

This Day being much indisposed I sent Captain Stuart and Lieut. Wall to Chottee in order to wait on Old Hopp, and get what further Information and Intelligence they could relateing to the Situation of Affairs to the Southward. He received them very kindly and taking them into a private close Room, gave them the Talk, as your Excellency will see by the Inclosed, in the most private and secret Manner. He desired these Gentlemen to inform me that in three Days he would wait on me to see how our pallasading Work went on. I have heard Nothing from Mr. Chevilette since he left us. I hope that he will make all possible Dispatch in sending us some Meat. The Indians say that they will let us have no more Corn for Salt, and that we must purchase the same with something else.

As I could not possibly do without a Linguister I have thought proper to employ one Ambrose Davis for that Purpose at £25 per Month.

I shall conclude assuring your Excellency that Nothing shall be wanting in me to conduct every Thing in the best and most proper Manner, and if we are attacked we shall defend ourselves and behave with that Courage and Bravery becoming Soldiers.

I am with Respect,

Your Excellency's most humble and obedient Servant,

RAYD. DEMERÉ

OLD HOPP TO CAPTAIN RAYD. DEMERE

[263] The Talk of Old Hopp to Captain Rayd. Demere, Captain John Stuart and Lieutenant Robert Wall. At the English Camp on the Tennessee River the 26th Day of October, 1756, Ambrose Davis, Linguister.

He says that he sent a Belt of Wampum to the Nuntuways which their Fathers had sent, that he received it and sent it with a new Belt and his Talk, and now waits for an Answer which he expects in the Middle of the Winter. It was to tell his youngest Brother the King or Governor of the Nuntuways to send back a Belt of Wampum and an Answer according to his Talk.

Very early in the Fall he sent of four young Men with Word that as they were his Brothers and lived amongst the French they should send in Word how the Battle went. That if it is fair Weather his Messengers may be here soon, but if bad Weather they may be longer. That he now waits for the Return of these Messengers, for when he sent them he did not know that the White People were to come and live amongst them. This Message will be delivered in no other Town in the Nation but Chottee, that one of the Savannahs is to be a Messenger. That Captain Demere shall be informed of the Message as soon as he hears it. He says that all those Nations, to whom he has sent, are in the French Interest. That they were formerly at War with them, but the Savannahs came in and made a Peace.

He says that it was then in his Power to have killed all the Savannahs, but when he hears what Message they bring back he shall be a better Judge.

The Headmen of this Nation had the Bodies of the Savannahs shut out, but the Governor of Carolina sent up a Letter by his eldest Brother to open the Door and let them free, but he thinks it too soon as yet till his Messengers come back.

He says that the Governor of Carolina lives in a good House and eats well, but it is different with the English who are Slaves amongst the Savannahs. When they speak they have a Box on the Ear and are told that none of the English are good, yet the Governor made a Peace without consulting him. That the young Men he sent are all to return in the Dead of Winter provided the Headmen be at Home, but if they be at War with the French they are to wait till they return. By his not seeing or hearing of those who used always to molest them, he believes that the Savannahs have concluded a Peace betwixt them, and he does not know but they may intend something more than he knows of. He says that he is done with the Northward Part of the Land and will now speak of the Southward.

He says that he never will hide any Thing. That he never put much Faith in the Southward Indians but when his Messengers returns he will know better what to judge. Here the Little Carpenter came in and Old Hopp immediately ceased Talking for he had desired that every Thing he said might be kept secret. The next Morning I sent Captain John Stuart and [264] Lieutenant Robert Wall to Chottee to wait on Old Hopp, with Ambrose Davis, Linguister. He gave them the following Talk. Viz.

He says that the Notowagoes sent him a Message saying that their former walking Ground was between Chottee and Keowee, but now they have more Work on their Hands for the French have deceived them and they are going to assist the Virginians, for now their Eyes are opened.

He says that Major Lewis did not manage right for he sent a Letter to the Governor of Virginia and after he went away the Letter was found.

He says that his Town belongs to the Nuntuways and the Nuntuways belong to him. Here he told the Linguister to be mindful of every Word he said, and to be silent till every Sentence was wrote.

He says that there was a Northward Fellow went off with the Tellico People. That they went till they came to the Middle Ground, and there they came across some of the Savannahs who received them very kindly, but in the night Time the Savannahs began to look at the Tellico People's Horses, and thinking that there was none amongst them that could understand their Tongue, one of the Savannahs said, that some Horses there should belong to him, another said, how so? He answered because one of these People shall go to the Fire of every one of our Towns, another said why do you talk so? for if they are come to deliver up the White People that is amongst them it will not be in our Power to kill them, for the Chactaws, Cussaws, Wassaws, Tuskegues, and Allabamers, together with the French are to go against the White People and how can they withstand them?

He says that this may come to pass either in this Moon or in the next, and that the Savannahs will endeavour to bring a large Body with them.

He says he knows that the French have been with the Oakfuskeys and the Oakehoys to desire them to come to War against the Cherokees and Carolina, and that thirty Towns are to be ruled and governed by the Oakefuskeys and Oakchoys, and that the last Desire of the French was that they should go to War against Carolina, but the old Men answered that they would be ruled by their Brother at Chottee and the Governor of Carolina. He says that the Oakfuskeys has sent him Word that all the French can give them is Powder, Shot and white Shirts, and for them to take care and not throw away Carolina by the Advice of the Savannahs, for they cannot be supplied by the French with any cloath Kind. He says that his young Women and Men are all gone into the Woods, that they well know what is to happen. He says he is old and lies upon a bad Bear Skin, and as for the White People they take care to lye upon good clean Cloth, though in the Middle of the open Woods and in Fear of Nothing, yet the Time is almost expired for they from Tellico are gone thirty Days and fifty was the Extent that they were to stay.

He says that if he had seen any Women amongst us he would have imagined that Dallying with them had employed us, but as he saw none he knows not what we have been doing. Now he says take Notice of what I say, make a wooden Fort immediately, and then go on with your Works.

|265| He says that the Path is not bad, and that the People of Tellico intend to wait at Home by their Proceedings, and to join in something that is very bad.

He says that he is a Rogue himself and cannot keep a Secret, for when he sees a White Man his Heart beats and his Flesh trimbles to think of what is to happen to him. He leaves us to judge of his great Uneasyness, for says he if you heard any thing very bad against a Friend of yours and durst not discover it, how uneasy would you be?

He says that King George always looked upon them as his Children, and now has sent his Elder Brother to come and live amongst them; but he does not see that he endeavours to defend either himself or us. He says for his own Part that his Life is not more than an Inch long and he knows not how soon a Bullet may kill him.

He says he crys within himself to see in what a defenceless Condition we seem to be in and longs to see us surrounded with some Kind of a Fort.

He says that he and his Brother, the Old Governor, once met each other below Ninety Six, and that the Talk he received then is stil fresh in his Memory. That after he came Home his Brother came up again to Ninety Six, and was sent for back by an Elder Brother of his, for if the other had been younger he would have followed him.

He says that he thought to have sent his Brother at Charles Town some Scalps and for that Purpose he sent some of his Principall Warriours out to War, but they thought proper to return, and when he asked them the Reason of their returning so soon they replied that they expected to find Scalps enough at Home.

He says that Lieutenant Wall is a young Warriour, that Captain Stuart and his Brother, Captain Demere, are old Warriours. That they must remem-

ber that the Great Warriour and his Brother are the only Men in this Nation that ought to be thought of after his Death. He says he has Sons of his own but he cannot tell how they may turn out, but he knows the others.

He says that it is very true that the Little Carpenter and Wollenawoa are his Nephews, but he knows not how they would behave. Were he, the Great Warriour, and the Great Warriour's Brother dead, two he doubts very much but two he would recommend, the Great Warriour and his Brother for drunk or sober they always admonish the Indians to love the White People.

He says that if he had forgot what he owes to a Country he loves, and only had a Mind to behave like a Father he would recommend his two Sons but he knows them to be incapable and easily byassed by every Lye that comes.

He says as to Captain Stuart he is not very old and he does not know whether he will live here or not, but as he immagines that Lieutenant Wall will stay. When the Great Warriour and his Brother comes, he will carry them down to shake hands with Lieutenant Wall and deliver up to them all his Right and Power over the Cherokees.

The Little Carpenter and his Gang¹⁰

Rd. De.

CAPTAIN RAYD. DEMERE TO GOVERNOR LYTTELTON

From the English Camp on the Tennessee River,
the 29th Oct., 1756

SIR, I think myself under a Necessity to acquaint your Excellency that the present Prospect of Affairs are very gloomey. We thought ourselves the [266] other Day in the greatest Security as my Letters by Serjeant Creighton will inform you, but within these few Days I have a clearer and more distinct Idea of the Knavery and Deceit of these Indians than ever I had before, as the Talks &c. I send will inform you. I think it highly probable from the best Accounts I can get that the Communication between this and Carolina will be cut of, therefore in Case of any Emergency I shall endeavour to open a Correspondence with the Governor of Virginia, which is the only Place from which I could get any Assistance. It is much nearer then to Charles Town and the Country quite level. This I hope will meet with your Excellency's Approbation.

The Little Carpenter Yesterday in Conversation with Captain Stuart being asked if he had any Intelligence of the Designs of the French, the Chactaws and other Indians in the French Alliance, and what Grounds he had to believe they would come against us, he answered that we would believe so too when we saw them here, and that he was sure that the Savannahs intended to bring a large Body against us.

I must acquaint your Excellency that the Chactaws are a very numerous and powerfull Nation. They are nearer to us than the Allabamers which is only seven Days easy March through, a plain, level Country. The Chactaws are said to have in their Nation ten thousand Men able to bear Arms.

¹⁰ In the original, the "talk" ends here.

I have wrote to Mr. Chevillette at Ninety Six to make what possible Dispatch he can in sending us Provisions.

The Little Carpenter has desired me to give a Discharge to one of the Soldiers belonging to me that he knew before which I thought proper to do. Two Days hence the Carpenter with eight more Indians setts out on an Escort and is to encamp upon the Path, that the Tellico People comes on their Return from the French. He says he will send a Runner immediately to us in case he gets any Intelligence of them. He has also desired me to let him send the Linguister to the Middle Towns in order to hear what News is stirring there. The Little Carpenter and the Linguister are to be back in 8 Days.

I must acquaint your Excellency that Old Hopp told Capt. Stuart and Lieutenant Wall that the Carpenter knew every Thing he had acquainted them with in the Talk I send, and that he was privy to all the Proceedings against the English, therefore there is but Treachery and Dissembulation in that Villain. Old Hopp takes a good Deal of Notice about the Peace made with the Savannahs, without his Consent. I never mentioned [it] to him, therefore conclude he has been informed with by the Great Tellico People, to whom I mentioned it on my first Arrival there, thinking it might be agreeable to them, but it proves otherways, at least to all Appearance. In private Conversation I mentioned the same to Judge's Friend, but he greatly disapproved of it, and am sure he never said any Thing relating thereto. I am with Respect, Sir,

Your most humble and obedient Servant,

RAYD. DEMERÉ

WHITE OUTERBRIDGE TO GOVERNOR LYTTELTON

|267|

Fort Augusta, November 6th, 1756

SIR, The Handsome Fellow of the Oakfuskees, arrived here on Monday the 25th of last Month. He waited for two other Headmen and Attendants that promised to overtake him, at this Place. They arrived likewise the 31st of the same Month, and set out for Savannah the 4th Instant. He (the Handsome Fellow) says, that he and those other Headmen, are impowered by the Gun Merchant, and other Headmen of their Nation, to demand Satisfaction for the two Indians that were killed at Ogeechee. The Substance of their Talk, I here inclose your Excellency. Nothing else material since my last, only, that we have certain Accounts here, that the Upper Cherrockees of Terrico, did kill three Chicksaws, that were hunting upon a Branch of the Mississippi which perhaps, may be a Means of embroiling those Nations, and of bad Consequences, as the Chickesaws would be much distressed thereby.

I have the Honour of your Excellency's Letter of the 29th Ultimo by Mr. Petticrow, and shall acquaint Mr. Pepper, by first Opportunity, as your Excellency directs me. The two Chests of Arms, shall be forwarded with Care by the first convenient Opportunity.

As the Traders here have taken out most of their Powder from the Magazine, and I don't know how soon they may take the rest, I shall have very little left after His Majesty's Birthday. Your Excellency will be pleased to order

some to be sent up per the next Boats, which will soon be in Charles Town.
I am, with the greatest Respects Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient humble Servant,

WHITE OUTERBRIDGE

P. S. Since writeing the above I have had Information, of some other Matters, which I have subjoined to the Substance of the Handsome Fellow's Talk, to which I beg Leave to referr your Excellency.

LOWER CREEKS TO GOVERNOR REYNOLDS

Coweta, 13th October, 1756

To His Excellency John Reynolds, Esq., Governor of His Majesty's Province of Georgia and to his Beloved Men.

Your Talk and that of your Beloved Men came to the Coweta, and we immediately sent for all the Headmen, Beloved Men and Warriours of our Lower Nation, when at a general Meeting your Talk was read at the Coweta Town 30th September when we unanimously agreed that the antient Friendship concluded and confirmed by our wise Forefathers and yours should continue and last, while the Sun should shine or the Waters run.

[268] We, the Lower Creeks, since the Friendship betwixt us was first concluded, have always continued our Friendship with the English and as we know the Benefit of our Friendship, we design not to be led astray by bad Councils. We received several Talks from you, and have sent several Talks to you; we always took your Talks and we hope now you will take our Talks. We desire that you will stop all out Stores, and let none of your People at Augusta or any where below trade with our People, for it keeps our young People from coming Home, and they buying Goods cheaper below makes them often quarrel with the White People in the Nation, besides they often get drunk below which makes them fight and sometimes kill one another. We desire that you will not let any of your People settle at Ogeechee or incroach any Ways on our Land, for we are resolved not to sell any of our Lands, nor let the White People settle any nigher us, for our Hunting Ground is already too small, which makes the Deer scarce, so that we can't cloath our Wives and Children. We want that you would allow our Traders to bring up Rum, for we have always been used with it and the Want of it makes our young People go to the French and Spaniards for it.

If any Difference should happen between your People and ours; if you will send to acquaint us, we will be always ready to send some of our Headmen to you to make up the Difference. It was none of our Lower Towns People that quarrelled with your People; it was the Upper Towns People. We sent two of our Headmen to the Upper Nation; they told to us that they were to send four of their Warriours to you to demand Satisfaction for their People that were killed and were to sett off in five Days hence. We desire that you would tell your Beloved Man to send up a Man before him, that we may know upon what Account he comes here, for we want no Alteration in our Traders,

nor in the Price of our Goods. We are satisfied with the Weights, and want no Stilliards for we do not understand them.

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| <p>his JOHN _____ KINIARD Interpreter Mark Test: THOMAS ROSS JAMES NESMITH WILLIAM MOORE (Copy)</p> | <p>his THE MOUNTAIN KING _____ Mark his THE _____ RED KING Mark his WAR _____ KING Mark his ABHE _____ WARRIOUR KING Mark THE HEAD WARRIOR OF THE COWETAS</p> |
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CAPTAIN RAYD. DEMERE TO GOVERNOR LYTTELTON

From the English Camp on the Banks of the Tennessee,
Nov. 7th, 1756

SIR, As my last Dispatches per Cold Iron relating to the Situation of Affairs here must be very unpleasant to your Excellency and the Province, I thought it very necessary to lose no Time to inform you, by the first Opportunity, of their present Situation which is by [269] Samuel Benn who is going to Ninety Six from whence Mr. Gowdy has my Orders to send this immediately to your Excellency. Such a sudden Change gave me a great Deal of Uneasyness, after the agreeable News that went by the Serjeant Major. I would not have your Excellency or the Province be uneasy although my Dispatches were of such a Nature, for I may venture to assure your Excellency that the same Friendship, which these Upper Towns assured me with for the English, is stil subsisting and they say that Nothing shall make any Change or Alteration in them. The disaffected People of Great Tellico may perhaps corrupt them if the French and the Body of Indians, which they did expect, should come.

I flatter myself that your Excellency will be persuaded that since Cold Iron went away no Time has been lost on my Side in doing the Utmost in my Power with Mr. Stuart &c. to bring Matters about, and discover what we could with the Headmen of the Nation, and I really believe that they have truly informed me of every Thing they know. That as the Great Tellico People went to the French with an Intent to give up one of their Towns to them in order to have a Fort built in it, by the great Promises and Sollicitations of the Savannahs made to them from the French, and as they were not come back by the Time limited they do imagine that they were all killed or that they are waiting for a Body of them to get in Readiness to come and cut us of. Such were their Reasons for being apprehensive on our Account, they being now convinced that we are come amongst them to be their Friends, would be

sorry that any Harm should come to us, for which Reason they begged of us to fortify ourselves without Loss of Time, for Fear they should come, as they stil imagine they possibly may, all being uncertain till the Tellico People return.

'Tis very true that the Little Carpenter went a great Length with the French which I believe he is now very sorry for, and by all Appearance is more inclined to us then to the French. He has been spoke to by Judge's Friend upon this Occasion and by other Headmen. Since Cold Iron went away I have had several Conferrences with him about the same; he has assured me that he is a sincere Friend to the English and that we shall soon perceive it. He is gone upon a Scout with eight more Indians and if he perceives, or discovers any thing, he is to give us Intelligence immediately, according to what has been agreed too between him and Judge's Friend.

Old Hopp and all the rest of the Headmen have assured me of their Friendship in case the French and their Indians should come that they would assist and dye by us. Most of the Indians are gone out a hunting but not far off. They are to be sent for if there shall be Occasion. I mentioned in my last to your Excellency that I should send Judge's Friend to Tellico to see how Matters were there. I proposed the same to him, but he said it would not answer for him to go as they knew him too well to give him any Information of their private Designs, but |270| that he would send a young Fellow that he could depend on who should bring him Word of every Thing particular at Tellico. He accordingly sent a Relation of his who returned and brought News that all was quiet there, and that the greatest Part of the Indians were gone a hunting.

Mr. Beamer who came here with the Indian Presents the 4th Instant reports that all is well in the Lower and Middle Towns which he came through; 'Tis therefore thought that they will not come this Winter as the Indians did expect the Creeks should join them who I hope will keep their Integrity to us. And after all I hope we should be able to repulse them in our present Posture of Defence except they should be very numerous.

We are now pallasadoed round, but it is not sufficient for we are too much exposed. The Fort is commanded at present from the Top of a Hill and I believe will be the same when the Works are finished but Mr. DeBrahm depends very much on a Bastian that takes in Part of the same Hill. Mr. DeBrahm is now about setting up another Row of Pallasadoes with Traverses of the Inside of the Fort twelve Feet Distance from the first and a great Deal higher. We are now Nothing but Pallasadoes. It's to be wished that Mr. DeBrahm had built the Fort on the same Spot that Mr. Pearson had pitched upon, it being a fine levell and even Spot of Ground which would have answered much better than to be a blowing Rocks out of this Hill which he is obliged to have done to make Trenches for the Pallasadoes. It would have answered much better the intended Purpose for quick Dispatch, and would have saved a great Deal of Money to the Province.

He has no Reason now to complain for he has above his Compliment of Men at Work. There is no Guard kept in the Day Time to please him which is a very hard Thing to do. I heard him say of late that he had wrote to your

Excellency for one hundred Men more. He never did declare his Sentiments to me in respect to them so that by his Application your Excellency and the Council will best judge whether they ought to be sent or not. I shall only say that if these Men were to come up without properly acquainting the Indians therewith it might prove of bad Consequence for they would imagine that we had a Design to destroy them. As soon as the Headmen return from their Hunts I shall distribute the Presents to them except a few Trifles which I shall keep to give away upon some Occasions of Intelligence. The Coats are so intolerable bad that I cannot offer to give them to any of these Indians; they would look on it as an Affront was I to offer them. If your Excellency had seen these Coats, I am persuaded that you would not have permitted them to have been sent up. There is 20 Shirts wanting of the Number your Excellency mentions; the Mistake must have been made at Charles Town for no more came to Keowee.

[271] Mr. Chevilette being at Keowee when the Presents arrived there made Use of a Piece of Oznabrigs, as I suppose, to make Bags for the Salt. A great Deal of the Paint has been lost out of the Box occasioned by the Shaking of the Waggon. The Drum and Colours were kept by Serjeant Harrison at Fort Prince George. Upon an Inquiry of Mr. Beamer, he informs me that the three Chickesaws which he wrote to me about went of the same Night they came in, in Private and unbeknown to any of these Indians, and without delivering any Talk or Message as was expected.

Thompson, the Packhorseman, that was shot by an Indian is dead since; the Indian that shot him proves to be a Nephew to Old Hopp. I have spoke to Judge's Friend about having the Fellow put to Death as being the Law of God, the King and the Province, and agreeable to their own known Constitutions. He said it was very true, but that he would not do it himself, and that Old Hopp and all the rest of the Headmen must be consulted about it, and that as all the Headmen are now absent he gave me a Hint to let it alone till we should hear from the Tellico People, which I approve of, but in a proper Time I shall insist on having the Fellow put to Death.

Old Hopp is at present very sick. I went to see him two Days ago with Captain Stuart and Lieut. Wall, but did not mention any thing to him about his Nephew. Some Part of the Rum that was coming up for Captain Postel was taken by the Indians of Highwassey. Mr. Doharty, Trader of that Town, told the Indians that the Rum belonged to the Officers here, but they said he lied. That it belonged to Elliot, and that it was as they pleased to take it. I wish it may be all taken if any should come, for it is pernicious and prejudicial in several Respects."

The Indians here will have it that we are a building a Fort in the Creek Nation. I could only tell them that if it was so your Excellency would have acquainted me with it. I judge that the Traders there are apprehensive of Danger and are fortifying themselves.

Old Hopp and Judge's Friend have told me that we have a very good Friend in the Creeks that says and does all he possibly can for us. They say he

is the Headman of the Oakechois, a very renowned Warriour. I take this Man to be either the Wolf or the Gun Merchant.

I have not heard one Word of our Commissary since the Day Cold Iron arrived here with your Excellency's last Dispatches.

Your Excellency will be pleased to give Orders about the Provisions I mentioned in my last that the same may be forwarded with all possible Speed. I am with the greatest of Respect

Your Excellency's most humble and obedient Servant,

RAYD. DEMERE

N. B. There is only 43 Check Shirts, 17 ruffled ones and 18 plain Do.

INTELLIGENCE FROM CAPTAIN RAYD. DEMERE¹¹

[272]

English Camp, November 8th, 1756

This Day an old Indian came to this Camp and informed Capt. Raymond Demere that two of the Tellico People that went to the Alabamers had returned to Tellico the Day before, and reports that they were sent by the Mankiller to inform the People of their Town that they had met with a very kind Reception by the French, and that they left the Mankiller and all the rest of their People with the Savannahs except those that went down by Water to see the Governor of New Orleans, and that those were to return with their Present which was to be very considerable. They say that the Mankiller and all the rest of their People with him will shortly be on their Way Home, and that they have Orders from the Mankiller to meet them with Provisions, and likewise to tell all the Men, Women and Children of that Town to meet them at a Place called by the Indians Cominuoca, two days March from Tellico. He says that the Way he came to hear all this News was, that, having some Relations in Great Tellico, he had been sent to privately to accompany them out to the Place aforesaid.

Hereupon Captain Demere with Capt. Stuart and Lieutenant Wall immediately went down to Tomatley and spoke to Judge's Friend who told them he had heard the same Storey but no more. They then proceeded to Chottee to see Old Hopp and to know if he had heard any Thing of it.

Old Hopp told them that he had just then received an Account of the same Story from an old Man then present whom he introduced as his Brother. He said that as the News did not come to him in a proper Manner he could not depend on the Particulars, but that when a Messenger should come to him he could then depend on the Truth of what was told him and would then inform Captain Demere of every Particular he should hear.

On their Return they called on Samuel Benn, Trader in Tennessey. Captain Demere desired him to go that Night to Tellico and endeavour to hear what News he could about them Indians and to tell old Captain Cæsar to come down to him immediately. Mr. Benn accordingly went and returned the 9th Instant in the Evening and says that Capt. Cæsar is gone into the Woods a Hunting. He says that he went to one Kelley's House, a Trader in Tellico,

¹¹ This letter and those immediately following it are enclosures with the letter from Captain Rayd. Demere to Governor Lyttelton, November 18, 1756 on pp. 248-51.

and that his Wench told him that two of their People was returned from the French and that the rest were on their Way Home, and that there was a good many French and a Number of Horses a coming with them, and that the Mankiller of Tellico had sent by the two Men aforesaid for thirty Head of Horses to meet them, and that they with the French &c. were to settle a Town at Highwassey Old Town, which is about thirty Miles to the South of Tellico.

Mr. Benn says that after this he went to the Mankiller's House |273| aforesaid, and was informed by his Wife that the two Messengers aforesaid were going out with Provisions &c. to meet the Rest of their People at a Place called by the Indians Wassade where they intended to make their winter Hunts and stay till their People returned that went down to see the Governor of New Orleans, and upon inquiring how many went down to the Governor, she told him that there was five Men and one Woman gone down, and that they were to return with the Frenchmen that was to bring their Presents which were to be very considerable. Mr. Benn says that he heard at Tellico that the Mankiller had a Letter for the Commander of the Troops here.

Yesterday Judge's Friend informed Capt. Demere that all the Creek Traders were fortifying themselves at the Oakechois, a Town in that Nation. He said also that the French Officer at the Alabamers Fort told the Tellico People that he had heard that there was a great Number of White People come into their Nation, and asked them what their Business was and whether they could tell their exact Number; the Tellico People answered that they could not tell any more of the White People then that they were a coming, and was as far on their March as Highwassee when they left Tellico. He says that the French was then very inquisitive, and that the Tellico People told them that they could give no exact Intelligence of a People they had never seen.

He says that the French Officer told them that they should have Traders among them, and that when the Trees began to bud he would come himself to Tellico.

RAYD. DEMERE

THE OLD WARRIOR OF TOMOTLEY TO CAPTAIN RAYD. DEMERE

|274|

English Camp, November the 9th, 1756

This Day the Old Warrior of Tomotley being sent for by Captain Raymond Demere came to this Camp, and gave Capt. Demere the following Intelligence.

PRESENT: Capt. John Stewart, and Lieut. Wall. Ambrous Davis, Linger.

He says that this Day the Tellico People are gone out, and they are to return in the last of next Month. He says that they are to meet the Mankiller, and that five French Men are to come in with them. He says that he has heard for certain that the Town of Chatuga is about to joine the Tellico People, and that both the Town of Tellico and Chatuga are going to brake up their Towns and settle a Town for the French at Highwassey Old Town. He says that this may absolutely be depended on as Truth, for he heard it from a Man that was

told of it by the two Messengers. He says that he can't hear that any of the other Towns are going to intermedle.

He says that the Tellico People went to the French, but that the Creeks had been there before them and got all the Presents there was; he says that on the Arrival of the Tellico People at the Allabamers, the French Officer there received them very kindly, and told them that he was very proud to see them and that notwithstanding they had killed a great many of his People and taken a great many of them Prisoners he had forgot it, and had buried the same in Oblivian in the Bottom of the River. He told them that they had taken him at an Onplus and that it gave him the greatest Concern that he was not acquainted with their coming that he might have been prepared to receive them as he could wish, but that he would look about and indeavour to get what he could for them.

After they had been there three Days the Officer had a large Table spread in the Fort and had all the Officers together with the Indians aforesaid to dine with him. That after Dinner he gave all the Indians five Mach Coats, a Shirt, a Pair Boots, a Hatchet, Paint, and Knives, a Gun, Powder and Ball (as much as they wanted) to every Man. That then the French Officer told the Tellico Indians that he would come into their Nation and see what Kind of a Trade they had and whether the English Traders did not impose on them, and said that he would supply all the Nation of the Cherokees with all Kind of Goods and Necessaries, |275| and that he would undersell, let them sell as cheap as they will. He says that the French Officer aforesaid told the Tellico People that he would send a very considerable Cargo of Goods amongst them and that he did not desire one Skin for the first Cargo, for he intended to give the same to their Wives and Children. He further says that the French and Indians may probably come here to do Mischief, but that if they should come Capt. Demere shall be assisted

RAYD. DEMERE

OLD HOP'S TALK TO CAPTAIN DEMERE

English Camp, November the 13th, 1756

This Day Captain Raymond Demere and Lieut. Robert Wall waited on Old Hop at his House in Chota where they were received in the most friendly Manner and had the following Talk. Ambrous Davis, Lingister.

Old Hop says that ever since last Spring he has suspected that Something very bad would happen to this Nation, for which Reason he stays at Home.

He says that he does not know how soon he may be obliged to call upon Carolina and Virginia for great Assistance. He says that the Choctaws are a very numerous and powerfull People, and as they are in the French Alliance, he does not know what Scheams are on foot between them, The Tellico People and the Savanahs.

He says that some Time past he sent a Belt of Wampom to the Middle Towns and another to the Lower Towns signifying to those Towns that he should stay at Home all this Winter so that he says there is not one in the Nation but knows that he is at Home.

He says that notwithstanding all his Warriors and young Men are out a hunting they are at his Call, that they are not gone to their proper hunting Ground but are a hunting a little Way of; agreeable to his Orders. He says that the Standing Turkey is at the nearest hunting Camp and knows where all the other Camps [276] are. That he is now waiting to hear from him and that as soon as he sends a Messenger out to him, he is immediately to distribute his Men and send them to the different Camps with Orders to repara to Chota as quick as possible, by this Means he says he can have all his Men together in two or three Days.

He says that he is uneasy at not having a proper Messenger sent him to give him an Account of the Designs of the Tellico People and of the Talk they have brought from the French. He says he has had his Ears open but can't hear so much as he wants.

He says that he has sent his Wife to Tellico who is to inquire very particularly into the whole Affair and relate the same to him which he says he can depend on. Capt. Demery told me that as he could not wait on him he would send Capt. Stewart and Lieutenant Wall to receive his Talk. He says that Capt. Stewart and Lieutenant Wall must come to see him the 15th Instant, and that he hopes by that Time he shall know a great Deal about the Tellico People and that he shall be able to give them a long Talk.

RAYD. DEMERÉ

OLD HOP'S TALK TO CAPTAIN STUART AND LIEUTENANT WALL

English Camp, November 15th, 1756

This Day Capt. John Stewart and Lieutenant Wall went down to Chota to wait on Old Hop agreeable to his Request of Capt. Raymond Demere the 14th [*sic*] Inst. They received the following Talk from him. Ambrous Davis, Lingister.

He says that his Ears are open to hear every Thing he can about the Tellico People. That he does not like to be counted a Lyar and that he can't affirm every flying Report for Truth; therefore he shall defer saying anything till he has it confirmed to him. He says that when his proper Messengers return from Tellico he can then depend on the Truth of every Thing he [277] hears. He says that half-breed Samuel Brown, who was a considerable Trader in the Creek Nation, has gone over to the French, and that he and Lantainack are to be at Tellico early next Spring. He says that he don't think proper to call in all his Warriors and young Men before he is better informed of the Designs of the Tellico People. He says that they are not gone far, and that when he sees Occasion he will send the Warhoop through all their Camps and in two or three Days' Time can have them all at Chota.

He says that Carolina did not do well by the Savannahs that they had in Charles Town Prison some Years past, that they ought to have killed them, or at least have hid them in such a Manner that they could never return back to their own People. He says when the Governor of Carolina let these Savannahs out of Prison, that they immediately returned to their own Towns; and there told their People that they had been imprisoned in Carolina and used like

Dogs. He says that thereupon all the Head Men of the Savannahs met, and agreed that as Virginia and Carolina was one People, they would revenge themselves on the Virginians and take Satisfaction for the Usage their People had met with in Carolina, and that they would join the French and acknowledge them to be their Fathers. Old Hop says that the Savannahs immediately went to War against the Virginians and killed a great many People and took a great many Prisoners.

He says that the Savannahs barbecued the Flesh of the English and eat of it, and carried some with a Prisoner to fifteen different Nations to the Northward who all eat of the barbecued Flesh aforesaid, and accepted of a Prisoner, and that they went to the French and carried a Prisoner and some of the Flesh of the English to them and that the French eat of the Flesh and took the Prisoner. He says that they went in the same Manner to the Nottowago Indians and that the Nottowagos took the Prisoner under their Protection and threw |278| the Flesh that was offered them into the Fire. And sent the Savannahs away about their Business. Old Hop says that last Spring the Savannahs came to him at Chota, and brought him some Scalps of the White People, and some of the barbecued Flesh aforesaid, and told him that it was good to kill and eat the English and that they would eat the first Mouth full and he must eat the second. He says that he refused to do it and severely reprimanded them.

He says that after the Savannahs found that he would not protect and encourage them that they then went away to Tellico. He says that Captain Stewart and Lieut. Wall must come down to Chota to see him the 17th Inst., and that he hopes by that Time the Messengers he sent to Tellico will be returned and he shall be able to give them Intelligence relating to the Designs of the Tellico People that they may inform Captain Demere therewith. On the 16th Instant Samuel Ben came to Capt. Raymond Demere and informed him that all the Women of the Town of Great Tellico were gone out with the two Messengers to meet the Mankiller of Tellico and the rest of their People at the Place appointed, and that none of the Women of Chatuga went with them. He says that one Kelley's Wench that lives in Great Tellico came to his House and informed him herewith.

N. B. The Towns of Chatuga and Great Tellico join each other, and the Emperor and old Capt. Cæsar lives in Chatuga

RAYD. DEMERE

OLD HOP'S TALK TO CAPTAIN RAYD. DEMERE

English Camp, November the 16th, 1756

This Day Capt. Raymond Demere with Capt. John Stewart and Lieutenant Wall went down to Chota to wait on Old Hop who gave Capt. Demere the following Talk. Ambrous Davis, Lingister.

He says that the Man Killer is gone in an underhanded Manner to the French, but that all the seven Over Hill Towns well remembers the good Talk he has given them and that they will not be actuated by the Tellico |279|

People. He says that the Savannahs, Tellico People and French are quite in considerable to the Number of Men he has.

He says that he is determined to tye every Frenchman that comes in and deliver them up to Capt. Raymond Demere.

He says that the Governor of Virginia is his Brother and that he longs to hear from him to know if he is in Want of Assistance. He says that he still thinks of the Bones of his Brother's Children that lies scattered about Hot Stones River, and that if they are not in Peace in Virginia by the Spring he must send some of his Warriors to assist them. He says that Lantignac some Years past purchased a French Prisoner of him and that they both went away and he has never been satisfied for the Prisoner, notwithstanding he was obliged to give a very high Price for him.

Capt. Demere hereupon told him that as Lantaniack and Brown, the Creek Trader, was (as he had been informed) a coming into their Nation, it was in his Power to secure them and deliver them to him, which if he would do he would satisfy him to the Value of four hundred Weight of Leather which would be paying him sufficiently for his Trouble and his Prisoner aforesaid.

Old Hop was hereupon greatly pleased and promised that he would take them if ever they came into any Part of his Nation. He sayed that he would consult with some particular Head Men about it that should keep it a Secret, and assist him, and begged that the same might be kept a Secret and not publickly talked of.

He says that he must defer giving us any News about the Tellico People till his proper Messenger returns whom he expects every Day. He says that he will wait on Capt. Demere at the Fort the Twentieth Instant, and he hopes that his Messenger will be returned by that Time and that he shall be able to give him a long Talk.

It is imposible for us ever to find the Particulars of their Designs in sending and treating with the [280] French which plainly shews that it could be intended in no Respect to serve us, but quite the reverse. All the principal Men were certainly concerned in it without Exception, so that the Beginning of their Plot and Knavery is (and I believe allways will be) kept a profound Secret from us.

RAYD. DEMERE

CAPTAIN RAYMD. DEMERE TO GOVERNOR LYTTELTON

From the English Camp, November 18th, 1756

SIR, Agreeable to your Excellency's Instructions I send inclosed all the Intelegence I could possibly get relating to the French and Tellico People which I think corrisponds very nearly with the Accounts received by Major Andrew Lewis at Fort Prence George. Indeed we could expect else from those mercenary Villians considering the Errand they went on, which I think is of the utmost Consequence to us. If we suffer the Tellico People, the Savanahs and the French Traders to settle at Highwassey Old Town, we may as well give up the whole Nation of the Cherokees to the French. The old Town of High-

wassey is situate a little to the South of the Unicay Mountain. We are obliged to cross in our Way to, and from Charles Town, and in that Part of the Rode, there is such unaccountable Precipices that a very few Indians might cut of a considerable Number of Troops, notwithstanding all Precautions that could be taken. Our Communication must in corse be cut of. These Villians would be allways lurking in the Mountains that Nothing could come to us, and besides we should be constantly embarrassed by them, and could only have Recourse to Virginia for Assistance of every Kind.

It appears to me that the whole Fate of Carolina and Georgia both depends greatly on the Friendship of this Nation for if they revolt and join the French, all our Interest in the Creek Nation would consequently fall and cease, and the French with those too strong Allies, and the great and numerous Nation of the Choctaws would compell per Force every Nation of Indians on the whole Contenent to join them; it being a known Practice with those Savages to join those they have Reason to dread or think the strongest Party. We must lay hold on all Means and Measures to keep (at any Rate whatever) the Indians of these Upper Towns as well as those of the Middle and Lower Towns strongly to our Intrust. We must not loose a moment's Time at this [critical] Juncture of Affairs to engage them to us so [281] firmly that we may call them for Assistance whenever Occasion shall offer. It will be highly proper to strike a Blow at all these People at their first Approach, I mean the Savannahs and French &c., that are (as we believe) about settleing at Highwassey Old Town. It will be the only expedient Way we can fall on, to drive them away at first (in some Shape or another), for should we suffer them to take Possession of any Part of this Nation it would be very difficult for us to root them out as they would take all inderict Methods to strengthen their Party and Allies, and encourage them to distress us, so that by any Delay on our Side the French may draw over the whole Cherokee Nation and ingage them to their Intrust. I think their first Begining plainly shews their Design; they thereby will make us Prisoners on one Side, and on the other cut of our Communication. That in short if ever they are permitted to settle in the Center of the Cherokee Nation they will soon make themselves Masters of the Whole.

The Friendship of this Nation is so very advantageous to the French that they will spare no Cost whatever to carry their Point, and I think that [it's] equally as advantageous to us. Indians are a Comodity that are to be bought and sold, and the French will bid very high for them. And on this particular Occasion if we don't bid as high we shall [absolutely] lose them, for Indians are but Indians and are but very little to be depended on; the highest Bidder carries them off. But as we are in Possession of the Country and have some good Friends in it such as the Great Warrior and his Brother Kenotetah, Judge's Friend, the Swallow Warrior &c., I hope by my earnest Indeavours and by proper Assistance from the Indians and the Province to get the beter and vanquish over Enemies. I must observe to your Excellency that the Tellico People stands very much on their Families as being the best and most ancient in the Nation, and for being related to Old Hop and other great Men [in] the Nation by Birth, Marriage &c. They have certainly a great many Relations in these

Upper Towns as well as the Middle and Lower Towns, but it is to be hoped that Nothing of this Nature will influence them in their Favour.

The second Row of Pallasades is now finished with Traverses &c., and the working Men are employed about the Breast Work. I have a great many of my Men employed at it, notwithstanding they do all their Duties. I should be very proud if I could possibly give your Excellency an Idea of the Place this Fort is situate in, but I have not Elloquence sufficiently to do it. I wish sincerely that I could inform your Excellency that it was on the same Spot that Mr. Pearson had pitched upon; it would have |282| given a perticular Joy and Satisfaction to every Gentleman here. The Work would have been finished much sooner, and the Province would have saved a very considerable Expence. We should there have had no Occasion to blow up Rocks nor to build Ravleems, Fort-glens, and Counter Guards by the Waterside as if the River was navigable for Men of War. A good strong square Fort with four Basteens would have answered our intended Purpose and Nature seemed to have designed that Spot of Ground for such a Fort. I refer to Capt. Stewart and all the rest of the Officers' Observations except Capt. Postell who (with Submission to him) is no Judge in any Affairs of this Nature. I ought to have observed before that when Mr. Debrahm took us to the Place where your Fort is to be built, although there will be twice the Work here as there would be at the other Place (meaning this), and sayed in the Presence of several that the Fort was to be a double Horn Work with a fortified Communication which was to contain seven or eleven Acres of Ground, Part of the Work was to have been by the Waterside and the other on the Top of a stoney Hill with a Communication between as aforesaid, the Indians being very much against Mr. Debrahm's building a Fort at the Forks, and at last Old Hop and Little Carpenter saying positively that they would not have a Fort built there; then came up to this Place where he is building a Fort that will take three or four hundred Men to garrison it if [regularly] attacked, so that your Excellency may judge what Number of Men would have been required to garrison and properly defend the intended Fort at the Forks.

I doubt that Mr. Debrahm has wrote a little too much and that he is not able to make his Assertions good; notwithstanding this Gentleman is constantly bawling out that he is acting for the King and for the Good of the Publick, the Publick, the Publick. The Gentlemen are daily threatned that he has wrote to Charlestown and that he will write again, and that he is obliged to do it for the Good of the King's Service and for the Good of the Publick, the Publick, the Publick &c. God knows what Mr. Debrahm can write when every Gentleman does whatever they can for the Good of the Service to forward the Expedition and to please him to the best of my Knowledge. Mr. Debrahm ought to conduct himself a little better than he does, or he may very probably bring a Storm over his Head; he has sayd so often that he would go away and leave us that we begin to think by his odd Behaviour that he intends it. To this Intent (it is thought) he insults and abuses People thinking that a Return of the like Usage would be a sufficient Excuse for him to go away.

When we first hear the News that the French [283] and Indians were likely to be amongst us, Mr. Debrahm left us and took lodging at an Indian House in Tomotley about two Miles from this Fort where he still continues; he also immediately sent off all his Things to Keowes, and it's the Opinion of every one that he intended to march off himself in case any Thing had happened. It is sayed that Mr. Debrahm is visited in his warm Room at Tamotley by red painted faced Companions which Colour he does not dislike, but am sorry that any Thing of this Nature should prevent his constant Attendance at the Fort. But what do I say of a Man of so much Sanctity and Religion as he pretends to have, Oh, it is all a Farce and Nothing but Hipocrisy.

His Wife has wrote him Word that it was reported in Charles Town that he was gone over to the French, upon which he sayed that the News must have gone from here and some of the Black Gards (meaning the Officers) had wrote the same to Town. I wish he had been gone to them or any where else before he came here.

The tenth Inst. being His Majesty's Birth Day the same was observed here. It moving so very wet and rainey that I could not order my Men under Arms at the usual Time, I had the Swivels loaded and His Majesty and your Excellency's Healths were drank when Corporal James Hill fired the Swivels the third of which bursted and took off all his Face of which he deceased the next Day. The Swivels are very bad though I fear they were over charged.

I have heard no News from Mr. Elliot since he went to Keowe for the Guns and little Provisions we left there, nor from Mr. Chivettette since he left us. I should be glad that he would think of us. We are in want of Provisions. The Whole continues in good Health and I have lost no Man except by the unfortunate Accident aforesaid. I conclude wishing that Old Hops and the rest of the Cherokees Headmen and Warriors Testimony of Friendship may prove true to us which will give me a particular Satisfaction and am Sir, with great Respect,

Your Excellency's most humble and obedient Servant,

RAYD. DEMERE

P. S. I would have been glad to have detained Samuel Ben (who is a very honest Man) till I had the Talk from Old Hope on the 20th Instant. Mr. Ben's Horses being gone before for Ninety Six, he waited only for my Packett which being of Consequence and knowing the Uneasyness my last Dispatches per Cold Iron may give your Excellency and the Province, I desired him to proceed immediately as an Express from here which he had promised to do without Loss of Time, and as he is a Man that may be [depended] on, I hope they will arrive safe to your Excellency.

Rd. DE.

It seems that Old Hop is very serious in his Talks with me; therefore we must not pinch the Cause. The Purse must be loose and open on this Occasion.

DANIEL PEPPER TO GOVERNOR LYTTELTON

|284|

Ockchoys, 18th November, 1756

SIR, The Honour of your Excellency's Favour of the 30th September under Cover to Lieutenant White Outerbridge I duely received, and marked the Contents carefully. I wrote you an Answer dated at Fort Augusta the 9th Ult., in which I acquainted your Excellency of my Intention to set out for the Creek Nation on the 13th which I did accordingly. I have now to inform your Excellency of what Occurrences has happened since I left Fort Augusta.

The 17th Ult. upon the Path I met with John Pettigrew from the Nation under an Answer to the Despatches Mr. Outerbridge sent up by him from your Excellency. I read and took a Copy of their Talk, the latter Part of which happened to me to be very insignificant and trifling, and more the Stile of Traders and Pack Horsemen than Indians. On the 27th being about three Days' March from the Cowetaus I dispatched John Neilson, my Linguister, to inform the Hed Men of my Approach, desiring them and what Traders remained in the Nation to be ready and give their Attendance to hear a Talk [I] intended to give them the 1st Instant.

The 29th I ordered the Presents to be divided into Thirds, two for the Upper Creeks (being much more numerous) and one for the Lower. Upon the Division of the Goods and opening the Packages I found though the Publick is charged for three Dozen and one half of ruffled Shirts, there was only three Dozen and the Box so full with them and the laced Hatts it could not hold one single Shirt more. This Mistake I hope your Excellency will order to be rectified. The Shirts are also very ordinary and inferior in Quality to most usualy brought to this Place. I dispatched the Horses with the Presents for the Upper Creeks to the Tuckebatches there to wait my Arrival.

On the 30th James Neilson returning from the Cowtaws who informed me they should be very glad to see me and had sent Runners to gather all the Hed Men together to receive me and hear the Talk. About 12 o'Clock I got into the Cowetaus. I was received with firing of some Morters, flying Colours &c. with other Demonstrations of Respect in their Way. I was conducted by the Head Men into the Square, when they informed me they had waited a long Time for my Arrival and had given over Hopes of seeing me till the Spring, so had got their Horses up, and were designed, if I had not sent Neilson before to have gone out to hunt that Morning, and therefore begged I would give out the Talk next Day being Munday instead of Tuesday being the Day I allotted. All their repeated [*sic*] I consented, and accordingly I delivered it to him in Presence of the Warriours &c. as per inclosed |285| List. [They expressed] the greatest Satisfaction imaginable on hearing the Talk, and assured me their Hearts were streight towards the English and should ever remain so while the Sun did shine or the Water run. I distributed what Presents I thought proper among them and invited them to go down and see your Excellency. The Invitation they readily accepted with great Pleasure and promised to do it in the Spring, when they intend likewise an Answer to the Talk I delivered when all the Head Men &c. will be present, having none to give now,

only firm Assurances of a solid Friendship and lasting Peace with the English, and were very glad to hear your Excellency was well and that they desired Nothing more than to go down in the Spring to see you.

The Twins' Son ordered a Beef to be killed for me, Part of which I took with me for the Path.

I was here informed of some Chactaws at the Alabama Fort which made me hurry from the Place and proceed without Delay to the Upper Creeks to find out if possible their Designs and Intentions. I was [likewise] told that there were twenty Cherokees with very bad Talks at that Fort which [spurred?] me on to know what Machinations and Plots they are hatching.

The first Instant I left the Cowetaus and on the 3d arrived at the Tuckebatches where the Goods were. I was received with great Ceremoney by Old Brekit the Head Warrior of that Town, a firm and true Friend to the English, and always remembred accordingly. He behaved very gallantly. Lately when he heard the Savannahs and Cherokees carried the painted Stick to the French Fort, although one hundred and forty Years old, he stuck his Head full of Turkey Buzzard Feathers, painted himself in a warlike Manner, and went there, and when they wanted this Nation to take up the Hatchet against the English, he gave them such a strong Talk that seemed to strike Terror in the stoutest of them. He told them if they wanted him to take up the Hatchet, he and his People would, but should turn the Edge against every one of them that attempted the least Harm to the English whom he had always served and would till Death.

The 4th [I] left the Tuckebatches and came to the Cailigeas about three Miles from the Ockchoys where dispatched to acquaint the Gun Merchant of my being there. Hearing that the Chartaws were still among the French, I dispatced one to endeavour to bring some of them to me to the Ockchoys and if possible to bring with him the Tomakle King (an intire French Slave) in whose the Chactaus were.

On the 5th arrived at the Ockchoys and met with a very kind Reception from the Gun Merchant. When I came near the Town I was saluted with flying Colours, firing of Guns, and Beat of Drums. I told the Gun I had a Talk for him and the other Head Men of the Nation from your Excellency, and desired him to order in what of them remained in the different Towns with their Traders which was accordingly done, and the 12th Instant was the Day agreed upon. The 12th Yestarday and Today [286] several Head Men and Traders arrived to be present at the Talk which I (after reading your Excellency's Commission to me) delivered in the Square before the Traders to the Head Men whose Names I send you inclosed.

They expresst that they [were] entirely pleased with it and they were glad to hear the English continued their firm Friends, as their Hearts were streight towards them, and that the former Friendship which has ever been between them should continue and subsist. When the Affair of Ogetchee was read, the Wolf Warrior of the Mucklasses gave the following Talk.

That the Party of Indians concerned in that Affair were sent by no Head Men, but went stragglng of their own Accord and that it appeared to him they

justly deserved their Fate, as the White People only protected their Interest and killed them in self Defence which he was sure any then present would have done. He added that if any Person there had any Thing to say in the Affair to speak then or for ever hold their Peace and let the Affair be buried in Oblivion. He was seconded by the Gun Merchant; no Person else talked in the Affair except John the Lingiuster (a Chactaw Slave in the French Int.) who whespered the Wolf that none of the Relations of the Persons killed were then present. He, the Wolf, told him it was false for he him self was Relation to one, and thought the White People were not to be blamed.

What other Talk they had they referred till the Spring when all their People came in from their Hunts. I gave them an Invitation to go down and see your Excellency which [they] have promised me to do in the Spring and in the mean Time inquired very cordially after your Welfare. What Presents I thought necessary to be distributed I gave the Head Men &c. so that they went away perfectly well satisfied assuring me there were no bad Talks among them, that they were firm and steadfast Friends to the English, and had made Friendship with all the Nations round them.

I have endeavoured all in my Power to find out the Affair of the Cherokees [joyning] the Savannahs to go with them to the French Fort, and find the Case stands thus. The Cherokees were coming with peace Talks to the Creeks, and were met on the Path by a Party of Savannahs who told them that the English had killed some of their People at the Northward, for which they had taken up the bloody Hatchet against them, and were going to give it to the Creeks who they said would joyn, and insisted upon their doing the same and going with them to the French Fort, but when they came there and saw the Creeks [throw] away their painted Stick with Anger and Distain they altered their Mind.

The Messenger I dispatched for the Chactaws returned with two of them, and the Tomathle King. One of the Chactaws was Old [287] Red Shoes' Son who dyed with his Brother in maintaining the English Interest. They informed me that their Nation was very poor and very much harrassed and imposed upon by the French which makes them very desirous of having a Trade opened with the English. I desired them to tell their Head Man, [when] they did something to convence the English of their Fidelity to them, they would get a Trade, but not till then. I dispatched them with some Presents for themselves to their Nation. They promised to communicate what I told and to return with some of their Head Men to me in the Spring. I am informed that Nation is mostly in our Interest excepting four Towns which are close to Tambagbee Fort.

When the French heard the Tomathle King was with me, they immediately sent their Linguister for him and hurried him away so soon that I had no Opportunity of much Conference with him. He returned to the Fort and told them I had offered him great Presents, but he was so much their Friend, he would receive none of them. This Lye took so well (for I offered him none) that he has been drunk at the Fort ever since his Return, but I am still in Hopes of another Visit from him. The French have had the Modesty to endeavour to bring in the Creeks and Cherokees to allow them to build a Chain of Forts

from the Northward of the Cherokee Mountains and hemm in that Nation, the Creeks, the Chickesaws and the Chactaws, by which they would have the Whole under their Command. The Creeks, when it was moved to them, threw it away with Disdain and Contempt and the other Nations likewise desaproved their Design.

The Cherokees that came to the Albama Fort brought two French Slaves that had been in their Nation some Time and delivered them to the Officer. One was named French John and another, who he dispatched to Mobile with two Cherokees under the Command of Mr. Lantanniact. I am informed the French intended to send Goods to the Cherokee Nation from Mobile under the Care of the above mentioned two Men that were Prisoners who are to be supplied with Goods, Ammunition, &c. I find the Channel through which the bad Talks run is by Means of two French Incendiarys, Peter Chertee and Mr. Lantanniact, who work the Savannahs up to what Pitch they please and send them about to spread Disturbances in this Nation, but the Creeks have absolutely forbid the Savannahs coming any more on that Score as they will give them no Ear. But Mr. Lantanniact makes a Practice of Riding about the Nation carrying what Reports he can to the Fort, and indeed I find the French have free Egress and Regress among them so that they seem to act in a double Capacity to hold us by one Hand and the French by the other. The Gun Merchant made a long Talk to me in relation to the Trade, which they should want in the Spring, I mentioned the Treaty and ordered it to be read to him. He does not seem to be willing a Fort should be built as yet, but says how soon they shall see it necessary that they will inform your Excellency and have it done. He defers mentioning any Thing particular till the Spring |288| when all the Head Men come in from their Hunts. Then he says he will consult and adjust Matters about the Forts when they come to see your Excellency.

I should be glad your Excellency will advise me what to do if they demand (as they certainly will) the Still Yards when the Trade comes on which will be before they come down. This I should be glad to have your Instructions by the first Opportunity as the refusing it will [create?] a great Deal of Disturbance in the Nation, and be a golden Opportunity to the French to instill bad Principles in their Minds. In my Opinion, if some few Points were dropt in the Meantime, they might be made up in Time for the Indians are very slow and do Things piece meil. As there was a very great Famine last Year both in the Lower and Upper Creeks every Thing is very scarce and so extravagantly dear that it makes it quite incredible several of the People dyed for Want, which makes it very hard Living, Stock and every Thing being destroyed while the Scarcity lasted.

Your Excellency will please observe as there is such a great Distance between the Upper and Lower Creek Nations they never come to one another's Talks, but upon very extraordinary Occasions which was the Reason of my giving out the same Talks seperately. I [have] very much fatigued myself in coming from the Lower to the Upper Creeks, which has brought the Gout into one of my Hands that I am scarce able to sign my Name. It is a very

bad stoney and hilly Path which makes it tedious. I shall do all in my Power for the Interest of my King and Country, and hope when every Thing is quiet and easy and Matters accommodated, your Excellency will give me Liberty to come down and shall be glad to know your Pleasure thereon.

Inclosed I send you a Muster Roll of the Men I have discharged. Your Excellency will take Notice I did not inlist any till I came to Augusta. I thought I could do no less, considering the long fatiguing Journey [they] came, to allow them Time to rest themselves and Horses and sufficient to carry them back to the Settlements which I hope you will approve of. I have detained one which I cannot want in running of Messages, looking after the Horses &c., which I am hopefull will likeways meet your Approbation.

The State of the Trade, the Strength of the Alabama and Tambagbee Forts, I shall be more able to inform you off in my next. After I gave out the Talks, all the Head Men &c. went out to their Hunts except the Gun Merchant who stays in to keep me Company.

I am in hopes to send down some of the Chactaw Head Men to see your Excellency in the Spring with the others. If I can be of any Service to your Excellency in this Place, please freely command him who is with the greatest Respect Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient and very humble Servant,

DANL. [PEPPER]

CREEK HEAD MEN AND WARRIORS PRESENT FOR GOVERNOR LYTTTELTON'S TALK

[289]

List of Head Men, Warriors &c. in the Cowetaw Square when your Excellency's Talk was given out:

| | |
|---------------------------------|----------------|
| John Neilson, sworn Interpreter | |
| William Bonar | |
| John Smith | |
| Robert Toole | |
| Cowetaws | Cussatee |
| Half Breed Abram | Scotch Man |
| Young Twin | Old Mulberry |
| Foolish Harry | White King |
| Hump | Warrior King |
| Red King | Hitchetas |
| Long Warrior | Hitchetaw King |
| Lieutenant | Warrior King |
| Burnt Feet | Point |
| Chueahala King | Chuha King |
| Hundred | Ditto Warrior |
| Two Old Warriors | Worsuga King |
| Abram's Brother | Okmulgea King |
| Sosqueggea | |

Palachacola

Palachacola King
 Ditto 2d King
 Poykelhley
 With several other Warriors

The Traders came next Day, being appointed.

List of Head Men, Warriors &c. in the Ochchoy Square where your Excellency's Talk was given out

| | |
|----------------------------------|------------------------|
| John Neilson, sworn Interpreter | Cussas |
| Joseph Wright, sworn Interpreter | Cussa King |
| Lauchlan McIntosh | Long nosed Lieutenant |
| John Ross | Tuchebatches |
| John Brown | War Hunting King |
| Richard Hughes | Blue King |
| Mores Quores | Cupid |
| James Gaddis | Trade's Son |
| William Bonar | 290 |
| Ockchoys | Ottasses |
| Gun Merchant | Cussetta King |
| Capt. Oakley | Two Warriors |
| Ditto's Son | Tusatches |
| Gyn's Son | Beaver King |
| Long Will | Blew Salt |
| Bynam | Little Tallissas |
| Two Warriors | Second Man |
| Hatchechula King | Muchlasses |
| Warrior King | Wolf |
| Oakfuskees | Wolf's Brother |
| Red Coat King, and | Wolf's Wife's Brother |
| Two Warriors | Clualies |
| Cailsgeas | John the Linguister |
| Old Far off King | Cutamys |
| Mad Boy | Dog King |
| Wiskays | Sugatche Second Man |
| Long Second Man | Wachohays Mad Spaniard |
| Tallissas | White Ground |
| Tallissa King | Two Warriors of Note |
| Eycoats Brother | |

OLD HOP'S TALK TO CAPTAIN RAYD. DEMERE

English Camp, November the 21st, 1756

This Day Old Hop waited on Capt. Raymond Demere at this Camp and gave him the following Talk.

PRESENT: Capt. John Stewart, Lieut. Wall.

He says that he has heard no very bad News from the Southward, and that he is now on his Way down the River to the different Hunting Camps. He says that this is the Time his People expects to see him and receive a Talk from him. He says that he shall give them all Orders to hunt strong this Moon, and to come in by the last of the next. He says that he is proud to see that we have observed his Advice in erecting a pallasado Fort, for though it be not very strong, it is better than to be exposed in the open Field. He says that he has heard that some enemy Indians has lately killed two of his People one of the Town of Sticoe, and the other of the Town of Cowwee, in their hunting Grounds. He says that he will be back with Capt. Demere in ten or twelve Days.

He says that he immagines the Northward Indians have killed the two Men aforesaid.

RAYD. DEMERE

ORDERS OF CAPTAIN RAYD. DEMERE¹²

English Camp, November the 25th, 1756

Orders of the Day by Capt. Rayd. Demere:

Whereas this is the first Day that meat Kind has been wanting, it is the Commanding Officer's Orders that wheat Flower shall be issued out to the Men and also a Proportion of beafs Sewit to each Mess. Proper Measures are now taken to have Meat in a short Time, and the same Quantity that shall be due to the Men shall be made up to them in like Specia.

[291] As this Expedition is for the Good of the Province in general and for the Honour and Credit of us all that are come to see it executed, our Honours now lies at stake. Therefore let there be no grumbling amongst you that his Majesty's Service may not suffer, and that the Works may go on as usual. If People can't for a few Days work without Meat, I am ready to kill all my Horses for them, and by Experience I can assure you all that Horses are very good Meat. I shall not fail to partake with you herein, and it will not be the first Time I have eat Hors Beef. But I hope there will not be Occasion to fall on those Extremities, as I expect to hear every Moment from Mr. Chavillette.

Capt. John Stewart is to go this Day with the Lingister and the Commissary Clark to the neighbouring Towns to purchase Corn and Hogg &c. Being informed that Mr. Elliott has some Corn at the House of Charles Macklimore in the Town of Toco, the same is to be brought here for the King's Service, and a sufficient Number of Horses with proper Persons shall be ordered to bring the same into the Fort which Horses shall be hired and paid for. The Commissary's Clark and the Linguister shall be provided with all Kind of Goods to buy Corn and Hogs of the Indians. Ensign Anderson and Edward Braddice of Capt. John Stewart's Company are to hold themselves in Readyness to go to Mr. Doharty's at High Wassey for Cattle. Judge's Friend is to be immediately

¹² This is an enclosure with the letter which follows below.

sent for by Capt. John Stewart to assist us in getting Provisions. All the Men are to be acquainted with these Orders immediately.

RAYD. DEMERE

Judge's Friend was not sent for as above mentioned; it was no Occasion for him.

CAPTAIN RAYD. DEMERE TO GOVERNOR LYTTELTON

From the English Camp, November 28th, 1756

SIR, On the 25th Instant we had but one Day's Corn, and no Meat at all for the Men, and the Weather was so very bad that Day I could not send to the Towns to be supplied with any, and besides all the Indians are gone far into the Woods ahunting, there being none in any of their Towns except a few superannuated old Men and Women.

When Mr. Chivillette went away he knew perfectly well our Situation and Condition; there was but sixteen Head of Cattle left of those I bought myself, for he never bought or supplied us with any (suppose expecting that your Excellency would order some up) out of which we killed one every Day, and then there was but a small Quantity of Corn in the Store. Mr. Chivillette went away promising me that I should have immediately a Supply of Cattle and Pork from Ninety Six, and to this Day I have not heard one Word from him to my very great Surprise. I cannot imagine what to think, or what he is about. He has now been gone from us forty-five Days.

I [might] have got any Number of Cattle or any Thing else at one Word speaking, but when there was a Commissary [292] appointed I had Nothing to do with it. Had it not [been] for a little Wheat Flour which I sent for from Keowe that came the 23d Instant I do not know what I should have done. There is Corn enough to be had in this Nation, if there had been proper Measures taken to have purchased it before the Indians went out. When Mr. Commissary went away, he desired Capt. Stewart to have an Eye over the Store, and his Clark, whom I have sent several Times out to get Corn. He brought once two Canoes loaded, one of which was over set in the River by Neglect and Drunkenness, and the other Times he went he brought me Nothing at all, but always assured me that he had secured a large Quantity when there was no Kind of Certainty or Dependance on it.

But foreseeing the Mesery that was approaching and just at Hand, I resolved instantly to give out the inclosed Orders. I also send inclosed to your Excellency the Coppies of a Letter I wrote to Mr. Doharty. My issuing those Orders proved of very good Effect which together with the Measures I have taken to get Provisions has given intire Satisfaction to all the Men who notwithstanding they have no Meat, goes to their Work as usual. I also ordered Capt. John Stewart to go to purchase some Provisions for us.

On the 26th Instant Mr. Elliot arrived with twelve Guns which is as good News I could have wished. And will say so much in his Favour that he has under took and parformed what no body else would ever have done, and he has hereby served the Province in a very particular Manner. He knew that

I was not at all pleased with his former Conduct, but beg that I may have Influence enough over your Excellency to hope for a Forgiveness of all past Transactions for this his last important Service, when I ordered him to go he was just on the Point of setting out for Charles Town for his winter Cargo by which Disappointment he will be a very great Sufferer. Being informed that there [has] been ten or twelve Head of Cattle seen very lately of those that Clayton had the Care of, I have desired Mr. Elliott to send two or three of his People to look for them which he did the next Day and himself is going with Capt. Stewart to help him to buy Corn and Hogs before he sets out for Charles Town by which Means I am in great Hopes that all will go well notwithstanding the great Disappointment the Service has met with by our Commissary's Neglect &c.

Those twelve Guns aforesaid are pretty large and I take them to be tolerable good and sound. They must not be mounted as Swivels as they would tare the Stocks to pieces, and it would be attended with great Danger to fire them, but I think proper Carrages should be made for them, as they were never intended to be mounted as Swivels as there is some of near |293| three hundred Weight. The Indians are very much pleased [with] them, and the very Name of our great Guns will be a Terror to the French if then should come, and particularly to their Indians for they never could expect that we would have brought a Train of Artillery from such a Distance and over such prodigious Mountains. I have a Carpenter of my own that knows how to make Carriages which Mr. Debrahm now employs at some other Work. I think this would be as material a Work as he could be employed at this Time.

I think that Old Hop and the Little Carpenter did us a great Deal of Service in telling us to make Haste to fortify ourselves. The Fort will be finished at least six Weeks sooner by it. All the Men works like Slaves and very hard, and appears quite satisfied and willing to do their Utmost to forward the Work. The Fort will be finished in about two Months hence if the Men continues to work as they do and then let the French come if they dare, provided Mr. Commissary does not let us want Provisions which is a very great Matter and much required to be observed and taken Notice of. I must observe to your Excellency that all the Men are tasked at their Work.

A good Management with these Indians will keep them in good Order and to our Interest. I think they are not as yet gone to far from us the greatest Part of them, and the Head Men in general stands firm to the English, but as I mentioned in my last to your Excellency they are very easily corrupted, and will always embrace the strongest Party and Presents will go a great Way with them. If the French &c. does not get the better of us to the Northward and the Creeks does not join them to the Southward, I hope there will be no Danger of loseing this Nation.

The Old Warrior of Tomotley has told me that Brown and Lantignac comes only as Traders, but I suppose they will come as Traders and Agents both, to see if they can brave this Nation (not being yet shure of them), and as the Horses must be sent to them at the Allabamers Fort from Tillico, he thinks that they will not be here in less than two Moons.

As I do [not] perceive any eminent Danger I have not as yet called the Officers together in order to send to the Governor of Virginia, and indeed should be glad first to have your Excellency's Aprobation and Advice in this as well as all other of my Proceedings. I hear that the Indians of the Middle and Lower Towns are come back and are all well pleased with your Excellency's kind Reception.

I have not as yet heard one Word from Capt. Pepper (as I expected by your Excellency's former Letters). However, I hope that every thing will go well in that Nation and that by his prudent Conduct he will counter act the French and make their Schems abortive. However, if I [shall] hear any alarming News from the Creeks, I shall make it my Business to dispatch a Runner or an Express to that Nation to give me particular Accounts of the Disposition of |294| those Indians. I am watchfull to every Thing, and your Excellency may be perswaded that I shall not loose a Moment's Time tending for the Good of the Service.

Mr. Debrahm does not speak to me, nor has not for a long Time, but he has told several of my People and many others that he will eat his Christmas Dinner in Charlestown, and of late he has told them that there was seven Forts to be built in Georgia, and that they should all go there that they did not belong to Carolina, but to Georgia. And that Lord Lowdan was to send Troops from Virginia to garrison this Fort. This is News that is quite strange to me and I don't know where Mr. Debrahm gets all those private Intelegence from, but believe it to be like all the Rest of his Talk which is little else than a Sound of Words. I conclude being with the greatest Respect,

Your Excellency's most humble and most obedient Servant,

RAYD. DEMERE

N. B. I had forgot to tell your Excellency that Mr. Chivellette sent us six Head of Cattle from Mr. Doharty's when he went down. Capt. Stewart and Lieutenant Wall just told me that the Guns weigh three hundred and upwards Pound.

RD. DE.

TALK OF JUDGE'S FRIEND TO CAPTAIN RAYD. DEMERE

Fort Loudoun, December the 5th, 1756

This Day Ostonaco, otherways called Judge's Friend, waited on Capt. Rayd. Demere and gave him the following Talk.

PRESENT: Capt. John Stewart and Lieutenant Robert Wall. Ambrous Davis, Linguister.

He says that there is a great many of the Tellico People come Home that went to the Allabamers Fort, and one of them came to Toco last Night and told him that when they came from the Allabamers, that there was five or six hundred Indians and a great Number of French at that Fort. He says that the French Officer asked them if there was not a great Warrior come into their Nation from Carolina, and asked a great many Questions about him. And that the French Officer told them that the Choctaus and Creeks were his Friends,

and that the Creeks who had been a long Time in Friendship with the English were now every Town of them at his Command. He says that there was a very great Number of Savannahs at the Allabamers. He says that the Creeks has sent them Word that formerly they used to come into their Houses and kill them, but now they suppose that their Brothers, the White People, that is in their Nation will supply them with Powder and Ball. He says that the Oakechois Warrior is a very good Friend to the English, and that when he saw the Tellico People on their Return from the French, he told them to forget all the Promises and Presents [295] they had received from the French, and to remember the English who were, and always would be, their Friends. He says that the Choctaws told the Tellico People that they would be at their Nation in the Spring of the Year, and that the French Officer told them that it should not be long before he would send for a great many Cherokees to come to see him. He told them that he should bring a large Quantity of Goods and meet them in the Woods and give them a Talk and a great many Presents. He says that in five Days he shall hear fresh News and that he expects in that Time to hear that the French are on their March hither.

RAYD. DEMERE

CAPTAIN RAYD. DEMERE TO GOVERNOR LYTTELTON

Fort Loudoun, December the 8th, 1756

SIR, On the second Instant Coldiren arrived by whom I was honoured with your Excellency's Dispatches, and as Ensign Lloyd was just on the Point of setting out I thought proper he should proceed and detain the Express for some Days being sure I should have Occasion to dispatch him on Matters of great Importance and Inteligence which never was in my Power before to come to the Bottom of.

On the Sixth Old Hop arrived at our Fort from seeing his Friends at their hunting Camps and being merry together, I took a favourable Opportunity to return him Thanks from your Excellency for the good Talk he had given me and for the Belt of Wampom he had sent you to confirm the same and as a Token of good Friendship for the English which you depended much upon, and that you would send the Belt of Wampom to King George. The old Fellow was much pleased with it. Judge's Friend was present the whole Time who went to Tomotly after the Talk was over. He came the next Day and sayed he [had?] not heard rightly from Tellico. I mentioned to him the great Uneasyness that your Excellency was in on hearing that they and the Chicasaws were like to be at Variance, and that you would be proud to [do] every Thing in your Power to reconsile them and close the Breach that had been made, and that you had given me Charge to do the same. He proposed that I should send from here to them two White Men, and that he would send some of his Warriors with them, and that it would give him a great Deal of Pleasure to have the Chicasaws reconsiled. I must here observe to your Excellency that a Union between this Nation and the Chicasaws (if it can be poissible brought about) will be of such Moment and Import to the Province of Carolina that I think

no Measures whatever should be neglected that would be conducive to the same. The Journey would certainly be attended with the greatest Danger as at this Season the Country between us is swarming with different Nations of Indians in Quest of Prey. Neither have I any White Men in this Nation capable of transacting an Imbassée of this Nature, and I can't at present spare any Officer.

Old Hop asked me how we stood affected with the Creeks. I told him that I had heard Nothing bad from that Nation and that I hoped all was well there, but says he, how do you think it will be in the Spring and he repeated the same [296] twice. He took Leave of us that Evening and sayed the next Time he saw me he would agree about sending to the Chicasaws.

The next Day he sent two Runners from Tomotley to tell Capt. Stewart, Lieutenant Wall and myself to come with the Linguister immediately to him to hear a Talk from the Man Killer of Tellico who was come to Chota, and that he would not hear the Talk before we came. We immediately got our Horses and waited on him at Tomotley and together with Judge's Friend all rode down to Chota. When we came to Old Hop's Dore a Drum was beat to call the Man Killer and his Company. They came and when the usual Sere-money was over such as shaking Hands and smoaking, Old Hop rose up and sayed, This is my Messenger and now he has come back, and ordered him to give one or two Talks, and that they would hear what further he had to say when they should be by themselves. The Mankiller hereupon took out of a Bagg a Piece of Tobacco and sayed that the Head Man of the Oakechois had sent it to Old Hop and the English Warrior to smoak together. At the same Time he delivered a small String of white Wampom which came from the Oakechois Warrior aforesaid [which] was interperated that he hoped he now knew the streight and clear Path, and that he was like a great Oake in the Town of Chota that would not be bent by the gentle Gales of Wind, and hoped that he would not be byased by any bad Talks as he now knew the streight Path.

When the Mankiller of Tellico took out the white Wampom aforesaid, I perceived that he had tied up in the same Bundle several Strings of black Beads as a Signal of Warr from the French (which he put up). He sayed that Capt. Pepper was gone out of the Creek Nation before now. Old Hop desired us to go Home that they intended to sit up all Night to hear all the News amongst themselves. Judge's Friend took us aside and told us not to take any Notice of him, that he would stay all Night with them and hear every Particular and would acquaint me therewith.

Judge's Friend did not come to us the next Day, nor we heard Nothing from Old Hop except by two young Tellico Fellows that had been at the Allabamer Fort. They sayed that the Creeks had recommended to them to scalp no French Men, that it was no Benefit to them as they got Nothing by it and that the Man Killer of Tellico was to set out in two Days to meet some of the French. They sayed at their Arrival at the Allabamers Fort the French Officer cried with Joy to see them there, and told them they were his Children.

It is plain to perceive that Old Hope was and is as much concerned in this Affair as the Little Carpenter and there is but very few but what is in the

Plot, and now as they have brought their Schemes to bear they do not |297| know how to retreat from the Promises they have made to the French as they are come into their Proposals, and Measures. The Time will soon come that we shall know our Friends, but I fear that the large Quantities of Presents that will come [gratis] to them, together with the great Promises of the French will ingage them to imbrace their Party. I look on these Indians to be very great Cowards which is another Motive that will induce them to side with the strongest Party. The whole [America?] together was never so much involved as this Nation is now. The loseing of them will prove of very fatal Consequence to our Provinces, South Carolina and Georgia, after [loseing?] the Creeks.

I have been informed that some Tanwaw Indians were lately seen at the Little Carpenter's Camp. The Runners that were sent from here to the Northward Nations of Indians are expected back about Christmas. At the News of the Tellico Peoples being come in, all the Warriors are sent for to determine Matters. As I do not know what their Intent may be or what they may resolve on, I called all the Officers together to hold a Counsel of War which goes inclosed to your Excellency. I shall lose no Time to do whatever, shall be requisite and shall remind the Indians of their Promises &c., and indeavour to ingage them to our Interest as much as posible. I expect to have no Talk from them till after their Meeting and Consultation is over.

I am proud of your Excellency's Aprobation for opening a Correspondence with Virginia. I shall dispatch Somebody there without Loss of Time. This Fort ought never to be without six or nine Month's Provisions before hand in Store for several good and substancial Reasons. Capt. Stewart and I have sent to buy Corn in several Places. Our Beef will soon be at an End and then I do not know what I shall do. The Indians does not care to sell their Hoggs because they had a bad Hunt. There is two Months this very Day that our Commissary went away; we had no Supplies, nor even heard from him.

I return your Excellency Thanks together with the Soldiers for granting them their Provisions free agreeable to their Request, also for sending them their Clothing which they are much in want of. I had the Honour to inform your Excellency in one of my former Letters that four Guns were mounted [at?] Fort Prince George at Keowee, and sixteen and two Cohorns were brought here, but of which one was bursted on His Majesty's Birthday by being over loaded. I am with Respect,

Your Excellency's most humble and obedient Servant,

RAYD. DEMERE

|298| The Name of the Fort is more agreeable to Everybody than the Name Mr. Debrahm had given before. As soon as our Colours comes and the great Guns mounted, we shall celebrate the Name and the Day. If this Fort should be attaked or there should be Enemies in the Nation, it would be imposible to keep the Communication free from this to Keowee except we had constantly several Parties of Men out and yet would be with great Difficulty and Danger.

INTELLIGENCE FROM JUDGE'S FRIEND TO CAPTAIN RAYD. DEMERE

Fort Loudoun, December the 10th, 1756

This Day Judge's Friend waited on Capt. Raymond Demere and gave him the following Intellegence.

PRESENT: Capt. John Stewart and Lieutenant Robert Wall. Ambrous Davis, Lingister.

He says that the Reason of his not coming to us Yesterday according to his Promise is that having set up all the Night before at Chota with the Man-killer of Tellico and Old Hop in order to get what Intellegence he could, he was much indisposed and was obliged to lie a Bed all the next Day. That as Capt. Demere had promised to acquaint him with all the News he should hear, but likewise was determined to hide Nothing from him. He says that the Great Man above is now a Witness of the Sincerity of his Heart and of the Truth of what he is going to say. He says that he is very much surprised at Old Hop and does not know what he meant by sending for us to go to Chota to hear the Mankiller of Tellico give his Talk and when we came there, ordered him to keep what he had to say till they should be by themselves. He says that after we came from Chota he asked Old Hop how he came to send a Talk to the French and to the Southward without consulting him, and the rest of the Warriors. He says that notwithstanding he [believes] the Talks he has heard to be Lies yet he will tell it to us.

He says that the French Officer at the Albamers Fort expressed the greatest Joy and Satisfaction at seeing the Man Killer and his Gang there, and after useing them in the most civil and genteel Manner told them that he would be a Father to them and the whole Cherokee Nation, and that he should look on them as his Children. He told them that his House had been darkened a long Time, but that now as he saw his Children with him it was quite light and the Clouds were vanned, and he like a Father had forgot the Follies of his Children and buried their Misconduct in Oblivian, and received them with [299] the greatest Affection. He told them that they had for many Years been in a wrong Path, that he was sorry to see them going a stray. He told them that whenever they had a good Man who wanted to lead them right, the Governor of Carolina sent for him, ordered him Victuals and Drink enough, and gave him a fine red Coat, but that was not all, for that Coat had always something in it that would do his Business for him before he could get Home. That the Carolina People had Conjurors amongst them, that could send up different Bundles of Sickness to their Nation which they scattered amongst their Towns from which proceeds the Decrease of their People. But what must be their wretched Condition now as several Hundred of those People were in their Town, that as soon as they should get them selves fixed, they then would shew themselves in their proper Colours. They would beat and abuse their Warriors, and debauch their Women. He asked them if the English had not brought up a Number of Handcufs and Irons for their Feet, and if we had not many great Guns. He pulled a Paper out of his Pocket and told them that he had many Friends in Carolina, and was well aware of all their Designs. That the Cut-

taubers had sent him Word that a great Body of English were gone to Chota and they were listning to hear their Guns' fire and then they would conclude their Brothers in Chota to be killed. That they had their Machasines ready on them to run to their Assistance. He said that such of the Tellico People as chose to go to New Orlans should return loaded with Presents, and that Boats were to come up with large Quantities of Goods to be distributed amongst their Towns, for which they wanted no Skins but Provisions of all Sorts. He told them that the Creeks had long been Friends to him, but now he had them faster, and that the Choctaus were as his own People. He told them that as soon as those who went to New Orlains should return to the Albamors Fort he would send Runners here for their Head Men to go and meet him in the Woods and receive great Quantities of Goods, for which Purpose they should carry Horses with them.

Judge's Friend says that the Mankiller told him that as he came through the Creek Nation on his Return from the French he was told that a large Body of the Creeks were gone out to War against Georgia, and that just before he left that Nation another Gang were holding themselves in Readyness to go to War against the Frunteers of South Carolina. He says that this may be depended on as |300| Truth. He says that the Creeks have sent several Messengers to the Chicasaws to make a Peace with the Cherokees, but that the Chicasaus are deaf to all their Proposals. He says that the Creeks have sent Word how that if the Chicasaus are bent on War they know how to give them War enough. That they will appoint Time and Place for a large [Body] of the Cherokees, Choctaus and Creeks to meet, and go all in a body and cut the whole Chicasau Nation.

RAYD. DEMERE

COUNCIL OF WAR ORDERED BY CAPTAIN RAYD. DEMERE

Fort Loudoun, December the 10th, 1756

At a Meeting of the Officers appointed this Day by Capt. Raymond Demere, to advise [and] consult on the best Means and Measures to put ourselves in the best Posture of Defence in case of an immediate Attack

PRESENT: Capt. Rayd. Demere, Capt. John Postell, Lieut. James Addamson, Ensign Maurice Anderson, Capt. John Stewart, Lieut. Robert Wall, Ensign Richd. Coymore.

Capten Remond Demere, representing to the Officers afforesaid that by the present Situation of Affairs he is apprehensive of an Attack, and that as he does not know how soon it may happen from the late allarming Inteligence he has received, desires to have their Opinion if it is not proper for the Good of his Majesty's Service and the present Expedition to mount all the great Guns we have, immediately, and to have proper Covering provided within the Fort for all the Men to prevant any Disorder or Confusion that might happen in case of an Allarm for the Safety and Protection of our Men against flying Parties of Indians in the night Time and for the better Defence of the Fort when attacked.

It is the Opinion of all the Officers, Capt. John Postell excepted, that all the Guns shall be immediately mounted and for the Present as Swivels till proper Carages can be made for them and that proper Covering should be provided for the Men within the Fort as soon as possible.

Capt. John Stewart and Ensign Richd. Coytmore are appointed by Capt. Rayd. Demere to wait on Mr. Debrahm to acquaint him of the absolute Necessity there is for the [301] aforesaid Measures to be put immediately into Execution and to desire his immediate Answer to the Commanding Officer.

CAPTAIN RAYD. DEMERE TO GOVERNOR LYTTELTON

Fort Loudoun, December the 11th, 1756

SIR, On the 10th Instant Afternoon Kenoteta, Brother [to?] the Man Killer of Tellico, came to see me in the Fort with two more of the Tellico People that had been with him to the French. I fancy that Judge's Friend advised him to come for he sent me Word to use him well. After awhile setting down, he sayd that he could get no Rum amongst the Traders, to let him [have] a couple Bottles. That he was going out for a Month; he wanted to carry it with him. I told him that if there was no more in the Fort he should have it. I asked him if he had been at Charlestown; he sayd no, that his Father and Brother had been there. I asked him the Reasons why he would not go as well as his Relations. He sayd he never was invited. Thereupon I told him it was not the Governor nor the Province's Fault, that the Governor had sent down a general Invitation to all the Head Men of the Upper Towns to come to see him. Well, sayd I to him, will you go with me in the Spring of the Year and I shall have the Pleasure to introduce you to the Governor by the Hand and you will see what Reception you meet with. He sayd no, that he would go then to Warr.

I told him that I should be glad to know the Reasons he had to be so much invetered against the English. He sayd that he had met with a great Deal of ill Usage in the Nation by the White People, some of them taking his Horses, and Mr. Elliot selling Things very dear to him, and as black as the Chemney and trowing them at him as if he had been a Dog out of Doors, with great many more Complaints of the like Kind which made him go stray. I told him then that the Governor could not be blamed for it, because he knew Nothing about it, and thought that these People here did behave well to the Indians. Had the Governor known of it he would have ordered them away and would have punished [them] for their Offinces. Now that I knew of it myself, I would make it my Business to acquaint the Governor and that he should have a full Satisfaction as to any of the Pack Horse Men that had taken his Horses. I would take upon myself that as soon as they came into the Nation again if they do not deliver him they should pay him for, and that I would oblige them to pay him so much a Day for the Hire of each Horse, and besides well reprimanded and perhaps sent to Charles Town in Goal for so doing. He began to be pretty well pleased and asked a Shirt for each of his People which I did and presented him with one first, which he accepted. Then he became pretty

[302] familiar with us and sayd that he would be glad to have some [Strouds]. I presented him with two Yards and a Blanket, and one for his Wife and a flannel Peticoat, she being with him, and a Blanket to each of his Men with [Care?] that he should have no Pretence to say that I offered him Nothing, as he appeared so well pleased with my great Civilitys.

When Capt. Stewart and I took him into a private Place, and we told him that it was at their Request that we were sent here to build this Fort, for to assist and protect them and their Wives and Children when the Warriors were out, to have a Place of Refuge in case the Enemy should come there, he sayd I am not so much to blame as parhaps you may imagine. I did not go to the French of my own Accord; 'tis Old Hop and the Little Carpenter's both which perswaded me to go their, and yet said he I have Old Hop's Commission about my Neck for so doing which was a String of small Beads. I was astonished to hear so much of Old Hop. All of a Sudden he promised us that he would go to see the Governor at Charles Town in the Spring of the Year, that Evening being rainy we kept him the whole Night and we were very merry together. The next Morning after Breakfast, now said he we have eat and drank and layed together my Thoughts are very good and quite changed. I was in the rang Path before; the Great God that is above knows the Intent of my Heart. I am now satisfied and convinced; my People here tells me also they are so. I shall put good Thoughts to those that I am going to see. He sayd that he was obliged to go out for a Month, but as soon as he came back he would bring his whole Gang to me and that he would go up the River to Struk and that he would acquaint the Towns of Tellico with what Reception and good Usage he had met by the English Warrior, and was in great Hopes that all would go very well by the Talk he proposed to give them, and then assured me again that he would go and see the new Governor in the Spring of the Year with me.

I think it was a great Luck for me to had a Talk with that Man by which Means I am in great Hopes that the Affair of the Nation will take another Turn for us as being he that went to the French, a leading Man and one that has been always disaffected to the English, to get him now of our Side and at such Time (it certainly would have great Weight amongst all of the rest of the disaffected ones and would carry in a Manner the Point.) I pray God it may be so and that he may prove such as he has offered himself to be to us.

Judge's Friend is in great Hopes that he will reform, and as for Old Hop, he says he is a great Rogue, and never would believe he had was so much concerned in such dirty an Affair. As for his Part he was then in Virginia and is inocent of such Proceedings. I forgot to mention that when he said he would then go to Warr, that he was going with some Horses into the [303] Woods to fetch some Skins that he had, and that he would make with them all Kind of Clothing for himself and his Family, and that he wanted no Cloth (that as before we were Friends). I am Sir, with Respect,

Your Excellency's most humble and obedient Servant,

RAYD. DEMERE

Yesterday a Drove of 82 head of Cattle came here, I suppose from Mr. Shevellet, young, small and poor. I am in Hopes that if your Excellency has

sent Orders to the Commissary to send the Bread and Flower from the Congress that he will not delay it, for am afraid we shall be in Want.

INTELLIGENCE FROM INDIAN NANCY TO
CAPTAIN RAYD. DEMERE

Fort Loudoun, December 12th, 1756

An Indian Woman called Nancy employed to buy Corn for the Troops brought us the following Intelligence.

She had been the 11th at Chota and in Conversation with the Old War Woman who, after injoyning Secrecy, told her that the Man Killer of Tellico had been in Talk with Old Hop all Day after Judge's Friend left him, and she learned that the Man Killer was to go to Heywassee Old Town where he expected to meet some People from the Southward with thirty Horses' Load of Ammunition, that some of the Tellico People were building Houses for them, that one French John is to come along with them, and the Little Fellow who was at Charlestown is expected up the River in Boats with a Body of White and Red People who are to land at twenty Miles distance from the Fort.

The Old Woman said what will become of the white People, for I know not who will take their Part. She [added] that Old Hop, being very pensive, said who would have thought it ever would have come to this, must we throw away our White Men at last?

RAYD. DEMERE

TALK OF WOOLENAWA AND THE LITTLE CARPENTER TO
CAPTAIN RAYD. DEMERE

Fort Loudoun, 17th December, 1756

On the 15th Currant in the Evening Woolenawa and the Little Carpenter came to the Fortt. They waited on Capt. Demere and presented him some Venison. After sitting some Time, the Carpenter asked what News from Town and whether or not the Governor wanted to see him. Capt. Demere told him that the Governor would always be glad to see him, and expected that Pleasure in the Spring. He answered that going in the Spring would be attended with many Inconveniencies, for he knew not what might happen, but if the Governor had given him an Invitation he would go now being a better Season for Travling. Capt. Demere thought it improper to discourage him and assured him that his Excellency had waited at Home in the Fall expecting to see him |303|¹⁸ when many Matters of the last Importance called him elsewhere, and that he expected to see him whenever he should find it convenient to go he might be assured of meeting a kind Reception. He answered that if he should conclude upon going down he would insist upon either Capt. Demere or Capt. Stewart's going and returning with him, but could not positively determine till he should hear the Talk which the Governor had sent up.

In the Evening suping with Capt. Stewart he pretended to be very ignorant of what passed here and inquisitive after Indian News. Capt. Stewart told him plainly all the Intelligence we had received, and what the Mankiller of Tellico

¹⁸ In the original, there are two pages numbered 303.

had said. A little aggravated with regard to what he, the Mankiller, said of his being the Person that sent him [on] the Path he had been, the Carpenter started up and said it was a Lye, and now he would go the other Path which he knew, and never would know any other, and he would see whether his Father, the great King George, remembered him, and what Talk the Governor brought for him. Capt. Stewart told him that perhaps the Governor of Chota would give him a French Talk that would please him and then he would change his [Mind?]. He seemed a little affronted and asked if he did not look upon him as a Man and a Warrior. I am not a Boy says he, but the Head Man of this Nation. I give Talks to the Governor of Chota, not he to me; my Mind has always been streight, I always think one Way, and now I take you by the Hand, and you hear what I say and if I perform it not when I come back make me a Lyar.

On the 16th the Carpenter, Judge's Friend, and three or four outhur Head Men came here, and about an Hour after them, Old Hop came here. He pulled out his Excellency's Letter; the Carpenter asked him sternly, if that was the Letter he had received from the French. He sayd no, that we will talk of another Time. Carpenter replyd he wanted Nothing with it. It was a stolen Affair of his own, but continued he, what Letter is that in your Hand. Old Hop answered scoffingly it came from the Place of Lyes. This Reply did not seem agreeable to the Carpenter or the other Warriors. The Letter was read and interpreted to them, and they were told that the Governor would [always] be glad to see the Carpenter and other Warriors, and that he had ordered Capt. Demere to tell them so.

They were left alone and talked for some Time to each other. Then they called the Officers, and Old Hop declared that the Carpenter with about ten other Warriors and Head Men would sett out for Charlestown in nine Days, that the rest of their Warriors would remain at Home till they should return. That at present it would be improper they should all be absent for both they and us had many Enemies, and they knew not what might happen. But if Things should prove otherways than they expected, the rest would go down in the Spring. That they [304] pitched upon Capt. Stewart to go down and return with them, and the Carpenter chose Ambrous Davis for Linguester. Capt. Demere consented that Capt. Stewart should go with the Linguester. The Little Carpenter said that many of the young Men might be wanting to go down to see their Wives, but he advised Capt. Demere not to let one Man stirr till he should return, and when any Thing alarming should happen to dispatch a Messenger to meet him at Keowee or wherever he should be.

After the other Warriors went, Judge's Friend stayd behind and told Capt. Demere that the Carpenter's Behaviour and [Advice] he approved very much of, and he hoped the Governor would not call them away till he had others ready to put in their Room. That if any thing should allarm him, he must dispatch a Runner to him, and that if the Messenger should find him [in] Carolina he would begin to raise Men all the Way to his own Town and march to his Assistance.

RAYD. DEMERE

CAPTAIN RAYD. DEMERE TO GOVERNOR LYTTTELTON

Fort Loudoun, December 17th, 1756

SIR, On the 15th Instant the Little Carpenter came here from his Hunt, and the same Day came to see me at the Fort, and seemed much pleased to see us and paid me this Compliment. That he was sorry to hear that I had been sick and had brought me fresh Meat for Broth, and after siting down awhile he told me that when he went away we promised each other when we should meet again to tell all the News we should hear and now as he was come back he expected that I would remember my Promise. I told him that the Man Killer of Tellico was come back and that he said it was by his and Old Hop's Orders that he went to the French. The Little Carpenter said that he was a very great Lyar, that he never had any [such] Thoughts and that he had only one Way of Thinking and that he was determined to vindicate himself as he had an unjust Aspersion laid on him.

I told him I was very glad that the English had such a good Friend as he was, that I had lately received an Express from the [Governor] and waited only for his coming to dispatch him back. That the Contents of my Letters to the Governor were of the greatest Consequence to the Cherokee Nation. That King George had sent Orders to their Brother [the Governor] to assure them of his Love and tender Affection, and that he hoped they would always prove true Children to him in Warr and in Peace. That he was sure at this present Time the French would do what they could by false insinuating Stories to break of their Friendship with them, but that he hopes there will be no Alteration in them, and that their former Friendship will always subsist and that the |305| Governor would tell him further if he would go and see him. I told him by the same Express the Governor had wrote to him and all the Head Men in the Nation relating sending some Warriors to the Assistance of Virginia, but that the Governor left it to themselves to judge whether they could spare them or not. He said that he would send for the Letter the next Day and have it interperated, and that his Thoughts was to go to Carolina and that he should say more when he knew the Contents of the Governor's Letter. He said that he wanted to go to Charles Town to see the new Governor and to hear from his Father, King George.

The next Morning he sent to Old Hop to come to the Fort and bring the Letter with him. He appointed eight Warriors, amongst whom Judge's Friend was one. In the Afternoon Hold [*sic*] Hop came, and Little Carpenter asked him for the Letter from Carolina where Nothing but Lyes comes from, and on that pulled out the Letter, upon which the Little Carpenter asked him if that was the Letter that came from the French. He said No, that it was a Letter from Carolina. Well, says the Carpenter, that is the Letter I want to hear as I know no other Path but to the English.

Your Excellency's Letter was read to them and we all withdrew and they had a long Talk amongst themselves. We were after awhile called in and Old Hop appeared quite chearfull, and after we were seated says he to me, you and I are old Men. We must stay at Home to see how Matters will go on. But says he you must permit your next Warrior (meaning Capt. Stewart) and

your Linguester to go to Charlestown with the Little Carpenter, Wollenowau, Judge's Friend, and six or eight more Warriors who were going to see the Governor and have a Talk, and that both the Lingister and Capt. Stewart should return here again with the Warriors afforesaid. I told him that I complyd with their Request with great Pleasure. He desired of me not to suffer or permit any Men here to go down till he should return, for that he knew the Intent of the French and Savannahs to be bad. I agreed to this and told him that not a Man should go down. They are to set out in eight Days. I need not recommend to your Excellency what is to be done with them on this present Occasion. Capt. Stewart goes with them because he knows the Situation of the Affairs in this Nation, and is the properest to inform your Excellency therewith, and therefore I shall defer to him all other Particulars. I hope that these Indians going down to your Excellency will prevent our looseing this Nation which is [now] just on a Poize as you will see by the Intelligence and Information I have had. I wish my Dispatches safe to your Excellency's Hands as I think they are of the [306] greatest Moment.

Late last Night our Council broke up. I set up till I had finished this Letter in order to dispatch the Express this Morning. Please to order Capt. Stewart back with the Indians or they will be prodigiously affronted, and also to send me your Orders about the Provincials whome the Indians desire may not on any Account whatever be permitted to go down till the Return of the Warriors. Mr. Debrahm takes upon him to tell the Men that as soon as the Fort is built he will discharge them all, and that then they will have Nothing to do but to prepare for their Journey and go to their respective Homes. I do not see any Prospect of the Forts being built in a short Time all though he says he will have done next Week.

Just as I was concluding my Letter Mr. Debrahm sent for me. I waited on him and he told me he was much surprised that I should suffer any of the Warriors to go to Charlestown, that as it would be disagreeable to the Province and your Excellency. He says that there is neither Guns or Presents of any Kind for them in Charlestown. I told him that there was but few going, and as the Fate of the whole Cherokee Nation depended on their good Treatment in Town I was certain that they would not come away dissatisfied.

Mr. Debrahm told me that he should soon have done with the Provincials and that he should then [discharge them. I asked him if he had] any Orders for so doing. He said no, but that he had a Letter from his Excellency to be frugal. I told him that I had one to that Effect, but that I could not see how the Troops could be discharged before the Fort was finished, to which he said that about 25 Volenteers of his own chusing should stay with the Regulars and finish what was to be done under the Direction of Capt. Postill. I told him that it was the particular and repeated Desire of the Indians not to let anybody go from this Place [till] their Return. That the Consequence might be bad. I aded that I did not think it consistent with the Good of the Province or His Majesty's Service to discharge Troops before we saw the Clouds cleared up and our Situation have a better Aspect then at present or till I should hear from the Governor. He said that he should set out for Charlestown two Days after

the Indians. Had I been governed by Mr. Debrahm in his Requests, I think I should have deserved to have been hanged for being the Buir [*sic*] of the Province, as it would be of terrible Consequence to stop the Indians from going down or to disband the Provincials without Orders.

Some of the Indians desired me not to mention any Thing of Old Hop's Behaviour to your Excellency, for they imagine that all will go well now. I am Sir with Respect,

Your Excellency's most humble and most obedient Servant,

RAYD. DEMERE

COURT MARTIAL OF HENRY HAMMON

[307]

Fort Loudoun, December 16th, 1756

At a Court Martial held by Orders of Capt. Raymond Demere by the following Officers, viz.

Capt. John Stewart, *President*, Capt. John Postell, Lieut. James Adamson, Lieut. Robert Wall, Ensign Richard Coytmore, *Members*.

Henry Hammon of Capt. John Postell's Company confined by Orders of Capt. Raymond Demere for speaking tending to promote Mutiny and Disertion.

John Purcell of Capt. Stewart's Company being called declares that he hapened to be at the House where the Prisoner then was, that he heard him declare as follows: That he, the said John Purcell, hapening to say that he and some others of Capt. Stewart's Company would stay, the Prisoner then made Answer and said that Capt. Stewart's Company would not stand by them to go Home when Capt. Postell and his Company should be discharged by the Engineer, and that when Capt. Postell went they would all go. That Purcell answered if Capt. Postell goes he will be confined, to which the Prisoner replied by God if they confine my Capt. there will be bloody Noses.

Patrick Campbell, being likewise called says, that he heard the Prisoner say that as soon as they were discharged from the Works Capt. Postell would go, and that they would go along with him, and that John Purcell replyd if your Captain goes without Leave he will be put into Confinement, to which the Prisoner made Answer, if they offer to confine my Captain, there will be Blood spilt, and that he often heard the Prisoner say that he had heard the Engineer say that when the People were discharged from the Works they should receive no longer Pay.

Daniel McCloughlan, said that he heard the Prisoner say that if [they] offered to confine his Captain they would bring him out.

Henry Hammon (the Prisoner) in his Defence says that hearing John Purcell say, that he and some more of Capt. Stewart's Company would stay, that he answered perhaps there are many of your People that do not care wather they go or stay as they have no Charge of Families. That Purcell told him that his Captain had liked to be confined for talking about going. The Prisoner made Answer that if his Captain was confined he supposed he would be got out again. And after this Conversation was over he (the Prisoner) made Answer that he supposed they would be kept here till there was bloody Noses.

The Prisoner further says that when his Time was out he should be willing to go, and that he heard the Engineer should say that [308] as soon as the Works were done he should discharge the Troops and that [they] should [receive] no longer Pay from the Day he so discharged them.

It is the Opinion of the Court Martiall that the Greatness of the Crime which is proved against the Prisoner is much allevated by his being ignorant of Martial Law, and by having such Notions instilled into him and the rest of them by the frequent Insinuations of Mr. Debrahm, yet in the present Con-juncture when such a Spirit of Mutiny and Desertion universally appears amongst the Provincial Troops, Examples are absolutely necessary.

It is therefore the Opinion of the Court that Henry Hammon, the Prisoner, receive two hundred Lashes (with a Catt with nine Tails) by the Drums of the different Companies, Capt. Postell's excepted.

Approved of,
RAYD. DEMERE

JOHN STUART

COUNCIL OF WAR HELD BY CAPTAIN RAYD. DEMERE

Fort Loudoun, December 16th, 1756

At a Council of War held this Day by Orders of Captain Raymond Demere.

PRESENT THE FOLLOWING OFFICERS: Capt. Raymond Demere, Capt. John Stuart, Lieut. Robert Wall, Lieut. James Adamson, Ensign Richard Coytmore, Ensign Maurice Anderson.

Captain Raymond Demere represented to the Officers the unfinished Condition of the Fort, and that Mr. Debrahm told him in a few Days he would discharge the Provincials from their Work and set out for Charles Town, and as many of the Provincials are determined to go away as soon as they are so discharged from the Works which was owing to his having told the Officers in hearing of the Men that the Provincials were not subject to military Law and can not be punished for Desertion, and he now dayly tells them that they may stay but shall have no Pay from that Time.

It being contrary to all military Regulations that a Person unauthorised shall take upon him to discharge Troops where there is a commanding Officer bearing his Majesty's Commission as well as prejudicial to the Interest of the King and Contry to sow the Seeds of Mutiney and Desertion amongst Troops when there is the most urgint Occasion for them, and as Capt. John Postell in presence of severall Officers told Capt. Demere that after Mr. Debrahm should discharge him and his Company from the Works that he should look upon himself as no [309] longer under the Command of Capt. Demere, but would set out for Charles Town wither he gave him Leave or not. Now as the Intelligence we have had as well as the Caution given to Capt. Demere in Presence of all the Officers, by the Carpenter and other Head Men render it necessary as well for the Good of the British Interest in America, as the Preservation of ourselves by all Means in our Power to prevent Mutiney and Disertion amongst the Forces, Capt. Demere desires the Officers to consult and give the Opinion of proper Measures to be taken.

The Officers unanimously agree to advise the following Measures: that the three Companies be under Arms tomorrow Morning between the Hours of eight and nine, that the Articles of War proper upon this Occasion be read. That Capt. Stewart be ordered to produce his Commission and Instructions which shall likewise be read in the Ring. That the Men be admonished not to give Ear to any seditious Insinuations tending to promote Mutiney and Desertion by Mr. Debrahm or any other Person whatever. And they further advise that after the Field is over, Capt. Demere do take Capt. Postell aside and privately admonish him against the rash Steps he intended to take, and of [how?] bad the Consequence that might attend them both to himself and the Country.

After the Men were dismissed from the Field I desired Capt. Postell to come into my Room and before some of the Officers I asked him if he did [persist] still in the same Opinion as he was the Day before. He made some frivolous Excuses and sayd if he could go, he would go, but if he could not he would write to Charlestown for Leave.

Before the Men were dismissed I acquainted them that I was surpris'd that Mr. Debrahm had taken so much upon himself as to tell them that he would discharge them. I told them that he had no Power nor Authority for so doing, that he might [if he would] discharge them from the Works in three Days as he had promised them if he would, but not from the Service in order to go Home. I told them that I had wrote to the Governor about the same, and that I was waiting for his Answer, and that as soon as I should receive his Orders I would discharge them, and not Mr. Debrahm. The Men seem'd very well satisfy'd but if proper Measures had not been taken immediately there would [have] been a Mutiney.

RAYD. DEMERE

N. B. When Mr. Debrahm saw that he could not have his Ends in discharging the Provincials, he order'd one of their Serjeants to go amongst them to get 25 Volenteers to stay [310] and the rest should go Home. The Serjeant told him that he dare not do it without acquainting the Commanding Officer. I sent him Word that he had no Business with the Men. Then he told some of the Men he had done his Duty, he telling my People too that the Works would be finished in three Days. One of my Serjeants answer'd him, you mean in three Months, and a Corporal which is a Judge of Works, said it will take three Weeks to finish what is begun. He being on Horseback road off without giving any Answer.

RAYD. DEMERE

INTELLIGENCE FROM NANCY BUTLER TO
CAPTAIN RAYD. DEMERE

Fort Loudoun, December the 20th, 1756

This Day an Indian Wench called Nancy Butler gave Capt. Raymond Demere the following Intelligence in presence of Capt. John Stuart, Lieut. Robert Wall, and Ensign Richard Coytmore. Ambrous Davis, Linguester.

She says that she heard Kenoteta tell Wollensnowau in private that he would spoil his Brother's bad Intentions against the English. She says that the Man Killer of Tellico came here with no other Intent then to see our Situation and to carry off one or more of our Scalps if he possibly could. She says that the Man Killer was sent here by the Capt. of the French Fort at the Albamers to observe the exact Situation of our Fort; and to assure the French Officer that there was white People here he was to carry him some of our Scalps, on the Receipt of which the French Officer aforesaid promised immediately to send a Number of Indians &c. to cut off all the White People in the Cherokees' Nation. She says that the Head Men of several different Nations together with the Creeks were at the French Fort with the Man Killer and his Gang, and all entered into a strong Alliance together, and all agreed to assist the French in their Designs against the English now in the Cherokee Nation.

The Man Killer of Tellico after seeing the Fort here sayed that he supposed the English thought they were building a Fort, but for his Part he looked on it to be no more than runing over a Hill, for he could run into any Part of it without once stoping. He said that he supposed we had great Dependance on the Little Carpenter, but we should find him of very little Use to us. This Conversation was to his Brother Kenoteta who made Answer, go on as you have begun, I am determind to stand by the English and when their Fort is at-taked, I will be there for they belong to me and I will be the first amongst them to dye and if you have a Mind to dye with the French you may. The Person who brought this Intelligence had it from the Emperor of Tellico's Wife. She had it from her Brother who is one of |311| the Man Killer's Party and was with him at the French Fort; at acquainting of the above he catched her by the Ear and told her that if she ever divulged what he had told her she should not only lose her Ear but her Head also.

On the 18th Ult. the Emperor of Tellico and his Wife came to this Fort. The Emperor aquainted Capt. Rayd. Demere that he had a Talk to give him; on the 19th he took the Linguester and waited on Capt. Demere in private with some of the Officers when it was expected that we should hear a great Deal about the Tellico People and their Designs, but contrary to our Expectations he would tell us Nothing about them only that they were out in the Woods. His Discourse was very long though Nothing but Repetitions of Nonsense telling us at the End of every Sentence that he had been out in the Woods and that he should shortly go out again. The Purport of his Talk seemed to be Nothing more than to get what Presents he could. While the Emperor was delivering his long Talk, the Wench Nancy aforesaid who speaks good English (being spoke to by Capt. Demere to get him what Intelligence she could) took the Emperor's Wife aside, and got from her the News aforesaid, which may the more be depended on as those two Women are remarkably intimate. The Emperor's Wife was seen to cry several Times in the Day; it is supposed out of Compassion for the White People. The Wench Nancy aforesaid when she gave Capt. Demere this Intelligence apprehended great Consern and cryed also.

RAYD. DEMERE

OTOSSITE TO CAPTAIN RAYD. DEMERE

Tomotly, December the 21st, 1756

BROTHER, I thank you for your kind Letter. It is a Testimoney of your remembring me which makes my Mind easy and I likewise thank the Governour for his Letter. As for my Companions that used to go to War with me, I see they remember me as I do them Day and Night, but I expect great Danger at Home, and no not how Things will be as yet. I tell you my Thoughts are very bad but come of me what will you shall hear it and I expect to hear of every Thing that befalls you. I send you a Belt of Whampum to remember you never make Peace with the French. I never will for it is our Father, King George's Orders. If we have no Trouble here and if you and I live, I will see you in the Spring.

I am now agoing to Charlestown, arunning. By the Time I return I hope to see the Messenger here, but if he be not here and we have no bad News I shall not stay to get thatt, but set off [312] immediately for Virginia. I advise you stick to War. At my Return from Carolina if Things here are settled I will begin at Keowee and raise Men to go with me to Virginia all over the Nation, but my Brothers are in the Fort at Tuskegee and before they lose the Land which we have given to King George we must dye together so that if their should be Danger I cannot go.

Now the Messenger is agoing. Let not the Governour and you think me backward for happen me what will, you shall here of it. I have stayed at Home without Hunting all this Fall to watch my Brothers at Tuskega that we might stand or fall together and now the Beloved Man of Chota sits here. I have indeavoured to find out whether or not it was him that sent to the French. If I could have found it was, I would not have cloaked him in his Rogurey, but I find it was not him that sent but Tellico and the Savannahs that state his Talk. And Things now are gone a great Length

Coppie

Signed

OTOSSITY

CHEROKEE HEAD MEN TO THE GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA

At the House of Otacite Ousteneka, 21st December, 1756

Answer to the Governor of Virginia's Letter, by Conecaughtche, the Little Carpenter, Willenowas, Judge's Friend and his Brother, the Old Bark and two more old Men.

PRESENT: Captain Rayd. Demere, Capt. John Stuart, Lieutenant Robert Wall and Ensign Coytmore with Mr. John Allen.

Interpreter, Ambrous Davis.

The Carpenter ordered the Interpreter to acquaint Mr. Allen that they had very little Time to delibrate on what Answer to give to the Governor of Virginia's Letter as they are just now setting out for Charlestown. Then the Carpenter taking a String of white Whampum in his Hand proceeded as follows:

Here is Otacite Ousteneka and the Governor of Chota. They have heard of the Arrival of the Messenger from Virginia and now they see him. The

Governor and the Warrior's Letters from Virginia came to Otacita Ousteneka, here where all the Head Men are who have heard them read as well as he.

Major Lewis told us when he went away that [we] should see him in the Winter or the Spring but instead of that we only see a Messenger from him; all the Towns from hence to Keowee belong to us, but by the Governor's Letter and Beads we have Reason to imagine that he thought Things went amiss here, however Nothing extraordinary has as yet happened. Otacite and all of us have good Thoughts towards Virginia and Carolina for we remember the great King George's Talk who is in England. We are very glad that the Governor of Virginia has thought Good to send for us. My Endeavour shall be to keep that [313] Chain that has so long united Virginia and us, bright, and I expect to hear Nothing bad from Virginia, neither shall Virginia hear any thing to the Contrary from us. The Governor of Virginia's Thoughts are good, so likeways are the Governor of Chota's. There are not many of our People come in from their Hunting but such as are come in as well as those that are to come shall be made acquainted with both Talks. The Governor of Virginia's sending for us is very agreeable to us, but we expect the Danger will be first at our own Door and that the Governor of Virginia will hear of our feighting before he will have Occasion to feight. Our Brothers from Carolina are come amongst us and when they fall we will fall also. My two eldest Brothers are the Governors of Virginia and of Carolina, although my Brother in Virginia be far of yet I look upon it as going from one House to another, and as I shall hide Nothing dangerous from the Governor of Virginia so I expect he will hide Nothing dangerous from me. The Governor of Chota (Old Hop) and all the Head Men of the Nation say that the Talk that is come and coming in from the French is a stolen and a lying Talk, and that he nor they never sent it, and they give no Credit to it. Now Mr. Allen, the Messenger, knows that before he left this Nation the Tellico People were strongly byassed by the Savannahs in favour of the French and that they carried some Men from that Town to the French and some remain amongst them till now. However they are but of one Town.

About three Years ago I had a Hatchet given me by the Governor of Virginia to strike the French. I still hold it fast in my Hand and will not throw it away before I use it as it was intended. Then, addressing himself to the Officers, he said, You [were] all present when the Messenger who had been to the French returned to Chota. You heard him tell Connecaughtehe that he, the Messenger, who the Governor of Chota has sent was now returned, but I and all the Head Men that are here have examined Connecaughtehe about it, and find that the Messenger had stolen his Talk and that he went from [no?] Town in the Nation but Tellico. As I and Oustenaka are just seting out for Carolina we have not Time to send all over the Nation so that we cannot fix the Time nor Number of [People] that are to be sent to Virginia. It is therefore out of our Power to give a positive Answer, having desired the Warrior of the Fort at Tosguegy to acquaint the Governor of Carolina of our intended Journey down, but if we hear of no Danger at our Return we will begin our Talk at the lower Part of the Nation and so through all the Towns to encourage

People to go to Virginia. [314] When the Messenger sets off for Virginia I will set of Carolina. The Messenger must acquaint the Governor of Virginia how Things are in this Nation and at my Return here I expect the Messenger will be in soon after me and then if there be Danger I shall acquaint the Governor of Virginia that he may send Assistance, and if there be no Danger I shall acquaint him of the Number of [*sic*] destined for Virginia that he may provide accordingly.

Then Old Hop took the Beads and said as fellows [*sic*]: I now sit here and see the Messenger from Virginia. My Thoughts at this Time are good. I know not how soon I may hear very bad News; I am in Expectation of it soon. I deliver you, the Messenger, this String of Beads as my little that you may carry it to my Brother in Virginia that the Governor may lose no Time in sending here.

THE HEAD MEN AND WARRIORS
OF THE CHEROKEES NATION

TO
GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE

OSTONACO TO CAPTAIN McNEIL

Tomotly, December the 25th, 1756

TO MY BROTHER CAPT. McNEIL, BROTHER, I have your kind Letter desiring to see me. As soon as Things permit, you may depend on my going to Virginia. I thank you for remembering me; I was rejoiced to see by your Letter you did, and I call the Great Being above to judge if I have not thought of you always. You, Major Lewis and myself have always thought alike. Take my Advice, stick to War like Men, and let the Children in Virginia grow up to be Men before they are killed by their Enemies.

If the Warriors at Tuskega had not come in, you should have seen me long ago. I hope my Talk will always be conformable to the Will and Orders of King George, and that I shall always see the Governor of Chota's Talk go straight up without being crooked as it does at present.

Coppie

Signed,

OSTONACO

TALK OF CÆSAR TO CAPTAIN RAYD. DEMERE

Fort Loudoun, December the 21st, 1756

This Day old Capt. Cesar of the Town of Chatuga gave Capt. Rayd. Demere the following Talk.

PRESENT: Capt. John Stuart and Lieutenant Robert Wall; Ambrous Davis, Linguester.

He says that some of the Warriors are now going to Charles Town, but he expects the French and their Indians to come in every Day; therefore he hopes that Capt. Demere will not suffer one Man to go from here before Matters are better settled even if the Fort should be finished in a Day or two. He says [315] that he does not fear the French, but he knows they will bring

a very great Number of Indians with them, viz. the Choctaus, Coosaus, Savannahs and perhaps the Creeks which may be too numerous for his Town. But as soon as he hears they are a coming he will send Capt. Demere Word to put himself in the best Posture of Defence, but he says he can't tell how it will be. He says that the Creeks have declared War against the English and are to assist the French, that the Man Killer of Tellio who was there gave him this News. He says that the French are to send sixty Pack Horses loaded with Ammunition and Presents. He expects that those [sic] will be a great Number of French Troops come with them, but he does not know what Number, but he is sure that a very numerous Body of Indians will come. They are to stop two Days' Journey from Great Tellico at a Place called Utie where they are to meet the Tellico Indians &c., and get exact Information of the Number of our Troops and Situation from thence. They are to proceed to the Town of Tellico from whence they are to send a Letter to Capt. Demere proposing an Armistice [sic] between Carolina and Luvicianiee [sic] that Virginia and the Northward Colonies may carry on the War as they have done. He says that French John who was at Charlestown and lately went to the French from this Nation is to come up the River with a Number of Boats from Fort Cuskuska, or Ilionor, he does not know what their Designs may be, but he imagines that they are to bring a Body of Troops to join those that are to come from the Southward and perhaps great Guns and other warlike Stores.

Capt. Caesar desires his Compliments may be acceptable to his Excellency, the Governor, and Council, and to all his Friends in Charles Town, and begs Leave to assure his Excellency that Nothing shall be wanting in his Power to serve him and the whole Province of Carolina. That he is no Stranger to the Obligations he is under to the White People in general, and is determined to stand their Friends so long as he lives.

RAYD. DEMERE

CAPTAIN RAYD. DEMERE TO GOVERNOR LYTTTELTON

Fort Loudoun, December the 23d, 1756

SIR, By my last per Coldison I had the Honour to inform your Excellency that I should write per Capt. John Stuart who sets out this Day with twelve or thirteen Indians for Charles Town. I think myself very happy that I could prevail on their going to wait on you by which Means am almost sure that Affairs will take another Turn. These Fellows will like to be made much off. You must make yourself [316] very free and familiar with them and you will please them much, and give them a great Deal of Talk, for they do expect it.

As the Little Carpenter goes down I wish your Excellency would be pleased to mention to him the buying of the Land round the Fort and to make a Bargain for it and about the little Savannahs which contents 15 Acres or thereabouts; it belongs to several of the Indians. Our Men can't do without it. And also to talk to him concerning the little Fort which he wants to have built at Tomotly. These Indians are to call to several of the Middle Towns, as they go along, and give Talks to the People of those Towns, and I fancy they will take the Preence of Ioree with them to Charles Town.

Since Coldison went away Mr. Debrahm our great Engineer has done what ever he could to insist Mutiny amongst the Provincials and to desert by insinuating to them bad Notions contrary to all the Laws of the World, as will plainly appear by some [Proceedings] which I now transmit to your Excellency. Although Mr. Debrahm is not under a military Law, Means and Ways might be found to bring him under some other Law and make him repent for what he has done. I had Trouble enough all alone with the Indians without his being the Occasion of promoting Discord, Division and Disunion. Had not been for him there would been no Discussion [*sic*] amongst the Officers. (I flatter myself your Excellency will not disapprove my little Judgment on the Measures I took immediately to suppress and over sett his bad Intent, which without Doubt would have proved very prejudicial to the Service at least at this present Time had he been suffered going on. Mr. Debrahm knew that I had promised the Indians that none of the Provincials should go Home till they should return back from Charles Town, or till I should hear from your Excellency (for I had acquainted him myself with it). Nevertheless he persist on doing it the more. After all I should be glad to know what Authority Mr. Debrahm has to pretend and to take upon himself to discharge Troops that are in the Province's Service. If he thought the Fort was finished then he might discharge them from the Works, but not to persuade them to go Home. As I don't pretend to be a Judge of the Works which Mr. Debrahm has done I ordered the Officers of the two Troops to take a View of the Fort, and to inspect all the Works and to make me an exact Report in Writing as Mr. Debrahm is going Home and is to set out two Days after Capt. Stuart, as he told me. I think my Duty obliges me to represent the State of the Fort to your Excellency. Plans often looks mighty well upon Paper although the Works does not answer their Appearances and the Works may be very bad.

On the 17th Instant Kenoteta came to see us from Tellico. Being just come from his Hunts he reports he saw his Brother and made him cry bitterly by reproaching him his bad Conduct [317] and ill Usage to the English for going to the French and notwithstanding how kind and civil the English Warriors had been to him at their Fort, as he had been informed, which he says could not deny. Kenoteta says that he went to Highwassey Old Town to see what the Indians were doing there. When he came near he saw a Number of Fires and concluded that they could not be hunting. He says that he crept up very near to them and hid behind a Tree and perceived that they were building several Houses there. Kenoteta being then in my Room with Wollenowau, who goes now to Charles Town, was heard say by a Wench called Nancy which being on the next Appartment is sayed he, I knew the French are coming for certain and you had a Hand in it. He flew in such a Passion and Fury that I really thought he would have splited his Scull open with his Hatchet. Kenoteta is a true Friend to us and his Brother a great Rogue.

The same Day Evening the Emperor and his Wife came from Tellico to Fort. Kenoteta was mad at the Sight of them because he is one of those who is concerned on the French Affair. The next Morning the Emperor pretended to give me a Talk, a Pack of Nonsenses more for beging then Anything else

not worth sending to your Excellency. Meanwhile this Fool was giving me his Talk, I told the Linguester to sett on the Wench Nancy about the Emperor's Wife in order to discover what she could out of her whose Intelligence from Women amongst the Indians are always the best. This Nancy got a true and exact Account out of her.

The next Day the Presents were divided by the Warriors and they would give none to the Town of Tellico. The Emperor's Wife cried much and she said that the English had been always kind to her till now. She told her Husband that it was on his Account for being concerned with the French, and he beat her. As the Woman behaved so well I gave her a calico Gown and a Blankett, a Blanket to him, and Shirt to his Son, unknown to the Warriors here which Presents made Matters up betwixt them. The Emperor asked me several Times if I had heard from your Excellency about that French Man he left with you. I told him that I had no Time to look for the Letter, that another Time would do as well. The Presents were issued out to Old Hop and the Little Carpenter, and to some more Warriors; they insisted on having them as they were come for that Purpose. They wanted to distribute them before they went to their Towns representing that all their Men were naked, and in Debt to the Traders, and had met very bad Hunt this Year on account they went late in the Season and could not go far off, having Orders to [be] upon Call. I think 'tis full as well they have been delivered out to them for I never would have Peace nor Quietness to myself, |318| and as it is still I shall be harassed [enough] about for Presents.

When the Warriors came I had the Regulars under Arms and seven Guns loaded to salute them. Out of the twelve Guns that came last from Keowee there is seven of them that are nailed up. They are come so from Charlestown. I am going to have them drild out immediately. I am in Hopes they had been nailed with harden steal Plucks. It appears already that we got the Indians to another Way of Thinking as I hope the same will appear to your Excellency when they are in Charles Town and by your Excellency's good and prudent Managment with them, there is no Doubt to believe but all will turn to our desired Satisfaction. They are sorry and ashamed for what they have done. The Little Carpenter is a great Man, therefore I have no Occasion to remind them no farther to your Excellency. Judge's Friend is a good Fellow but very proud, and did stay at Home al this Winter on our Account. If the French comes here in the Spring as there is no Doubt of the Contrary I am afraid the Men will not be able to plant this next Season; therefore there must be Provisions provided for them. Corn will be very scarce. Capt. Stuart has provided a small Quantity. I shall do what I can to get any large Quantity, but I know that we never shall get a Sufficiency to serve us except it comes from great Ways off. Monsieur Le Commissary is much wanting. The White People here are millions of Times worse than the Indians. They will be the Ruin of this Nation if proper Measures are not taken by your Excellency and Council and have Laws made on Purpose for them. As Capt. Stuart goes Home I defer that Particular as many others to inform your Excellency with, he being a very fit Person.

On the 18th came an Express from Virginia. One Mr. Allen, a young Man that was [here] at the building of Chette Fort, the Contents of his Errand I sent a Copy to your Excellency. He gives no particular Account from that Part; he says that Major Lewis was very ill when he came away and told him that he would have wrote, but he did suppose we had all been knocked in the Head or that we were returned back by the bad News he had heard of the Cherokees. The Messenger had Orders not to proceed no further than Keowee if we were returned Home. He says that no Treaty of Peace had been made nor concluded with the Savannahs to the Northward. They are the greatest Enemies they have in those Parts (as well as we have here), [tis?] well I did send no Express from here; the back Way through the Woods to Virginia as he calls it, he tell me that one in ten would not arrive safe there, so much Danger there is of being cut of and Letters intercepted.

On the 20th his Dispatches were interpreted to Old Hop, the Little Carpenter and other Warriors in this Fort, [319] and they appointed us to be the next Day at Tomotly for to receive an Answer which Answer I think is very friendly one. Which Copy I sent also to your Excellency as Coppies of Letters that Judge's Friend has answord to Major Lewis and Mr. McNeil in Virginia. Having this favourable Opportunity I shall not fail writing to Governor Dinwiddie, Copies of said Letters shall be forwarded to your Excellency per first Opportunity having no Time at present to send them per Capt. Stuart.

Your Excellency will be pleased to acquaint me with what has been concluded with the Little Carpenter concerning the buying of those Lands and the building of that small Fort he wants at Tomotly. It seems that Old Hop has drop off sending as he intended to the Chicosaws as I mentioned last to your Excellency being last at Tomotly. The Indians concluded setting out the 23d without fail. They desired to have a Kegg of Rum to drink amongst themselves the Day before they should set out. I gave them an Order on one of the Traders to get one.

Just now the Black Smith has made me a Report of the great Guns. He says that they are nailed with steel hardned Plucks, and has broke two Drills at the Tryal of one. I am going to put the Guns into a large Fire till they are red hot to try to soften the Steel, there being no other Way for it.

This young Man from Virginia came with one of the Indians that went last Wall [*sic*] with Capt. Paris. There was but seven that went. This same Express is soon to be back again. As your Excellency will observe by the Answers of the Indians to the Governor, Capt. Cæsar from Chatuge is now with us, and promises to be very good.

Since my Letter wrote I been informed that the Indians would give none of the Presents to the Town of Chatuge joining that of Tellico. I fear that the same will discourage them much as they are People that are well affected to the English. I think it very necessary that they should have some Presents given them and to let them know that it is none of our Faults if they had none, for which Reason I must order one of the Traders to furnish them with such a Quantity, but shall settle that with Capt. Cæsar before he goes.

I sincerely wish that I may do every Thing for the best to oblige your Excellency and to serve the Publick. I am with Respect, Sir,
Your Excellency's most humble and obedient Servant,

RAYD. DEMERE

Late last Night I received the inclosed Papers from Mr. Debrahm. I knew all along that he would leave us at last in the Lodge and in a most deplorable Situation. I called immediately the Officers together to which I communicated to them the Contents of his Writings. We resolved upon sending Ensign Coytmore the next |320| Morning to him with a Letter where as Coppy goes inclosed. The Reason of our sending Ensign Coytomore is that he may not deny that he has received such a Paper, and is to read it to him if he is not willing to receive it, for he has refused before to upon some Letters of mine on His Majesty's Service, as your Excellency has been informed. By his Directions which he leaves: you will be pleased to observe that the Works are not finished and for all that he goes off (*plus de peur que d'autre chose*).

I have the Pleasure to acquaint your Excellency that these Indians says that if the Tellico People does inbrasse the French Party that they will fall on them as if they were French themselves. This Day two Chicasaws Indians came to see us from Tellico, being just come from the Albamors Fort. They acquainted me that they happened to be at Tellico when the Man Killer of that Town went to the French Fort and persuaded them to go with him under Pretence that he was agoing to make Peace with the Creeks which they accepted to go with him. When they came there they perceived they were carried to a rong Place and immagined they were not amongst their own Friends the English. I took a great Deal of Notice of them. They told me they were now amongst the Friends which they wished long to be with. The Little Carpenter and Judge's Friend being then in the Fort were very well pleased to see them. I propose to writé by them to some of their Head Men to come here, and try what I can do to make up Matters betwixt the two Nations which am in hopes to succeed, or at least shall do my best and utmost Indeavours.

RD. DE.

CAPTAIN RAYD. DEMERE AND OTHER OFFICERS TO MR. DEBRAHM

Fort Loudoun, December the 23d, 1756

Sir, To my great Surprize late last Night received a Paper from you dated the 20th Current ensteld final Directions for Accomplishment of the Fortification Works with something inclosed which I do not understand. I lost no Time in calling together the Officers and communicating your Directions to them. All of them as well as myself think that you might as reasonably have stayed in Charles Town, and have sent final Directions with the People who came to build the Fort, as to send it now when Nothing appears but a Heap of unformed Dirt. None of the Officers will undertake to do your Duty having their own to do. Your Directions will be of little Service to them as they are unacquainted with technicall Terms, none of them professing themselves Engineers.

Can you call this a Fort, no Guns or Platforms, no Barracks, no Guard, no necessary Houses or Drains so requisite for the Health of Garrison, no Houses for the Officers, but meserable Hovles built at their own Expences, although denied by you a little Dirt to |321| clay the Walls, no store Houses capable of containing any Quantity of Provisions, and in short Nothing as yet to be seen deserving the Name of a Fort. The Out Works which you say are so near finnished are no Ways defencible. The Brest Works in some Places not being three Foot high, and Nothing but the Pallisadoes can hinder a Man from galloping in to the Fort a Horse back, and after the vast Labour and Expence bestowed on the Place called by you Glen's Fort, it is at last to be abandoned and left unfinnished. I and the rest of the Officers think our Duty to our King and Country in general, as well as the Publick of South Carolina, calls upon us to make this Representation, and further to acquaint you that the Moment you leave the Fort the Works shall cease untill such Time as the Governor send a proper Person to inspect the present State of them which we are determined to request of him.

We are Sir, your humble Servants,

RAYD. DEMERE

JOHN STUART

JOHN POSTELL

ROBT. WALL

JAMES ADAMSON

RICHD. COYTMORE

MAURICE ANDRESON

Ensign Caytmore waited on him with the above Letter which he refused to read or heard read. Afterwards Capt. Postell undertook to go to him and prevailed on him to read the Letter, which he likewise refused.

SURVEY OF FORT LOUDOUN BY ORDER OF CAPTAIN RAYD. DEMERE

A Return of the State of the Fortification of Fort Loudoun by the subscribing Officers, a Survey haveing been made by them by Order of Capt. Rayd. Demere, the 24th Day of December, 1756.

The Curtain journing Bastion Queen and Bastion D of Cumberland not finnished, Hight without a Banket 4 Feet. The Ditch and Counterscarp not finnished. Thickness of the Wall at the Bass 20 Feet. Distance of the Palisadoe from the Curtain, 4½ Feet.

Bastion D of Cumberland: neither Brest Work, Ditch or Counterscarp finnished, and very little done to them. The Flank 12 Feet long. This Flank is not in Line of Defence with the Face of Bastion Queen.

The Curtain joining Bastion D of Cumberland and Bastion King George: the Brestwork finnished; Height next B. D. of C, 4 Feet, and Hight of Curtain where it joins the Flank of B. K. George, 3 Feet, without a Banket. Ditch and Counterscarp unfinnished.

Flank of Bastion King George: the Breastwork finnished, Length 23 Feet; Hight, 4 Feet.

|322| Face of Bastion King George: at the first Travers, Breast Work 3 Feet high without a Banket. Length of the first Travers, 19 Feet; Thickness, 12 Feet; Height, 3½ Feet without a Banket. Height of the Face joining the