the towns, and appoint a warrior over each class, denominated the warrior of the nation, to superintend the execution of the law.

2d. To declare as law, that when a man is punished by the law of the nation, and dies, that it is the law that killed him. It is the nation who killed him ; and that no man or family is to be held accountable for this act of the nation.

3d. That all mischief-makers and thieves, of any country of white people, shall be under the government of the agent for Indian affairs, and that he may introduce the troops of the United States to any part of the Creek country, to punish such persons ; and that, when he calls in the troops of the United States, he is to call for such number of warriors as he may deem proper, to accompany them, to be under pay : that, in apprehending or punishing any white person, if Indians should interpose, the red warriors are to order them to desist ; and if they refuse, the agent may order them to fire, at the same time ordering the troops of the United States to make common cause.

Government of the Towns.

The towns, separately, have a government and customs, which they derive from a high source. They have their public buildings, as well for business as pleasure ; every town has a chief who presides over the whole ; he is their *Mic-co*, called by the white people, "King." The grades from him are regular and uniform, throughout all the towns. In the description of the public buildings, these grades will be explained.

The Public Buildings.

☞ *Choo-co-thluc-co*, (big house,) the town house or public square, consists of four square buildings of one story, facing each other, forty by sixteen feet, eight feet pitch ;

the entrance at each corner. Each building is a wooden frame, supported on posts set in the ground, covered with slabs, open in front like a piazza, divided into three rooms, the back and ends clayed, up to the plates. Each division is divided lengthwise, into two seats; the front, two feet high, extending back half way, covered with reed-mats or slabs; then a rise of one foot, and it extends back, covered in like manner, to the side of the building. On these seats, they lie or sit at pleasure.

The rank of the Buildings which form the Square.

1st. Mic-ul-gee in-too-pau, the *Mic-co's cabin*. This fronts the east, and is occupied by those of the highest rank; the centre of the building is always occupied by the Mic-co of the town; by the agent for Indian affairs when he pays a visit to a town; by the Mic-cos of other towns, and by respectable white people.

The division to the right is occupied by the Mic-ug-gee, (Miccos, there being several so called in every town, from custom, the origin of which is unknown,) and the counsellors. These two classes give their advice, in relation to war, and are in fact the principal counsellors.

The division to the left, is occupied by the E-ne-hau Ul-gee, (people second in command, the head of whom is called by the traders, *second man*.) These have the direction of the public works appertaining to the town, such as the public buildings, building houses in town for new settlers, or working in the fields. They are particularly charged with the ceremony of the *ā-ce*, (a decoction of the cassine yupon, called by the traders *black drink*,) under the direction of the Mic-co.

The Mic-co of the town superintends all public and domestic concerns; receives all public characters; hears their talks; lays them before the town, and delivers the talks of his town. The Mic-co of a town is always chosen from some one family. The Mic-co of Tuck-aubatche is of the eagle tribe, (Lum-ul-gee.) After he is chosen and put on his seat, he remains for life. On his death, if his nephews are fit for the office, one of them takes his place as his successor; if they are unfit, one is chosen of the next of kin, the descent being always in

the female line. They have, in this town, a Mic-co of another family, the Is-po-co-gee Mic-co, the ancient name of the town.

When a Mic-co, from age, infirmity, or any other cause, wants an assistant, he selects a man who appears to him the best qualified, and proposes him to the counsellors and great men of the town, and if he is approved of by them, they appoint him as an assistant in public affairs, and he takes his seat on this cabin accordingly.

The Micco of a town generally bears the name of the town, as *Cussetuh Mic-co*. He is what is called by the traders the Cussetuh King.

2d. Tus-tun-nug-ul-gee in-too-pau, the *warriors' cabin*. This fronts the south; the head warrior sits at the west end of his cabin, and in his division the great warriors sit beside each other. The next in rank sit in the centre division, and the young warriors in the third. The rise is regular, by merit, from the third to the first division. The Great Warrior, for that is the title of the head warrior. He is appointed by the micco and counsellors, from among the greatest war characters.

When a young man is trained up and appears well qualified for the fatigues and hardships of war, and is promising, the Mic-co appoints him a governor, or as the name imports, a *leader*, (Is-te-puc-cau-chau,) and if he distinguishes himself, they give him a rise to the centre cabin. A man who distinguishes himself, repeatedly, in warlike enterprises, arrives to the rank of the Great Leader, (Is-te-puc-cau-chau thlucco.) This title, though greatly coveted, is seldom attained; as it requires a long course of years, and great and numerous successes in war.

The second class of warriors is the *Tusse-ki-ul-gee*. All who go to war, and are in company, when a scalp is taken, get a war name. The leader reports their conduct, and they receive a name accordingly. This is the Tus-se-ki-o-chif-co, or *war name*. The term leader, as used by the Indians, is the proper one. The war parties all march in Indian file, with the leader in front, until coming on hostile ground; he is then in the rear.

3d. Is-te-chaguc-ul-gee in-too-pau, the *cabin of the beloved men*. This fronts the north.

There are great men who have been war leaders, and

who although of various ranks, have become estimable in a long course of public service. They sit themselves on the right division of the cabin of the Mic-co, and are his counsellors. The family of the Mic-co, and great men who have thus distinguished themselves, occupy this cabin of the beloved men.

4th. Hut-te-mau-hug-gee in-too-pau, the *cabin of the young people and their associates*. This fronts the west.

The Convention of the Town.

The Micco, counsellors and warriors, meet every day, in the public square; sit and drink ā-cee, a strong decoction of the cassine yupon, called by the traders, *black drink*; talk of news, the public and domestic concerns, smoke their pipes, and play Thla-chal-litch-cau, (roll the bullet.) Here all complaints are introduced, attended to, and redressed. They have a regular ceremony for making, as well as delivering the ā-cee, to all who attend the square.

5th. Chooc-ofau thluc-co, the *rotunda* or *assembly room*, called by the traders, "*hot-house*." This is near the square, and is constructed after the following manner: Eight posts are fixed in the ground, forming an octagon of thirty feet diameter. They are twelve feet high, and large enough to support the roof. On these, five or six logs are placed, of a side, drawn in as they rise. On these, long poles or rafters, to suit the height of the building, are laid, the upper ends forming a point, and the lower ends projecting out six feet from the octagon, and resting on posts five feet high, placed in a circle round the octagon, with plates on them, to which the rafters are tied with splits. The rafters are near together, and fastened with splits. These are covered with clay, and that with pine bark; the wall, six feet from the octagon, is clayed up; they have a small door into a small portico, curved round for five or six feet, then into the house.

The space between the octagon and the wall, is one entire sofa, where the visitors lie or sit at pleasure. It is covered with reed, mat or splits.

In the centre of the room, on a small rise, the fire is made, of dry cane or dry old pine slabs, split fine, and laid

in a spiral circle. This is the assembly room for all people, old and young; they assemble every night, and amuse themselves with dancing, singing, or conversation. And here, sometimes, in very cold weather, the old and naked sleep.

In all transactions which require secrecy, the rulers meet here, make their fire, deliberate and decide. When they have decided on any case of death or whipping, the Micco appoints the warriors who are to carry it into effect; or he gives the judgment to the Great Warrior, (Tustunnuggee thlucco,) and leaves to him the time and manner of executing it.

War.

This is always determined on by the Great Warrior. When the Micco and counsellors are of opinion that the town has been injured, he lifts the war hatchet against the nation which has injured them. But as soon as it is taken up, the Micco and counsellors may interpose, and by their prudent councils, stop it, and proceed to adjust the misunderstanding by negotiation. If the Great Warrior persists and goes out, he is followed by all who are for war. It is seldom a town is unanimous, the nation never is; and within the memory of the oldest man among them, it is not recollected, that more than one half the nation have been for war at the same time; or taken, as they express it, the war talk.

The Great Warrior, when he marches, gives notice where he shall encamp, and sets out sometimes with one or two only. He fires off his gun and sets up the war whoop. This is repeated by all who follow him, and they are sometimes for one or two nights marching off.

Peace.

This is always determined on and concluded, by the Mic-co and counsellors; and peace talks are always addressed to the cabin of the Mic-co. In some cases, where the resentment of the warriors has run high, the Micco and council have been much embarrassed.

Marriage.

A man who wants a wife never applies in person ; he sends his sister, his mother, or some other female relation, to the female relations of the woman he names. They consult the brothers and uncles on the maternal side, and sometimes the father ; but this is a compliment only, as his approbation or opposition is of no avail. If the party applied to, approve of the match, they answer accordingly, to the woman who made the application. The bridegroom then gets together a blanket, and such other articles of clothing as he is able to do, and sends them by the women to the females of the family of the bride. If they accept of them the match is made ; and the man may then go to her house as soon as he chooses. And when he has built a house, made his crop and gathered it in, then made his hunt and brought home the meat, and put all this in the possession of his wife, the ceremony ends, and they are married ; or as they express it, the woman is bound. From the first going to the house of the woman, till the ceremony ends, he is completely in possession of her.

This law has been understood differently, by some hasty cuckolds, who insist, that when they have assisted the woman to plant her crop, the ceremony ends, and the woman is bound. A man never marries in his own tribe.

Divorce.

This is at the choice of either of the parties ; the man may marry again as soon as he will ; but she is bound, till all the *Boosketau* of that year are over ; excepting in the cases of marriage and parting in the season when there is no planting, or more properly speaking, during the season the man resides at the house of the woman and has possession of her, during the continuation of the marriage ceremony ; in that case the woman is equally free to connect herself as soon as she pleases.

There is an inconsistency in the exception above ; since in fact, in such season, there can be no marriage ; but the chiefs, on their report on this article, maintained it as an exception, and this practice, in these cases of half

marriage prevail universally. As soon as a man goes to the house of his bride, he is in complete possession of her, till the ceremony ends; and during this period the exception will apply.

Marriage gives no right to the husband over the property of his wife; and when they part she keeps the children and property belonging to them.

Adultery.

This is punished by the family or tribe of the husband. They collect, consult and decree. If the proof is clear, and they determine to punish the offenders, they divide and proceed to apprehend them. One half goes to the house of the woman, the remainder to the family house of the adulterer; or they go together, as they have decreed. They apprehend the offenders, beat them severely with sticks, and then crop them. They cut off the hair of the woman, which they carry to the square in triumph. If they apprehend but one of the offenders, and the other escapes, they then go and take satisfaction from the nearest relation. If both the offenders escape, and the tribe or family return home, and lay down the sticks, the crime is satisfied. There is one family only, the "Wind," (Hutul-ul-gee,) that can take up the sticks a second time. This crime is satisfied in another way, if the parties offending absent themselves till the Boos-ke-tuh is over. Then all crimes are done away except murder. And the bare mention of them, or any occurrence which brings them in recollection, is forbidden.

Murder.

If murder is committed, the family and tribe alone have the right of taking satisfaction. They collect, consult and decide. The rulers of the town, or the nation, have nothing to do or to say in the business. The relations of the murdered person consult first among themselves, and if the case is clear, and their family or tribe are not likely to suffer by their decision, they determine on the case definitively. When the tribe may be effected by it, in a doubtful case, or an old claim for satisfaction, the

family then consult with their tribe; and when they have deliberated and resolved on satisfaction, they take the guilty one, if to be come at. If he flies, they take the nearest of kin, or one of the family. In some cases, the family which has done the injury promise reparation; and in that case are allowed a reasonable time to fulfil their promise; and they are generally earnest of themselves, in their endeavors to put the guilty to death, to save an innocent person.

This right of judging, and taking satisfaction, being vested in the family or tribe, is the sole cause why their treaty stipulations on this head, never have been executed. In like manner, a prisoner taken in war, is the property of the captor and his family, it being optional with his captor, to kill or save him at the time. And this right must be purchased, and it is now the practice, introduced within a few years, for the nation to pay. The practice has been introduced by the agent for Indian affairs, and he pays on the orders of the chiefs, out of the stipend allowed by the United States to the Creeks. Claims of this sort of seventeen years standing, where the prisoner has been delivered to the order of the chiefs, have been revived, allowed and paid.

*Boos-ke-tau.**

This annual festival is celebrated in the months of July or August. The precise time is fixed by the Mic-co and counsellors, and is sooner or later, as the state of the affairs of the town, or the early or lateness of their corn, will suit for it. In Cussetuh, this ceremony lasts for eight days. In some towns of less note, it is but four days.

FIRST DAY.

In the morning, the warriors clean the yard of the square, and sprinkle white sand, when the ā-cee, (decoction of the cassine yupon,) is made. The fire-maker makes the fire as early in the morning as he can, by friction. The warriors cut and bring into the square, four logs, as long each as a man can cover by extending his

* See page 25.

two arms ; these are placed in the centre of the square, end to end, forming a cross, the outer ends pointed to the cardinal points ; in the centre of the cross, the new fire is made. During the first four days, they burn out these four logs.

The pin-e-bun-gau, (turkey dance,) is danced by the women of the turkey tribe ; and while they are dancing, the possau is brewed. This is a powerful emetic. The possau is drank from twelve o'clock to the middle of the afternoon. After this, the Toc-co-yule-gau, (tadpole,) is danced by four men and four women. (In the evening, the men dance E-ne-hou-bun-gau, the dance of the people second in command.) This they dance till daylight.

SECOND DAY.

This day, about ten o'clock, the women dance Its-ho-bun-gau, (gun-dance.) After twelve, the men go to the new fire, take some of the ashes, rub them on the chin, neck and belly, and jump head foremost into the river, and they return into the square. The women having prepared the new corn for the feast, the men take some of it and rub it between their hands, then on their face and breasts, and then they feast.

THIRD DAY.

The men sit in the square.

FOURTH DAY.

The women go early in the morning and get the new fire, clean out their hearths, sprinkle them with sand, and make their fires. The men finish burning out the first four logs, and they take ashes, rub them on their chin, neck and belly, and they go into the water. This day they eat salt, and they dance Obungauchapco, (the long dance.)

FIFTH DAY.

They get four new logs, and place them as on the first day, and they drink ā-cee, a strong decoction of the cassine yupon.

SIXTH DAY.

They remain in the square.

SEVENTH DAY.

Is spent in like manner as the sixth.

EIGHTH DAY.

They get two large pots, and their physic plants, 1st. Mic-co-ho-yon-e-juh. 2. Toloh. 3. A-che-nau. 4. Cup-pau-pos-cau. 5. Chu-lis-sau, the roots. 6. Tuck-thlaulus-te. 7. Tote-cul-hil-lis-so-wau. 8. Chofeinsuck-caufuck-au. 9. Cho-fe-mus-see. 10. Hil-lis-hut-ke. 11. To-te-cuh chooc-his-see. 12. Welau-nuh. 13. Oak-chon-utch-co. 14. Co-hal-le-wau-gee. These are all put into the pots and beat up with water. The chemists, (E-lic-chul-gee, called by the traders physic makers,) they blow in it through a small reed, and then it is drank by the men, and rubbed over their joints till the afternoon.

They collect old corn cobs and pine burs, put them into a pot, and burn them to ashes. Four virgins who have never had their menses, bring ashes from their houses, put them in the pot and stir all together. The men take white clay and mix it with water in two pans. One pan of the clay and one of the ashes, are carried to the cabin of the Mic-co, and the other two to that of the warriors. They then rub themselves with the clay and ashes. Two men appointed to that office, bring some flowers of tobacco of a small kind, (Itch-au-chu-le-puc-pug-gee,) or, as the name imports, the old man's tobacco, which was prepared on the first day, and put in a pan on the cabin of the Mic-co, and they give a little of it to every one present.

The Micco and counsellors then go four times round the fire, and every time they face the east, they throw some of the flowers into the fire. They then go and stand to the west. The warriors then repeat the same ceremony.

A cane is stuck up at the cabin of the Mic-co with two white feathers in the end of it. One of the Fish

tribe, (Thlot-lo-ul-gee,) takes it just as the sun goes down, and goes off towards the river, all following him. When he gets half way to the river, he gives the death whoop; this whoop he repeats four times, between the square and the water's edge. Here they all place themselves as thick as they can stand, near the edge of the water. He sticks up the cane at the water's edge, and they all put a grain of the old man's tobacco on their heads, and in each ear. Then, at a signal given, four different times, they throw some into the river, and every man at a like signal plunges into the river, and picks up four stones from the bottom. With these they cross themselves on their breasts four times, each time throwing a stone into the river, and giving the death whoop; they then wash themselves, take up the cane and feathers, return and stick it up in the square, and visit through the town. At night they dance O-bun-gau Haujo, (mad dance,) and this finishes the ceremony.

This happy institution of the *Boos-ke-tuh*, restores man to himself, to his family and to his nation. It is a general amnesty, which not only absolves the Indians from all crimes, murder only excepted, but seems to bury guilt itself in oblivion.

The Ceremony of initiating Youth into Manhood.

At the age of from fifteen to seventeen, this ceremony is usually performed. It is called *Boos-ke-tau*, in like manner as the annual *Boosketau* of the nation. A youth of the proper age gathers two handfuls of the *Sou-watch-cau*, a very bitter root, which he eats a whole day; then he steeps the leaves in water and drinks it. In the dusk of the evening, he eats two or three spoonfulls of boiled grits. This is repeated for four days, and during this time he remains in a house. The *Sou-watch-cau* has the effect of intoxicating and maddening. The fourth day he goes out, but must put on a pair of new moccasins (*Stilla-pica*.) For twelve moons, he abstains from eating bucks, except old ones, and from turkey cocks, fowls, peas and salt. During this period he must not pick his ears, or scratch his head with his fingers, but use a small stick. For four moons he must have a fire to himself, to

cook his food, and a little girl, a virgin, may cook for him; his food is boiled grits. The fifth moon, any person may cook for him, but he must serve himself first, and use one spoon and pan. Every new moon, he drinks for four days the possau, (button snakeroot,) an emetic, and abstains for these days, from all food, except in the evening, a little boiled grits, (humpetuh hutke.) The twelfth moon, he performs for four days, what he commenced with on the first. The fifth day, he comes out of his house, gathers corn cobs, burns them to ashes, and with these, rubs his body all over. At the end of this moon, he sweats under blankets, then goes into water, and this ends the ceremony. This ceremony is sometimes extended to four, six, or eight moons, or even to twelve days only, but the course is the same.

During the whole of this ceremony, the physic is administered by the Is-te-puc-cau-chau thluc-co, (great leader,) who in speaking of a youth under initiation, says, "I am physicing him," (Boo-se-ji-jite saut li-to-mise-cha,) or "I am teaching him all that is proper for him to know," (nauk o-mul-gau e-muc-e-thli-jite saut litomise cha.) The youth, during this initiation, does not touch any one except young persons, who are under a like course with himself, and if he dreams, he drinks the possau.

War Physic, Ho-ith-le Hil-lis-so-wau.

When young men are going to war, they go into a hot-house of the town made for the purpose, and remain there for four days. They drink the Mic-co-ho-yon-e-jau and the pos-sau, and they eat the Sou-watch-cau. The fourth day, they come out, have their bundle ready, and march. This bundle or knapsack, is an old blanket, some parched corn flour, and leather to patch their moccasins. They have in their shot bags, a charm, a protection against all ills, called the war physic, composed of chit-to-gab-by and Is-te-pau-pau, the bones of the snake and lion.

The tradition of this physic is, that in old times, the lion, (Is-te-pau-pau,) devoured their people. They dug a pit and caught him in it, just after he had killed one of

their people. They covered him with lightwood knots, burnt him and reserved his bones.

The snake was in the water, the old people sung and he showed himself. They sung again, and he showed himself a little out of the water. The third time he showed his horns, and they cut one; again he showed himself a fourth time, and they cut off the other horn. A piece of these horns and of the bones of the lion, is the great war physic.

The opinion of Efau Haujo, great Medal Chief of Tookau-bat-che, and Speaker for the Nation in the National Council, on these Ceremonies, given in answer to some queries put to him.

1st. What is the origin of the new fire, and of the Boosketau? Answer. I have been taught from my infancy, that there is an E-sau-ge-tuh E-mis-see, (master of breath,) who gave these customs to the Indians, as necessary to them and suited to them; and that to follow them, entitles the red people to his care and protection, in war and difficulties. It is our opinion that the origin of the Boosketau and our physicks, proceeds from the goodness of Esaugetuh E-mis-see; that he communicated them in old times to the red people, and impressed it on them to follow and adhere to them, and they would be of service to them.

2d. Do the red people believe in a future existence? Answer. The old notion among us, is, that when we die, the spirit, (po-yau-fic-chau,) goes the way the sun goes, to the west, and there joins its family and friends, who went before it.

3rd. Do the red people believe in a future state of rewards and punishments? Answer. We have an opinion that those who behaved well, are taken under the care of E-sau-ge-tuh E-mis-see and assisted; and that those who have behaved ill, are left there to shift for themselves; and that there is no other punishment.

4th. What is your opinion of retaliation, as practised among the Indians; can it be just to punish the innocent for the guilty; and do you believe that this custom of the Indians proceeded from E-sau-ge-tuh E-mis-see? Answer.

I believe our custom did not proceed from E-sau-ge-tuh E-mis-see, but from the temper of rash men, who do not consider consequences before they act. It is a bad custom.

5th. What is your opinion of the custom of the red people, to punish for accidental death, with the same severity, as where there has been a manifest intention to kill? Answer. This custom of ours is a bad one, blood for blood; but I do not believe it came from E-sau-ge-tuh E-mis-see, but proceeded from ourselves. Of a case of this sort, I will give you my opinion, by my conduct. Lately, in Tookaubatche, two promising boys were playing and slinging stones. One of them let slip his sling, the stone flew back and killed his companion. The family of the deceased took the two boys, and were preparing to bury them in the same grave. The uncles, who have the right to decide in such cases, were sent for, and I was sent for. We arrived at the same time. I ordered the people to leave the house, and the two boys to remain together. I took the uncles to my house, raised their spirits with a little rum, and told them, the boy was a fine boy, and would be useful to us in our town, when he became a man; that he had no ill will against the dead one; the act was purely accidental; that it had been the will of E-sau-ge-tuh E-mis-se to end his days, and I thought that the living one should remain, as taking away his life would not give it to the other. The two uncles, after some reflection, told me, as you have advised us, so we will act; he shall not die, it was an accident.

The Opinion of Tus-se-kiah Mic-co, on the Origin of the Creeks, and the New Fire.

“There are in the forks of Red river, (We-chā-te-hatche Au-fus-kee,) west of Mississippi, (We-o-coof-ke, *muddy water*,) two mounds of earth. At this place, the Cussetuh, Cowetuh and Chickasaws found themselves. They were at a loss for fire. Here they were visited by the Hi-you-yul-gee, four men who came from the four corners of the world. One of these people asked the Indians, where they would have their fire, (tote-kit-cau.) They pointed to a place; it was made; and they sat down

around it. The Hi-you-yul-gee directed, that they should pay particular attention to the fire, that it would preserve them and let E-sau-ge-tuh E-mis see, (master of breath,) know their wants. One of these visitors took them and showed them the pas-sau; another showed them Mic-co-ho yon-ejau, then the Au-che-nau, (cedar,) and Too-loh, (sweet bay.) [There are one or two other plants, not recollected. Each of these seven plants was to belong to a particular tribe,] (E-mau-li-ge-tuh.) After this, the four visitors disappeared in a cloud, going from whence they came."

"The three towns then appointed their rulers. The Cussetuhs chose the Noo-coose-ul-gee, (bear tribe,) to be their Mic-ul-gee, (mic-cos,) and the Is-tau-nul-gee, to be the E-ne-hau-thluc-ul-gee, (people second in command.) The Cowetuhs chose the Thlot-lo-ul-gee, (fish tribe,) to be their Mic-ul-gee, (miccos.)"

"After these arrangements, some other Indians came from the west, met them, and had a great wrestle with the three towns; they made ball sticks and played with them, with bows and arrows, and the war club, (Au-tus-sau.) They fell out, fought, and killed each other. After this warring, the three towns moved eastwardly, and they met the Au-be-cuh at Coosau river. Here they agreed to go to war for four years, against their first enemy; they made shields, (Te-po-lux-o,) of Buffalo hides, and it was agreed that the warriors of each town, should dry and bring forward, the scalps (E-cau halpe) of the enemy and pile them; the Aubecuh had a small pile, the Chickasaws were above them, the Cowetuhs above them, and the Cussetuhs above all. The two last towns raised the scalp pole, (Itlo châte, *red wood*,) and do not suffer any other town to raise it. Cussetuh is first in rank."

"After this, they settled the rank of the four towns among themselves. Cussetuh, called Au-be-cuh and Chickasaw cha-chu-see, (younger brothers.) The Chickasaws and Aubecuhs, called Cussetuh and Cowetuh, chat-la-hau, (oldest brothers.) Au-be-cuh, called Chickasaw, Um-mau-mau-yuh, (elders, or people a head of them.) Chickasaws sometimes use the same expression to Aubecuh."

This being done, they commenced their settlements on Coosau and Tal-la-poo-sau, and crossing the falls of Tal-

lipoosa above Tool-cau-bat-che, they visited the Chat-to-hoche, and found a race of people with flat heads, in possession of the mounds in the Cussetuh fields. These people used bows and arrows, with strings made of sinews. The great physic makers, (Au-lic-chul-gee,) sent some rats in the night time, which gnawed the strings, and in the morning, they attacked and defeated the flats. They crossed the river at the island, near the mound, and took possession of the country. After this, they spread out eastwardly, to O-cheese-hat-che, (Ocmulgee,) Oconee, O-ge-chee, (How-ge-chuh,) Chic-ke-tal-lo-fau-hat-che, (Savannah,) called sometimes Sau-va-no-gee, the name for Shaw-a-nee. They met the white people on the sea-coast, who drove them back to their present situation."

"Cussetuh and Chickasaw consider themselves as people of one fire, (tote-kit-cau humgoce,) from the earliest account of their origin. Cussetuh appointed the first Micco for them, directed him to sit down in the big Savanna, where they now are, and govern them. Some of the Chickasaws straggled off and settled near Augusta, from whence they returned and sat down near Cussetuh, and thence back to their nation. Cussetuh and Chickasaw have remained friends ever since their first acquaintance."

During the late war between the Creeks and Chickasaws, Cussetuh refused her aid, and retained her long established friendship for the Chickasaws; and when the Creeks offered to make peace, their offers were rejected, till Cussetuh interposed their good offices. These had the desired effect, and produced peace.

State of the War Party in September, 1813.

Oc-fus-kee,
Tal-e-see,

Aut-tos-see.

These towns formed a front of observation towards Cowetau.

Ho-ith-le-wau-lee,
Foose-hat-che,

Coo-loo-me,
E-cun-hut-kee,

Sau-van-no-gee,
 Mook-lau-sau,
 A-la-ba-mo,
 Hook-choie-oo-che,
 O-che-ub-e-fau,

We-wo-cau,
 Puc-cun-tal-lau has-see,
 Woc-co-coie,
 Po-chuse-hat-che.

These towns furnished the warriors for the expedition against Tensau. They did not intend an expedition against the white people till they compelled Cowetau and Tookaubatchee to join or fly the nation, and every town to join with them. But being attacked by the half breeds and whites, at Burnt Corn, in their own land, they determined to retaliate, and planned the expedition accordingly.

Thlot-lo-gul-gau,
 Eu-fau-lau,

Ki-a-li-je,

These are neutral. Ho-bo-kei-eth-le Haujo, hearing that the war party intended to cut off Kialije, sent word he had warriors, and would fight for Kialijee. This last town has taken the war club, and dance the prophets dances, and are used as spies on the war party.

Too-to-gau-gee,

Au-che-nau ulgau.

These are at Tookaubatche Tal-lau-has-see. Chat-tuck-so-cau is above Oc-fus-kee and with it.

This settlement is on the east of Tallapoosa, on a wide creek which gives name to it, twelve miles nearly from the river.

From Burges's	30 miles above the mouth of the river Flint,
To We-thluc-coo-chee,	16 miles, 20 yards wide.
O-ke-lock-ei-me,	18 miles, 30 yds wide, and deep.
St. Marks,	40 miles, half a mile wide.
Aussille,	40 miles, 50 yards wide, shallow.
Sawaune,	70 miles, 120 yards wide.
Picaulatā,	130 miles, two miles wide.
St. Augustine,	26 miles.

Information relative to the waters and country on the post road, commencing at Ka-le-be, near the agency on that creek.

	Miles.	Width in feet.	
Ka-le-be,		30	
Ke-bi-hatch-e,	4	30	lands post oak, clay, good range for stock.
O-fuk-she,	2	60	post oak, small hickory, clay, red oak.
Noo-coose Chepo,	2	8	post oak, plains, clay, red oak.
Kit-to-me,	14	60	post, black oak, plains, clay.
Pilth-lau-le,	7	20	do. do.
Pinchunc,	2	20	do. do.
In-tuck-kee,	4	10	do. do.
Opil-thluc-co,	6	10	do. do.
1st Fork of,	3	10	do. do.
2d do	3	15	do. do.
Us-se-wau-sau,	4	4	oak, hickory, chesnut, water Ko-ne-cau.
	10		first pine land, left 4 by 5 miles, clay.
Suck-pul-gau,	23	15	oak, hickory, walnut.
	3		pine ridge to Ko-ne-cau, wide in places, 10 to 15 miles level clay land.
Murder Creek,	8	20	a belt of pine land 5 by 4 miles, clay.
Burnt Corn,	12	10	between these creeks on the left.
Limestone,	5		a small branch of Alabama.
Little Escambia,	4	20	waters of Ko-ne-cau.
Big Escambia,	9	90	do. do.

All waters of A-la-ba-ma.

The pine lands commence near Burnt Corn, around the head of Limestone, to the two Escambias, and to Ko-ne-cau. Half way from Burnt Corn to Little Escambia, the pine land loses the quality of clay, and is sandy, the pine tall and large.



A P P E N D I X .

INDIAN TREATIES.

TREATY AT AUGUSTA, JUNE 1, 1773.

BY SIR JAMES WRIGHT AND JOHN STEWART, WITH THE CHEROKEES AND CREEKS.

This treaty fixes the eastern bounds of the Cherokees to be from the tree marked by the Cherokees, near the head of a branch falling into the Oconee river, and from thence to Savannah river.

TREATY AT HOPEWELL, NOVEMBER 28, 1785.

From Tugalo river, "thence a direct line to the top of Currohe mountain ; thence to the head of the South fork of Oconee river."

In 1803, at the treaty near Fort Wilkinson, this boundary admitted by the Creeks, and that a line from the High Shoals of Apalatche, along the old path to Sauwanna, on Chat-to-ho-che, bounds the Creek claims on this quarter.

TREATY AT NEW YORK, AUGUST 7, 1790.

ARTICLE III.

"The Creek Nation shall deliver, as soon as practicable, to the commanding officer of the troops of the United States, stationed at the Rock-landing on the Oconee river, all citizens of the United States, white inhabitants or negroes, who are now prisoners in any part of said nation. And if any such prisoners or negroes should not be so delivered on or before the 1st day of June ensuing, the Governor of Georgia may empower three persons to repair to the said Nation in order to elaim and receive such prisoners and negroes."

TREATY AT COLERAIN, JUNE 29, 1796.

ARTICLE VII.

“The Creek Nation shall deliver, as soon as practicable, to the Superintendent of Indian affairs, at such place as he may direct, all citizens of the United States, white inhabitants and negroes, who are now prisoners in any part of the said Nation, agreeable to the treaty of New York, and also all citizens, white inhabitants, negroes and property taken since the signing of that treaty. And if any such prisoners, negroes or property should not be delivered, on or before the first day of January next, the Governor of Georgia may empower three persons to repair to the said Nation, in order to claim and receive such prisoners, negroes, and property, under the direction of the President of the United States.”











