

Oct 1930

THE CREEK NATION, DEBTOR TO JOHN FORBES & CO., SUCCESSORS TO PANTON, LESLIE & CO. A JOURNAL OF JOHN INNERARITY, 1812

[This journal is a record of a journey made by John Innerarity, a partner in the firm of John Forbes & Co., into the Creek Nation and of a talk with the chiefs of that nation assembled to make a settlement with him for debts of the nation to the company. The original manuscript is in the possession of Mrs. John W. Greenslade, of Washington, D. C., a great-granddaughter of the journalist, to whom grateful acknowledgment is made.]

1812

October 14 — 10 p. m. I started from Town [Pensacola] & rode at an easy gait as the pack was heavy until at about two miles beyond Manuel's Cowpen when we lightened the pack by putting the weightiest part on my horse. Notwithstanding this arrangement the luggage gave us incessant trouble in adjusting & we only arrived abreast of the Saw Mill (upper road) at about 1/2 past 4 & then pushed on possibly till 7 o'clock having the benefit of moonlight when we camped about 8 miles beyond the Saw Mill on a bottom where we found good running water.

The pine barren between this and the Saw Mill is handsome in consequence of its being broken by bottoms which is the only relief to that perpetual sameness which reigns throughout.

Distance from Town..... 25 miles.

15th

12 noon. Pompey has only just returned with the horses having run off towards Town in the night altho' hobbled and had to walk upwards of 10 miles before he overtook them. Mr. F's horses feet much jaded with the hobbles which he loosened by constant friction. Spent an hour in packing & then continued our journey

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until 4 p.m. when we arrived at the fork where the path to Tarvin's old place strikes off from the Tensa Waggon Road—& at 1/2 past 5 arrived at Pine Barren Creek which was very full and rapid & Pompey expressed great fear less he should not be able to cross the baggage as the log was not safe. By dint, however of great caution he succeeded in crossing the whole by dark. We had to wade up to our knees before we arrived at the log & felt cold while repacking by moonlight, as we were obliged to proceed further there being no food for the horses at the Creek.

Travelled about a quarter of an hour when we came to a fine reedy branch with excellent water where we camped for the night and prepared some chocolate. In the day's journey the Pine Barren is somewhat diversified with bottoms and reedy branches.

Travelled 10 miles. Distance from Town 35 miles.

16 October

After taking coffee & packing started at 1/2 past 7 but proceeded extremely slowly as Mr. Forbes' horse walked lame in consequence of being hurt by the hobbles & the pack gave us frequent trouble. At 9 arrived at a reedy branch in a deep hollowlike channel where the water runs is so boggy that we were obliged to unpack everything in order that the horses may cross unencumbered.

At 10 having finished packing continued our route until 12 o'clock when we arrived at Scambia River at Tarvin's old place where we fired three guns for Mr. Miller's boat which came at 1/2 past one. Landed at Miller's at 2 & remained there all that afternoon and night.

The Pine Barren this day truly barren & very much broken with hollows and reedy branches. The Scambia at Tarvin's place is about 40 yds. wide—& the view very confined and the water muddy.

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Mr. Miller has been ailing several days & is still very poorly—

17th

Mr. Miller passed a very bad night with flux but nevertheless said that as it was important that he should accompany me, he would do so even if we should have to bury him on the path.

He requested me, however, to have Chas. Brown to go along wt. us in case of accident to him as he would serve as an Interpreter & assist Pompey on the Path which was the more necessary as I was obliged to hire an additional pack horse as our luggage was too heavy. Started from his house at 8 o'clock & continued our route without interruption until we arrived at within 2 miles of Rooty Creek (at dark) where we camped for the night.

Distance from Miller's..... 40 miles.

The road today was pretty level & very good—The woods however were a tiresome sameness at some of the [illegible] excepting at the branches which are seen from the road which fall into the Scambia. Some of these are very handsome and all of them afford good water.

They are in general of considerable descent & abound in cane and reeds. The land over which we travelled is very barren owing to its being so elevated being a kind of dividing ridge between the branches of the Scambia, Yellow and Cold Water Rivers. Mr. Miller has been much incommoded and suffered very much during this days march.

18th

Left camp at 7½ A.M. At Rooty Creek my horse bogged & threw me & passed over me without touching me owing to Mr. Miller's promptness in alighting and holding the bridle. This accident detained us only

about 10 minutes when we pursued our journey steadily at a trot until we arrived opposite the Big Factor's at 2 P.M.

Distance from where we camped 25 miles.

During the day's ride the country was very hilly and broken especially as we advanced near the Scambia from the fork which leads to the Big Factor's. The distance to the landing place is about a mile & a half & the land appears very good, scarce a pine tree to be seen, the growth being principally Red Oak & Hickory. The Big Factor's is very pleasantly situated on a high bluff (of about 50ft.) which overlooks the River which is here very steep and occasioned us some apprehension in swimming across our horses. The Big Factor had gone up to the meeting but we were very hospitably entertained by his son in law whose wife immediately set before us a Dish of Susskie, boiled potatoes & some very fine Turkey soup & venison to which our hungry appetites gave an additional zest. These poor people seem to live extremely happy—their situation might be rendered much more comfortable could they change their nature & become a little more Industrious. They had scarcely any corn & it was with difficulty that we prevailed on them to spare two baskets, as it was really taking the bread out of their mouths. They sent to their fields for some pumpkins for our horses about two miles distant and told us to turn them into their field where they fared pretty well for the night, & next morning the 19th we took leave at 8 A.M. & rode at a journey gait until 12 M. when we nooned at a branch having rode about 13 miles.

At 1½ Remounted our horses & pushed on briskly through a very hilly country perpetually intersected with branches—At 4 arrived at Pigeon River which we forded. It is about 50 yds wide & a handsome stream. Rode on about 12 miles further through a

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neat pine barren until sunset when we pitched our tents on a branch at which my Brother and Mr. Miller once camped & which is the only place which affords water after leaving Pigeon River.

Distance today by eve 38 miles.

Mr. Miller has been gradually getting well since he left home.

20th

Left camp at 7 A.M. & continued our route which lay through some Oak and Hickory land and along the top of a ridge of hills of considerable height none of which commanded an extensive view owing to the intervening trees and hills.

Nooned at twelve until 2 when we resumed our march along the hills which are now very barren until near sundown when one of our pack horses tired. Camped on a hill near a branch where we got water but which is not very good & which is extremely difficult to be found after leaving Pigeon River as no running water crosses the path. Distce. 40 miles.

This afternoon met some Indians driving [illegible] to Pensa. & shortly after camping another Indian arrived & camped close to us. He told us he was going to The Meeting, for which he started at daylight next morning the 21st & after getting breakfast we followed him at 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ A.M. still keeping along the hills which became higher as we advanced — until we arrived at Stony Hill which I ascended on foot. This hill commands an extensive Prospect to the West, but the scene is all pine barren and not diversified with the appearance of water. It is the highest on the whole ridge & as we have been continually ascending since we left Mr. Miller's its elevation from the level of the Sea must be considerable.

Next to it is Mossy Hill which is beautifully wooded wt. large oaks covered with Moss which gives it a ven-

erable appearance. Nooned at 12½ & waited for the pack horses, one of which was nigh tiring which retarded the other until 2. At 3 started & rode thro' some beautiful Oak & Hickory lands & rich swamps until 5 o'clock when we camped (in order to give the pack horses time to come up) on a creek one of the head branches of Pigeon River. This afternoon saw a huge Pine tree which Mr. Miller said Mr. Forbes measured & found it 3 fathoms in circumference. Distce. this day 30 miles.

22nd.

The dew dript very heavy in the swamp all night and appeared to me as if it was raining. Left camp at 7 A.M. & pursued my route through Oak & Hickory lands until 10 when we arrived at the prairies which are truly handsome. They are skirted with Oak and Hickory which form natural divisions as if into fields of all shapes, square, oblong, & irregular, & are said to extend in a westerly direction from the place where they take their rise as far as the Oppalousas & even Mexico. The sky was of a pure cerulean blue mixed wt. a few white unsullied clouds on the horizon & the day delightfully temperate which contributed to increase the beauty of the scene which lasted for about 8 miles when we again descended into the region of swamps—of these we passed through the Ockfuskie & Kissiy [?] Hachie which abound with Beech & White Oak of immense dimension especially the latter which also were of great height & straight as an arrow. At 5½ we arrived at the site of Col. Hawkins' old home which was situated on a commanding elevation—from whence is seen an extensive prospect & at dark we alighted at an Indian Factor's within a mile of the Tulapoosie (?) River where we passed the night and were informed that few or none of the Chiefs had yet begun to assemble. Distce. today 40 miles.

23rd.

Although made an un Tulassie Town into a Potato damage which whence they the River at Town to the and told me which after On our return Little Prince who now began quarters ing the 24th River with our Lodging Here we found Chiefs in company Big Warrior the Cup Bear uncommonly its taste and deleterious quality who acts as handed to each bash. The vomits it up all partaken passes around each fills his his hands to repeated until most solid beef roasted Soup & Peas

23rd.

Although our horses were well fed last night they made an ungrateful return by running away to the Tulassie Town (excepting Miller's which tired & got into a Potato field in the night where he did much damage which we were obliged to make good) from whence they were brought back at 12 when we crossed the River at the ford & went through the Tuckabatche Town to the Big Warrior's. He received us very kindly and told me he had provided a house for me in Town which after an hours stay with him we went to visit. On our return to the Town and the Square we met the Little Prince and several of the Lower Town Chiefs who now began to assemble. We returned to our former quarters where we spent the night, & next morning the 24th at 10 we settled our bill & recrossed the River with our luggage in order to take possession of our Lodging from whence we went to the Square. Here we found the Big Warrior & a great many other Chiefs in conclave. A seat was assigned to me next the Big Warrior & the Black Drink was handed to me by the Cup Bearer. This beverage of which they seemed uncommonly fond resembles somewhat strong tea in its taste and odour, tho' considerably darker & is of a deleterious quality. It is prepared by the Young King who acts as a kind of Master of the Ceremony, & is handed to each Chief by the Cup Bearer in a long Calabash. The drinker after retaining it a few minutes vomits it up in successive reachings—when they have all partaken of this ambrosial nectar, the Cup Bearer passes around the same Calabash wt. water of which each fills his mouth & afterwards spits or pours it on his hands to wash them & this ceremony is successively repeated until their dinner is prepared. This is of the most solid and substantial kind, pots., [potatoes?] beef roasted in large pieces stuck upon sticks, Corn Soup & Peas of which they eat to the fill.

The Square which looks about 90 feet is composed of four [?] chief [?] Houses or Sheds, these are subdivided into a kind of lodges with matted canes so arranged that those who sit behind have a full [view] of what is passing. The audience or rather the members of the Council—Here description fails, for the pencil could not do justice to such an antique group, painted dressed & cut in all figures forms shapes & colours. No business had been transacted today as one half of the Chiefs had not yet arrived. 5 P.M. Alec Cornell & his suite arrived & paid me a visit of about an hour. The Big Warrior promised to call on me this evening, but has been prevented by one of his children having fallen from a horse & broke his arm.

25th

One Indian died during the night & the family in a [illegible] in our vicinity made a long & loud lamentation during the night. At nine went to the Square where we found a more numerous assemblage of Chiefs than yesterday. The Big Warrior told us the Talk would not take place until tomorrow as he awaited the arrival of several other Chiefs who were on the Paths.

In the mean time he said they would have some unimportant conferences among themselves.

Alec Cornell introduced me formally to the Chiefs & desired them to come & shake hands with me, as I did not come of my own accord but by their invitation & that I was one of their great friends who had supported them through all their distresses. Spent an hour in the Square talking with A. Cornell & Timothy Barnard who I found very loquacious & friendly & returned to our residence—

I got Mr. Miller to whisper to the Big Warrior that I wished much to see him by himself when he said he would endeavour so to do, but we both perceive he is

afraid of being & remained 1/2 wt. Miller conv business. A M agent arrived been for some incapable of at went to visit / where we four other American to see us but n conversation w had previously conversation v B. W. said tha & he must be

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The Talk c read Col. Haw one. Charging tions & statin one life again could be adjus conferred amo nell & Tim B: seemed very f

27th It raine ceded by a s to the Square of Blood and Hawkins in w Towns of the ders they hac that the Chie that he had h

afraid of being observed. I went back to the Square & remained 1/2 an hour—afterwards took a short walk wt. Miller conversing wt. him about the object of my business. A Mr. Limbo, Col. Hawkins clerk or deputy agent arrived last night in lieu of the Col. who has been for some time past severely indisposed & totally incapable of attending the meeting, Mr. S. [illegible] went to visit A. Cornell & Tim Barnard at the house where we found Mr. Limbaugh the deputy & some other Americans—On my return the Big Warrior came to see us but not alone—of course I could not have any conversation with him. On his going out, however, I had previously directed Miller to have some private conversation which he with difficulty effected, as the B. W. said that the eyes of everyone were fixed on him & he must be very circumspect.

26th

The Talk commenced this morning—Mr. Limbaugh read Col. Hawkins' Talk which was a strong and bitter one. Charging them with various thefts & depredations & stating that there still remains a balance of one life against them, before this account of blood could be adjusted. When this Talk was delivered they conferred among themselves & we retired with A. Cornell & Tim Barnard who came & dined with us & seemed very friendly & frank.

27th It rained very heavy this night & has been succeeded by a strong cold northerly wind—At 11 went to the Square. Mr. Limbaugh read over the account of Blood and gave out another strong Talk from Col. Hawkins in which he complained against the two wild Towns of the Seminoles the Lochoway for the murders they had committed. He however did not expect that the Chiefs of the Upper Town could interfere but that he had heard that a 1000 men were on their march

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from Georgia to chasten them & would take their land from them. Limbaugh again talked over the thefts & desired action & surcharges for ferryages. [?] McIntosh replied in behalf of the Lower Towns, that many things were laid to their charge which had no existence in truth or probability, but provided that they should have the sanction of strong evidence the Nation would pay the strong claims out of their stipend. We will do says he whatever is just & we expect the U. S. will do the same. We have a heavy claim for cedar cut within our land by the Georgians who have made it very scarce & the Treaty provides that any lumber cut in our lands shall be paid for. We expect of the justice of the U. S. the fulfillment of this article of the Treaty. The Big Warrior then began his Talk. He told the Chiefs that they now saw and felt the consequences of allowing a Mail Road to be cut thro' their Nation. For his part he clearly foresaw them. It had given rise to endless complaint, to unfounded claims & would continue so to do.

When he had finished his Talk Limbaugh Barnard & A. Cornell came & dined with me. The house was full of visitors & has been so since my arrival. Limbaugh was very friendly & showed me that part of Col. H's instructions which related to me. "Mr. Innerarity will present the long outstanding claim of his House against the Nation & let him settle entirely his own business." He said that Col. H. Wished very much to see these claims settled & asked me the amount which he said he had forgot. I told him it was about \$40,000—After staying 'till dark he went home & A. Cornell remained. The latter spoke feelingly of the critical situation of the Nation & of the perpetual encroachments of the U. S. He said he was sick at constantly hearing the boastings of the Americans & of their bitter enmity to the English—For his part he was their

true friend—that he last breath would be he was obliged to do that he would renounce to live in peace & to the Americans.

He told me that the Square so soon other small business portance. He told which lay in his power act.

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He went from me returned next morning. He told me he last night till he was not present & He said he feared row. He left us to all day & in the in the Falls, but having nor did we spend was fearful that absence. We returned but my business day—as they were own business about

A. Cornell has patiently, that reserved to the whole attention to Talk.

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true friend—that he would live & die so & that his last breath would be for their welfare & success—that he was obliged to continue acting as Interpreter but that he would renounce the Nation & his friends to live in peace & tranquility & be out of the way of the Americans.

He told me that my business would be discussed in the Square so soon as they had gone through their other small business as it was a matter of great importance. He told me that he would do everything which lay in his power for me & would tell me how to act.

I endeavoured to touch his feelings as much as possible & it seemed to have the desired effect.

He went from my house to the Sweating House & returned next morning the 28th & had breakfast with me. He told me he had been talking with the Chiefs last night till he was hoarse, but that the Big Warrior was not present & he could not introduce our business. He said he feared I would not be sent for till tomorrow. He left us to go to the Square where he remained all day & in the interim Mr. M. & I took a ride to see the Falls, but having no guide we could not find them nor did we spend much time in looking for them as I was fearful that A. Cornell would call during my absence. We returned at 4, the Chiefs were still in conclave but my business was not mentioned during the day—as they were so much occupied in discussing their own business about murders & depredations etc.

A. Cornell has repeatedly told me that I must wait patiently, that my business was weighty & would be reserved to the last in order that they might give their whole attention to it & not be interrupted by any other Talk.

I have had a severe cold & headache all this day & did not rest well during the night as we were continually incommoded by drunken Indians.

29th—My patience being exhausted at the repeated delay wt. which I have met I went to the Square at 11 o'clock to see A. Cornell in order to urge him to exert his influence to bring my business into consideration, but I could scarce speak to him as he was so much engaged interpreting another Talk to Col. Hawkins respecting the blood spilt by the Lotchoway Indians. The Big Warrior said they were all one family, but they hold far off in a corner & would never attend their House of Talks nor would they listen to the advice or counsel of the old Chiefs, but turned their backs upon them with disdain & would not at all be governed by them. He was sorry for the blood that was spilt, as all the Chiefs present wished to live in Peace & tranquility—they had enough to do to govern their own young men among whom there were many wild & headstrong. They had also spilt blood. But the Chiefs had caused them to be put to death & would continue to punish the guilty & put a stop to all disorders as far as they could.

In this stage of the Talks as the sun was shining in my face I left the Square. At 1 the Big Warrior with the Cherokee King & others came to see me. Limbaugh dined wt. us & the house full of visitors as usual. At 4 the Big Warrior sent for me to the Square & asked me what I had to say, that they were ready to hear me. On this a question arose between Miller & Cornell who should interpret, as the former was too diffident the latter agreed. I told them that they would not have much to interpret as too much had already been said & too little done—that I did not undertake such a long fatiguing expensive & inconvenient journey for the purpose of receiving payment of our claims & that it was only their confident persuasion that had driven me from home—induced me to remain patiently so long among them to the great detriment of our business which suffered much in consequence of my

absence. I then read told them that notw them I would give the Miller told me Alec then told them the an the several names & jected as noted at fo finished told me they themselves as to wh answer tomorrow.

On this I retired out his Talk to the C to visit with me alo an hour, but I had r on my business as door. A. Cornell, ho After supper when to the intentions , told me they would but perhaps I might

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absence. I then read to them the Governor's letter & told them that notwithstanding what I had said to them I would give them a Talk from my Brother which Miller told me Alec interpreted with much effect. I then told them the amount of their debt & read to them the several names & sums to three of which they objected as noted at foot. The Big Warrior when I had finished told me they would this night consult among themselves as to what was to be done & give me an answer tomorrow.

On this I retired & the Big Warrior began to give out his Talk to the Chiefs. He came late in the evening to visit with me along with Cornell & remained about an hour, but I had no opportunity of talking with him on my business as there were several Indians at the door. A. Cornell, however remained & supped with us. After supper when we were alone I sounded him as to the intentions & dispositions of the Chiefs. He told me they would throw every obstacle in my way but perhaps I might possibly succeed.

He said they would recur to the subject of the Appalache Lands which had not been regularly sold in the House of Talks but that we had got a few drunken Chiefs to give it away—that if we were disposed to act fairly wt. them they would act justly with us but we must not think of charging them with interest although it was the custom of the whites, for the Nation would pay none, nor would they pay the principal unless we would bind ourselves to trade with them as formerly & allow them a better Price for their skins & lower the prices of our goods—that we must also consent not to cut off any more the heads & shanks of the skins about which they grumbled very much as well as on the reduced prices we gave for Otter skins, Cowhides, Beeswax etc. I answered all their objections to his satisfaction & he promised to assist me all he could in convincing the Chiefs also.

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30th. I was sent for at 1 o'clock to the Square where the Big Warrior began an endless Talk about all that had been told at the Hickory Ground to Mr. Forbes. They had offered him land which he had refused as also their next proposition of giving up to him their salary of \$1500 per annum & their offer of allowing him to cut cedar white oak & other timber on their land or making wax or erecting saw mills to pay the debt, to all which I replied that Mr. Forbes had then stated his answers & reasons. That all the offers they made to him were inadmissible & not made with the spirit or intention of paying—now that it was more like mockery than fair proposals. He said that they heard me last night read the account of claims & the names & sums due by the several Traders, that several of them were dead that some had property; negroes etc. that some were not regular Traders had no rights but merely settled among them for a short time—that Mr. Panton had furnished them with goods which they had squandered among the women or had gone off with—that some of the Indians told him they did not owe us more than one half of what we claimed—that we charged the other half for interest which they said they were determined at all events not to pay—that they never thought we would have attempted to charge the old men, that they did not know what it meant that they could not understand it—as to the principal they would consult among themselves—that they would see what was really due those who were traders & those who were not, those who were dead and those who were living those who had property & those who had none that they would see if they could do anything, but they told me they would not hear of interest—that if Mr. F. had accepted their offer at the Hickory Ground that there would have been no interest due. There they had offered him everything they had & that he would not accept their

offer—that sin considered our Thus they had but they were give them goods sell our goods with us in the them that in night there were three times as excepting there separate list rejected & the which I did in bring them for them, we always friends if the this account the sums in t said about int Mr. Forbes ha unless they t always grow b kept us out of have trebled— bought the g Traders would they were not that if they h years until su then charge ir had to pay sill present & whc the custom ev paid when al money could always consid

offer—that since then the Chiefs had not seriously considered our claim until now that I was among them, thus they had sent for me & would do what they could, but they were very poor, yet if we would promise to give them good trade, good Prices for their skins & sell our goods as formerly they would try to settle with us in the way they had mentioned. I replied to them that in the list which I had read to them last night there was not a single name but what had been three times admitted & acknowledged in the Square excepting three which I had rubbed out—that I had a separate list of the claims which they had formerly rejected & that I would read over their names to them which I did in order to show them that we did not now bring them forward. We did not wish to act hardly wt. them, we always had been & would remain their friends if they paid their debts—we therefore kept this account separate & would endeavour to recover the sums in the best way we could—as to what they said about interest they could not pretend ignorance; Mr. Forbes had told them in the Hickory Ground that unless they then paid him their debts they would always grow bigger. They had not paid them but had kept us out of the money which if we had got we could have trebled—that the people from whom we had bought the goods which we had furnished to their Traders would not wait for their money, that when they were not punctually Paid they charged interest, that if they had consented to wait for ten or fifteen years until such time as they paid us we would not then charge interest, but this they would not do,—we had to pay silver money down. Mr. Bernard who was present & who was their friend could tell them it was the custom everywhere, that when any sum was not paid when due interest was always charged, that money could not be had without interest—it was always considered as sacred as the principal—that

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their debts were contracted in Pensa, the goods were
 furnished there that it was the law among the whites,
 the law everywhere, Mr. Cornell knew it and so did
 the Big Warrior & many others among them— All this
 and much more reasoning on the subject seemed to
 have been lost on them, but I remained firm & inflex-
 ible as to what they said about the distinction which
 they wanted to make of those Traders who were dead
 & those who were living & those who had & those who
 had not property—I told them that we held the Nation
 alone responsible, that almost all the Traders were
 either dead or reduced to beggary by the goods which
 they had lent out among them & for which they had
 not been paid & therefore could not pay us. After a
 great deal of further discussion which it is needless
 here to relate, they at last proposed to take upon them-
 selves the payment of the whole provided I would re-
 quire no interest. I replied that I could not renounce
 the interest as it was as sacred as the principal, that
 I required of them nothing but what was fair & just
 & they would not have to pay interest if they had set-
 tled with Mr. Forbes at the Hickory Ground.
 They again remonstrated & said that if they did
 not now come to a settlement wt. me I must not blame
 them, that I spoilt the Talks by insisting upon Interest,
 that this was & could be an insurmountable obstacle,
 that the Chiefs had set their face against it & that
 altho' they were now willing to do what they could for
 me, altho' they were poor, very poor indeed, I would
 not act like their friend as they had always thought
 me. Finding them so firmly averse to pay interest—I
 told them that I would show them that I was their
 friend—altho' it would be a great loss to us. I told
 them when friends had any dispute, the only way of
 coming to a reconciliation was by the one giving up
 one point & the other giving up another. I told them I
 would do this, I would meet them half way, I would

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give up one half the interest, I would make them a
 present of it, & they ought to think it a great present
 for it was a great sum which we lost for their sake,
 and they could now certainly have no more objections
 to make when I acted so generously wt. them, so much
 like their friend.
 This gave rise to a great deal of murmuring, they
 said they did not think like me, they did not think I
 acted like their friend—I wanted to tear the very
 flesh off their backs, they had told me they were poor,
 that they knew nothing about interest, about what it
 meant, it might be a custom, a law among us white
 people, but poor Indians did not understand it, there
 was no word for it in their language, we were the first
 who ever talked of such a thing to them.
 I answered, I had already explained it to them. Mr.
 F. had cautioned them & told them of it. I justified
 it to them on every ground of equity & right. I en-
 deavoured to make them sensible of it by the most
 patient explanation calculated for their understanding
 but all to no purpose—their murmuring became gen-
 eral & loud & the young men some at a distance &
 some who had the effrontery to come forward called
 out that they would pay no interest—to pay the
 principal.
 The Big Warrior & A. Cornell seemed to get vexed
 & the former was almost on the point of rising. He
 added he had done his best, he believed it was of no
 use to talk any more about our debt, for I would not
 let it be settled. I kept entangling the Talks & he had
 a great mind to talk no more about it. I told them they
 might do as they pleased, but they did not act fairly
 with us. I had done a great deal for them & they would
 do nothing for me. Big Warrior then said we had been
 talking all day until it was dark. I told them that I
 should leave them to consider upon it, for I could do no
 more for them & accordingly went to my quarters

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which I found as usual full of visitors which I had to maintain.

31st At parting from the Big Warrior & A. Cornell last night in the Square they promised to come & see me but remained the whole night in conclave wt. the other Chiefs in the Sweating House debating about our claims. At 10 they sent for me & told me they had now been sitting three days exclusively on my business & had yet done nothing nor would do anything if I mentioned any more about interest—for they had now made up their minds as to what they would do & they would do nothing more.

I told them that I had also been considering the matter all night upon my pillow & provided they would let me know in what manner they would settle with me I would let them know what I would do. They said they were tired talking about it & would not let me know anything of their intentions until I gave up all claims to interest for they never would pay any. I tried in a variety of ways to ascertain the arrangement they were about to propose, but could not succeed. They would give me no insight whatever until I first satisfied them as to the interest. Finding myself so pressed I determined to recede by inches. I told them I thought I had done a great deal for them in offering to give up half the interest, they were never satisfied, they had told me they would do me justice if I did justice to them. It was not true, I saw they were not disposed to do me justice otherwise they would gladly agree to settle with me on my presenting to them one half the interest. I would however give them a still greater proof of our friendship—I would even give them up \$10,000 of interest, & if they had a spark of gratitude or feeling in them they would now change their complaints into thanks.

To all this the Big Warrior said that the Chiefs of

the Nation did had said, that backs, it would the principal, be left for could they pay any more about me, for the C were very angry murmuring because such thing as from every great mind a nearly four w he could do not tion. I told th trouble to com deal of money. ness. They ha them when I words, it seem to rob me after them. But I wished to finishably necessary way & in how I gave up the that.

They at len 2 & 3 years. pointment & t interest they m they could eas salary due the the whole am \$17,000 less so drew their sal

the Nation did not think like me, they thought as he
 had said, that I wanted to tear the very skins off their
 backs, it would take them a long time to pay me even
 the principal. The wives, children & poor People would
 be left for three or four years naked, then how
 could they pay me interest. He then said if I talked
 any more about interest they would not settle with
 me, for the Chiefs had all made up their minds &
 were very angry. He paused for a moment, when the
 murmuring became quite general & the cry of pay no
 such thing as interest, Pay only the debt was echoed
 from every quarter. The Big Warrior said that he had
 a great mind to break off, for he had been talking for
 nearly four whole days about me & with me & found
 he could do nothing & put on an air of apparent vexa-
 tion. I told them I was almost sorry I had taken the
 trouble to come up, our different journeys cost a great
 deal of money & was of great injury & loss to our busi-
 ness. They had said it seemed as if I wished to rob
 them when I asked interest but this was changing
 words, it seemed rather that it was they who wished
 to rob me after all the sacrifices I had offered to make
 them. But I was quite tired & sick of the business &
 wished to finish it, which in order to do it was indis-
 pensibly necessary that they should inform me in what
 way & in how short a time they could pay me, in case
 I gave up the interest as a great deal would depend on
 that.

They at length told me it would take them between
 2. & 3 years. At this I expressed the greatest disap-
 pointment & told them that if I relinquished the in-
 terest they must pay me in a year at furthest—that
 they could easily do this. There was today 1 years
 salary due them, that they could give me an order for
 the whole amount immediately (that this would be
 \$17,000 less some deductions) & next year when they
 drew their salary they could pay me the balance or

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OBLIGATION UPON JOHN
 At this the Warrior looked astonished & asked me how I came to know all this, and how I could make it out. I told them they received \$17,000 per annum

(The manuscript ends thus near the center of a page, hence it was never completed; but the agreement which was signed the following day indicates that the discussion recorded in the journal was nearly or quite at an end.
 The journal is written in pencil in a microscopic hand, and comprises 2 1/2 pages of a leather-bound notebook, 3 1/2 x 4 1/2 inches. Many words are now nearly illegible and a few entirely so. It was transcribed by its owner, Mrs. John W. Green- stade; in whose possession also are a certified copy of the agreement mentioned and a list of the debts under discussion, both of which follow herein.)

LIST OF DEBTS DUE BY THE TRADERS & FACTORS OF THE UPPER CREEK TOWNS TO THE FIRM OF MESSRS. PAN- TON, LESLIE & CO., AND JOHN FORBES & CO. OF PEN- SACOLA, ADJUSTED TO 1ST NOVEMR. 1812

John Shirley	\$ 316-4 1/2
Joseph Stiggins	218-1 1/2
Robert Grierson	108-6 1/2
James Leslie	922-6 1/2
James Qualls	631-7 1/2
Daniel McGilveray	1927-8
John Clark	2253-6 1/2
Nicholas White	558-6
George Smith	461-1 1/2
Cottolia	587-8 3/4
Joseph Francis	905-2 1/2
Mad Dog	208-7 3/4
James Russel	100-
John O'Kelly	172-3 1/2
John Moniac	494-3 1/2
Henry Durkin	161-3
Thomas Wilson	95-2 3/4
Muckasa Opa (or Singer)	274-8
Owheege (Latgeeg's son)	24-2
White Lieutenant	551-7 1/2
John Townsend	65-7
Daniel Leslie	261-7 1/2
Card. Forwd	\$11041-2 1/2

Bro. Forwd	\$11041-2 1/2
Alexander Grierson	133-2 1/2
Tinkyhaby (McPherson's son)	508-2
Christopher Hickles	261-2 3/4
Henry Wilson	697-2
David Cornell	48-3 3/4
Charles Weatherford	1110-6
Francis Zuzant	1059-3 3/4
James Simmons	139-3 3/4
Charles Beakes	22-2
Simexa	28-1 1/2
Opuhopaya (Singer's brother)	72-1 1/2
John McLeod	301-1 3/4
Christopher Hickles & Obadah Lowe	270-6 1/2
William Powel	68-2
Sahoy Weatherford	1863-1 1/2
Isaac Kaines	647-7 1/2
Quastaw Tuskinis	638-2
Francis Leslie	120-6 1/2
George Cornell	698-2 3/4
Peter McQueen	734-1 1/2
Tusastic, Burford's bro-	28-
the-in-law	708-2
James Keith	465-4 1/2
Richard Burford	87-1 1/2
Richard Coleman	171-5 1/2
Talpehola (Tom Black's brother)	89-6
	\$21916-1 1/2

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OBLIGATION OF THE CHIEFS AND HEAD-MEN OF THE
UPPER TOWNS OF THE CREEK NATION TO
JOHN FORBES & CO, NOVEMBER 1, 1812

We the undersigned Chiefs and Headmen of the Upper Towns of the Creek Nation do hereby solemnly promise to pay to Messrs John Forbes & Co or their order the sum of Twenty one thousand nine hundred and sixteen Dollars, one and a half ri-als out of the annual stipend which we receive from the United States of America, in the manner and form following:— Whereas one years Salary has become due to us this day we have given a Draft at sight of this date on the Agent of the U. S. Indian affairs, Colonel Benjamin Hawkins in favor of the said John Forbes & Co, or their order for the sum of Five thousand Dollars; and whereas another years stipend will fall due to us on the first day of November next ensuing (1813) we promise to carry the full net amount of the said stipend to the aforesaid House of John Forbes & Co in hard silver Dollars immediately after receiving the said Salary, and with the least possible delay:—and whereas a third years Salary from the United States will become due to us on the 1st of November 1814, we promise in like manner to carry or cause to be carried to the aforesaid House of John Forbes & Co, in hard Silver Dollars the full net amount of the said third years stipend immediately on our receiving the same and with all possible haste and expedition until the full complete, and entire payment of the aforesaid sum of Twenty-one thousand nine hundred and sixteen Dollars, one and a half ri-als (the salary of our Upper Towns being about \$8500 per annum from which there are to be made some small deductions for holding meetings & which we can not here specify with precision and whereas per annexed list of debts which compose the aforesaid sum of Twenty one thousand nine hundred and sixteen Dollars, one and a half ri-als, for

\$11041	2%
133	2%
608	2
261	2%
697	2
48	3%
1110	6
1059	8%
138	8%
22	2
28	1%
301	1%
270	6%
68	2
1863	1%
647	7%
638	2
120	6%
699	2%
734	1%
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which we are responsible, and which we have prom-
 ised to pay, there are some individuals who have suf-
 ficient property to pay their respective debts, and from
 whom we intend to compel payment to us, we further
 engage that any sums which we may so collect of them
 (together with the interest thereon wherever it may be
 possible to recover interest either by suits at law, or
 otherwise) we shall carry or cause to be carried in
 hard silver to the aforesaid House of John Forbes &
 Co in Pensacola with all possible haste:—*And finally*
 we solemnly promise to accelerate by every means in
 our power the full and true payment of the aforesaid
 sum of Twenty-one Thousand nine hundred and six-
 teen Dollars, one and a half Riols, and faithfully and
 honourably to perform everything within the spirit
 and meaning of this obligation—In faith and Testi-
 mony whereof we have hereunto affixed our marks re-
 spectively in the Square, or Council House of the Town
 of Tuckabatchees at a Grand Meeting of the Chiefs,
 Headmen & Warriors of the Upper and Lower Towns
 of the Creek Nation, of which the Big Warrior is
 Speaker or President, and at which were also present
 the Representatives of the Cherokee Nation; Mr
 Christian Limbaugh, Deputy Agent in the room of the
 Agent Colonel Benjamin Hawkins, absent from indis-
 position, and Mr Timothy Barnard & Mr Alexander
 Cornells, Interpreter for the United States, and Mr
 Thomas Miller, acting Interpreter for John Forbes &
 Co., this first day of November, one thousand eight
 hundred and twelve
 In presence of
 Timothy Barnard
 Asst & Inter
 Alexr A C Cornells
 Asst & Interpreter
 Christian Limbaugh
 Asst Agent for Indu affairs
 Thos Miller

Big B. W. Warrior
 speaker of the National Council
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Province of West Florida
 Town of Pensacola

I hereby certify that I
 have carefully compared &
 examined the foregoing
 obligation with the original
 thereof and find the same
 to be a true & exact copy.
 Given under my hand &
 seal this 29th Day of Octr
 1818
 M McKinsey
 Justice of the Peace
 in & for the Town of Pen-
 sacola, Province of West
 Florida