

*South Carolina Indian Affairs
Documents, 1757-1760*

JNO. BOGGS TO GOVERNOR LYTTELTON

|1|

Fort Prince George, Keowee, 21st Feby., 1757

HONoured SIR, I presume troubling you with this as informing you after a tedious March occasioned by our bad Horses in the Carriages and the Extremity of the Weather with Rain so excessively for 3 Days together, and Meeting the Indians at the Congerrees which distressed us very much for Want of Provisions that could not be gotten for Money. However we made Shift and got through these Difficulties and arrived safe at the Fort the 6th Instant and found it Place so indifferent that I know not how to describe it to you. I must confess it has a Name, but cannot find Nothing about it to answer it in that Defence; may say more properly it's Suckling Store than a Fortification. Its Plan is in the Form 120 Foot Square within and at each Angle a Square adjoining of about 24 Foot in each of which is placed one swivel Gun upon a Post about 5 Foot high, and the Intrenchment about 20 Foot wide. It's raised of such Variety of Earth that it will not bind which keeps us in continual Employ to support it. Our Houses are also in as bad Condition as can be expressed, nor is it in our Powers to make them better unless you be so kind as to use your Interest in our Behalf and forward these Things mentioned as under. Would the Province encourage the Men with proper Tools and additional Pay per Day as is usual on such Occasions, they would presently find the Place in much better Defence.

I observed at Mrs. Burnets in Old Seluda two small swivell Guns and will be spoiled ere they lye long, they being thrown in the Road. They would be of infinite Service here. Would you agree with Henry Gallman for the Carriage; believe they would come to hand soon.

Most of the neighbouring Indians here visited me and I find they all seem steady in our Interest at Present. The Swallow Warrior and Tossity of Easter-toa Town and these Towns adjacent are gathering together about a 100 Men to travel into Virginia and there to be under the Governor's Command. By the Solicitations of 19 Men of the Town I have ventured to release them with 5 lbs. of Gunpowder and 8 lb. of trading Balls out of our common Stores in order to find themselves Provisions on their March.

We are in great Want of more Land to plant Corn for our Subsistance for our Number of Men; am afraid I shall not accomplish so difficult a Task; should think with your Approbation a few small Presents would not be amiss with these People in [bringing] them to such Compliances.

Any Commands your Excellency shall think proper to intrust me with may depend on my Endeavours to fulfill your Instructions and I am your most obedient Servant to command,

JNO. BOGGS

A List of Names of Towns and Number of Men in each Town serat with this Letter is inserted in Page 88.¹

TOOLS NEEDED AT FORT PRINCE GEORGE

2 A Whip Saw, 7 foot Plate or Length Half a Dozen Spiken Gimblets	1 Dozen of half round Files
½ a Doz. 3 square Files	Half a Dozen small Gimblets
1½ Inch Augre	1¾ Inch Augre
A good large broad Axe.	3 Carpenters Adzes
An Anvill about 100 Weight for a Smith	A small Barrell Nails 8d, 10d & 20d
A Vice of 40 or 50 Weight	Two stout Chains for a Draw-bridge
A small Screw Plate to mend Gun Locks	
A few Blacksmith's Files with a Rasp or two	
A small Parcell of Iron and Steel for mending Tools	

JOHN CHEVILLETTE TO GOVERNOR LYTTELTON

Fort Loudon, March 1st, 1757

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, The Bearer hereof Fedor O Neal is the Man I employed to drive the Cattle from Keowee. 46 Head were delivered him, four of which he dropt on the Road that would drive no farther. The 42 Head that he delivered here are poor and small.

Since my Last by the Express we have 600 Bushell of Corn at present in the Fort and 900 Bushels more expected in a few Days. To encourage the Indians of parting with such Quantity I found myself obliged to direct the Traders to give them better Goods for their Corn as they usually do, which had the Success I expected, but was obliged to allow them 40 Shillings per Bushell delivered here. If the Provincials are not continued any considerable Time we have Corn sufficient. The Wewels are apt to destroy the Grain in the Summer, therefore it's not an Article that can be depended upon for a standing Store, and as the Fort should have Breadkind always in Store, I think that the Flower wrought [*sic*] for is necessary. I am with Respect,

Your most humble and most obedient Servant,

JOHN CHEVILLETTE

Fedor O Neal is to have £10 for his Trouble of carrying Capt. Demere and this Letter to your Excellency.

¹ Below, pp. 412-13.

CAPTAIN RAYD. DEMERE TO GOVERNOR LYTTTELTON

Fort Loudon, March 1st, 1757

SIR, Since my last per George Duckard Nothing of Importance has happened, every Thing is quiet in the whole Nation. There is no more Intelligence brought to me about the French coming here. The Tellico Indians who went out to meet their People who went down to New Orleans are returned without seeing them, and say that it's troublesome and that they will go no more. It's expected that the Breed Camp has met and killed them.

I had the Pleasure to inform your Excellency that we had just begun to put up the Pallisadoes. There is now two Sides of the Fort and two Bastions put up. As they are very long and large, it is troublesome [3] putting them up. They are to be lined on the inside with split Peices of Timber and will when finished be very firm and strong, and we shall be in no Fear of any Indians except a Body of Regular Troops should come with them, which will never be the Case unless at the especial Instance and Request of these Indians. Six Horses at first were employed about bringing Home the Pallisadoes, but as they must go now pretty far for them, three Horses more were added for a quicker Dispatch each Truck is drawn by three Horses.

I can assure your Excellency, that since that Imposter Debrham [sic] went away there has been a great Deal of Work done by the Provincials, and there is a great Deal more to do before we can be in any Posture of Defence. Debrham's [sic] Works are of no Manner of Service to us except some Part of this Breast Work that he left unfinished which we lay our Palisadoes against. We are about doing a great many Necessaries, that the Fort can't be without. A Storehouse has been made for the Commissary which he never had before. I purpose as soon as the great Hurry is over, to build two logg Houses, two Stories high in convenient Places which will serve for publick Stores and at the same Time, command round the whole Fort and cover the Defect of our bad Situation. Those Houses will be of the utmost Service to us as we have no Outworks but our Palisadoes with Loopholes. For what Debrham [sic] calls a Ditch is in some Places not a Foot deep. Three Guns will be mounted in each Bastion. The Carriages and Irons for the Guns are already made. The Carpenters are now about the Platforms (the Tar is made). As soon as we are pallisadoed round, two strong Gates shall be made, one in the Front of the Fort and the other opposite to the River with a Communication to the Water and on the back Part of the Fort on the Top of the Hill there will be a Sally Port.

I assure your Excellency that we are not idle and that we have done already a great Deal of heavy Work, and that there is a great Deal more to do. The Spirit of Mutiny amongst the Provincials appears to be entirely smothered by the timely Measures that were taken. I am in great Hopes that every Thing will be finished in about 5 or 6 Weeks, except the Barracks which at any Time may be done as the Men are now pretty well lodged; the most pressing and material Work must be done first.

On the 23d Feb. I demanded a Return from Mr. Chevillette, our Commissary, concerning the Provisions that were in the Store and of those that were

to come, and as it appeared to me that we should be [sic] soon be in want of Provisions if proper Measures were not taken thereupon, I called all the Officers together to consult the most expedient Methods for a Supply; which Return and Result I send inclosed to your Excellency. I appointed Capt. Jno. Postell to buy the Corn of Jno. Elliott which he did. Your Excellency must be acquainted that |4| Mr. Shivettette [sic] thought or did imagine that he had bought the Corn of Elliot which he did, but Elliott sayd not and was determined not to let him have any for certain Reasons. That the Service should not suffer by their Disputes I took the above Measures for a Determination, and 1000 Bushells of Corn was immediately bought from Mr. Elliott at 40 Shillings per Bushell, the greatest Part of which is now brought into the Fort. It was expected that Elliott would have demanded ready Money for his Corn for which Reason the Commissary was ordered to mention in his Return the Money he had by him, which I have been told he took amiss being a Commissary General as he calls himself, and added that no Person had a Right to call him to account but your Excellency. The old Man perhaps was out of Order when he expressed himself in this Manner. He has purchased about 500 Bushells of Corn from Samuel Bonn and other Persons. Mr. Doharty of Highwasse has wrote to him signifying that he will engage any Quantity of Corn (not exceeding 2000 Bushells) to be delivered at the Fort at 40 Shillings per Bushell.

Since the above wrote, forty-two Head of Cattle are come from Keowee, but they are such as I never saw before. They are so poor that they can scarce get up when down and are both small and young, some of them are two and three Years old. I am sure they will not weigh more than 250 Wt., one with another. He that contracted with your Excellency will receive this per Ferder O Neil who being in his Way to the Congarees has engaged to proceed directly to Charles Town and deliver my Letters for £10 which your Excellency will be pleased to order him.

I am informed that Ensign Bogges is arrived at Keowee, Fort Prince George. To all Appearance, I shall not have any Occasion for him, or any of that Command, and as there will be no real Service here I begg that your Excellency will permit me to return to Charles Town.

Some Days ago Capt. Postell spoke to me about the Rum that was stoped at Keowee from Mr. Elliott and said that the Rum belonged to Mr. McQuin, Merchant in Charles Town, and that if I would permit it to be brought up he would run the Risque of its being taken in the Way by the Indians and when it should come he would sell it to his Company whereby he should serve his Friend. I only told him that he was sensible of the bad Effect such a Quantity of Rum would produce amongst the Indians and that I hoped he would prefer the Good of the Service and the public Weal to that of any private Gentleman. He seemed displeas'd at what I said, and I have been told since by a Gentleman that Capt. Pestell should say that I should pay for |5| stopping the Rum.

I shall next Week set some of the Soldiers to clear Ground for Corn agreeable to your Excellency's Instructions. Yesterday I had a Return made me that two of Capt. Postell's Company had deserted. I shall say more on this Subject in my next Letters to your Excellency. I inclose you two Plans

done by Lieutenant Gray. A Fort built agreeable to either of them would have answered every intended Purpose and have saved a most considerable Expence to the Province. I would recommend the square Fort, though there is a most beautifull Situation for either of the Plans in about a Quarter of a Mile of this Fort. I live in Hopes of seeing some Person sent by your Excellency to take a Survey of Debrham's [*sic*] wretched Works. I am with the greatest Respects,

Your Excellency's most humble and obedient Servant,

RAYD. DEMÈRE

If French Jean was come I had proposed myself to talk to him, and persuaded him to come and live with me presenting Something to Old Hop for him as being his own Slave. Then I would had the Pleasure to deliver him up to your Excellency and am sure I would have succeeded in it. Those ten Indians that went from Chotte to the Northward to demand a Peace are not yet come and perhaps never will come.

R. DE.

JOHN CHEVILLETTE TO GOVERNOR LYTTELTON

Fort Loudoun, March 14th, 1757

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, My Last to your Excellency was by Fedor O Neal, to which I refer. Since some Corn was delivered in Store the constant Rains we have had of Late that the Complement I mentioned of that Article in my Last is the Reason it's not delivered. However, I am certain of having it. I caused 82 Hoggs, the remaining Part, to be killed and salted, and if possible it will be kept for summer Provisions or at least till a Supply of Cattle can reach this Place. We have 40 Head of Cattle left. They are so small that it takes one Head per Diem. I hope before they are consumed, as the Fort will be closed in with Puncheon in 3 Days, that the Provincials will be ordered down. If we begin on the [salted] Pork, that Article [6] will victual the Whole one Month.

I received last Week from Keowee 6000 Wt. of Flower, and I hear the Bacon I bought at the Congarees with 1000 Wt. Biscuit and 6000 Weight of Flower is brought to Keowee. I am with Respect,

Your Excellency's most humble and obedient Servant,

JOHN CHEVILLETTE

CAPTAIN RAYMOND DEMÈRE TO GOVERNOR LYTTELTON

Fort Loudoun, March 26, 1757

SIR, The continual heavy Rains which we have had has prevented our going on with the Works very much and had I not ordered Drains to be made to carry off the Water out of the Fort, we should have been obliged to leave it. By my last except one I had the Honour to acquaint your Excellency that the Pallisadoes would last three or four Years, as they have been cut down at a proper Time before the Sap was up, they will stand six Years. They are now all put up and we are about putting up the Fort Gates which are made very

strong; the same has been with a great Deal of Fatigue and Hardship to the Men. What has been done to this Fort since that Debrham [*sic*] went off and what is yet to be done, I shall refer to other People to inform your Excellency, and have no Doubt but it will meet with your Approbation after considering the bad Situation in which it was left to me. I have spared no Pains in making it as defensible as possible I could and with all Kind of Conveniences in it.

Some few Days ago three Indians went a hunting down our River about 40 Miles from this Place. One of them crossed the River with his Canoe to hunt on the other Side, while the other two remained on this Side. Some Enemy Indians finding the Canoe waited till the Indian should return in order to repass the River, but he, luckily perceiving them, run into a Cain Swamp and made his Escape and returned Home. It seems that they wanted to take him alive and make a Slave of him as he thinks himself. He says that he was closely pursued, that they were about 13 or 14 in Number and that he thinks they were Northward Indians. They all imagine that their People who went to the Northward Nations to sollicite for a Peace are killed. The five Indians that went from Tellico in order to go to the Creeks to enquire about their People that went to the French were met by them in their Way homeward and arrived on the 20th Instant at Tellico without any Frenchmen with them. The Particulars of their News I have not heard as yet but shall very soon.

Some Days ago the Mankiller of Tellico came to see me and wanted Presents to the Value |7| of about £100 Currency for one of his Wenches. I told him that I had no Presents by me, upon which he went away dissatisfied which was no great Matter. He and his Brother have had Presents enough from me, and should I use them to it, they would be every Day demanding and craving for one Thing or another, and should their repeated Requests of the like Kind be always granted to them, all the rest of the Indians would expect the same Indulgence. The great Gang of Indians from Chota that were to have gone to Virginia on hearing that their Warriors were on their Return from Charles Town have put off their setting out till they heard the News they bring and your Excellency's Talk.

In one of my late Letters I had the Pleasure to acquaint your Excellency that a thousand Bushells of Corn had been brought from Mr. Elliott, which is now all come into the Fort. Mr. Elliot employed Indians to bring it here in Canoes and promised them Rum in Payment for the same. After the Corn was brought he told them that the Warriour of the Fort had took his Rum from him and had it shut up at Keowee. He set on the Great Warrior of Chota to demand of me an Order for that Rum. I told him that I could not do it for several good Reasons. Soon after Elliot came into the Fort and I asked him whether he thought that Virginia or any other Province of his Majesty's Dominions would protect him if he should misbehave. He said that the Rum was his and that he had no other Way of paying the Indians and that if I would not suffer him to bring his Rum from Keowee he would send to Savannah Town for some. I told him that he had been to Occasion of the Death of a Man by his Rum and to take care of the next. I have heard that he has sent six Horses to Savannah Town to be loaded with that pernicious Liquor. I take

that little Fellow to be cracked-brained, for he does not know or care what he does. It seems when he was last in Charles Town he took some Advice from a Lawyer about Rum; they told him that nobody could hinder him from bringing Rum into the Nation and that the Rum I had stopped from him at Keowee would be no Loss to him. I am sure that such a Lawyer did value more his Fee than the common Wellfare and Tranquillity of the Province. I wish that Lawyer was here amongst these Indians when drunk. He would soon return his Fee to be gone. In regard to Elliott's going to Keowee for the Guns I promised him but forty Pounds for each and now he demands fifty. Capt. Stewart and several other Gentlemen were present when I agreed with him.

[8] On the 24th Instant Samuel Benn came here from Tellico, where he had been about his own Affairs, and acquainted me that the Tellico People came in while he was there. After enquiring into every Circumstance, he told me that one Savannah Tom was come back with them, a Savannah Fellow that has lived many Years amongst them, who talks good English. That when they came in they had the French Colours flying, that they had brought some few Shirts, some Knives and a War Hatchet to begin to kill the white People with. That the Mankiller of that Town, came to Kelly's House, the Evening before he set out and told him that he wanted him to write a Letter to the Captain of the Fort, but that he did not come according to his Promise. He says that the first Day they came in, the French Colours were hoisted on their Town House, though pretty low, and that the second Day they were hoisted very high on the Top of their Town House. Upon hearing this News I had determined to order a Party and march at the Head of them myself, to the Town of Tellico, and to pull down their French Colours, and burn the same in their Town House, but was informed by Samuel Benn that it was an ancient Custom amongst those Indians to hoist a white Flagg when they had any important Talks to give or receive amongst themselves and that the same signified Nothing but Peace and Friendship with each other.

Mr. Benn also informed me that the honest Town of Chatuga told him that some of them would wait on me the next Day, mean while a large Gang of them should get themselves in Readiness to go out immediately to War against the French on this Occasion and that they were resolved to bring me some Scalps or some Prisoners by the Time that the Corn should be two Feet high, that the Town of Tellico was Nothing and that the French could not assist them, that they had no Ammunition &c. On hearing this agreeable News I immediately ordered the Blacksmith to make a handsome Hatchet of War which I purpose to adorn and make them a Present of with pressing Orders to make good Use of the same and a Promise of Reward and Encouragement for their zealous Service.

There is no more than three of the Tellico People including that Savannah Tom and the Woman that are come back. Two of them are left behind with the Savannahs at the Creek Nation. The Mankiller says that he has received an Invitation from the Savannahs to go to War with them against the Chactaus for killing last Fall some of their People. His Answer was that all was quiet and peaceable, that he would stay [9] at Home and go a Hunting in the Spring

and endeavour to make a Peace with the Chicasaws. The Tellico Wench reports that when they arrived at New Orleans, that every Body there thought that all the white People that was in the Nation had been killed by the Account they had received. The Weather is so bad the Chatuga People did not come. I expect that the Tellico People will go to Chota either Today or Tomorrow to inform Old Hop of the Talk that is come from the French and Savannahs &c. so that I must have a little Patience for to know the Particulars they have brought. I am with the greatest Respect,

Your Excellency's most humble and obedient Servant,

RAYMOND DEMERE

I have ordered a Serjeant and 12 Men daily as a Fatigue to clear Ground to plant Corn.

Ravleen and Littleton's and Glen's Fort are now full of Water.

CAPTAIN RAYD. DEMERE TO GOVERNOR LYTTELTON

Fort Loudoun, March 27th, 1757

SIR, This Day two of the Warriours of the Town of Chatuga waited on me being sent as Messengers from the whole Town and as two that are agoing to War against the French, the Raven's Sone [*sic*] of Chatuga being one of them, a young brave resolute Fellow, he that killed the three Chicasaws, which I have mentioned to your Excellency in one of my former Letters. After a very pleasing and agreeable Talk which they gave me, too tedious to be mentioned here, they told that they could not endure that a French Hatchett of Warr should be sent into their Nation to kill their Brothers the English, and that they were going immediately to War to revenge themselves, to spoil their Talk and to make the Path dark and bloody. They told me that they hoped that I could furnish them with a sharp War Hatchet and some others few Necessaries, which they could not possibly go without. Your Excellency will see the several Articles in Samuel Benn's Letter to me, they having called on him before they came to the Fort. Their Demands being so reasonable and the good Purpose for which they were desired induced me to grant their Requests with Pleasure which gave them the highest Satisfaction. They told me they expected Nothing more till their Return Home with Scalps or Prisoners which they are resolved to bring. When they saw the War Hatchet which I |10| had prepared for them beforehand, they appeared overjoyed and said their Hearts were fluttering within them, and that they longed to make Use of it. I told them that I should pray the great Man above to preserve, protect and give them all the Success they wished themselves in their war Exploits, and we parted with the greatest Friendship imaginable. They assured me that no Party or Number of the Enemy should scare them and that they would not return without some Booty; when there is a Stroke once given all the other Towns must follow their Example even in their own Defence. I recommended them in very pressing Terms, not to meddle with the Creeks or Chicasaus.

Last Sunday being a Field Day I restored to the Provincials all their Arms on their Officers promising their good Behaviour for the Time to come. The Men have observed their Officers' Engagement for them and now behave very well. The Ammunition and Flints which your Excellency has sent last to Keowee, is not yet come up, but is ordered here per first Conveyance. Some Horses belonging to Mr. Doharty came up this Day loaded with Flower and on their Return Home are to be sent immediately to Savannah Town for Goods. I desired Mr. Chivettette [*sic*] to agree with the Man that goes, to bring up the Cloathing for the Men that came with Lieutenant Gray, being informed their Cloaths were sent to Fort Augusta after their March from thence, Mr. Chivettette accordingly agreed to have them brought at 10 per Cent which is very Cheap. I am Sir, with the greatest Respect,

Your Excellency's most humble and most obedient Servant,

RAYD. DEMERE

SAMLL. BENN TO CAPTAIN DEMERE

March 25, 1757

SIR, Last Night came two of the Chatuga Warriors. They were told by the other Warriours for me to write a Letter to your Honour to acquaint you they were going to War against the French, and they were distressed in five Articles, some Knives, Paint, Powder, Bullets, Hatchets, and they say they will bring in French Men or their Hair. They say there are 20 going, four out of Tellego, three from Highvassy [*sic*] and the rest out of Chattuga. No more at Present from,

Your humble Servant to command,

SAMLL. BENN

P. S. They say that they want some Boots.
To the Honourable Capt. Demere at Fort Loudoun

DANLL. PEPPER TO GOVERNOR LYTTELTON

| 11 |

Ockhoy, 30th March, 1757

SIR, Your Excellency's Letters of the 24th December and 18th Jan. last lay both before me, the Contents of which I have carefully perused. Your Letter of the 24th December inclosed the following Papers: William Wilkins and Joseph Blythe's Affidavits, before Jno. Perkin at Frederica, relative to an intended Descent of the French, in conjunction with the Creek Indians upon the Provinces of South Carolina and Georgia. A Letter from William Gray to the Commanding Officer at Frederica to the same Purpose. An Account of the same Designs in a Letter from William Birch, of certain Intelligence received by him, of great Preparations making in Cape François to effectuate the same. Also an Information made by the old Warrior of Tomotley to Capt. Raymond Demere, of certain Schemes carrying on between the French and Creeks at the Alabama Fort, tending greatly to our Prejudice. Another confirming the same sent Capt. Demere by Cornelius Dougherty.

For all which Intelligences I am extremely obliged to your Excellency as I can thereby be the more upon my Guard to watch the Motions of our Enemies and to prevent their putting in Practice their pernicious Schemes, and I think I can say I have in a great Measure fathomed the Depth of their Intentions, which have hitherto been baffled very providentially, and I am in great Hopes their Interest with this Nation will lessen daily as the Veil seems to be taken from their Eyes and they begin bitterly to complain of their double dealing and false Talks involving them continually in War with some Nation or other to answer their own Ends though to the Prejudice of the whole Nation. I have been taking the utmost Care to find if the French have been drawing any Body of Men to the Alabama Fort to begin their Operation and find that there is no such Thing done as yet; whatever they may intend. But as this People begin to be very jealous of their Measures of late I am certain they will never be able to do it, without coming to an open Rupture with this Nation. I am informed that it is true they intend to send sixty Horse Load of Goods to Howashee Old Town. The Time intended for their March, I have not yet learned. However for all their Precautions, I doubt not of finding it out and hope some Scheme may be fallen upon to ease their Horses from carrying such heavy Loads so long a Journey, when the Goods can be of Use to People nearer Home. [12] I am glad your Excellency has given Capt. Demere the Hint of surprising them in case of my Schemes not succeeding.

Your Excellency advises me that you have thought proper with the Advice of your Council to allow such of this Nation the Stillyards as shall apply for them. I am heartily glad of it at a Time when it will turn out so much for the Publick Interest in confirming them in our Interest so very strong as that Indulgence will. I observe what your Excellency mentions about Tukulkey, the Son and Successor of Malatchi, and you may depend upon it I shall take all the Notice of him possible, as he has shewn himself worthy of it in despising Bribes offered him by the French to sway him to their Interest, and his Father's Friends having an firm Attachment to him. As to the Head Man of the Ockhoys' getting a Fort built by some white Men is only an idle Report, for there is no such Thing, nor ever was intended that I can hear.

I come now to answer your Excellency's Letter of the 11th January which I only received the 20th Instant occasioned by the great Rains that have fallen lately and made the Rivers impassible and am highly honoured that my Endeavours in the Execution of my Office, has met your Excellency's Approbation.

With Respect to the Shawanese obtaining Leave from this Nation to settle between them and the Cherokees, I am pretty certain [it] never will be granted, as I formerly hinted to your Excellency. I have laid out to the Gun Merchant in the strongest Light the bad Consequence of it which he is not insensible of. The Checkesaws, as your Excellency well observes, are indeed Objects of the greatest Pity and Compassion, being surrounded on all Hands, by powerfull Enemies. I am glad your Excellency thinks proper to send them a Supply of Ammunition. I am hopefull their Case will not be so deplorable soon if what I have been endeavouring take Place between them and the Chactaws of which your Excellency will hear in its proper Place.

I am highly pleased your Excellency has taken into Consideration the Use of Riffle Guns in this Nation. I shall restrain the Practice of vending them here in this Nation all in my Power, till a Method is fallen upon to prevent them. The Information of the French building a Fort at Waubash lies still as formerly I mentioned to your Excellency, Nothing have I heard since either in Confirmation or otherwise. As I shall go to the Moccolossus in a few Days where I shall have a good Deal of Talk with the Wolf Warriour, I shall be able to get a good Deal of Intelligence from him relative to the |13| Transactions of the French &c. which I shall take care to inform your Excellency of. I am highly obliged to your Excellency for the Confidence you repose in my Conduct and Prudence in managing those Ideas I suggested in my former Letter, and you may be assured my Aim shall be the Good of my Country and my strongest Endeavours used to merit your Excellencies [*sic*] and their Approbation. What Advice I can at any Time learn from either the Alabama or Tombegbee's Forts, your Excellency may always depend upon a speedy Communication. I am heartily glad your Excellency has sent Capt. Demere a Reinforcement and given such Encouragement to strengthen and support our Interest, where the French and Northwards as I have been informed intend to make some Disturbances this Spring.

Having answered your Excellency so far, I shall now give you a succinct Account of my Proceedings that are material since my last. Upon the 13th January last I received Information of a Party of Chactaws falling upon a Camp of Shawanese in the Wood and killed four of their Head Men which has been since confirmed. Upon the 1st of February last the Wolf informed me that the Mankiller of Tellico with French John had left the Alabama Fort with a large Paquet of Letters to proceed to the Cherokees. Upon which I wrote a Letter to Capt. Demere advising him of the same and desiring him to have them interrupted, as the Letters might give great Light into the Designs of the French, but after all the Endeavours I could to procure either white Man or Indian to carry it I could not get one though I offered a very large Reward, so inclosed I transmit it to your Excellency to forward if you think it necessary. February 13th an Indian Fellow called Dalton's Friend, a Head Warriour of the Cailigees, came to see me and informed me that hunting towards the Mountain his Gang met a Party of Cherokees, who informed them that all their Nation (two Towns excepted) were entirely in the French Interest and that they with the Nottewagas and Shawanese intended to fall upon the English settled there in the Spring, how soon the Leaves began to sprout, and to cut them off, and for that End the French had given each Cherokee a large Scalping Knife.

February 23d I went to the Oakfuskees, the greatest Town in the Nation, and was very cordially received by the Red Coat King, Handsome Fellow and other Head Warriors who assured me of their firm Attachment to the English |14| which they said should continue while the Sun shines or Waters run.

The Affair of Ogechee, the Handsome Fellow told me, was entirely over and every Thing was streight, and they hoped the Tree of Peace should blossom unmolested.

March the 6th the two Chactaw Fellows that were with me in the Fall of whom I informed your Excellency returned. They informed me they had not proceeded into the Chactaw Nation as promised by Reason of their hearing all their Head Men were in the Woods. The Long Second Man of the Wio-kays came with them, who is a great King among the Chactaws. The Gun Merchant and I prevailed upon him to go with the two Chactaws into their Nation and to endeavour to make a Peace between them and the Chickesaws, which he has undertaken, and we sent with him a Present of white Beads as an Emblem of Peace and Pipes and Tobacco as a Badge of Friendship. The Gun Merchant sent in a very strong Talk by him telling him how they were blinded by the French and desired them to receive no more Talks from them nor any warlike Store, but to come to the English who were ready to receive them with open Arms and to supply their Wants. I sent an Invitation to their Head Men to come here to the general Meeting, which will be held Middle of next Month, to meet the Head Men of the Chickesaws, whom I have likewise sent for, that Matters may be made up and that long Breach may be healed which has been so prejudicial to them both. I am in great Hopes this Negotiation will prove successfull. The Handsome Fellow and another Warriour of the Oakfushees were sent for and present at this Talk.

I received a Letter from Mr. George Galphin at the Cowelaw some Time ago who says, there was a Fellow came in the other Day from Augustine and he says, the Spaniards told him they were going to join the French and that there were at that Time a great many French there. How true this Intelligence is I cannot say, but it does not seem to agree to the Informations received in the Affidavits your Excellency sent me. I am apt to believe it some French Policy. The preceding are the most material Affairs, that have happened since my last, and as there are several irregular Practices and Abuses crept into the Indian Trade which I have found out and if not timeously [*sic*] prevented may be attended with bad Consequences, I beg Leave to lay them before your Excellency.

First. The Importation of Rum into this Nation which I understand the Traders are supplied with by William Tobler who |15| keeps a Store House about six Miles from New Windsor, as there is no Act passed in Carolina to prohibit the same, which they carry on their Pack Horses round untill they pass Augusta as they are afraid of having it seized there as there is an Act of Prohibition past in Georgia. But indeed they need not be afraid of the Magistrates of that Place seizing any unless they do it out of Spight, because they themselves do not furnish the Liquor, for I am credibly informed that a good many of the Traders, nay even Indians, are supplied with that Article by the Storekeepers in Augusta and New Savannah. One Indian Fellow brought six Baggs into the Lower Town which occasioned a great Deal of Noise and Trouble. I hope a Stop will soon be put to that by an Act of Assembly to the Contrary.

Secondly. The Absence of Traders from their respective Births which they by their Licence are oblig'd to reside in for six Months certain. The following Persons have not been here since my Arrival in the Nation, viz. Messrs. Clark, McGillivray, Rae, Barksdale and Spencer; the last indeed arrived here a few

Days ago. I assure your Excellency their not attending has been of great Disadvantage to me, as I must expect my Intelligence from them, as I cannot possibly be every where; and the Persons they leave to take care of their Stores, though I sent circular Letters to them to advise me of what they could learn concerning the Publick Interest, are either so ignorant that they can neither read nor write, or else so indolent and of such Principles that they care not about the Good of the Country so they gett a Living.

Thirdly. A Sett of idle Vagrants who came into the Nation in the Station of Beaver Catchers, who frequently raise bad Blood between the white People and Indians by telling them Lies, and romancing Stories to ingratiate themselves among the Indians to procure a Livelyhood and gett an Indian Wife which is all their Desire and frequently they take the better of them and defraud them, to the no small Prejudice of our Interest, and the Indians frequently reflect that they not only kill Beaver which is an Infringement of their Property, but even kill Deer and so impoverish them in their Hunts. They are really a Sett of dangerous People acting as if they were subject to neither Laws nor Government. I have had several Complaints against them since I came here.

[16] Fourthly. I have been informed by Messrs. Smith and Galphin, Traders in the Lower Towns, of one Samuel Elshinore having a Licence to trade on Flint River in the Woods where he meets the Indians coming in from their Hunts, supplies them with Goods and [takes] their Skins, with which they should pay their Debts to the Traders in their Towns who fit them out, to their great Detriment. I wrote Elshinore upon the Complaint being lodged and he sent me his Licence which I find does comprehend a Place called Sully upon Flint River, but as I apprehend he has imposed upon the Commissioner by getting a License for a Town where there is only a few plantation Hutts belonging to Indians of other Towns. I doubt not your Excellency will look into the Affair as I imagine a regular Information will be laid before you by the Traders. These few Hints I think it my Duty to inform your Excellency of, to let you into the State and Nature of the Situation of the Nation at this Time.

As here are several Towns in this Nation who are in our Interest have been complaining to me, that they have no English Colours to hoist to show that they are our Friends they have desired me to write your Excellency to send them some. The Oakfushees, Tuccabatches, Talisses and Moccolossus; the Wolf Warriour of the Moccolussus begs with the Colours you will send him a Drum that he may show his Neighbours, the French at the Allabama Fort, that he can when he pleases beat an Alarum little to their Satisfaction. The Wolf informs me when he was last in Charles Town Mr. Glen took from him and some other Head Men their Commissions which they have never again received. He thinks very much of his not having one, as he is our firm Friend.

As the Affairs of this Nation seem at present to bear a better Aspect than they have done for some Time, I hope in my next to give your Excellency more satisfactory Accounts, and as most of our Disturbances have sprung from Chertree and his Shawanese set on by the French, I do not doubt but my next may acquaint you of his being properly provided for, where his Interest will

go but a small Way to hurt or annoy our Tranquillity. I have not been able to know particularly the Time the Indians intend to go to Town as they cannot resolve upon it till the general Meeting, but how soon I do you may depend upon having timely Notice, and I shall provide a proper Linguist to attend them. I expect it may be towards the latter |17| End of May or Beginning of June. Inclosed I transmit your Excellency a Copy of Nunes and Wright's Account for bringing up the Presents as rectified which you will please send the Treasurer for his Government. I have given a Certificate in Favour of Richard Kecker for £32:10 for making 13 Great Coats which I found necessary to be made to satisfy the Head Men who are fond of that Article.

Lieutenant White Outerbridge in a Letter dated Fort Augusta 27th Feby. last sent me inclosed a Talk from your Excellency to the Headmen of the Chickesaw Nation which I shall take care to transmit first Opportunity. In a Paragraph of said Letter Mr. Outerbridge informs me your Excellency desires him to acquaint me that the Little Carpenter and sixty more of his Men has been with you and that a satisfactory Friendship is renewed and that the Tellico People sensible of their Error in being debauched by the French had returned with Submission to their Allegiance which gave me unspeakable Satisfaction as it will strengthen our Interest here and baffle all the Attempts of the French entirely.

I doubt not your Excellency has heard that there are a Body of about seventy Chickesaws living at a Place called New Savannah within 12 Miles of Augusta. They consisted formerly of about forty Gun Men, but some that were scattered about the Lower Town have joyned them so that they may amount to about seventy Gun Men, so that in case of a Visit from the French they would be of more Service to us than four Hundred other Indians. They behaved bravely at the Descent the Spaniards made upon Frederica and were in a great Measure the saving of the Place, under the Command of William Gray a very brave Fellow who now keeps out of the Way on account of an unlucky Affair of his killing a Man. In case they should be wanted to our Assistance, Mr. Jno. McQueen who is Gray's Brother no Doubt could inform your Excellency where he is to be found.

Since writing the above, Mr. Spencer has been with me who acquaints me that the Wolf has found out, that the Account Galphin received in the Lower Town about the Spaniards joining the French was hatched at the Alabama Fort, and as I justly suspected, a Piece of their Policy to blind this People.

I omitted to mention to your Excellency that this last Winter a Party of the Chactaws were coming in here to consult with the Headmen concerning a Peace |18| and even came into some of the Upper Towns, but upon the French knowing of their Intentions, they sent their Emissaries who told them that the Gun Merchant and all the Head Men were in the Woods, so that it was of no Use for them to proceed upon which they returned back. I likewise omitted in the Paragraph of my Letter about the Colours that the Chickesaws at the Bread Camp have also none although they say they have often asked for them. The French by their unwearied Attempts and Strength of their Brandy last Fall just before I came into the Nation drew from our Interest a great Head Man of

the Puccantalahase called Devaals Landlord, formerly a great Friend of ours, and gave him a Commission and Colours, and got him while his Brain was intoxicated by the Fumes of the Liquor to pull down a Fort which he had built about his House, but as he has sent me an Invitation to come to his Town, I intend to recover him to our Interest and to gett from him his French Commission and Colours for ours. I have sent for Mr. Brown; when he comes I shall deliver him his Commission after his taking the Oaths before me.

I observe a Paragraph in your Excellency's Letter recommending Secrecy to me with regard to whatever passes in our Correspondence. You may be assured Nothing has been nor shall be more strictly regarded by me as that is a Thing I look upon of the greatest Consequence in the Management of public Affairs.

We have a great Deal of Flying News at Times in this Nation which the Traders make a Practice of communicating to their Merchants in Town without examining the Tendency such Reports may have as they write off hand frequently without Confirmation. As it is a Duty incumbent on me to inform your Excellency of every Thing illegal carried on in this Nation, I find that most of the Traders, particularly the following Contrary to Law and their own Bond bring into the Nation Negroe Slaves although a considerable Penalty is incurred by so doing: John Brown, one Negro Boy; Thos. Devaal, two; Danll. Douglass, one; James Germany, one; John Ross, one; Moses Nunes, one, and |19| John Kitt, one. The carrying of Negroes among the Indians has all along been thought detrimental, as an Intimacy between them ought to be avoided, so acquaint your Excellency of the same.

I have agreed to pay Mr. Lauglan McIntosh one hundred Pounds Currency upon the Return of the Express from Town, when I shall give him a Certificate, so your Excellency will please observe that you have Nothing to pay his Hireling the Bearer who returns directly after receiving your Excellency's Dispatches for me.

Inclosed I trouble you with a Letter for Mrs. Pepper which I beg you will please forward by your Servant. I am extremely obliged to your Excellency for the Care you express for my Health which I thank God is pretty well recovered. I am with great Respect and Esteem Sir,

Your most obedient and very humble Servant,

DANLL. PEPPER

To His Excellency, Wm. H. Lyttelton, Esq.

CAPTAIN RAYD. DEMERE TO GOVERNOR LYTTTELTON

Fort Loudoun, April 1st, 1757

To His Excellency W. H. Lyttelton, Esq.

SIR, This Morning I received a Message from Old Hop desiring that I would immediately come to Chota and hear a good Talk which he intended to give me. I was very much indisposed, but expecting that I should hear all the Talk that came from the French and Savannahs, I immediately proceeded and took with me Capt. Postell and Lieut. Wall. When we arrived at Old Hop's

House we found there the Great Warriour of Chota, the Standing Turkey and the Prince of Chota, and was informed that none of the other Indians were to be present at the Talk. After some short Ceremonies which passed, Old Hop told me that he had not forgot his Promise to inform me with every Thing he should hear, and that he expected I would not hide any Thing I should hear from him. That he had sent for me to acquaint me with the Talks they had lately received from the French and ordered the Standing Turkey to relate the same, who said that on their People's Arrivall at the French Fort, they were received with all the Marks of Respect and Friendship. |20| That the French told them it gave them the greatest Satisfaction to see their lost Children which they had sent the Savannahs to bring to them, and that they now held them fast, and would make a Path which should be a strong bright Chain from them to Tellico and from Tellico they would extend it as far as Chota. He says that the French told them that their Victuals were good and wholesome, and not such as the Governor gave them when they went to Charles Town which was mixed with Something that was sure to kill some of them before they returned to their Nation. That they often heard of some of their best Men's dying when they went to Carolina, and that the Governor of Charles Town had killed so many of their People in that Manner that his Arms and Hands must needs be all stained with Blood.

That the French told them, that they were their Fathers to all the Indians on the whole Continent, which they provided for and respected as their Children, except the Cherokee Nation which had been lost from them for a long Time, but now as they saw them and held them fast, their Hearts were easy, and that they would give them a white Flagg, which should be a Daylight to them, when they should return Home and also a Pipe and a Prick of Tobacco for Old Hop to smook. That the French told them they expected all their Houses were very well furnished with every Kind of Necessaries as they had had an English Trade for so many Years and that they were surprised to see them so naked and badly cloathed. That they intended to have sent some Goods into their Nation, but that they imagined the great Trade the English carried on there would render their Goods despicable and not worth their Acceptance. However, that they were determined to bring them a Cargo in a small Time. That the French told them they had for some Years past supplied all the Indians on the Continent with Goods except the Cherokees, and that all their Brothers in Alliance with them were well supplied and furnished with every individual Thing that they wanted. That their Indians throughout all their Nations had a Barrell of Powder and Bullets in Proportion, to every House, and that they had Knives and every Thing also in Abundance and wanted for Nothing.

Thus have I recounted to your Excellency every Particular of the Talk |21| they gave me on that Subject, which as soon as it was ended, Old Hop told me that Elliot was indebted to them four Keggs of Rum for the Hire of their Canoes and assisting him in bringing the Corn to the Fort, and that Elliott had informed them that I had locked up all his Rum at Keowee. He told me that he hoped I would suffer Elliott to pay them the four Keggs of Rum and give

an Order in Writing for the same. I used many Arguments to avoid letting them have the Rum, but all to no Purpose, and I thought myself obliged at last for many good Reasons to grant their Request. When I was writing the Order he told the Linguist to tell me to do it in a proper Manner that Elliot might not ride to Keowee for Nothing. I told him that I have never given him any Cause to suspect my Word which I had always conformed myself to with the greatest Exactness. His Answer was that he might well expect I would tell him Lyes, when the Governor of Carolina had told him so many, that he had for a long Time expected Somethings would be sent him from Charles Town, but that he saw Nothing come but Letters. He expected to receive Presents as a Token that the Cherokees were as Children to King George. I am Sir with Respect,

Your Excellency's most humble and obedient Servant,

RAYD. DEMERE

But not one Word was mentioned of the French Hackett.

CAPTAIN RAYD. DEMERE TO GOVERNOR LYTTTELTON

Fort Loudoun, April 2d, 1757

(The Talk mentioned at the End of the Letter is inserted in Page 85.)²

To his Excellency, William H. Lyttelton, Esq.

SIR, On the 28th March the French Talk was brought to Chota Town House by one of the Tellico Indians and the same was heard. The Mankiller of Tellico appeared in Town that Day quite naked except an old Blanket which he had about him, and went to his Father's at Settico. As soon as he mentioned to him that the French had sent a War Hatchett, his Father told him to begone, the Meaning of his appearing without Cloaths was to represent to them that they were not properly provided for by the English and was it otherwise, they would be better supplied. The Mankiller is now held in Derision by all the [22] Indians in these Towns except a Few of his own Party, and they all know that I have given him Cloaths enough at two or three different Times. In short, he is a very bad Fellow and is generally despised by the Indians in these Parts. Notwithstanding, he did not go to the French of his own Accord. Old Hop was at the Head of every Thing that was transacted with the French. Otherwise he would not have sent Messengers from his own Town to the Northward to acquaint them that he had sent to the Southward to demand a Peace &c. from the French and their Indians in those Quarters. The Messengers that were sent to the Northward are not yet returned and I hope never will.

The few Presents that I gave to the two Indians that came with Mr. Howorth, viz. the Black Dog of Notoly, and the Ravens Sone [*sic*] of Highwassee called Moyatoya, has done us a great Deal of Service. At their Return Home they gave such a good Talk to all the Towns in the Valleys in our Favour, that as soon as they heard that I gave a War Hatchett to the brave Town of Chatuga, a Party immediately agreed to go out to War with them, and six from Tellica. A Gang consisting of forty-six, they set out the 30th of

² Below, pp. 410-12.

last Month with great Resolution and am persuaded they will do Wonders. They agreed before they set out not to molest or meddle with any Creeks or Chickasaus that they might probably meet with agreeable to my Advice and Recommendation to them. The White Owl of Toke, a young Warriour, has applied to me for a War Hatchett and is holding himself in Readiness to set out to War with a Party in two or three Days.

This Day the Great Warrior of Chota and several other principal Indians of the neighbouring Towns waited on me. The Great Warriour spoke for the Whole. He told me that Elliott was indebted to them for Horses and for Horsehire and that he had promised them Rum for Payment. That he told them I had his Rum shut up at Keowee which he had brought for them, and desired an Order for eight Caggs. I told them that I could not do it, that I had your Excellency's Orders to stop it at Keowee to prevent Mischiefs in the Nation and agreeable to their own Desire at a Treaty held with them at Saludy Old Town by the late Governor James Glen, Rum was prohibited being brought to their Nation, and [23] that Elliott was a Rogue to tell them what he did, as he never intended that Rum for them. I told them that Rum made Men mad and troublesome, and pleaded several Arguments but to no Purpose. It went so far at last that the Great Warriour told me that he did not expect that I would have refused him so reasonable a Request, the Rum being justly due to them and that the white People expected them to pay their Debts and as it was so they would take care not to pay any of their Debts and that he would go to Tellico and tell them to take every Thing that should come from Charles Town &c. for the white People, and in particular all Rum that should come, and that they now plainly saw that the French Talk that was just come in was true and was very good. It would have gone a greater Length had I not stopped his Proceeding by telling him I was not afraid of any Thing, but that I was sorry that Rum should be the Occasion of such Disorders betwixt us after having been such good Friends for so long a Time. He replied again that it was his own and he would have it, otherwise I might depend on what he had told me should be put into Execution. He asked me how I could expect that he would go to Charles Town with me as he had promised, that he might well expect I would put him in Gaol when I should get him in Charles Town when I refused him such a Trifle which was none of my Property.

I perceived it was full Time to cut short with this Subject and told him that I knew he was set on by Elliott and Watts, but it was not on their Accounts I would oblige him, only as he being my good Friend I would do it, and promised him an Order for eight Keggs which he wanted immediately saying that the Horses were ready to sett off, as soon as the Order should come to Elliott's. I told them that I could not give them the Order except Elliott should come himself and tell me by Word of Mouth that such was his Desire, or otherwise he might deny what he told them and might come upon me for it. The Indians approved of this Caution and Elliott was sent for and he refused to come, saying that he was very [24] busy, and the Indians were waiting all the Time, in my small Apartment smoaking &c. When the Runner returned without him, I desired them to go Home, that I would send for him early the next Morning

and that if he refused to come they must bring him themselves, but he came. I just asked him if it was his Desire that the Indians should have so many Keggs of Rum; in Presence of some of the Officers, he said yes. Upon which I gave him an Order.

Your Excellency must be informed that when the Order for four Keggs was given him by Old Hop he said he would not go unless they would get an Order for twelve, and the Order for the four Keggs was brought back to me by the Great Warriour. Captain Postell had heard some Thing of it before, for he told me that he was sure Elliott would not send to Keowee for four Keggs of Rum. Lieut. Howarth acquainted me also that Elliott had told him that the Great Warriour would demand the Rum that was detained at Keowee, and that if he should be refused there would be some Mischief done. Elliott got into the Great Warriour's Friendship, through the Means of one John Watts (a very great Sçoundrell) by promising them Rum, and the Indians are of such a Disposition that they would go to the Devill for Liquor. This is the Way that Mr. Elliott carries on Business here and indeed is only a Specimen of his and Watts's bad Behaviour. To prevent his behaving in the like Manner again, I think it indispensably necessary that the Remainder of his Rum at Keowee should be staved, and I shall accordingly order the same to be done.

I am informed for certain that seven Indians of the Middle Settlements were lately drowned in endeavouring to cross Tugelo River; all the Rivers and Creeks &c. in this Part of the Country are overflown occasioned by the continual heavy Rains we have had here for a long Time, which has greatly impeaded our proceeding with the Works with that Dispatch we otherwise should have done.

Yesterday the Emperor and the Man Killer of Tellico came into the Fort. I told the Emperor that I would [have] expected he would have informed me with the French Talk, and about the War Hatchet that came. He assured me that he would not go to hear the Talk because it was very bad, and as to the War Hatchett, that the French or Savannahs had sent them. He said that the Tellico People had carried it to Old Hop at Chota when they delivered their Talk there. |25| The Mankiller just now sent the Linguist to desire that I would let him have a Drum to beat up for Volunteers in Tellico to go to War. I told him I could not spare any of my Drums, but to send me his which I would endeavour to have repaired for him. He said he would and enquired much of the Linguist if any Presents were coming up for him &c.

I am informed that Elliot did not send the six Horses to Savannah Town as I mentioned to your Excellency in one of my former Letters. On the 28th March two of my Men deserted Tennessee opposite to Tomotley and were designed to go to the Northward. The Weather was so very bad that I could not send after them till the next Day, when I dispatched Samuel Benn and James Homer in Pursuit of them who proceeded as far as Broad River towards Virginia and returned without seeing or hearing any Thing of them. I immediately dispatched them to Keowee by two different Ways offering them very great Rewards for apprehending them. I make no Doubt but they will be

taken and brought back. They were two Recruits. I am Sir, with great Respect,

Your Excellency's most humble and obedient Servant,

RAYD. DEMERE

I am to have a full Account of the Whole which was transacted with the French and the Tellico People, by the Woman that went with them. She has promised me as soon as she can have an Opportunity to come without being seen by any Indian.

JOHN CHEVELLETTE TO GOVERNOR LYTTTELTON

Fort Loudoun, April the 5, 1757

To His Excellency H. Lyttelton, Esq.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, Since my last by Serjt. Branham, the Corn contracted for, is delivered in Store. I also received from Keowee some Flower and 1000 Wt. of Bacon which I bought at the Congarees. Inclose I sent a Note of Provisions this Day remaining; the last Cattle were so small and poor, that it requires 5 Head for 4 Days. In the Whole I don't think there is for above 40 Days Meat Kind here. I have at sundry Times communicated the State of the Stores to Capt. Demere, and this Day I made him a Return [26] in writing their [Kind?] thereby to put him in Mind of your Excellency's positive Orders, that he might communicate me in Writing his Opinion, but I cannot see his View in delaying such a material Point. If he should give me any Directions, it will be very difficult to have any Kind here before wanted, should the Provincials be kept much longer here.

I had some Days ago a Letter from Mr. Butler, Trader in this Nation, wherein he acquaints me that an Indian gave him Intelligence of 20 Head of Cattle that were in a retired Place in the Mountains (some of the first Gang). I have sent to him and offered him 20 Shillings Sterling per Head delivered here, and a Reward to the Indian, if he will pilot People to the Spot. Should the Indian Intelligence be true (of which I much doubt) I dare say that the Encouragement I offer will spur up the Pack Horse Men to go for them, then this would be an unexpected and agreeable Supply. I have wrote to Mr. Doharty to endeavour to purchase me in his Town 30 Head of Hogg's, which I am confident he will do if to be got. I shall do my Utmost to prevent Want, though I acquainted your Excellency in my Letter by Oneal that a further Supply of 100 Head of Cattle would be wanting. I did not suspect that your Excellency could contract for them to be delivered before June next. It's true I did not expect Minnick would have sent such Refuse of Cattle. Dennis Egon arrived here on Sunday last and left Capt. Stewart taken with the Gout at Keowee. It seems Capt. Demere detains him here till Capt. Stewart's Arrivall, and I must think till then I shall have no Orders to provide. However I will do my Endeavour, nevertheless as I mentioned before to procure what I can in this Nation, and should this Letter not go off till the Messenger is dispatched, I will write by him at the Congarees for more Bacon though it's not the usual Time to meet with any Quantity there at this advanced Season. One Thing

revives me, that your Excellency will have by the two last Letters fully perceived the Necessity of keeping a Parcell unwilling Men longer here. The Fort is closed in and what remains to be done, the Regulars are strong in Number to finish it; though I must confess that if the Provincials are continued six Months longer here, the many Schemes made daily by Engineers the Place is crowded with at Present, would find Work for them, but never to make a Retaliation of the Expence, such Continuance [27] would run the Province in.

I must beg your Excellency's Pardon in troubling you with all those Particulars. I am convinced of your Excellency's Lenity, that should I have gone out of Bounds I will be forgiven. What Cash I had to be accountable for is expended, however if our Continuance is not of any Extent I can make Shift. Capt. Demery wrote to me the 8th Instant that it was his Orders I should provide a further Supply of Meat Kind before wanted, and for that End desired me to go down and return immediately. I have settled this Point with him and wrote to Goudy and Gallman, to procure me what Bacon they can get not exceeding 6000 Wt. in the Whole. If it is to be got I am sure either of them will serve me, and if we should be recalled it will be very good Store for the Garrison in the Summer, though I don't rely on nigh that Quantity at this Season. Therefore if your Excellency hath contracted for Cattle, it would be well to drive them the latter End of May. Since your Excellency's last Letter the People are chiefly employed in mending several Works left out of the first Projectors. No Doubt your Excellency have given Orders for that Purpose; those Alterations will take three Weeks' Labour, then I may say there will be Nothing wanting to be done but what the Garrison may do at their Leisure. I am with the greatest Respect,

Your Excellency's most humble and obedient Servant,

JOHN CHEVELLETTE

the 11th April, 1756 [*sic*]

DANLL. PEPPER TO GOVERNOR LYTTELTON

Moccolussus, 7 April, 1757

To His Excellency W. H. Lyttellton

SIR, I wrote your Excellency the 30th Ult. to which please be referred. I have by this to acknowledge the Receipt of a Letter from Lieut. White Outerbridge dated at Fort Augusta the 15th Ult. inclosing me (by your Excellency's Order) Copy of the Resolution of the House of Assembly, relating to Rewards for the Scalps of Indians or White Men in the French Interest which Resolution I shall take care to make known to the Head Men in ours who can be depended upon, and I doubt not of its being attended with very advantagious Consequences. [28] In case any Scalps shall be brought me before I leave this Nation, I shall borrow from some of the Traders the Rewards promised which must be repaid them here. This is the only Scheme I can fall upon as the Presents by the first Meeting will be pretty near exhausted. This Method I hope will answer and meet your Excellency's Approbation.

I came down here the 1st Inst. where I was received by the Wolf in as grand a Manner as their Customs admit, and have been treated with the greatest

Respect and Civility, and in such Contempt they hold the French when one of their Officers came up to the Square on Horseback while I was there at Black Drink not one of them took the least Notice of him, so that in a good Deal of Confusion, he wheeled his Horse and rode off sufficiently mortified especially seeing the English Flagg. This Morning just before I received Mr. Outerbridge's Letter, I heard several Guns fired accompanied with the War Song upon which I asked the Wolf the Reason. He told me that a Gang of his People had agreed with a Party of Shawanese to go to War against the Chactaws, for Satisfaction of the Shawanese killed by them in the Woods, but he denied having any Hand in the Matter or any Knowledge of their Intentions till this Morning. But as to the Truth of this I give very little Credit. However, he has some Reasons for pretending Blindness which he has not thought proper as yet to divulge to me. But I am apt to think as the (Mortar) Head Warriour of the Ockhoys (at present in the Cherokees) is suspected of carrying on some underhand Schemes between them and the French, the Wolf has contrived this to keep the Chactaws in Play with whom and the Cherokees they want a Peace to join and cut off the Chickesaws and afterwards compell this People to their Interest by Force of Arms. This Mortar is esteemed in the Ockhoys a very great Warriour, and has so much got the Ascendency over the Gun Merchant, that he dares do Nothing without his Advice and Approbation This I am very sensible of from several Circumstances.

When I was talking with the Wolf concerning the Pains the Gun Merchant and I had taken to send in Peace Talk to the Chactaw Nation, he laughed and told me, that the [29] Gun Merchant amused his People with Peace Talk, being afraid to go to War, but that he knew as well as himself that no Conciliation could ever be brought about, between the Chactaws and Chickesaws while the former continued Creatures to the French, for he says that it is too well known a Peace has been agreed upon with all the Formalities possible and not three Days after by a Message from the French all has been knocked on the Head, and for a trifling Consideration, both white and red Scalps brought in, without Distinction which the Chickesaw Path can well confirm by Bones remaining to this Day.

I think I may safely say the Wolf is wholly in our Interest, as he takes every Opportunity to show it, and I am well informed he is by far the greatest Warriour in the Nation. I am certain of this that before me he has ridiculed the Gun Merchant for his Indolence and pusillanimous Behaviour. I have just now had a long Conversation with him in regard to the Resolution of the Assembly for a Reward for Scalps and he is of Opinion that it is by no Means proper that such a Thing should take Air at present as such a Thing might breed a good Deal of Disturbance in the Nation, particularly with the Women, who would alledge that I forced them by such Encouragement to a War. But as he has kindled the Fire, the Blaze will quickly spread and then it may be offered without any such Imputation. I think his Reasons seem to be very just so I shall defer the Publication till a proper Time. He desires your Excellency will per the first Opportunity beg the Cherokees by no Means to hearken to any Talk the Shawanese shall bring from this Nation, and that he will take no Notice

of any they may bring from thence. He begs you will likewise advise them to oppose the Northward Indians in settling among or near them as it will be attended with the most fatal Consequences.

As to Mr. Lantianct, I shall endeavour to have him taken alive and sent down to your Excellency |30| as he may be able to give some material Informations and be done without disgusting the Indians, alledging he run away to the English again, which Bait they will easily swallow and when your Excellency has him in Custody you may do with him as you think proper. I have not been able to learn any Thing the French are carrying on here though I have Spies in every Corner, but shall still continue to observe their Motions and keep your Excellency advised accordingly. Since my last, Mr. Brown has been with me to whom I gave the Commission. He assures me if any such Thing as sending from the French Fort Goods to the Cherokees be put in Execution, as they must necessarily pass near him, he will take proper Care of them. I hope he may be of Service and worthy of the Trust reposed in him. I have Nothing farther to add, but that I am with great Respect Sir,

Your most humble and obedient Servant,

DANLL. PEPPER

I hope your Excellency will excuse the Paper &c., being absent from my Place of Residence where I can get no better.

CAPTAIN RAYD. DEMERE TO GOVERNOR LYTTELTON

Fort Loudoun, April 11th, 1757

To His Excellency W. H. Lyttelton, Esq.

SIR, On the 2d Instant Dennis Hagin arrived here by whom I was honoured with your Excellency's Dispatches of the 6th of March. I wish I had known your Determination in having the Fort finished according to Mr. Debrham's [*sic*] Plan. I would have employed the Regulars in finishing the Counterscarp and in rising the Breast Works in the Parts he left unfinished. The miserable Situation in which he left this Fort, I cannot give your Excellency an Idea of. There was no Part of it defensible, not even those which he calls finished, and we lay exposed and commanded in all Parts from the Top of a Hill on the Side of which the Fort is erected. I therefore thought it an indispensable Duty incumbent on me to put ourselves in some Posture of Defence till I should have your Excellency's Orders to proceed |31| with Mr. Debrham's Dirt-works. It was thought that the most expedient Method to fortify ourselves was to erect large Palisadoes 45 Foot long close to the inner Side of the Breast Works and their Points to incline towards the Counterscarp, agreeing exactly to what Mr. Debrham directs in the Supplement to his finall Directions, with this Alteration only that the Pallisadoes are larger and longer than he intended. On Mr. Howarth's Arrival here this Work was approved of, and set about immediately with all the Provincials. I should have set the Regulars to work on other Parts of the Fortification, but Mr. Debrham's Works were judged insignificant and of no individual Service. Therefore I thought it consistent with the Publick Weal and my Duty to defer doing any

Thing to them till your Excellency should be informed thereof on account of the Charge and Expence it would enhance. Permit me to assure your Excellency that my Zeal and Affection for his Majesty's Service shall always be the same and that I shall always be alert in obeying your Excellency's Orders to the Utmost of my Power.

On the Receipt of your Letter I sett all Hands about finishing Mr. Debrham's Works and shall take care to see the Whole finished agreeable to Mr. Debrham's Design to the Utmost of my Skill and best of my Knowledge. Having just before the Receipt of your Excellency's Letter, finished setting up the Pallisadoes aforesaid, and also had good strong Gates put to the Fort which gives it quite a different Appearance to what it had (our Men can't get out of the Fort at Nights, nor the Indians can't jump into it as they did before). Your Excellency may depend that every Thing shall be executed as near as possible to Mr. Debrham's finall Directions, and I hope all will be finished about the 10th May next if the Weather will permit.

There was some Suspicion that Beamer endeavoured to prevent the Indians going to Virginia with Major Lewis while we were at Keowee, and at the Time that Major Lewis was there, Major Lewis and Lieut. Wall upbraided him concerning the same which is the first I ever heard of it. Beamer denied to [32] those Gentlemen that he had ever spoken Words tending to prevent the Indians going to Virginia, but I believe there was some Thing in it, as his Son-in-Law, a young Indian Warriour was a going and mentioned Beamer's Disapprobation. This is all I know of that Affair. I shall forbid all the Traders and Packhorse Men to write any Letters for the Indians which Custom your Excellency justly observes to be pernicious. I take Kenotata to be as great a Rogue as any Indian and therefore the Fellow will say any Thing.

The Swivell Guns that I mentioned to you that Governor Glen promised to Old Hop, are two that were left at Saludy Old Town when the Treaty was held there by Governor Glen. Your Excellency has been misinformed concerning the Plenty of Turpentine that might be made in this Nation, for there are but very few Pine Trees in this Country. I have Tar enough made for the Purpose intended. The Indians are now about planting the little Savannah which I mentioned to your Excellency. I am in Hopes that we shall plant about 30 or 40 Acres of Land this Season for the Use of the Fort. Some of the Indians that went down are returned and appear well pleased. They tell me they left Capt. Stewart at Keowee with the Gout. He has forwarded your Excellency's Letters to me by the Express; I shall observe every Particular. In Respect to the Barracks, your Excellency left that to me; they were not inserted in Mr. Debrham's Plan and he said he would have Nothing to do with them. Those that I am about to erect will be very commodious and will add greatly to the Strength of the Fort, a Plan of which shall be sent to your Excellency per first Opportunity.

I am informed that some of our Creek Traders sell Goods to the French Officers and those Goods are to supply their Indians with, which if it be so, your Excellency will best know what to do.

Meat Kind will be soon wanting. I have desired our Commissary to acquaint your Excellency. The whole Garrison is in pretty good Health (God be thanked) and all quiet and easy, the Provincials expecting soon to be discharged. I am Sir with great Respect,

Your Excellency's most humble and obedient Servant,

RAYD. DEMERE

Elliott is now very great with the Great Warriour on account of this Rum.

HENRY GALLMAN TO GOVERNOR LYTTELTON

Congarees, 20th April, 1757

To His Excellency W. H. Lyttelton, Esq.

SIR, I received a Letter this Day from Col. John [Chevellette] from the Cherokee Nation in order to send him up three or four thousand Weight of Bacon, but don't know whether I can get so much or no. I shall do all my Endeavour to get it, but don't know whether any Waggon will go up without a Guard with them, for the Indians being very bad. I had sent up seven Waggon with fifteen thousand Weight of Flower, and they were every one robbed of their Provisions and showed very bad Motions to them.

The Colonel wrote to me to acquaint you, whether I could get the Bacon up or not which I shall soon do, that you might know it in Time from Sir,

Your most obedient, humble Servant,

HENRY GALLMAN

DANLL. PEPPER TO GOVERNOR LYTTELTON

Ockhoy, 25 April, 1757

[33]

To His Excellency W. H. Lyttelton, Esq.

SIR, I wrote your Excellency from the Moccolossus the [7th of April] to which please to be referred. This serves chiefly to inclose an Abstract of a Talk between the Governor of New Orleans and some Cherokee and Shawanese Indians by which your Excellency will see the bloody Designs of the French and how assiduous they are to stir up the Indians to War against us by hatching Lyes and using every mean and low Artifice in their Power to bring their Schemes to bear. I use my utmost Endeavors to watch their Motions and the more so as I am afraid there is some underhand Dealings carryed on between the Gun Merchant, the Mortar, and the French Fort, unknown to any other of the Head Men of the Nation. I am partly confirmed in this from private Messages from the Gun to the Fort (which I come to the Knowledge of for all his Cunning) and some Alteration in his Talk which of late seem to tend that Way. I can give your Excellency no certain Information as yet but shall continue the sharp Look Out and in the mean Time behave in the same Manner to the Gun as if I suspected Nothing of his Proceedings.

The Twins Sons [*sic*] has come up from the Lower Towns to see me. He has been with me these two Days. I am mightily taken with his Behaviour, which is manly above his Years. He seems to be a very hopefull Youth and

doubt not he may be of great Service to us in this Nation in Time, as he seems to have a total Aversion to the French and will not accept of any Presents from them though ever so magnificent. As the Gun Merchant will by no Means call a Meeting till the Mortar come in from the Woods, I am afraid it will not be sooner than Middle of next Month. Till then I cannot inform your Excellency the Time of the Indians setting out for Town, but shall take every Opportunity of keeping you regularly advised of any material Circumstance that may happen here during my Residence. I am with great Respect Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

DANLL. PEPPER

ABSTRACT OF A TALK BETWEEN THE GOVERNOR OF NEW ORLEANS AND
THE CHEROKEE AND SHAWANESE INDIANS

Abstract of a Talk between the Governor of New Orleans and the Cherokee and Shawanese Indians sent down there from the Alabama Fort given out at New Orleans the 4th Day of December, 1756 delivered me by Ceesar [*sic*] a half bred Fellow, who was present at the Talk.

GOVERNOR. By this Time you may see what is intended you by the English; already thirty Horses laden with Irons have been sent into your Nation: The Uses they are to be put to you may easily guess is to the enslaving your Women and Children after having knocked all the Men on the Head so that if |34| you have any Regard for your Women, any Sence of Liberty, it behoves you to drive them off your Lands without Loss of Time and not allow one to remain in your Nation. I dare say since I have told you their Design, you can never return and shake those Hands of the English yet stained with the Blood of Indians and French Men, and I doubt not that this bloody Hatchett (which here I give you to turn against them) will be chearfully accepted by you, as I give it you as a Mark of my Friendship and Assurance of my Aid and Assistance against them and Protection from their Assaults in case of Danger, so fear not, strike Home, stop every bloody Path and as the Chickesaws are our sworn Enemies and always in their Interest, you must destroy them without Exception. If you are afraid to begin with them, I am not and am resolved never to be at Peace with them while one remains alive.

INDIANS ANSWER. You have given us this Hatchett to destroy the English and Chickesaws, which we gladly take, but must ask you how we are to be supplied with Goods and Ammunition during the Course of the War, seeing your Pack Horses must come through the Chickesaw Nation and will certainly be very dangerous of getting safe to us, if not altogether taken on the Path. Besides the turning the Hatchet against the Chickesaws is Contrary to the Talk sent us by our great Father at Canada who desires us to be at Peace with all Red People and only to turn the Hatchett against the English. And as the Chickesaws are partly settled on the Creeks' Land as we Shawanese, so that we cannott fall upon them till such Time as we obtain Liberty from them, for Fear of disobliging them. If it so happen that all the Indians Northward as well as Southward joyn in the French Interest the Chickesaws being but a

Handfull and penned up in the Middle, will be either obliged to strike or else they know the Consequences.

GOVERNOR. Here is my Pipe and Prick of Tobacco which you are to carry to the great Captain of the Cherokee Nation to smoke, and assure him of my Satisfaction in hearing their Ears and Eyes are open, and that they are sensible they have in him a Father who will protect them and supply them with all Manner of good Ammunition and other Necessaries which they shall see they have in great Plenty, whatever the English may say to the Contrary. Here is another Pipe and Prick of Tobacco for the Head Man of the Cherokee Town and Warriours to smoke their Father's Health in his own Tobacco and to hurry them on for to strike the Blow against the English without Delay.

And as I have not at present Goods to supply your Women and Children, I shall send for some from Old France for them, but in the mean Time what warlike Stores |35| you want, such as Powder, Bullets, Hatchets, Knives, Guns, &c. I shall send a Sufficiency to the Alabama Fort to fit out your Warriours, which they will receive there to guard Home to their Nation, but you must first break out the War against the English, and don't let me hear of such pityfull Doings as two or three Scalps. Attack some Fort of Strength. Knock on the Head 5 or 600, then you will get Slaves and Plunder in Plenty, and we can come into your Towns and supply your Wants without Dread or Fear.

This Talk was confirmed on their Return by the Governour of Mobile and the Captain of the Alabama Fort.

Ceesar informs me that as near as he could guess, the Garrison at Mobile might consist of about five hundred Men. At New Orleans he saw the Soldiers reviewed every Day for sixteen Days together, and they did not amount to above two hundred Men.

There were lying in the Harbour four small Vessells of War that mounted from 14 to 20 Guns and some others of heavier Metal in the Road which he did not see. They had taken and brought in an English Sloop while he was there, and they lost a large Ship on the Bar laden with Indico and Deer Skins, and he was informed there were 20 Sail of their Men of War, off the Bar cruising.

DANLL. PEPPER TO GOVERNOR LYTTELTON

Ockhoys, 7th May, 1757

To His Excellency W. H. Lyttelton, Esq.

SIR, I wrote your Excellency the 7th Ult. from the Moccolossus and the 25th from this Place both which I hope you have received so beg Leave to refer your Excellency to them.

Yesterday the Express I sent down to your Excellency returned with your sundry Favours of the 18th and 29th March and of the 19th Ult., All which I have carefully perused and shall make proper Use of the necessary Hints your Excellency is pleased in them to give me.

Your Favour of 29th March gives me a good Deal of Satisfaction, thereby receiving the agreeable Information of the Success of the Jamaica Sloop taking and bringing in a French Prize, bound from New Orleans to La Rochelle;

whereby your Excellency has been acquainted of the Transactions of the French and Indians in that Corner. I am highly pleased that what I sent your Excellency the 25th Ult. from the Intelligence received by halfbreed Ceesar corresponds in the most material Points with those mentioned in the Pacquet to the Minister of the Marine from the Governor of Louisiana [*sic*]. [36] There is only one Difference in the Accounts I observe which is the volatile presuming Strain that runs through the whole Course of his Letter, so natural to that Nation in expatiating largely on their Interest and Alliance with the whole Body of Indians in these Parts. Particularly mentioning a Treaty between them and the Cherokee Nation by Deputies from the Whole, when the Case is no more than one Head Man of Tellico with six or seven common Warriours sent only from their own Towns (who were no Ways instructed to act for the Nation in General) that have entered into a Treaty with them for the Sake of a few Presents.

The Articles of the Treaty your Excellency has taken the Trouble to transcribe for my Regulation, I have strictly observed and shall take care to render all the intended Schemes of our Enemies abortive as far as my Power and Intelligence will admit.

The Scarcity of Goods among the French which I am likewise apprised of gives me great Pleasure and I shall not neglect making proper Use of their Extremity. No Goods of any Value excepting Provisions and a little Ammunition has come to the Alabama Fort lately. I am constantly on the Look Out and have a strict Guard upon their Motions.

I come now to answer your Excellency's last of the 19th Ult. and the Satisfaction you are pleased to express in the Administration of my Commission gives me the most agreeable Pleasure, as your Excellency's Approbation of my Conduct shall always be esteemed a sufficient Recompence for what ever Trouble or Hardship I may undergo for the Service of the Country.

I am still in Hopes of being able to send down some of the Chactaws to see your Excellency this Summer as I expect some of the Head Men of that Nation in here some Time this Month. The Long Second Man of the Wiokays who the Gun Merchant gave the Talk to go into the Flatt Nation did not go, but sent it by one of their own Nation who I had previously prevailed upon to go, as he apprehended Danger in his going, by Reason of the Disturbance between them and the Shawanese, but since he has sent the Gun Merchant Word that he and the Captain of the Puccantattaies are gone into the Wood to meet them and escort them into this Nation, so that I expect them about the 20th Instant. The Affair between the Chactaws and Shawanese in the Woods lately I understand was by mistaking the Shawanese for Chickesaws which the French have taken great Care to compromise and at last I believe have made Matters streight between them for a Cagg or two of Rum. The Men who went to War from the Wolf's Town against Chactaws were prevented and persuaded back by some of the Heads of the French Indians. However, there are some of these People and a Party of Chickesaws gone privately towards their Nation, what may be the Consequences cannot as yet be known.

[37] The Method your Excellency proposes to send Ammunition to the Chickesaws is certainly the least expensive and will answer every Way as well. I received a Comission for the Wolf and some blank ones, which I shall fill up to the best of my Knowledge for the Interest of the Country and advise your Excellency to whom I have given them. There are some very great Men in this Nation, that can serve us in many Respects, who never had Commissions although very remarkable Warriours and strongly attached to our Interest and would gladly accept of that Honour. I doubt not if I should see proper to bestow some among such your Excellency will approve of it.

I am glad every Thing is well in the Cherokees. The French are daily hatching Lyes and buzzing them amongst these People of the Disaffection of them to the English and that they are to knock them on the Head this Summer which they say is on account of their Forts and of their Women who the Officers are said to allow to be taken into the Fort before their Husbands' Faces and used by the Soldiers. I hope this is not true, though I have been informed of it by the Indians several Times and have endeavoured to persuade them that it is all French Lyes.

I cannot imagine what the Design of the Chickesaws can be in their Interview with the different Nations, mentioned by your Excellency. They has always been our firm Friends and I am of Opinion will continue so while a Man of them remains. The Creeks being among them there is very common as they frequently go down to trade at the Stores in Augusta. I am sorry to inform your Excellency that the Chickesaws in the Settlements during Mr. Glen's Administration have been very much neglected. I know that while I had the Honour to command the Garrison of Fort Moor under Lieut. Governor Bull, I had particular Orders from him to show their Head Men the greatest Countenance, yea so far as when any of them came to see me to hoist the Colours for them and give them the best Entertainment. I had likewise Orders to prevent any White Man's incroaching upon their Lands allowed them by the Government consisting of fifteen thousand Acres in a Body under Forfeiture of all they planted and a severe Reprimand for their Presumption. But since I left the Command of Fort Moore, I find they have been greatly neglected and white People allowed to settle their Lands which are really rich and valuable, and has been the Means of driving them from thence to New Savannah in Georgia to avoid Disturbances with these Interlopers where the Lands are neither so good, nor the Situation so pleasant.

I have heard Nothing of these Cherokees that were [38] upon their Return from New Orleans. It is not improbable that the Chickesaws of the Nation may have met and dispatched them for Satisfaction of two Chickesaws killed by the Cherokees some Time ago, but if such an Rencounter [*sic*] has been, it has not yet transpired. French John and some other Cherokees that were going to the Northward returned and [remain] still in this Nation. They have been afraid to go, but design to beat a March soon. In case they should have any Dispatches I hope to give a good Account of them, as I have instructed Captain Brown for that Purpose, who is now raising Men for his Company. The Mortar (by some Runners from his Camp) we are informed will be in in

a few Days. He has not been in the Cherokees as said, but has been with a Gang of them in the Woods and there has been no Thing among them but good Talk.

I wrote you in my last of an Alteration in the Gun Merchant's Talks. I have since learned that they were occasioned by a Chagrine of Temper on account of some domestic Disturbances between him and his Wife. He has since resumed his good Talk and seems very assiduous in having the Chactaws brought in. As formerly advised your Excellency I tryed all Methods possible to forward the Letter to Capt. Demere I sent you, but could get neither White nor Red to undertake it on account of Danger from the Northward Indians who are continually sculking in the Woods. My Linguist had prevailed upon a Head Warriour of the Oakfushees called the Beau to go, on a Pretence of Hunting for Horses, but after he had his Provision ready and every Thing ready to set out, he was stoped by some Head Men of his Town who told him, as he did not know what was contained in the Letters, it was not good for him to go, upon which he declined and no other could be found.

I have been sounding most of the Head Men of this Nation concerning a Fort here and find none of them seem much to approve of it, but the Wolf who continues staunch. I am of Opinion as Affairs are at Present circumstanced it will not be proper at the ensuing Meeting to mention any Thing of it. As the French are very assiduous in making them believe we want Forts purely to enslave them and to aggravate them the more, have put it into the Indians' Heads, that the Presents I brought up was given them in Consideration of their Lands which we claimed. If the Mouth of Mississipi and Mobbille could be stoped by our Men of War so as to hinder Supplies coming to the French, it would soon make them come to, and be glad to come into our own Measures, but I think in the mean Time it will be most prudent to let that lye dormant. However your Excellency's superiour Judgment in the Affair shall be my Guide, this I only hint.

I observe in the News Papers a Blacksmith and Gunsmith advertized for by the Commissary General for this Nation. There is one of that Profession who has for some Time been settled about the Bread Camp and bears the Character of an honest Man &c., and a good Work Man. He begged I would let him settle in the Oakfushees that he might make what he could by mending Indian's Guns &c. As I thought it might keep many of them from going [39] to the French Fort under that Pretence, I gave him a Licence till your Excellency's Pleasure was known. As he understands the Language and is pretty well acquainted with the Nature of the People I doubt not he might answer as well if not better than a Stranger to be sent up, and if a Salary was to be allowed him for mending the Indian Guns and they to pay Nothing, it would greatly please them as that is one Thing they brag of obtaining at the French Fort. Your Excellency will please advise me if I shall continue him.

As the Time now comes on when all the Traders leave the Nation to go to Town to renew their Licences and are in no great Hurry to return to their Births, I beg your Excellency will recommend it strongly to them not to delay nor absent themselves from the Nation, as the Middle of July or the Time of

their Busk is the most dangerous Time in all the Year and when the bad Talk generally comes to the greatest Pitch. And as I am informed the French have been attempting to draw in this Nation to join their Allies to knock all the White People in the Nation up how soon the Strawberries are ripe to make up for their Disappointment last Fall, and as they always take the Advantage of bad Talk while the Traders are gone, it will be highly necessary they be hurried back, as I intend if the Chactaws come in and consent to go to Town to accompany them and the other Head Men, providing Nothing happen to hinder me, and my Presence absolutely required in the Nation. If the Time ordered for the Traders to come to Town was altered for November it would then be a great Deal better as then the Indians are then all out at their Hunt and every Thing quiet.

I have got Mr. William Bonar (who came up to this Nation with me from Augusta and does my Business here) to take a Draught of it the Situation, Bounds, Towns, Number of Men, &c. which when he has finished with a like Draught of the Lower Towns, I intend to send or bring down to your Excellency as they may be of Use in giving you an Insight as to their Strength &c. I privately sent him in Disguise as a Packhorseman to take a View of the Alabama Fort which he effected and assures me it is a Place of no Strength and might at any Time be surprized by a very small Body of Men. He has taken particular Notice of it and the adjacent Towns in the French Interest, which he has laid down in the Draught. As he has lately been very unfortunate and is capable of being of Service to the Country and seems to have a great Inclination for the Army, if your Excellency should find any Vacancy to prefer him in any of the Companies in the Mountains, I imagine he might be of great Service. That |40| or any Thing else your Excellency would be pleased to do for him, I shall esteem it as a very great Favour done to myself and will be accountable for his good Behaviour. Upon the 9th March last I discharged Wm. Hall who is the last Man I had on the public Expence and gave him a Certificate for seventy-five Pounds which is due to him.

What Letters your Excellency is pleased to send me for the Future may be directed to the Cowelawes.

I have wrote a Letter of this Date to Governour Ellis congratulating him on his safe Arrival at his Government and advising him of my being here, and ready to execute any Commands he may be pleased to lay upon me. I beg your Excellency may recommend to him, by no Means to allow the resettling of Ogetchee at this present Conjuncture, as it would be attended with very bad Consequences. The French instilling such Notions in the Heads of this People of our wanting their Lands, that they are jealous of the least Incroachment. I am with great Respect and Esteem Sir,

Your most obedient and very humble Servant,

DANLL. PEPPER

I hope your Excellency will excuse the Trouble of the Inclosed.

DANLL. PEPPER TO GOVERNOR LYTTELTON

Ockhoys, 9th May, 1757

To his Excellency W. H. Lyttelton, Esq.

SIR, I have this Moment received the inclosed which I beg Leave to refer your Excellency to. I have no Time to be particular being obliged to send after the Person who will be the Bearer and sett off an Hour ago. As there are three of the Prisoners (mentioned in the inclosed) who have escaped and gone towards the Lower Towns, I hope the Bearer John Neilson who is Capt. Brown's Lieut. will carry them safe to your Excellency. I am Sir,

Your most humble Servant,

DANLL. PEPPER

DANLL. PEPPER TO JNO. NELSON

Ockhoys, May 9th, 1757

To Mr. Jno. Nelson

SIR, Mr. Hughes informs me that there are three French Deserters at the Tuccabatches after whom there is a Party of French to retake them. I therefore order you by no Means to allow them to be taken away, but endeavour to get the Indians to assist you and what white People you can procure, and either to carry them to Town with you or bring them to the Oakfushees and what Expence you |41| are at will be answered. If you carry them to Town show this to the Governor for Orders from me for so doing. I am Sir,

Your humble Servant,

DANLL. PEPPER

JOS. WRIGHT TO DANLL. PEPPER

May the 7th, 1757

To Danll. Pepper, Esq.

Agent in the Crick [*sic*] Nation

SIR, On Yesterday arrived here 3 Dutch Men Deserters from New Orleans. They said they would go to Carolina upon which we sent them off to the Lower Towns. The Tuccapatches King sent after them and had them brought back with Intent to send them to the French Fort, but by the Assistance of some few Indians we sent them off and hired an Indian to guard them safe to the Cowetaws. The above mentioned Dutchmen gave us an Account of 2 English and 2 French Men that they said was tired behind which happened to come into the Otesies.

This Morning came twelve French Men armed with John, the Linguist, at the Head of them and took them, notwithstanding Syphrous Hobbs had them in his House. Not one Indian in the Town speaking for the English, 2 of the Otesies by Orders from the French seized the 2 English Prisoners upon which one of them stabbed himself to the Heart rather than go back. You may examine the Bearer who is the half bred Son of our Town, and he can tell you all. I hope you will not take it amiss, for I thought it my Duty to acquaint you. I am

Your most humble Servant,

JOS. WRIGHT

HALF-BREED AND WARRIORS' KING TO DANLL. PEPPER

May the 9th, 1757

To Danll. Pepper, Esq.
Agent in the Creek Nation

SIR, We are sorry that any Thing could be done disrespectful in this Town to our Friends the English, for we have always signalized ourselves and opposed all the Upper and Lower Creeks in favour of our Friends the English. We hope you will find no Cause of Complaint, for we are still the same in regard to Friendship. If you hear any Thing disrespectful to you from here, we hope you will take no Notice, for we mean Nothing but Friendship to you.

There is an Affair happened in the Otesies wherein there is an English Man killed, but we hope we shall not bear [42] the Blame for, we knew Nothing of it till it was too late. We desire that the Mortar may be acquainted of it from us. The same Town that the Prisoners were taken from, said that they would follow them three that were sent off a head, but we hindred them and we hope they will be down at the Cowetas this Day. We are your Friends and humble Servants,

from HALF BRED AND WARRIORS KING
TUCCEPATCHES

We have sent 2 Head Men to demand the English Man from the French.

CAPTAIN RAYD. DEMERE TO GOVERNOR LYTTTELTON

Fort Loudoun, May the 18, 1757

To his Excellency W. H. Lyttelton, Esq.

SIR, Since my last Dispatches per Coldiron to your Excellency, the Little Carpenter's Brother called Killaque, with two of Old Hop's Sons waited on me to get some Ammunition to go to War against the French and their Indians. I told them they should have some. They then returned Home in order to recruit Men to go with them. They are to be ready in eight Days and to call on me in the Fort on their Way. They propose to go by Land, the Way that the French Indians come to this Nation. (There will be at least thirty choice good Fellows.) I forgot in my last to observe to your Excellency that Fort Glen, Ravelin Lyttelton, and the Place of Arms, so called, are quite separate and at a Distance from the Fort and without any Communication into them from the Fort, and are constantly full of Water which premises every body to imagine what Mr. Debrham intended to do with those two Places, but at last he saw plainly that he could do Nothing with them and forsook them.

In respect to planting, after I received your Excellency's last Dispatches, I entered into your Excellency's prudent Way of thinking, which induced me to encourage the Men to plant the more, on several Reasons. First not to depend on the Indians for Corn, for they might starve us when they would, and secondly considering the great Expence the Province would be at to supply this Garrison with Breadkind, at such a dear Rate, but now that Point is out of the Question, for my People have a flourishing Plantation and will raise more Corn than they will want.

Since my last also the Mankiller of Tellico has been |43| with me and told me that he had heard my Talk and remembers it and thought well of it and that he hoped that I would remember my Promise to him, which was a Gun, Blankett and Warr Hatchett for himself, Powder, Balls, Flints and Paint for his People, and that he should be rewarded for the French Scalps and Prisoners that he would bring in and that he was resolved to go to War against the French and their Indians called the Tewaterways by Land, that they live upon a Branch of the Mississippi and that he would go in four Nights and when he came again to with his People, he would let me know how many Men he carries out with him. He then desired me to lend him a Drum to beat for Voluntiers and that he would bring it back which I did. He then repeated that he did like my Talk and heard it very well and thinks good of it, and was in a Hurry to go to Warr, that he designs to be back in fifty Days (except he meets the Enemy in the Way, then he will come back sooner.) I may almost venture to assure your Excellency that now he is in good earnest, and was he not, I do not imagine that his People would let him do any Thing wrong, for they plague him to turn good and he sees that he is despised of every Body, therefore he will go out to War and behave himself well, that he may come again into Friendship with the whole Nation. (The Fellow does not want Courage.) I can't express how much the whole Nation in general are inveterate and eager against the French and how much they want to be at them for Blood.

On the 14th Instant as the Mankiller of Tellico went away, Dennis Hagen arrived with your Excellency's Dispatches and a Letter from Capt. Danll. Pepper of an old Date, which I shall answer him by the Return of the Express, although not material at Present; by which Express Lieut. Gray has obtained Permission to return to Charles Town and on his going Capt. Postell on his former Leave, applyed to me to go with him. It seems that he has received a Letter from his Brother which tells him that 'tis proper he should come Home to clear himself, because 'tis said in Charles Town he never did no Service for the Province. I told him that I would write to your Excellency in his Favour, and I may assure your Excellency that he never was backwards in doing whatever did lay in his Power relating to the Works, and had it not been for that dangerous Man Debrahm there would have been no Difference amongst us. |44| But since Matters were made up, he has behaved extraordinary well and has been of great Service towards tending to the Good of the Publick.

These last People that came from the Alabamers Fort brought no Writings at all of which I am very sure. When the Mankiller came I remember that he told me at first that the French gave him a small Packet, but he finding that the whole Nation was against him, he burnt it and I believe it was so. That was the Packet that Capt. Pepper means, and when I see the Mankiller I shall ask him who the Letter was for. I dispatched Yesterday an Express to Capt. Stuart at Highwassey, where he lays ill of the Gout, with your Excellency's Letters, and some others that came with the Express. As Capt. Postell goes himself to Charles Town, he will inform your Excellency upon what Footing he enlisted his Men. Capt. Stuart will do the same per first Opportunity.

As Lieut. Gray goes to Charles Town I refer to him to inform your Excellency with all other Particulars relating to the Fort &c. I send enclosed Mr. Debrahm's false Plan of Fort Loudoun; perhaps your Excellency may have Occasion for it. Since I received your Excellency's last Dispatches I have encouraged 30 or 40 Indians to go to Virginia and am highly pleased that your Excellency does me the Favour to approve of Dennis Hagen's Dispatches and flatter myself that your Excellency will approve still better those that went last by Coldiron. I shall add to this that every Thing goes better and better in this Nation towards the English Interest, therefore I shall conclude (desiring your Excellency to remember your repeated Promises to me), as there is no Appearance of any real Service in this Nation for I am really in a very poor State of Health, for if I do stay much longer, I fear I shall not be able to ride on Horseback, besides all the Accounts I had from Georgia my Affairs go to rack and ruin.

Our Commissary is still at Highwassee. I have sent your Excellency's Letter to him, with those of Capt. Stewart. I had been informed that there was a Letter from your Excellency at Keowee for me, but it is not yet come to Hand. As the last Dispatches were of great Consequence I sent one of the Provincials as far as Keowee with the Express, with Orders to the Officer on that Command, to furnish the said Express with two Packhorsemen to escort him as far as 96. If in case he should hear of any Enemies, being on that Path they went over the 24 Mountains, I expect to hear from Ensign Boggs to know what Things are come there.

The Goods which are designed for to pay the Indians for Scalps are come up except the 30 Guns yet left behind. I think they are but few considering the Number of Indians that are gone to War. They will take the Value of the Scalps they bring, in what they like best; as to the Hatts, I dare say they will take none, they do not wear them. I wish something else was |45| come in lieu of them. At the Request of Capt. Jno. Postell I have ordered Lieut. Howarth to take the Command of his Company till your Excellency's farther Pleasure should be known. I am with the greatest Respect,

Your Excellency's most humble and obedient Servant,

RAYD. DEMERE

DANLL. PEPPER TO GOVERNOR LYTTELTON

Oakfushees, May the 25, 1757

To his Excellency W. H. Lyttelton, Esq.

SIR, My last to your Excellency was of the 20th of this Instant from the Oakchoys, by which Conveyance I sent down Lieut. Robt. Wall, late of Fort Loudoun in the Cherokee Nation, and one John Brown, both Virginia born. The Latter's Father was hanged, and he has the Character of a very Villain. I had them taken twelve Miles off the Alabama Fort at Camp in the Night the 19th Inst.; their Horses being weary and the Night dark was the Reason they did not go farther. After I had wrote my Letter to your Excellency, I found in their Custody a large tin Pot on the Side of which was laid down the Path

to the said Fort which I sent your Excellency likewise and hope they will all arrive safe. Wall had a great Deal of Cloaths &c. which I took from him, likewise their Arms and Papers. He had two Lieutenants' Commissions in his Pockets and a News Paper with his Majesty's Speech in it to both Houses of Parliament. His Papers &c. shall bring down with me as soon as I can be spared out of the Nation.

As to Mr. Bonar I am well convinced the French way laid him and carried him to the Fort in the Night, notwithstanding they procured a Creek Indian in their Interest to say he met him and that he went of his own Accord, that they, the French, wanted him to return which he refused, therefore he was immediately sent down to Menville. I applied to the Gun Merchant to demand him, but he told me that the Path was open both to French and English, and he could not do any Thing in it. Bonar did not carry the least Thing with him except what he had on his Back which were the very worst Cloaths he had, and he rode his worst Horse, leaving his favourite one in the Yard at the Oakchoy's. Before he left McGillivray's which is five Miles from the Fort, where he was waiting for some Things he had sent for to Mr. Spencer's, he entreated a young [*sic*] who was |46| going to the Oakchoys to wait for him, which he refused and would not stay as he was going about his Master's Business.

The 21st and 22d of this Instant the Head Men of this Nation had a Meeting on private Affairs of their own, which I did my Endeavour to come to the Knowledge of, but could not learn any Thing, only they had not any bad Talks. The 23d they met on account of the 25 Chactaws amongst which were two Kings and three Head Warriours whom were sent by the Voice of all their Nation except one very great Man who lived at the Tombigby Fort. After the Chactaws' little Ceremonies were over, they began their Talks as follows. That they had received the Talk from the Gun Merchant and Beloved Man of the English, whom they had come to shake Hands with, and conclude a Peace with the Chickesaws, two of the Head Men of which Nation were present that lived at the Breed Camp. That when they were leaving their Nation the French endeavoured to stop them by a few Presents which they would not take and when they found they would go, desired them not to expose their Want of Goods to the English. That they were not to go to War against the Chickesaws any more for their Hearts were now streight.

That they wanted the English very much amongst them, as they were quite naked for want of them, that they were to stay but three Days in this Nation and then to return Home to give an Account to their Head Men what they had done, on receiving which Account they were to send some of their Head Men here and then to proceed to Charles Town to your Excellency in order to shake Hands with you, which maybe [*sic*] in about two Months. The Head Men of the Chickesaws did not give out any Talk, but I thought seemed to think slight of the Peace, and got up and went out of the House where the Meeting was, but the Gun Merchant sent for them again, when they and the Chactaws promised not to spill one anothers Blood any more, so the Peace was concluded, and I wrote a Letter to the Chickesaws in their Nation of what had

passed, and for them to desist from going to War for the Future unless the Chactaws broke out first.

The Gun Merchant's Talk was as follows. That he was glad to see them, that if they went to War on their Return, he should know it, and then should look on them as Lyars. He gave them a strict Charge not to take any Weapons of War from the French, nor receive any Goods for Scalps. For it was more to their Advantage to kill Deer. He told them on their Return not to scold the French or turn them off their Land, but if they offered to go themselves not to prevent them. [47] He told them if the French made any Encroachments on their Grounds, to advise them first to go away in a friendly Manner which if they refused, they were to compell them to it, and if they had not Force enough to do it, they and the Cherokees would join them. That he should take care on his Side of any Incroachments from either French or English, and should take the same Method. That as they were a very poor People and had not any other Way of getting their Living but by Hunting to get Cloaths for their Wives and Children, they therefore required a great Scope of Ground, as did all other Indians likewise. He told them the Reason of the French and English going to War in the Northward, that it was about the Land which belonged to the Indians and not any one else.

This was the Whole of what passed. I told him it was the French that claimed the Land, and that we sent Traders amongst the Indians on those Lands with Goods to purchase Skins which the French drove away, and killed many of our People which was the Occasion of the War to which he made not any Return. When the Chactaws went away which was Yesterday I gave them Presents and told them your Excellency would be glad to see them on their Return and then all Matters would be settled which they seemed to agree to.

The Captain of the Alabama Fort has called a Meeting of the Head Men of the Nation to be there the 27th of this Instant and most of them are going to it excepting the Gun Merchant who sends Capt. Oakley from the Oakchoys who is a Head Warriour there. The Gun Merchant acquainted me that he could not then give me an Answer to your Excellency's Talk sent up by me, but would call a Meeting on Purpose as soon as the Mortar came in, who they have sent Runners to look for. This Mortar is Brother-in-Law to the Gun Merchant is a very popular Man and a very great Warrior.

As I am heartily tired of staying at the Oakchoys I came Yesterday to this Place to stay till the said Mortar comes in, when shall proceed to the Lower Towns after the Meeting is over. I am Sir with the greatest Respect,

Your most obedient and most humble Servant,

DANLL. PEPPER

P. S. I have forgot to acquaint your Excellency that 'tis suspected the Checkesaw Traders are cutt off by the Enemy as they have been expected for this Month past with their Horses and not yet arrived, nor any Account of them. Your Excellency's Goodness want better Ink, Pen and Paper.

CAPTAIN DANLL. PEPPER TO GOVERNOR LYTTELTON

|48|

Oakfushees, May 27, 1757

To his Excellency W. H. Lyttellton, Esq.
from Capt. Pepper

SIR, The inclosed I send for your Excellency's Perusal and believe your Excellency may get a great Deal out of Jno. Brown as I find he is very willing to turn King's Evidence. I have now the very agreeable News to tell you that Mr. Bonner is retaken from the French, who were guarding him down to Menville. The Wolf at my Request sent a Party of Indians who came up with him within a Day's Journey of the said Place, and brought him back, though he is not with me yet. The Mortar is just arrived, so hope shall do my Business here in a few Days, when shall proceed to the Lower Towns. I am with the greatest Respect Sir,

Your most obedient and very humble Servant,

DANLL. PEPPER

P. S. John Kitt, the Bearer, who I have sworn in Constable behaved very well in taking the Prisoners and deserves Encouragement.

EXAMINATION OF JOHN BROWN

The Examination of John Brown sworn before Capt. Danll. Pepper
The Examination of John Brown who was retaken after making his Escape from the Coweta's [*sic*] being there in Custody with Robt. Wall, late Lieut. at Fort Loudoun, taken upon Oath:

The above Brown declares that Lieut. Robt. Wall and himself robbed a Camp of Goods within two Miles of Keowee belonging to John Elliot, Cherokee Trader, and took from there Rum, Sugar, and sundry other Dry Goods. That the said Wall made the said Brown drunk and then persuaded him away in order to go to the Alabama Fort with him, and promised him he should never want for any Thing, and that he would live better in the French Service, than in the English. That the said Wall told him he would put the French in a Way to take Fort Loudoun, and that he was sure when a French Army appeared near the Cherokees, that Nation would join them.

That said Wall stole one of the abovesaid Jno. Ellit's Horses. That the said Wall told the said Brown that in case the French sent him out with any Sawanese to the Cherokees, and he could catch that old Rogue Chevilette, he would make him dance with Rattles, which is the Custom when a Prisoner is burnt. That his late Excellency keeps a Correspondence by Letter with the above Ellit, and the said Ellit to Virginia, and further saith not.

JOHN BROWN

Sworn before me at the Oakfushees this 27th May, 1757

DANLL. PEPPER

CAPTAIN RAYD. DEMERE TO GOVERNOR LYTTTELTON

|49|

Fort Loudoun, June 10, 1757

To his [Excellency] W. H. Lyttelton, Esq.
from Capt. Demere

SIR, On the 6th Instant one Thos. Smith, a Packhorseman, came from Tellico, and acquainted me that seven Savannahs and two Women were arrived the Day before in that Town, which had brought News that Lieut. Wall had been taken at the Oakchoys which hope may be true. On such an Information of the Savannahs being come to Tellicoe, immediately sent for Capt. Stewart and Lieut. Howorth to consult upon what Means were most proper and prudent to be taken, to have those Savannahs killed and destroyed without giving Offence to our friendly Indians. We agreed to send for Old Hop, the Standing Turkey, and the Small Pox Conjurer of Setticoe, Father to the Mankiller of Tellicoe, and of Kenetata, as Villenawau and the rest of the Warriours were out hunting at that Time.

They accordingly came the same Day and as soon as we met together I told them that seven Savannahs were actually at Tellico, which they assured me they knew Nothing about it. I told them there was no Time to lose, that now was the Time for them to show their Zeal, Affection and true Friendship for the English, which they had so long professed, by condescending and assisting them to have them killed, they being our mortal and inveterate Enemies, and did expect they would do it. They were at a Stand for a while, and had a Talk together. Then Old Hop said that he had now two Messengers at the Oakchoys concerning the Savannahs, that he would be glad to hear from them first and wanted me to have Patience till they could get more together. What signified only seven, he said. I told him there was enough to begin with. Thereupon he said it would be much better to kill them among the Bushes, than in the Town, that perhaps some of his People might be hurted by it. I told him that I should be very sorry that any of our friendly Indians should be hurted on such an Occasion, but that the Savannahs must be killed some Way or other. I began to tell them about the Presents which were to be given for Enemies' Scalps taken within their Towns or Limits thereof, which opened their Ears a little more. They seemed fully resolved and willing to give |50| all proper Assistance. The same was put off to the next Day to give me a more ample and satisfactory Answer, as it was late they lay in the Fort that Night. Next Morning it was resolved by those three great Men, that Thos. Smith should go back again to Tellico, to enquire if the Savannahs did lay all in a House, and for to observe their Motions, on account they were to be attacked in the Night Time and when they were to depart and to enquire in Particular if they were to go to the Northward.

That same Evening I gave Orders for a Party to hold themselves in Readiness to march at a Minute's Warning, all Volunteers. Smith returned back in the Night Time, and brought Word, that the Savannahs did not lay all in the same House. They were at three or four different Houses. That they did intend to go to the Northward against Virginia, that they wanted to

persuade some of the Tellico People to go with them, which they refused. They said that their own Indians were gone there now to fight against the French and advised them to go back again, thinking that was the best Way for them, which they resolved so to do, and meeting with no Kind of Encouragement at Tellico.

The same Evening the Party marched towards the great Savannah at the other Side of Tellico directed by one Indian to way lay them, where those Savannahs were to go by, with particular Orders to kill and destroy them. The three old Fellows do stay in the Fort till the Return of my People. A young Indian Fellow set out with them, which carries Old Hop's Orders as he goes along to keep a Secret, and to call on a Relation of Old Hop's to join him (God give them Success). I wish I had been well, I would have gone myself, but am very ill. Inclosed I send a Copy of the Orders I gave to Lieutenant Adamson. Old Hop acquainted me, that a Setticoe Fellow who had been left behind with the Great Elk, coming from the Northward was come to Chota, and reports that the Great Elk whom I mentioned before to your Excellency, was gone back to the Savannah's and was to go from thence to the Nantuways, and from thence was to come here.

The Savannahs told the Tellico People, that there were Goods enough now come to the French Fort. On the 9th Evening came back one of our Men dispatched from the Officers, that they had killed three of the Savannahs, and wounded another, but after falling down, he got up and run off. An Hour after the whole Party arrived, with two Indians with them, and presented me with three Scalps of three big, large Fellows which I was glad to see, but I was so very ill I deferred talking |51| to them till the next Morning. They told me that they would have killed everyone, but they were divided to too great a Distance one from the other, as if they had mistrusted some Thing of the Matter. But before they departed from Tellico, they said that they did expect to meet some white People at the Mouth of Highwassey River. They had perswaded four young Fellows of Chattugue to go with them, that there were Goods enough now at the French Fort, and had it not been for two Strings of white and black Wampom, which I did send by the Linguist to the Fatt Warrior and to the Black Dog of that Town to stand our Friends and to keep the Secret of our intended Design against the Savannahs these four Fellows would have gone off with them, and went opposed them, and told them now that the Tellico People were turned good, the People of his own Town must turn Rogues. That Savannah Tom, which I have mentioned before to your Excellency was a going with them, and had the Impudence to say that he was agoing to fetch the little French Man, and to bring Goods at Tellico and settle there as a Trader. I wish he had been one of the Dead.

What I have done was by Approbation and Authority of the Nation, and agreeable to your Excellency's Orders. Therefore I flatter myself, that it will be approved by your Excellency and the Province. Double the Quantity of Presents were delivered to those two Indians that conducted our Party, in the Presence of Old Hop, the Standing Turkey, and the Small Pox Conjuror of Setticoe and before many more Indians, which pleased them much to see a

Performance, and of [an] Encouragement given for Scalps, that several young Fellows went immediately in pursuit of those who made their Escape and if they are not gone too far, they will bring their Scalps.

Old Hop made a long Speech on the Occasion that had just happened and said that when I sent for him his Hands were very clean, but now that he was bloody all over, that some white Men may loose some of their Scalps, and to take care of ourselves, and recommended to me to write to your Excellency to acquaint the out Settlements of this immediately, for they will revenge themselves. These Savannahs belong to Peter Chartier's Gang, and are those that were to have gone to the Northward with the Tellico People. Regulars and Provincials behaved very well on this Occasion. They all went on Horseback to a certain Distance of the Place. Our great Guns were fired at their Return Home, though late at Night there were great Rejoycings in the Fort. I am with the greatest Respect,

RAYD. DEMERE

CAPTAIN RAYD. DEMERE TO LIEUTENANT ADAMSON

152|
Corry

June the 7th, 1757

Capt. Demere's Orders to Lieut. Adamson mentioned in the former Letter.
Evening Orders
Parole success

A Lieutenant, an Ensign, two Serjeants, one Corporall, 30 private Men, 15 Regulars and 15 Provincials (all Voluntiers) to hold themselves in Readiness to march at a Minute's Warning.

Being informed that some Savannah Indians, our Enemies, are come to Tellico, you are therefore to march near that Town immediately with the Party which I have ordered, to a certain Place, called the great Savannah. You are to act in conjunction with our friendly Indians, to help, and assist to kill and destroy them. You must be very cautious, that if in case you should come into Engagement to not hurt any of our Indians. I leave any Thing else which may happen to your good Conduct and Management for the Good of his Majesty's Service. Given under my Hand at Fort Loudoun this 8th [*sic*] Day of June, 1757.

I wish you Success and am your most humble Servant

Signed RAYD. DEMERE

To Lieut. James Adamson: you are to notify this, my Orders, to Ensign Caytmore who goes with you.

CAPTAIN RAYD. DEMERE TO GOVERNOR LYTTTELTON

Fort Loudoun, June the 13, 1757

To His Excellency W. H. Lyttellton, Esq.

SIR, The young Fellows who went in Pursuit of the Savannah's that made their Escape after the Action went as far as Tellico imagining that some were returned back to that Town, in order to kill them, and bring me their Scalps,

but they went off in great Haste that same Evening through the Woods. One of the Women returned to Tellico, and she is kept there as an Hostage in the Room of a young Fellow that has been for some Time past with the Savannahs, and if they kill him, I suppose she will run a Hazard to undergo the same Fate. By killing these Savannahs just going out of their own Town, as also they being disappointed, and finding that the very People which they depended upon so much, were gone out to War against the French, will certainly spoil any bad Schemes left in the Tellico People, and must inevitably take up the Hatchet against the Savannahs in their own Defence, for the Savannahs will give them no more Quarters, than to us, where ever they find them; now that I have brought them in, by killing the Savannahs as they say themselves in their Talk, which is as follows.

On the 10th Instant in the Evening, the Warriours of the Towns of Tellico and Chatuga waited on me, in a most civil and complaisant Manner, not much common amongst such Savages as they are |53| and acquainted me, that before the Savannahs had been killed, they had a free Path, to walk clean and neat, and without any Danger, but now that I had sent the white People in it, and hooped and hallowed in it, they had made it dirty and all bloody, and very dangerous for them to go any where, without being in Danger of losing their Scalps, by the Savannahs, even in their own Houses having Nothing to defend themselves with. That they in a short Time were most certain that great many of them would be here lurking about for Revenge, and that now they would make no Difference of any of them. Therefore as I was the Instigation of this Rupture which they did not disapprove of in the least begged to be helped and assisted with Powder and Ball, to defend themselves and us too, as being the out Town and most in Danger. They pleaded much for Guns, theirs being very bad and gave me a Hint how glad they would be to have a Trader in their Town. I told them that their Talk was very good, and that I approved much of it, and that each of their Towns should have a Bagg of Powder and 2 Baggs of Bullets, for to protect themselves, and the white People that go and come their Path, and that in respect of the Savannas it was full Time to have done it, that they were killing our Women and Children daily and would have killed us too if they could. That they told them Lyes and were the Occasion of all the Disturbances that had happened, and they acknowledged it was so. I advised them to kill a great many Savannahs when they come again, that there was a handsome Reward for their Scalps, besides the Credit in killing their Enemies.

I assured them that I would represent to the Governor the Badness of their Guns, and with the Want of a Trader they required so much. They went away very pleased.

The Blow is now given, and must be supported, for the Savannahs will do what ever they can, for to revenge themselves. Therefore to keep up the Spirit of the whole Nation of Cherokees to our Interest, as they are now in general, they must be supplied with Ammunition and Paint, and 'tis very reasonable it should be so, and other Expences will attend the same, such as any Indian being employed to any Service, they will expect Payment for it. I

think I am too frugall a Man to be here now at the present Conjunction of Affairs, meaning being too saving for the Province that I love, and that I had the Honour to serve for many Years past. After all I should think that such a Province should be ready to believe that |54| I had no such an Attachment for it, should any Thing miscarry, for want of some little Savings, particularly as such a Time as this is at present and rather would blame me for it. Your Excellency has given me Power enough, but shall not be the more extravagant in any Thing, but what shall be requisite, and beneficial to the Publick Good. But Goods there must be, such as I required to be sent in my last, and some small Hatchetts which I had forgot, but Plenty of Ammunition and Paint, for here has been a great Consumption of it for several Services, and will be a greater as the Indians must be supplied with it now in Time of War, for the Traders having none, neither the Indians have no Skins at present to buy any.

Old Hop hearing that the Tellico and Chattuga People had been with me on the 10th Inst., the very same Day that he went away himself, they not going farther that Evening than Tomotley, sent them a Summons to meet him the next Morning at the Fort. They accordingly came. Old Hop brought with him the Standing Turkey, and the Small Pox Conjurer of Setticoe. They had a long Talk together, and I did expect there would have been a falling out betwixt them, but it all turned well, and parted the best of Friends. They gave an Account of their Errand to me, to Old Hop, which he approved of much; after all was over, those three old cunning Fellows said they saw but Flower and Bacon coming here, and wished they could see Ammunition coming too, for it will be much wanted, for a Conclusion they said at last, that they were all bloody, and had Nothing to clean themselves. I took the Hint of that saying, and presented each of them with a Match Coat and a Shirt to clean themselves, as I did the same to the Black Dog Warriour of Chatuga for a good Service. Those Things were given them out of the Presents that came for the Scalps. I have just Time to send your Excellency these two Returns, the one from the Commissary about the Provisions and the other from the Gunner of the Ammunition, that is in the Magazine. I heard that 16 Savannahs came together, but only seven came to Tellico. When any Goods come up for the Future from Keowee, there must be some small Parties of Indians, and some of our People to escort them, otherwise we run a great Chance to lose all.

I send the three Scalps to your Excellency, which I got drest and done up the Way that the Indians do, as being the first. I have dispatched Thos. Smith, the Packhorseman, with these Dispatches &c.

Having enquired of the Commissary what Quantity of Powder and Ball there was at Keowee, to come up here, he said there was but 100 Wt. of Powder and Shot in Proportion, which is to be left as it comes up to the Indians of Highwassey, and those of the Valleys |55| by an Application by them to Capt. Stewart, which he wrote me concerning the same, and approved it. The Savannahs had a large Belt of black Wampum which was found in their Bundles that were taken after they were killed, which our Indians say was a War Talk that they had with them, which the two Indians that went with the Party cutt in the Middle and divided it amongst themselves with the Rest of their Plunder. I

think it would be very proper that your Excellency should immediately acquaint Capt. Pepper with the Blow that has been given here to the Savannahs, and to recommend to him to intreat the Creeks to follow our Example here, and all can't but go well. I am with the greatest of Respect Sir,

Your Excellency's most humble and most obedient Servant,

RAYD. DEMERE

I desire your Excellency will be pleased to send me by the first Express that comes up a Quire of writing Paper, for I have not a single Sheet left, and to recommend it to him (and be pleased to excuse).

JAS. ADAMSON TO GOVERNOR LYTTTELTON

June the 13, 1757, at Fort Loudoun

To W. H. Lyttellton, Esq.

SIR, On the 6th of this Instant here from Tellico in the Night the Bearer, Mr. Thos. Smith, who informed us of a Party of the Savannah Indians being at Tellico, we sent him back the next Night to know their Design, who returning the same Night let us know that by a former Agreement with the Mankiller of Tellico, they were to go with him and his Men to Virginia to War against the English. Capt. Demere appointing me to go out with a Detachment of Men to take or kill them if possible, Old Hop and the Mankiller of Tellico's Father consenting thereto. The Savannah Indians finding that the Mankiller of Tellico with a good many Men were out at War against the French, were going Home. We marched along with Cappee, Old Hop's Son, and Choosahete, a Settico young Fellow, being the only two Indians that went with us, and Cappee leading us through the Woods wide off of Tellico to the other Side, on Savannah Path, within a Mile and an half of Town. After I had prepared my Men in the best Manner, I sent Mr. Smith in to know what Time they'd sett off from Tellico. He soon returned and let us know they were to march from Town at the Fire of a Gun and that we might expect them at eleven or twelve o'Clock at farthest.

The Black Dog, a Chatogee Indian, happened to come from hunting to the very Place where we lay. [56] I gave him some Wampum and good Words to keep the Secret and importuned him to obstruct the Tellico Indians from coming with the Savannahs least it may cost them their Lives, upon which the Fellow made us a Promise of Indemnity, and going along towards Tellico happened to meet with the Savannah Indians within a half Mile of us, accompanied by two Tellico Fellows and two Wenches. The Black Dog calling them on one Side kept them in Discourse till the Savannah Indians came within Shot of us. We fired at them and killed three dead upon the Spot and wounded another. The Rear not being within Shot of us fired at us but hurt none and ran away. The Number of the Savannahs were eight Fellows and two Wenches, of which four Fellows and 2 Wenches got off safe. The Tellico Indians hearing the Report of the Guns, came up, and seeing what was done, seemed no wise displeased at it. I would have pursued them if it had not been for the Tellicans running along to us from all Parts and thinking some of my Men might shoot

some of the Tellicans for a Savanna Indian and that would spoil all. I also ordered that my Men should not touch any Thing the Savannahs had left, and ordered it to be given to the two Indians that accompanied us. All other News I defer to Capt. Demere's Dispatches. But I being an Eye Witness to this thought it my Duty to acquaint you with it. Being from

Your Excellency's most humble and obedient Servant,

JAS. ADAMSON

JOHN BOGGES TO GOVERNOR LYTTTELTON

Fort Prince George, Keowee, June 26, 1757

To his Excellency W. H. Lyttellton, Esq.

SIR, Inclosed are Letters from the Creek Nation which I have sent for your Perusal. They came to my Hand by the Runner I sent after Wall, for which I am obliged to pay him 50 Weight of Leather. It comes to at 15 per Lb. £37.10. I did expect to have received an Answer from Capt. Pepper, but I perceive he has a Mind to have all the Glory.

From what I can learn from my Runner that they would not have kept them Prisoners, had he not arrived as he did and produced the Letters and gave his Reports. They then took particular Care of them and forwarded them as the Letters directed. I hope your Excellency will be so good as to advice me in what Manner I am to apply for the Money. I am Sir,

Your most obedient, humble Servant to command,

JOHN BOGGES

Copies of the Letters I shall send to Capt. Demere. I imagine the Letter per Wall to him is a fictitious one in his own Favour. Excuse, the Express waits. We have had prodigious Rains here.

The Letter from Wall is inserted in Page 84.³

DANLL. PEPPER TO GOVERNOR LYTTTELTON

|57|

New Windsor, So. Carolina, 28th June, 1757

To his Excellency W. H. Lyttellton

SIR, I wrote you from the Oakfushees the [27th?] Ult. to which your Excellency please be referred. I have now to advise you that upon the 31st Ult. there was a general Convention of the Headmen of the Upper Creek Nation at which the Red King and Lieutenant of the Cowetaws were present.

The Mortar who arrived the 28th with two Cherokees (had them at his House in private Consultations for two Days) which he gave out was confirming the Peace with the two Cherokees that had lately been made with their Nation and collected white Beads and Tobacco to be sent by them for that Purpose.

Upon the 3d Day the Gun Merchant called upon me and told me that they were ready to hear my Talk from you, and that they had chosen the Mortar for Speaker, upon which I went into the Square and delivered them the Talk

³ Below, p. 409.

which I received from your Excellency and had gave them before in the Fall. Upon which the Mortar without giving any Answer to it, made a Demand of the Stillyard Trade, which I complied with in consequence of your Excellency's Orders. The Particulars of which, with the Prices of Goods affixed to the Treaty, I shall fully inform you of, when I have the Pleasure to wait on your Excellency. They in the next Place talked over the Affair of Ogechee and seemed pretty strenuous for Satisfaction which I waved by desiring them to defer any Mention of it till they waited on your Excellency which they seemed to agree to. I can only observe that during the whole Talk, the Mortar behaved with the most intolerable Impudence and Presumption and by his whole Behaviour confirms me in the Suspicion I entertained of his being greatly in the French Interest, which I have more and more Reason to suspect by Intelligence I received from the Oakchoys since I left them, of his carrying the two Cherokees to the French Fort, where they made heavy Complaints against the English for building Forts in their Nation and overrunning their Lands with white People, which they could not nor would any longer endure. The French advised them by all Means to assault and destroy the Forts and drive all the white People out of their Nation (the Traders excepted) otherwise they were a ruined People, and would be entirely Slaves to the English. The Mortar returns with them to their Nation and I have Reason to believe is carrying [58] on some Scheme in conjunction with the French to create Disturbances there.

They continued at the French Fort for 10 Days continually drunk and the Mortar upon his going away received a large Present and two Caggs of Rum to carry Home. They gave the Cherokees likewise Presents with Pipes and Tobacco to carry with them as Peace Tokens. During their Stay at the Fort their large Boat came up from Mobile with Rum, Flower and Ammunition but little or no Goods. I left the Oakchoys the 1st Instant and arrived at the Cowtaws the 4th when I called a Meeting of the Head Men, who met the 7th.

They agreed to have the Trade upon the old Footing, with some few Alterations in the Weight and Measures which I shall fully inform your Excellency of at Meeting. They likewise talked over the Affair of Ogechee and have sent down by me [the] Brother of the Headman that was killed to your Excellency to make up Matters (which will not be very difficult) and to know when it will answer your Excellency to meet them at Savannah Town, which if you will please to do and appoint a Time, they will with the Headmen of the Upper Towns meet you, and make every Thing streight (as they phrase it).

I intended to have made a longer Stay in the Lower Towns, but I found it would be of no Manner of Service, as they are so stocked with a continual Supply of Rum, that they mind Nothing but constant Drinking and so unruly have they been lately in their Cups that they had very near killed a white Man at the Hitchetaws during my Stay. I made a Demand of all Negroes and Horses belonging to white People in their Possession, which they agreed to deliver up to me, but after sending for them several Times they made sham Excuses, and I could not get them at any Rate to fulfill their Promises. I have left Orders with the Traders to gett them, but I am apt to believe they will have no Success.

The Half Breed of the Cowetaws informed me that a Cherokee Fellow who brought an Express after Wall and returned before I arrived at the Cowetaws, told him that their Nation were greatly alarmed at the Numbers of English daily flocking into it and that they were suspicious that they intended to fall upon them and for that Reason, this Summer resolved to have the first Blow and cutt off their Garrison. Their Scheme to effectuate which, your Excellency will see fully in the Copy of mine to the Commanding Officer at Loudoun Fort.

I arrived here the 26th Instant after a very tedious Journey of fifteen Days occasioned by high Rivers, bad Weather, and some of my Horses which tired on the Path, which will oblige me to stay here at least a Week to recruit as also to rest myself, who through the Fatigue of the March am a great Deal out of Order.

There are a few Creeks come down to see your Excellency that could [59] not come at the Time proposed by the Rest, on account of their hunting.

There are likewise about a Dozen of Chickesaws, some from the Breed Camp in the Creek Nation and the others from the Chickesaw Nation, all of whom will set out for Town in a few Days, but as there is a flying Report of the Small Pox being there (though I cannot find out the Author) I have desired the Linguist to inform himself in the Settlements, of the Truth of it and in case it is so, to stop their Preceeding [*sic*] and acquaint your Excellency therewith.

Inclosed I send you Copy of some Papers relative to Mr. Wall from the Cherokees which will give your Excellency some Light into that Gentleman's Behaviour. I doubt not he is taken proper Care of. I can assure your Excellency that had Mr. Wall got to the French Fort at that Time, no white Man would ever have got out of the Nation alive; I am sorry to hear Brown has escaped. Your Excellency will likewise receive inclosed Copies of Letters, which I sent this Day to the Commanding Officers at Fort Loudoun and Fort Prince George which I hope will meet your Excellency's Approbation.

As the Chickesaws seem to be in a great Hurry to proceed to Town that they may be able to return to their Nation for Fear of any Attack from the Chactaws during their Absence, I am apprehensive they may leave Town before I can arrive. I therefore presume to observe to your Excellency as there are no Hopes of a Conciliation ever being made between the Chactaws and them for all the Intercession of the Creeks, whom they do not scruple to say are neither steady Friends to the English nor them, and do not want them to be present at any Talk they may have with your Excellency. It is my humble Opinion it will be very advantagiouſ to our Interest, as well as for their own Safety could they be persuaded to forsake their own Nation and come down and settle upon Ogreehee where it was abandoned by the Virginia People, or some Lands adjacent, which your Excellency may judge most proper. In which case they would be a ready Reinforcement to us in case of any Alarm and at the same Time bring the Creeks to good Behaviour leaving them a Frontier to the Chactaws and other Enemies which they would be very apprehensive of if they were to move off.