

2d Traverse, 4 Feet without a Banket. Length of 2d Travers, 18 Feet; Height [joining] the Face, 4 Feet; Height of the inside Point of the Travers, 3 Feet. Two more Traverses of the same Deminions. Neither Ditch, Counterscarp nor Breast Work of the west Face of King George's Bastion finished and a vast Quantity Earth to be dugg and carried away now lying in Heaps. A Ditch ten Feet deep in some Places and ten Feet wide already dugg the Length of this Face of the Bastion.

Second Travers in the north Face of Bastion King George 4 Feet high and 12 Feet long unfinished; the Face not finished, 4 Feet high. First Travers, very little done to it. Flank 24 Feet, only 2 [Fathoms?] high; no Part of Breast, Ditch or Counterscarp finished.

Curtain joining Bastion P of Wales, and Bastion King George, unfinished. No Ditch or Counterscarp.

North Face of Bastion Prence of Wales: finished Breast Work, Ditch and Counterscarp, except a Banket. No Part of the east Face of Bastion Prince of Wales finished.

Bastin Lyttleton finished. No way into; Fort Glen: unfinished, lying in Heaps and abandoned, a Ditch on Top of the Bank 10 Feet deep in some Places, about 98 Feet long. We know not the Intent of it.

The Place of Arms unfinished. Space left between two Hedges 5 Feet, 5½ Feet deep.

East Face of Bastion Queen: Breast Work, Counterscarp and Ditch finished, Banket finished. The Breast Work not sloped. South Place of Bastion Queen: not sloped, Ditch and Counterscarp not finished.

No Barracks built; the Officers Hutts built by themselves, not a Defence against the Weather.

No sufficient Store Houses for Provisions, no Bagg Houses or Common Stores, no Guard House, no Guns mounted nor Platforms made, the Powder [Magazine] almost finished, the Forge almost finished.

The Pallisadoes bad in Quallity, not deep enough in the Ground. Those of 12 Feet high being only 2 Feet in the Ground, and those eight Feet only 13 Inches, and in many not seven Inches deep in the Earth; many of them fallen down, most of them that are standing loose and easily pulled down.

No Communication with the River without going over Fort Glen or [Ravelin] Lyttelton.

JOHN STUART
ROBERT WALL
JAMES ADAMSON

RICHD. COYTMORE
MAURICE ANDERSON

CAPTAIN RAYD. DEMERE TO MR. DEBRAHM

[323]
Coppie

Fort Loudoun, December 25, 1756

I wonder you should write to me when you will receive no Letters of mine on his Majesty's Service. In regard to your Directions I beg you will keep them to yourself. If you do not chose to stay to see them put in Execution yourself, as it is your Duty. The Moment you go all the Works ceases till

further Orders from the Governor, which is by the Advice of all the Officers not one excepted.

Signed, RAYD. DEMERE

Your Directions sent me this Morning are dated of the 20th.
To Wm. Debrahm, Esq.
at Tomotly

COUNCIL OF WAR HELD BY CAPTAIN RAYD. DEMERE

Fort Loudoun, December the 26th, 1756

At a Council [*sic*] of War this Day appointed and held at this Fort by Orders of Capt. Rayd. Demere.

PRESENT: Capt. Raymond Demere, Capt. John Stuart, Capt. John Postell, Lieut. Robt. Wall, Lieut. James Addison, Ensign Richd. Coytmore, Ensign Maurice Anderson.

Capt. Demere representing to the Officers that Mr. Debrahm is clandestinely gone away and left this Fort unfinished. That notwithstanding it was the unanimous Opinion in a late Council of War, that in case Mr. Debrahm should go the Works should cease till his Excellency should send a Person properly quallified to inspect the same, he thinks it highly necessary that as we may from our best Intelligences expect an Attack, no one knows how soon, that we should fortify ourselves in the best we can, and desires to know the Opinion of the Officers hereupon as also what Work would be most necessary to be sett about immediately.

It is the Opinion of the Council of War that all the People be immediately moved into the Fort. That each Company be ordered to build their own Hutts. That the Guns be mounted on Blocks at such Places as shall be judged most necessary for our Defence, that Drains and Bog Houses be made for the Conveniency and Health of the People, that a Communication be cut with the |324| River. That Pallasadoes be cut and plained round the Breast Work of such Lengths and such Manner the Commanding Officer shall think proper to direct, and that they be substantial, that the [People] who are imployed in making Charcoal and in cuting and sawing Scantling for the Barraks be continued in that Work. That the Corn Mills be taken down out of the Forge, and placed some where else, and Guard Beds be made there, as there is no other Guard House.

RAYD. DEMERE

CAPTAIN RAYD. DEMERE TO GOVERNOR LYTTELTON

Fort Loudoun, December the 27th, 1756

SIR, The Indians did not set out at the Day appointed, the 23d Inst., on account of bad Weather.

The seven great Guns which I mentioned to your Excellency being nailed up, having been [made] red hott since and drilled out, they all proved well.

The Mankiller of Highwassey Town is dead by whose Death we lose a great Friend. He desires to be buried in the same Manner as white People

are, and recommended to his Son never to forsake the English, and to remember that he gave him that Warning at his last Moment. The old Man knew that his Son was to the Tellico People. They say that such a Talk from his Father has made a great Impression on him, for he has declared since, that he would always remember his Father's Recommendation and will never forsake the White People.

As Mr. Debrahm is going to Town without finishing his Works, they must remain as they are, as all the Officers in Council have agreed upon till such Time your Excellency sends somebody to inspect the same, for should I go on with them he would lay every Blunder that is committed to my Charge. Capt. Postell, whom I thought would have had the Care of carrying on the Works, says that Mr. Debrahm never mentioned any Thing about it to him. As soon as the Engineer goes, I propose to mount the great Guns and to employ the People about sawing Timber for the Barracks, about making necessary Houses, Dreans &c. to carry off the Waters out of the Fort, for we are almost drown'd when it rains. To interfere with the Fortification Works, I desire to be excused till your Excellency's further Pleasure is known. Mr. Debrahm never spoke to me about the same nor about any Thing else since he has been here, only just sending me Directions as if I had been his Deputy Engineer and begun with me the very first Day he arrived as your Excellency has seen by his Letters which I have sent to you.

I am informed that there is a [Petition] going about to be signed by as many as the Provincials as they can for Leave to return Home. I can't help saying [325] that such a Proceeding as this, is inconsistent with the Good of the Service, and beneath the Character of any Officer as there never was a Time when Troops are more necessary, or more wanting then at present, and I can venture to say assure your Excellency that there would have been no murmuring or Cansiness amongst the Provincials, if it had not been through the Means and Measures taken with by Messiuer Postell and Debram, which is so Contrary to the Good of this Expedition that I think myself under an indispensable Obligation to make it known to your Excellency the Time is now near approaching that we may expect the French and their Allies, the Indians, to begin their March from the Southward in order to attack us which correspond so strongly with all the Intelligences we have had that I think there is not the least Reason to doubt. They have for some Time past being making great Preparations and strong Combinations which can be disttend only for no other Place but this Fort. Therefore I flatter myself, my Sentiments will be approved off by your Excellency that as this Fort is calculated to be defended by no less than 400 Men, it is no Time to disband or discharge these Men, on less they be relieved by a considerable Number.

I sent inclosed a Cobby of the Letters which I have wrote to my Lord Loudoun and to the Hon. Robert Dinwiddie, Esq. I have sent also those two Talks of Capt. Cæsar and Nancy Butler.

On the 25th I received a Paper from Mr. Debram intituled a Supplement to his final Directions dated the 25th which Antidote proceeded from our Survey of the Works the Day before. After a second Thought I made to

myself that perhaps some People at Charlestown might apt to blame me if in case any Accident should happen to us, not having proceeded with the Works left undone, having People here paid by the Province, although it was resolved and agreed upon by all the Officers which I called together that the Works should remain as they are till such a Time your Excellency should send somebody from Charlestown to inspect what Kind of Works these are, therefore to have Nothing imputed to any Neglect nor Misconduct of mine, the Works shall go on as well as possible, notwithstanding I am convinced that I shall act the Contrary to Regularity of military Proceedings, but hope the same will not prevent your Excellency sending to inspect our fine Works.

Mr. Debrahm has been always against our Guns being mounted saying it was not [his] Department. Within these two Days past I ordered some of my Men to go for large Wood to make the Guns red hot in order to drill them, |326| and I ordered some of the Provincials to make some Charcoal for the Smith to go on with the Irons that are necessary to mount them. Mr. Debrahm was against it much, and said that they should not be paid by the Publick. 'Tis on the Guns that we are to depend the most for what he calls a Fort is no Fort.

Yesterday I sent Mr. Debrahm an Answer to the Paper he sent me about his last and final Directions as he calls it, and this Day my Letter was returned back with the News that he was deserted in the night Time (with few Lignes are wrote on the Back of it which has obliged me to send an exact List of the Regulars that has been employed at the Publick Works since their first coming to the 24th Instant.) At first it could not be expected there should be so many on account they were obliged to cover themselves which I think that out of the Number I have no more could be spared considering they have done all Duties. If the Captains of the Provincials have not [furnished?] their Men to the Publick Works let them answer for it. That [is] none of my Business. But your Excellency will find that it was only a sham Pretence from Mr. Debrahm that he did know how to finish his Fort, for he has been doing and undoing from the very first and has abandoned the greatest Part of his Works. He had Men enough if he had gone the right Way to work. I may prove that great many of my Men would not be employed for Want of Tools and had he had more Men the Province would have been at more greater Expences, and to no Purpose at last. He is only gone for Fear as all the Head Men of the Indians informed me Yesterday.

Capt. Stuart sets out this Day with the Indians. I thought proper to send this Express with Orders to make all possible Dispatches. As Capt. Stuart must keep Company with the Indians, he will proceed very slowly. (He is one of the Provincials; his Name is Denis Eagin, who is dispatched on account of Mr. DeBrahm)

I never wrote to Mr. Debrahm except he wrote to me and of all the Answers I made him I have sent Copies to your Excellency by which you may easily perceive if he has Reason to take any Thing amiss, but he is the Man that I have described before to your Excellency, and at last you will find but dirty Principles on that Man.

As my present State of Health does not permit me to do all the Service that I could wish myself, I beg the Favour that Capt. Stuart may be not kept long, but he must come up with the Indians, if not we are all undone. I am surpris'd at Capt. Postell having wrote to your Excellency that he had signed a Letter from the Officers to Mr. Debrahm unadvertently. The Letters was read to |327| him, and no Arguments made to induce him to put his Hand to it. Had any Thing been affirmed in it which he knew was wrong, it would have been doing the Duty of an Officer to have pointed it out. It was after a long Consultation with Mr. Debrahm that he refused to put his Hand to the Report of the Officers from a Survey on the Works. All the Officers went together and desired to know his Reason for not signing it, and what Part of it he objected to. He said he would not give his Reasons till your Excellency should ask him.

I conclude wishing that I may have no Occasion to dispatch more Expresses to your Excellency till Capt. Stuart [comes] back, but I am almost sure that I shall. I wish your Excellency all Happiness and am with great Respect

Your Excellency's most humble and obedient Servant,

RAYD. DEMERE

Ambrous Davis, Linguester, that goes with Capt. Stuart at the Indian Request, is paid off to the 4th of January, 1757 at £25 per Month.

LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO THE
CHEROKEE HEAD MEN

13th November, 1756

Robert Dinwiddie, Esq., His Majesty's Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief of the Colony and Dominion of Virginia to the Sachems, Warriors and Head Men of the [Upper] and Lower Towns of the Cherokees' Nation of Indians, wishing you much Health and Prosperity:

BROTHERS AND FRIENDS, You must be very sencible of the Love and Friendship I have shewn you, by sending Commissioners to enter into a Treaty of Peace and Friendship with you which was solemnly signed and executed by the Commissioners sent by me and all your great Men. You, by that Treaty, desired a Fort to be built in your Upper County which has been constructed to the Satisfaction and Approbation of all your People. On your Part you agreed by that Treatie when the Fort was finished you would send in a good Number of your Warriors to go to War against your Enemies and ours. I must take Notice you have failed in performing this Part of the Treaty though I have at a great Exence provided a good Number of fine Arms, Powder and Lead, for the Use of your Warriors, allso Cloathing, but I want to know the Number of your Warriors that |328| may come in here that I may provide accordingly. I am apt to believe the French by their Emmissaries have been busey with false Stories and wrong Insinuations to draw you from our Friendship.

Recollect the many Years you have continued faithfull to your Brothers, the English, and how ready your Brothers at all Times have been to assist you in your Wants and Necessities. I therefore now intreat you to comply

with your Part of the Treaty in sending to our Assistance a good Number of your Warriors which will be the shurest Method of strengthening the Chain of Friendship so long subsisting between your Brothers, the English, and your warlike Nation. And as soon as your Warriors comes in here, I shall send out a Number of our Men to garrison the Fort built for the Protection of your old Men and Children when your Warriors go out against the Enemy. And in hopes of your Compliance, I sincerely wish Health and Prosperity may always attend you.

Given under my Hand and the Great Seal of this Collony at Williamsburg this thirteenth Day of November, 1756.

Coppie

Signed,

R. DENWIDDIE

NUMBER OF MEN DEMERE FURNISHED DAILY FOR
FORTIFICATIONS' WORK AT THE
UPPER CHEROKEES

[329]

24th December, 1756

A Return of the Number of Men that has worked at the Fortifications at the Upper Cherokees [belonging] to Capt. Rayd. Demere's Detachment from South Carolina, and of each Day of the Month so many Men worked from the 8th of October to the 24th of December, 1756.

October	Men	November	Men
the 8th	24	the 1st	28
the 9	31	the 2	26
the 11	28	the 3	29
the 12	21	the 4	27
the 13	21	the 5	7
the 14	24	the 6	38
the 15	16	the 8	26
the 16	6	the 9	22
the 18	15	the 11	29
the 19	30	the 12	24
the 20	29	the 13	25
the 21	10	the 15	31
the 22	18	the 16	35
the 23	22	the 17	32
the 25	35	the 18	35
the 26	34	the 19	37
the 27	38	the 20	35
the 28	28	the 22	33
the 29	46	the 23	29
the 30	17	the 24	26
the 31	15	the 25	22

November	Men	December	Men
the 27	26	the 10	33
the 29	32	the 11	28
the 30	33	the 13	31
December	Men	the 14	28
the 1st	25	the 15	28
the 2	27	the 16	28
the 3	28	the 18	26
the 4	17	the 20	26
the 6	20	the 21	19
the 7	20	the 23	18
the 8	35	the 24	5
the 9	34		

Besides a Man is employed about a Hedge, one at the Forge, a Black Smith, one as a Head Carpenter, and one as keeping [the] Cattle.

Witness Serjt. John Addison
Sargt. Nutchter
his
Serjt. Will Gibbs _____ being Lame
Mark

JEROME COURTONEE TO JOHN BROWN

[330]

Chichesaw, 23d Octr., 1756

Copy of a Letter from Jerome Courtonee to John Brown.

DEAR FRIEND, The Indian Fellow with the three Horse Load of Ammunition arrived here safe and your Letter. I am sorry for to find that there is likely to be a War betwixt the Creeks and us. I have sent Gover in order to know what we have to depend on whether War or Peace, for since I have heard the News I have been very sparing of the Country Ammunition to enable us to stand our Ground and be of deterrmint [*sic*] to the Creeks, as I am well assured I could engage the Chickesaws in our Cause against the French or any Indians in their Interest. I have already aquainted them that in case the Creeks should make War with us and stop the Path, I would go to the Cerokees and open a Path for them there in order to continue a Supply of Ammunition &c. to their Nation which I would advise you to acquaint the Chickesaws of the Braead Camp with that they may also fly to their Nation and join, and not join the French, as their Safety chiefly consists in their continuing in the English Interest, as the French if Opportunity served would remember their former Transgression and serve them as they did the Notches. If it still continues dangerous I would advise you to send all the Ammunition posibly you can up here as it would be of Service to our whole Country. I am fully persuaded as long as these People have a Supply of Ammunition, they will join in our Cause.

We are daily expecting a Chactaw Army here so that these People cannot hunt. They have been out twice in order to go a hunting but were sent for back both Times. For my Part I do not think it advisable to send them out any

more till such Time I hear from you. Some Time ago a Gang of Chickesaws went to War against the Northward Indians, and had the good Fortune to meet with a Gang of Savannahs together with three French Men. They killed one of them and a French Man; they wounded and took a Savannah Indian alive, but he got away from them after [bringing] him two Days' Journey towards this Nation. The said Savannahs and French were intended for the Cherokee Nation, but what their Busyness was I could not learn. A Gang of Chickesaws went to War against the Cherokees sometime ago, and another Gang was to have followed them notwithstanding I did all in my Power to diswade them from it, but it lukily happened that the first Gang were prevented by those Fellows you sent up here with the Ammunition who had the good Fortune to meet him [*sic*] in the Path which hindered the [331] latter Gang from proceeding any further, notwithstanding they were resolved to have taken Satisfaction for the three Fellows they suspected the Cherokees had killed sometime ago. Your Talks had so good an Effect as to have put a Stop to them. I conclude

Your most humble Servant,

Signed JEROME CORTONNEA

P. S. This Day we heard of a Baead [*sic*] being killed by the Chactaws
To Mr. John Brown
at the Bread Camp

JEROME CORTONEE TO JOHN BROWN¹⁴

Copy of a Letter from Jerome Cortonee to John Brown

Chichesaws, 26th November, 1756

FRIEND BROWN, Some Time ago I sent Glover off to go down to hear what News, but I flatter myself that the Creeks have put up with the Loss of the two Men that were killed at Ogetchee. The said Glover was turned back by the Enemy about fifty Miles off, and sent the Letters which I wrote to you by the two Fellows which I hope came safe to your Hands. I take the Opportunity to let you know that there has been no less than ten Men killed lately by Flatts and back Enemy. The latter attacked the Leader with a Gang of one hundred Men, and the Leader had but about thirty with him. He however forted himself in and defended himself bravely. It happened to come on a hard Rain, shorted their Guns so that they were obliged to leave off. However, the back Enemy pepered them afterwards with their Arrows, which the Baead had none to return them being only at a Hunting Camp, and had no Thoughts of War. When their Arrows were expended, they drew off a small Distance, made a Fire to dry their Guns. The Baead did the same expecting the second Attack from them, but they did not attack them any more, but next Day they hunted up their Horses and drove off at least thirty Head of them close by their Fort.

The Wouds are full of Northward Indians as well as Chactaws. The Indians are of Opinion that they are Savannahs or some other of our Northward

¹⁴ This letter and the following one are enclosures with the letter from Daniel Pepper to Governor Lyttelton of December 21, 1756 on pp. 297-300.

Indians which the White People have drove off from thence, but it is my Opinion the French are building a Fort at the Fork of Wawbash and the Cherokee River, and have gotten a Body of Indians with them for a Guard. The Woods are full of them and they are actually a hunting close by Hatche. The Indians say the Woods is full of Deer all [332] about, skinned and the Carcass left lying, so I would have sent down some of the Men to you but am afraid I shall have Occasion for them here. The Indians of this Nation desire that the Talk that is directed to the Gun Merchant will be sent down immediately, and that he will send back his Answer, and we [*sic*] if he will stand to his Agreement he made with the late Governor, Mr. Glen. We expect the Bearer will be back in twenty Days as we are very impatient to know whether it is War or Peace with the Creeks, and we hope you will lose no Time in sending back as soon as you can.

It is my real Opinion if the Country Ammunition had not come here we should be all forced to run, for they have expended fifteen Horse Load of Ammunition already. I am,

Your most humble Servant,

JEROME CORTONEE

To Mr. John Brown
Baead Camp

CHICKESAW HEAD MEN TO THE GUN MERCHANT

Chichesaws, 26th November, 1756

FRIENDS AND BROTHERS, Sometime ago you sent us Word that you had been lately in Charles Town, and had agreed with the Governor to make a Peace with the Chactaws in our Behalf. We likewise took your Talk where ever you desired us to desist from going to War against them. We did so and sent our Warriors out a Hunting. No sooner were they out, but our People were killed and our Horses carried off as usual. You promised when you was at the Baead Camp last that upon the first Notice thereof, you would aid and assist us, and if you do perform your Promise to us we will soon make the Chactaws weary of War, for we that are but a few and but a Handfull in Comparison to you, they never could drive us yet, and if we had your Help we would soon drive them, for our Parts we are making ready to go to War, for we find while there is a French Man the Chactaws will not [make] a Peace with us.

We are resolved not to give this Land, but with the Loss of our Lives. After we are dead you may expect they will begin with you. We hope you will send us Word whether you will join us or not. We are informed that two White Men have been killed by some mad People, but we are in Hopes it is a Lye. We hope we shall never be obliged to take no round about Path to go and see our Friends, the English, that we are resolved to live and dye by. We know they are our only Friends by the late Favours we received from them of Powder and Bullets of which we have enough, without which the Chactaws

would make themselves Masters of our Lands, have killed us all [333] and made our [Women] and Children Prisoners. We conclude,

Your loving Friends and Brothers,

THE HEAD MEN OF CHICKESAWS
 THE MARK OF _____ PYAMATAHA
 THE MARK OF _____ PYAHAGGO
 THE MARK OF _____ PYAMENGO

To the Gun Merchant, and all the Head Men of the Creek Nation

DANIEL PEPPER TO GOVERNOR LYTTTELTON

Ockchoys, Upper Creeks, 30th November, 1756

SIR, I wrote your Excellency the 18th Inst. under Cover to Lieutenant White Outerbridge to be forwarded by him in which I have been very explicit as to what Transactions have happened since my Departure from Augusta. I omitted in it to acquaint your Excellency that on the 12th Inst., I signed a Certificate in Favour of Moses Nunes and Joseph Wright for the Delivery of thirty-one Horse Loads of Presents (including three with Provisions and some Luggage belonging to the People) in this Nation for which I agreed with Mr. Nunes at the Rate of twenty Pounds per Horse Load, as I advised your Excellency from Augusta.

There has Nothing very material happened since my last only that I have had several Conferences with the Gun Merchant, relative to the Treaty signed by him and the other Head Men of this Nation when in Town in which he frequently hints the Impossibility of bringing the People to consent to the building of a Fort among them for some Time as the French (who had Spies in Town on Purpose to inform them of what past, and to bring the most speedy Intelligence of what Negotiations might be transacted) upon hearing the Conclusion of the Treaty raised such a Blaze in the [Nation] by malicious Insinuations of their being sold by their Head Men then below to the English who were then upon the March with an Army of five thousand Men, to take Possession of their Lands and to build Forts to subject them to Slavery. Such a Blaze, I say, was raised by these lying Reports that the Head Men could [scarcely] extinguish [it] upon their Arrival; nay the Remains lurk latent in the Breasts of a great many which only Time and good Management can eradicate. All in my Power shall be done to bring it about, and I doubt not but in Time they may be brought to consent as the Gun Merchant informs me he will try his Utmost to have their Part of the Treaty fulfilled.

The Gun Merchant among other Discourse informed me a few Days ago that the Savannah Indians by the Instigations of the French have been endeavouring to procure Liberty from this Nation to settle in their Lands [334] adjoining the Cherokees and so evacuate their Settlements to the Northward that they already here and them may be in one Body. I demonstrated to the Gun Merchant the miserable Situation they would be in if they allowed such an In-croachment, as the French and them would have [them] entirely penned up. He answered he was aware of the Consequences from such Neighbours, and

therefore was resolved they never should be allowed the least Encouragement from him, but on the Contrary would not suffer the least Intention to be put in Practice. I hope the Cherokees may be of the same Mind and render their Schemes and these of that plodding Nation, the French, abortive.

I think it highly necessary to inform your Excellency that the Indians are daily getting in to the Method of using Riffle Guns instead of Traders which they purchase where ever they can at monstrouw [*sic*] Price, as they can kill point Blank at two hundred Yards Distance. This, in my humble Opinion, puts them too much upon an Equallity with us in Case of a Breach, and presume to offer to your Excellency that if some Stop was put to their spreading through the Nation it would be prudent. As the People who sell them to the Indians are generally very poor, their Gun being the greatest Part of their Estate, a Fine would be of little or no Effect. Imprisonment or something of corporal Punishment would creat a greater Dread. These things I only hint. Your Excellency's superior Judgment will no doubt suggest proper Measures to prevent their Progress, and advise Governor Reynolds of your Determinations on that Head.

Every Thing here continue very scarce, so that Victuals can hardly be purchased at the most extravagant Rates. How soon the [People] come in from their Hunts and Matters adjusted and run in a clear Channel, I intend to come to the Lower Towns where my Presence is a good deal wanted as the French are daily endeavouring to strengthen their Interest among them which I believe is now greater than it ought to be.

I advised your Excellency that the Gun Merchant told me he expected the Stillyards in the Spring. I shall be glad to know your Mind on that Subject. The Gun Merchant has taken all Manner of Pains to conciliate the Minds of the Chickesaus and Chactaws, but the former are very diffident of the latter as they have so often proved treacherous. When Mr. Brown (who trades in the Bread Camp) came here upon my Summons to hear your Excellency Talk, the Gun Merchant and I had some Discourse with him on the Subject and desired him to endeavour to bring them on amicable Terms with the Chactaws and not to fit out any of them to war against them, and how soon he could send into [335] the Chickesau Nation to desire them not to go to War as the Chactaws had promised to commit no Hostilities against them but to live for the Future in Peace and Harmony. However, I desired him to beg them to keep upon their Gaurd. I observe the Indians in one of their Talks to your Excellency want the Rum Trade opened. This, [I] believe, is intirely a Scheme of the Traders as they can have greater Advantages in Trade when they are drunk. But I am of Opinion Nothing would be more determental to our Interest nor raise Disturbances to such a Height as allowing them Rum for whenever they are drunk they are always intent upon Mischief and are insolent in the greatest Degree which occasions many Riotts between the Traders, Pack Horse Men and them that end in fighting and sometimes parhaps in Blood shed.

I shall be obliged to your Excellency if you will advise me if our Forces to the Northward have had any Success and if they are gone into Winter

Quarters. Thomas Ross, the Person who was sent up by the Majestrates of Georgia to this Oration on the Ogechee Affair, was superannuated and a very improper Person, as he suffered his Fear to get the better of his Reason without any other Cause than what he knew before he left Augusta. He turned perfectly lunatick and gave away all his Cloaths to Indians as he met them in the Path, and strolled away from the Handsom Fellow (who took him in Charge) and was lost for three Days. When at last he came into the Cussetaws stark naked and [declared] that the Handsome Fellow wanted to kill him which I believe Nothing off as there was not any Thing to prevent him if he inclined, but so far was he from that, he took a great Deal of Care of him and made him sleep with his Head in his Bosom to secure him from the Aprehensions he had of being murdered.

I shall with Pleasure wait for the Favour of a Letter from your Excellency and what Orders you shall be pleased to give me therein shall be punctually and carefully obeyed. I am with the greatest Respect, Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient and very humble Servant,

DANL. PEPPER

DANL. PEPPER TO GOVERNOR LYTTELTON

|336|

Ockchoys, 21st December, 1756

SIR, I have had the Honour to write two Letters to your Excellency, since my Arrival in this Place, one dated the 18 and the other the 26 Ult., both which I transmitted under Cover to Lieutenant Outerbridge, who no Doubt has forwarded them carefully to your Excellency, so I beg Leave to refer you to their Contents.

Upon the 8th Inst. John Brown, Trader at the Bread Camp, came here with two Chickesaw Indians, who brought a Talk from the Head Men of their Nation to Gun Merchant and other Head Warriors of the Creeks advising them how the Chactaws continued to harrass and kill them so that they have not been able to stir abroad to hunt, and desiring their Aid and Assistance to go to War against them accordingly to the Gun Merchant's Promise at the Bread Camp. As to further Particulars your Excellency will please be referred to the inclosed Copies of the Talk and of two Letters from Jerome Cortonnee to John Brown which are pretty full on that Subject. Upon Brown's Arrival, immediately dispatched a Runner for the Wolf to hear the Talk who came the 12th when the Talk was given out in the Square in Presence of him, the Gun Merchant, the Half Breed of the Tuckebatches and some other Head Men, who after a Consultation among themselves desired the Messenger to assure the Chickesaws of their Friendship, and therefore advised them to keep at Home this Winter and not to go to War against the Chactaws, but put up with what Loss they had already sustained without making further Reprizals as they (the Creeks) had sent Peace Talks all over the Chactaws' Nation to conciliate Matters between them which promised to consent to all excepting four Towns under the French Yoke at the Tonbegbee Fort, and they doubted not to know their final Resolutions in the Spring, and if they continued to kill them they would

then joyn and fall upon them as a common Enemy, but could give no Assistance sooner, were they never so willing, all their Warriors being in the Woods. The Wolf desired them further to tell their Head Men to inform this Nation without Loss of Time, if it is true that the French and Savannahs are building a Fort at Wawbash near the Mouth of the Cherokee River. That in Case there is any such Thing going forward a Stop may be put to it in Time which he and the Miser (Head Man of the Puckantallahases) are resolved to do in the Spring if no more in the Nation should joyn to assist them.

The Savannahs Indians continue daily to burr [*sic*] bad Talks through this Nation and lately had near effected the knocking up of all the White People here had not the Wolf and Old Briskitt stood true to our Interest and declared [337] that they and all their People should be killed before the least Hurt should come to a White Man which at that Time put a Stop to their bloody Designs and the base undermining Scheme of their Associates, the French.

It is my humble Opinion which I beg Leave to give freely to your Excellency that while there Indians continue the Emissaries of French Policy under the Tuition of their dangerous Ringleader, our inveterate Enemy, Peter Chertee, we never can be easy in this Nation as they are constantly hatching Misschief against us and endeavour to instill jealous Principles in the Creeks of our Power which they say we want to promote till we intirely inslave them. This they do to bring them over to allow us all to be knocked in the Head which from their Situation there Savannahs could easily do, were the Creeks to stand neuter. As the Case stand, thus that they are ever open and avowed Enemies breathing Nothing but Blood and Distruction. Querie: In case I could in Conjunction with the Traders prevail upon this Nation to [invite] them to a Ballplay and knock them in the Head, would your Excellency approve of it, and would it not be laudable to counterplott them in their Machinations and to follow the Law of Nature in self Preservation?

I mention this as I am apt to think such a Thing put in Agitation might succeed and the Effects resulting from the Execution of it be highly advantageous on our Alliance with this Nation. Since my last I have been informed by one whom I can depend on, of a Conversation he had with the Wolf on the Subject of building a Fort in this Nation and his Sentiments on that Head are to the following Effect, which he desired me to be acquainted with. That he for his own Part sees no Danger in allowing not only one Fort to be built, but more if required, but he says that is not the Case with the greater Part of the Indians who look upon the Words Fort and Slavery to be synonomous Terms, so that they are alarmed purely for Want of knowing better which can only be instilled in them by Degrees and Length of Time. However, he adds that as I am in a Place where there are two great Leading Men, the Gun Merchant, and the Mortar, he [doubts] not they will exert themselves to have a Fort built, and their Part of the Treaty fulfilled. For his own Part he owns he signed the Treaty, and is willing to adhere to it so far that if I can do Nothing with the Gun and Morter he declares he will allow me to build one in his Town the [Mocaullossee?] eight Miles above the French Fort whenever I shall think proper. He is of Opinion to avoid giving Office to the Indians a few Men not exceeding

fifteen or twenty would be a sufficient Number at first, and among them some Women and Children which would alleviate [338] their Fears greatly of being made Slaves. If such a Thing take Place a Black Smith would be absolute necessary as the Want of one draws a great many of our Indians to the French Fort to get their Guns mended which lays them very much in the Way of being tampered with. I shall have a full Conversation with the Wolf myself relative to the above Particulars and write your Excellency fully. In the mean Time I should be glad to know your Excellency's Opinion of a Fort there in case it cannot be executed another Way by a general Consent.

I have made all the Enquiry possible as to the Strength and present Situation of the Alabama Fort, and by Reason of their Apprehensions of Danger by my coming up find it difficult to come at an exact Account. However I understand their Garrison consists of thirty Men with Officers and a few Guns of no heavy Mettal, the particular Number I have not been able to come at. They have been and continue to repair all the defective Parts of it and have put iron Spikes on the Heads of the Puncheons with every Thing they can to enable them to defend it in case of an Attack, which I cannot help thinking it might be easily surprised and taken if this Nation would but consent. The Tonbegbee Fort is but of small Account and seems to be of little more Use than a Guard for the great Store they kept there which they open monthly and distribute Goods to the Chactaws in lieu of White People and Chickesaw Scalps, which Trade they practice as our Traders do for Deer Skins. The French have only fifteen Men there and a few Swivell Guns.

I have not been able to learn the Designs and Transactions of the French at New Orleans as there is little Ammunition between this and them, but as the beloved Warrior of Tellico (who went to Mobbille with French John that I wrote your Excellency of in my first Letter) is expected back daily, and he being Brother-in-Law to John Brown, I am in Hopes by his Means to be able to inform your Excellency of what is doing in these Parts. Some Indians who were lately at the Alabama Fort tell us when they were there the Officer was swearing against the English in a great Rage and upon their enquiring the Reason from the Linguester he told them that the English had taken their large House Canoe with Money to pay the Soldiers by which he meant the Pay Ship. I hope the News may be true. In case a Party could be made to surprize and take the French Trading Boat in coming from Mobbille to the Alabama Fort, Querie: Would it meet your Excellency's Approbation?

The Person who I mentioned before that told me the Wolf's Mind relative to a Fort, further informs me that among other Conference the Wolf asked him how the English never attempt making themselves Masters of Mobbille by which they would intirely secure the Chactaws, and all the Indians on this Part of the Main and reduce of course the Alabama and Tonbegbee Fort, and would in his Opinion be attended with [339] no great Difficulty as the Chactaws might be kept in Play by the Chickesaws in case they would not stand neuter. Upon this I have reflected seriously the Advantages that would accrue to strengthen our Interest upon the Reduction of such an important Place, and think if any Method could be fallen on to make it ours it would be a Means

of securing the Peace of Carolina intirely, from the Indians. Some Vessels to cruize of the Mouth of the River might be able to inform your Excellency of the Possibility of puting such a Scheme in Execution by the Sea and Party might be sent to assist the Chichesaws in annoying the Chactaws by Land and so keep them in full Employment at Home.

I have enquired whether the Palachocola King has been among the Cherokees lately and find that he has not been from Home this Summer, but the Second Man of his Town has been gone there six Months and not yet returned. Where he is gone and upon what Account is not known. How soon I can come to the Knowledge of it, I shall be sure to inform your Excellency. I find that some Pipes and Tobacco is wanted for the Indians so have ordered a small Box of each from Mr. Douglass at Augusta which I hope you will approve of. I am with great Esteem and Respect,

Sir, Your Excellency's most obedient humble Servant,

DANL. PEPPER

Please to allow one of your Servants to deliver the inclosed.

DANIEL PEPPER TO GOVERNOR LYTTELTON

Ockchoy, Upper Creeks, 23d December, 1756

SIR, I wrote your Excellency under Cover to Lieutenant Outerbrige the 21st &c. and as I have been very full relative to any Transactions that have happened since my Arrival here I shall not trouble your Excellency with a Reiteration, but refer you to it and have this Day the Honour to receive yours of the 4th Ult. and carefully observe the Contents. I am glad you have sent the two Chests of Arms to Mr. Outerbrige as they will come here in a vere [*sic*] seasonable Time.

I received this Day an Express from his Excellency, Governor Reynolds, acquainting me that he had made up the Difference occasioned by that unhappy Affair between the White People and Indians on Ogeehee with the Handsom Fellow by giving him Presents &c. with a Copy of the Talk they had in the Council Chamber in case the Fellow should prevaricate and any Murmurs arise in the Nation upon his Arrival in which Case I shall use my Endeavours to stifle them and have all Matters made streight. I answered his Excellency's Letter and [340] assured him of the same and that I was instructed to that Purpose by you. I missed of the Handsome Fellow upon the Path, he taking the Upper and I the Lower, which made me not mention anything of him to your Excellency, as I imagined you would be fully informed by Governor Reynolds. With regard to the Difference between the Cherokees and Chickesaws, I have sent a Message by Mr. Brown before I received yours for the latter to put up with the Loss they had sustained by the former, and not to go to War, which I am apt to believe they will harken to, as they are so much harassed by other Enemies they have their Hands full. I shall inform them of your Excellency's Paragraph relative to the same.

I am glad to hear Capt. Demere is arrived at the Place where the Fort is to be built. I hope every Thing will succeed there to your Excellency's Wishes.

I shall mention to Mr. Brown what your Excellency writes about the Chickesaws coming down, and I dare say with great Pleasure they will accept of your Excellency's Invitation if their Circumstances will admitt. Since my last to your Excellency, Mr. John Brown, Partner with Jerome Cortonnee at thee Bread Camp, has informed me that in case your Excellency will give him a Captain's Commission and a blank Lieutenant's he will at his own particular Expense raise a hundred Men to assist the Chickasaws and annoy the French at the Back of their Nation. If your Excellency approves of his Offer he intends (being a Half-breed by a Cherokee Woman) to procure a Party of them, as he has a very great Sway among them to assist him in his Designs. He proposes likeways to inquire into the Truth of the French and Savannahs building a Fort at Wawbash, and in Case they are attempting such a Thing to give them a Brush. It certainly will be a good Method to come at the Schemes of the French at Mississippi and New Orleans. I have known Brown from a Boy; he is a sober and carefull Man, has distingushed himself bravely in War with the Chickesaws against their Enemies, and has Conduct and Courage sufficient in their Way. If your Excellency thinks proper to accept of his Service and acquaint me therewith, I shall send him down upon the Return of the Bearer who is his Man, and as I have made no Agreement with him for carrying my Dispatches to your Excellency, you will please allow him something to bear his Expences in Town. As there is some little Mistake in Mr. Nunes' Account, I beg your Excellency will not let it be paid till you hear further from me. I gave John Neilson a Certificate for forty Pounds, being two Months' Wages as Linguester. I am with great Respect Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient and very humble Servant,

DANIEL PEPPER

As the Bearer has spare Horses to Augusta, and gets fresh ones to Charlestown, I hope your Excellency will soon receive this.

(Given in to the Assembly thus far)

CAPTAIN RAYD. DEMERE TO GOVERNOR LYTTTELTON

[341]

Fort Loudoun, January 2d, 1757

SIR, The Day that Dennis Hagin set out with my Dispatches to your Excellency, Capt. John Stuart set out also the same Evening with the Little Carpenter, Judge's Friend and some other Indians to visit your Excellency. I hope they will all arrive safe for many good Reasons. Mr. DeBrahm's going off in the Manner he did, and leaving the Fort unfinished, and in such a deplorable Condition has given a great Deal of Uneasyness to the Indians, our Friends, and a great Deal of Joy to those that are our Enemies, which is the whole Town of Great Tellico. They have said on that Account that as soon as they approach the Fort with the French &c. that the rest of the Warriours will run away in the Night, as the Warriour did who was a building the Fort. They have learned that another Warriour wanted to run away likewise which has increased their Joy and confirmed them in their Opinion that all the Officers will run away at their Approach. But they mistake very much in their Way of Thinking, for as long as I can craul about and shall have a Drop of warm Blood in

my Veins, I shall fight. I flatter myself to have as much Courage as any Man that ever wore a Head, notwithstanding the Complaints that are gone to your Excellency by those two worthy Gentlemen, Mr. DeBrahm and Postel, which will infallably turn to their public Shame and Confusion. I know I made myself a Slave, being so much attached to the Public Affairs, by the Pains I have taken that I scarce know when it is Day or Night, and I will venture to say that I have done my Duty to the Utmost in every Shape, and let me die or live, I shall have Nothing to reproach myself with. During the whole Time Mr. DeBrahm was here, he was against any public Service, being against any Men going for Corn, against any bringing it from the water Side into the Fort, against any Men taking Care of the Cattle, against our Guns being mounted, against any Trows being made to salt our Beef in, and against Charcoal being burnt, and at last having Occasion to call the Troops under Arms to suppress Mutiny which at that Time seemed to prevaile amongst the Provincials, he did ever oppose my doing that.

All my People are removed into the Fort having built new Hutts. It was with much Difficulty that Capt. Postel's Company came in, and believes they were encouraged against doing it, for the Capt. himself after having received my Orders that his Company should remove as soon as that of Capt. Stuart's, he went amongst them and came back and told me in the Presence of some Officers that they said it was not worth their While to come into the Fort for the little Time they had to stay. Sir, said I, you ought to have confined the first that told you so. He took no [342] further Notice about it and went out a shooting the whole Day. I sent his Lieutenant soon after to see if the Men were preparing to remove. They told him the same. I then immediately ordered a Reinforcement of ten Men to the Guard and when there myself. As soon as I spoke to them they were willing to come in.

I have got all the Guns mounted on the Stocks as well as I could, although I had no Charcoals to do a great many Necessaries they required, so that they must be taken down and better fixed as soon as I get Coals. There is now a Pitt burning, we cannot do without some always in the Forge, for the Indians are constantly bringing their Guns &c. to get mended. I have got Trows made to salt the Beef in, and a House built to put it in. I shall deferr the Remainder of what was agreed on at our last Counsel for a short Time, but am going to employ the People about cutting Pallissadoes agreeable to our great Ingenier's final Directions which, although he says in his Suppliment it is to please the Indians, I think it will be the best of all his Works, but shall take Care they be put deeper in the Ground and more substansial then the first which are all tumbling down. The Indians calls it the Fort to put Horses, Cows and Hogs in, but I differ in Opinion with them for it would not be sufficient. The Indians says that Mr. DeBrahm run away for Fear of being killed, which is no more than I expected and have often hinted it to your Excellency.

It is certain that the whole Town of Tellico, Men, Women and Children, Emperor and all are gone to Highwassey Old Town, and are waiting there till the French and their Indians comes. They have carried there a vast Deal of Provisions, and have stolen several Horses belonging to the White People,

which they have drove with them. Not a Man of the Town of Chatuga is gone with them. I think the few Presents which I ordered them is very well bestowed; they are very thankful to all Appearance notwithstanding these Towns refused to share the Presents in their Favour or to give them any. The Man Killer of Tellico is now at a Stand seeing that none of the Towns will join him. He is ashamed of what he has done, but his Heart is so inclined to the French it would vex him to forsake them. I have taken all proper Measures with the Indians to talk to him, and persuade him to imbrace the English Party, and follow the Example of the rest of the Nation. He is soon expected back from Highwassey Old Town, and is to come to his Father's at Settico. His Father was with me three Days ago; and his Son Kenoteta on their Return from Hunting. I gave them Presents and the old Man was highly pleased with the Reception he met with. We had a great Deal of Talk about his Son, the Man-killer, and he seemed to be much concerned at his Proceedings. He promised me to talk with him and hoped that God would turn his Heart. The Mankiller has heard that the Little Carpenter, Judge's Friend and many other Indians are gone to Charles Town which gives him great Uneasyness and Reason to doubt that they will not be of his Side for which he says they are all Rogues.

I am under no Apprehensions that when the French comes a great [343] many of these Indians will go there to receive Presents from them, and to drink some *de leur Eau de Vie* which may corrupt them. That Villain the Emperor has bragged that we should soon be in want of Provisions by which Means it will be an easy Matter to starve or take us. As to this he may guess right if we do not get some Supply; there is but five cannoe Loads of Corn bought. I have sent an Indian Wench (who has been very serviceable in purchasing of Corn for us) with some Truck to buy all the Corn she can, for want of necessary trifling Things that the Indians like, we are obliged to pay very dear for Corn, for they will give no more for a Thing of Value than for a Trifle suppose they like it. I wonder that Mr. Chevilette did not bring proper Things with him when he first came up as he knew perfectly well the Custom and Dealings of the Indians, and brought Nothing but Salt which they have enough of. The Traders have no Goods proper for the purchasing of Corn; had it not been for the few Things I sent for to supply my Men with, I do not know what we should have done. Your Excellency may depend I shall do whatever I can to get as much Corn as possible without any Delay. This is a Juncture of Time that one must endeavour to please the Indians and be a little generous, and free besides. They are quite naked, and they expect some small Gratification from us, particularly the Headmen that brings any Intelligence. I hope it will appear to your Excellency by my Account that I have sent to Mr. Benjamin Smith to receive the Payment of for Presents to the Indians to the 14th Instant, that I have been as moderate and as frugal as possible considering what Trouble sometimes we have in the Nation. I have sent also to him the Amount of the Money due to the Regulars who have worked in the public Employ to the 24th of December. The Public owes me for 22 Head of Cattle and for Goods which I have furnished to buy Corn and Hogs with, which I have charged to Mr. Chevilette's Account and shall wait till he comes himself.

The Indians wants somebody in the Fort to supply them with Goods and to take Leather in Payment for the same. If your Excellency could prevaile on Capt. John Stuart to undertake such a Thing, the Indians like him, and he is the fittest Man I know of to carry on that Branch of Business as well as to manage the Whole of the Indian Affairs in this Nation. As for my Part I hope your Excellency will excuse me, I am sickly and infirm; I beg that your Excellency will recall me and send me a Successor agreeable to your Excellency's Promise in the Spring of the Year after all those Affairs are over, which I hope will be about that Time to our Satisfaction. The Weather of late has been so very cold, and there has been such heard [*sic*] Frosts that it is almost impossible to break the Ground it is so hard frosen. Mr. DeBrahm missed his Time, at first he ought to have gone about making Something of a Fort, and not Works that are now of no Signification, and which he has |344| abandoned notwithstanding it took the greatest Part of his Time.

Captain Postel has told me that he has acquainted your Excellency that I told him that if I had your Excellency's Orders I would not discharge the Provincials. I remember that I told him when DeBrahm and he were so much for having them discharged and sent Home, that the Works were not near finished and that I could not possibly discharge them without your Excellency's Orders, and in all Cases when Troops were at such a remote Distance, there was a discretionary Power given the Commanding Officer. And that notwithstanding your Excellency's Orders for discharging these two Companies, I might answer for detaining them when the Good of the Service did absolutely require it, or in case the Enemy were near at Hand. I told him further that I should act agreeable to every Thing that should tend or be consistent with the public Welfare. This Gentleman shews plainly what he would do if he could by writing such a Thing to your Excellency. He also has said that Mr. Walter Izard and some other of his Friends had desired him to keep an exact Journal of every minute Trifle that was transacted here, and that he had got a good Deal in his Journal. He has also acquainted your Excellency that he would finish his Cantoon in ten Days; I say not in a Fortnight or three Weeks, and what would signifye his Cantoon alone as there is six Times the Work in the other Side; indeed it is all of a Peace between him and DeBrahm. Your Excellency must send some Person here to inspect the Works.

I have charged in my Account of the Presents £105 which I paid to Mr. James Beamer for bringing my Baggage, some Provisions and a great many Things belonging to the Soldiers which they could not carry themselves on the March from Keowee to this Place, my having then furnished my own Horses to drive the Cattle for the Public which I have not made a Charge of.

This Day came into the Fort the Great Warriour of Chotta and his Brother, the King, and all their Gang from hunting which pleased me much on account they are all well affected to us and were present at the Talk of the Blind Slave Catcher of Chatuga which I send inclosed. I hear for certain that the whole Town of Chatuga are a going to remove into some of these Towns hereabouts and leave the Tellico People to themselves. I have heard lately that the Chickesaws are in War with the Upper Creeks, and have lately taken seven of

their Men Prisoners which they carried Home and burned in their Towns. They were pursued by the Creeks who came near enough to see their own People burnt. This was told me by Old Hop's Son who had it from a Tellico Fellow of the Mankiller's Party. I have endeavoured to speak with the two Chickesaws I mentioned to your Excellency last, but I cannot hear any Thing of them and do not know where they are gone.

The Indians and Woman before mentioned to your Excellency that went to the Halbama Fort to New Orleans are not to go to Old France; they are to return here with the Presents. I conclude being with the greatest of Respect. I am Sir,

Your Excellency's most humble and obedient Servant

RAYD. DEMERE

TALK OF THE BLIND SLAVE CATCHER OF CHATUGA

[345]

Fort Loudoun, Jan. 2d, 1757

This Day Capt. Raymond Demere received the following Talk from the Blind Slave Catcher of Chatuga who is the second Man in that Town when was present the Great Warriour of Chota and his Brother Kenoteta, Old Capt. Cæsar of Chatuga, the Old Warrior of Tomotley, the Prince, Old Hopp's Son and several other Indians. The following Officers present: Lieutenant Wall, Lieut. James Addamson, Ensign Richard Coytmore and Ensign Maurice Anderson. Wm. Showrey, Linguister.

The Blind Slave Catcher aforesaid says that there is none of the Towns in the Cherrockee Nation that has such bad Thoughts as the Town of Tellico, for they and the Savannahs are alike and it was the Savannahs' Doings that carried the Tellico People to the French. He says that when the Tellico People went off they carried a Warr Tomahawk made of Wood to the Savannahs, that when the Savannahs saw it they were pleased and knew what it was for, viz. to go to War against the White People in the Cherrockees.

He says that after the Tomahawk was delivered to the Savannahs they went with the Tellico People to the French Fort, and gave the Tomahawk to the Capt. of the Fort, and said that the Cherrockees by that had delivered up their White People to them. He says that the French Officer thanked them for delivering up to them the Carolina People, and told them that they should soon be convinced of their Ability to serve them, for they would load a 100 Horses to their Nation. He says that the French thanked them very much and said as they had delivered up the Carolina People it was their Desire they should bring them one of their Scalps as soon as possibly they could, and that they need not fear of being well supplied and protected by them. He says that the French Officer told them that they were his Children, and that he had sent four of their Men to New Orlain's who should return with the Goods. That so soon as the Tellico People should get Home, they and the Chatuga People must move to Hawassee Old Town at which Place they would meet them with a hundred horse Load of Goods and as many Keggs of Rum. He says that the French Officer told them that they wanted no more Land then for them to stand

on, that they would settle at Highwassey Old Town close by them and be with them as one People, and that the hundred Horses aforesaid should go and return four Times loaded with Goods all of which they should have as Presents, and that after they had given them 400 Horse Loads of Presents, then they would bring a hundred Horse Load of Goods to sell to them, but not on such bad Terms as the English did for they did not want Leather, but would take Beaver, Otter, Fox, Raccoon and Bear Skins in Payment. That he should always look on them as his Children, and they should be always plentifully supplied with white Shirts, Blankets and all other Goods that the [346] English now supplied them with. He says that the French Officer told them on their Return Home immediately to bring their Wives and Children to Highwassey Old Town and meet the People with the Presents, but that they must not fail to bring an English Scalp with them, that they might be sure they were their Children.

He says that the Tellico People has not as yet got a Scalp as he knows of, but he does not know how soon they will, for he does not know how Things will happen. He says that they threatened to kill Cornelius Cokely and drew their Knives at him. He says that they may probably kill their Trader, and carry his Scalp to the French.

He says that there is but few People at Chatuga and the Town of Tellico is very numerous. That he and Old Captain Cæsar thought proper to bring all the White People to this Fort, for they did not think them safe there, and says that they must stay here till better Times. He says that the Mankiller of Tellico is the principal Man concerned in favour of the French and that this Day he is expected to come in; he says that the four Tellico People that went down to New Orleans are expected to be at Highwassey Old Town every Day, and that all the Town of Tellico is now out in the Woods waiting for them, and that he expects they will bring a very great Number of People with them. He says that every Man in Tellico is concerned in this Affair and the Emperor as much as any Man else.

RAYD. DEMERE

CAPTAIN RAYD. DEMERE TO GOVERNOR LYTTELTON

Fort Loudoun, January 4th, 1756 [*sic*]

SIR, Of Late we have had frequent Alarms concerning the Tellico Indians, Thomas Leaper and James Kelly, two Traders in Tellico have left that Town. They came here three Days ago; they left one Cornelius Coakley in the Town who refused to come with them and said he would stay and see what they intended to do. Two Days ago he was attacked by the Indians of that Town who drew their Knives to kill him and would have stabbed him, had he not jumped out of the Fellows' Way who stuck his Knife through his Coat. On the 2d Instant he came here guarded by Old Capt. Cæsar, the Blind Slave Catcher and three other Indians of Chatuga. I must observe to you that before Leaper and Kelly left Tellico they removed their Goods to Chatuga in the Night by the Assistance of some of the old Men of that Town whom they have put them in charge of. The Path from Chottee to Tellico has been way laid

for several Days by four Indians of the Mankiller's Party of which an Indian called the Great Elk was the principall Man. Their Business and Intention was to get a White Man's Scalp if possible. |347| I immediately dispatched an Express to Mr. Cornelius Doharty, Trader at Highwassey, to warn all Expresses and other Persons that might be coming to these Upper Towns to come over the Mountains and not by Tellico.

Hearing that the Mankiller of Tellico was come to his Father's in Settico on the 2d Instant, I sent one William Showrey to talk with him and to desire him to come to the Fort to see me. Showrey did all he could to induce him to come, but the Mankiller told him that I had heard a great Deal about him, and that he was ashamed to come and that his Thoughts were very bad. He sent Showrey up to me this Evening with the following Message, viz. that he would not come to the Fort notwithstanding he well remembered the kind Reception he met with when he was there before, but that he desired I might come immediately to James Baldrige's, Trader in Settico (which is seven Miles from this Fort) and that there he would meet me and talk with me. He also desired that I might bring him some Presents viz., a white Shirt, some Paint, a Blanket and Match Coat &c. &c. Showrey says that he asked him several Questions about the Savannahs, Chactaws, French &c., but that he refused to give him any satisfactory Answer further then this, that he had a great Deal to say and when I came he would tell all he knew. It being late in the Evening the Weather most excessive cold and myself much indisposed, I sent Showrey back to inform him therewith and to make known to him my great Desire of seeing him at this Fort. I thought it inconsistent with good Conduct to go to him. By the Steps I have taken I make no Doubt but his Father and Brother will bring him to me, and that I shall get from him a full Discovery of the whole Proceedings and Transactions concluded with the French and hope to prevail on him to forsake them and become good Friends to the English. Though I expect the Tellico People will demand some Presents of me as all the other Towns have had some, and indeed I think that no Measures ought to be neglected to bring them over, and as a favourable Opportunity now seems to offer, I shall exert myself in every Respect as much as I possibly can to negotiate Matters and reconcile them. The Indians are highly pleased to see all our Men moved and living in the Fort and say that they are thereby convinced we are come to serve them and to live amongst them as one People. I am with Respect, Sir,

Your Excellency's most humble and obedient Servant,

RAYD. DEMERE

CAPTAIN RAYD. DEMERE TO GOVERNOR LYTTELTON

|348|

Fort Loudoun, January the 6th, 1757

SIR, Late Yesterday Evening I received Intelligence that the Mankiller of Tellico was come to his Father's in Settico and that he had sent to Tellico for 30 of his Men with whom he intended to come to this Fort and that his Designs were bad, that he had proposed in the Townhouse of Settico to kill all the

Traders in these Towns the Night before, and that the Traders lay in the Woods that Night. Old Hop's Son happened to be with me, when I received this News, and was just agoing Home. I desired him to acquaint the Great Warrior and his Brother therewith, and desire them to come to me early the next Morning.

On the 5th Instant early in the Morning a Runner came to me Express from Old Hopp and told me that Old Hopp had sent him to acquaint me, that the Mankiller and many of his Gang were then acoming to the Fort, that they were all armed, talked bad and he did not know what they intended to do. He said that Old Hop desired I might not let them into the Fort, but to have all the great Guns loaded, my Men under Arms and meet them just out of the Fort and receive their Talk, as he supposed they had one to give. He told me also that in a little Time I should have a great many Warriours here who were determined to know and see what the Tellico People intended to do.

In a little Time the Mankiller came, though by himself, painted all black and looked very cross and ilnⁿatured. I took him by the Hand and brought him into my Room and was resolved to be close at him and remove his bad Thoughts if possible. I asked him where he left his young Fellows? He said that they were a coming to see the Fort. I told him that I could not admit any of them if they had their Arms. That our Customs were such that no Body were admitted within a Fort with Arms. He told me they had none with them. On that I told him they might all come in and welcome, that I looked on them all as Cherrockees and Children of the Great King George. I expressed to him the great Concern it gave me to see him so melancholly, that I was sure that there was something that lay heavy on his Mind and that it was not too late to come into Friendship with the English notwithstanding he had gone a stray from them, but as Nothing had been executed that I was ready and willing to redress him if he would come into the right Path again, and be affectionate to his good Friends the English and forsake those bad Talks he had received from the French. That all should be forgot by me, and that all the other Towns would like him, but that his bad Behaviour had rendered him despicable in the Eyes of every Body and that he was hated and despised even by his own Relations, for being of an opposite Party against their Inclinations. I represented to him that the whole Nation of the Cherockees were now in the greatest Friendship with us except the Town of Great Tellico, and what was it they would do by themselves that any bad Designs they had against the English would be soon prevented and they themselves would [349] be sorry for it hereafter to have executed any bad Doings, such as to scalp any Englishman that had lived so long amongst them or any Newcomer that is here with no other View then to serve and protect them, and that are come here into their Nation to build a Fort agreeable to their repeated Desires and not with the Views and Intent as he had been told by the Savannahs and the French, and that he himself knew now, they had told him Nothing but Lies. I desired him to compose himself and to think seriously of what he was about and reflect on what I had said to him, and to imbrace without any Delay the Party of the English, his

Friends. He told me that my Talk was very good and that his Heart was much lighter since he had seen me and heard it.

He said his Thoughts had been very bad and were now like a Man that was drunk, but that it was not altogether his Fault, that others (mentioning several Headmen) had been the Occasion of his doing what he had, and now to come into Favour they denied it, and threw on him the whole Blame as if he had been the Promoter of all. I know, says he, I am hated and disliked by every Body in the Nation, which has made me so uneasy that I did not know what to do with myself. I was like a lost Man, but now I begin to have another Way of Thinking by the good Talk I have heard.

Soon after this Discourse his People came, about 30 in Number, all young Fellows. I had a Dinner provided for them all and invited them to eat which was taken very kind. I believe that I had in the Fort that Day a 150 Indians, many of them Headmen who came from the neighbouring Towns to hear the Mankiller's Talk and my Answer. The Mankiller and many of the Headmen, and all the Officers went into the Black Smith's Shop where there was Seats provided. I gave him my Talk which he said he approved of very much and told me that he did not go to the French of his own Accord. That many then present knew perfectly well he did not go without Talking with Old Hop &c. That the Savannahs had not said so much to him against the English as the Creeks had. That the French received them very kindly and said so and so to them as your Excellency has been many Times informed by my former Dispatches. He says that the French gave him a great Deal of Papers with Talks, but that he had burnt them on his Return Home and that they offered him thirty Keggs of Rum on his coming away, but he would accept of but two for his People to drink on their Way Home.

The Evening coming on, all the Indians dispersed and went Home except the Mankiller and six of his Party who staid in the Fort all Night, he having before agreed to stay all Night as he would be glad to declare every Thing he knew to me in private. After Supper I gave him a Talk before all the Officers except Capt. Postel, and on my giving him good Advice he said that he saw plainly we came to stay and live amongst them, but that he and his Town were cast of and were obliged to make the best Shift they could. That no Notice was taken of the Town of Tellico. That Presents had been given to [350] all the other Towns and none to them which had grieved them very much and made them uneasy. That if Presents had been given to them they would prove as true Friends to the English as any of the other Towns. He pleaded much for Presents; he said that all his People were quite poor and naked and in Want. I told him if they had behaved themselves well and as Friends to the English that the same Notice would have been taken of them as there was of the other Towns. I told him it was not my Fault that they had no Presents; he said he knew of it. I asked him what was become of all the fine Presents the French had given them that he and his People could be naked so soon. He said that they had received some, but that the large Presents were not yet come. Then I told him if he would tell me every Particular of what was acted at the Halbamer's Fort I would take as much Notice of him and the Town of Tellico as

any of the Rest on Condition they would behave themselves well and be true Friends to the English without any Deceit. He promised me he would, and told me every Particular relateing to the French as your Excellency has heard before, and that five Cherrockee Men of his Party and one Woman was gone down to New Orleans, and that they were to come back with the Presents, and that the two Frenchmen that went from this Nation and Lantignac and few others and some Savannahs were to come also. That as soon as they should come to the Place appointed they were to send an Express to the Town of Tellico with a Talk and to desire them to come and receive the Presents and to conclude with Lantignac (who was to be the principal Manager of the whole Affair) what Time they should come to Highwassee Old Town to build the Fort, and to agree upon some other Matters. He promised me that on the Arrival of the Messenger at Tellico as aforesaid as soon as he heard his Talk he would come himself immediately to this Fort and acquaint me with every particular Circumstance relateing to the same.

I told him that now was the Time for him to shew his Love and Affection to the English and to reconcile the whole Nation to him and to establish his Character, to seize and secure all the French Men that should come and deliver them to me, that I should look on it as a very singular Mark of his Esteem for us and would handsomely reward him for the same, to which he said, do you take me to be a Fool. Let them come, I know what to do.

The next Morning he took the Traders, who stil remained in the Fort, into his Protection and told them to return Home, that no Harm should happen unto them. He pleaded much for Presents to make his People easy in Proportion with the other Towns, and said that would convince them they were not forsaken. I told him they should have some as soon as the Traders should come from Charles Town, but that I would first have a Meeting with some of the Headmen. I gave him some few Things for himself; he told me that he would be with me again in a few Days.

I have bought five Cannoe Loads of Corn since my last, and am going to send to buy |351| more immediately, and in a few Days I propose to send to Tellico to buy some which may come here by Water. I hear there is a large Quantity there and the Women will be glad to dispose of some for Necessaries. I shall conclude having the Pleasure to inform your Excellency that the whole Nation of the Cherrockees, Upper, Middle and Lower Towns, except the Great Town of Tellico which I hope will be soon reconciled to us, never were more strongly attached to the English to all Appearance then they are at this Time. Such a Change never was seen which gives me great Satisfaction that my Labour has not been employed in vain. I hear that the whole Town of Tellico is come in. We are in a very fine, healthy Climate, and all enjoy our Health extreamly well. I am with Respect Sir,

Your Excellency's most humble and obedient Servant,

RAYD. DEMERE

P. S. Notwithstanding the Mankiller's great Promises, I will not trust him as yet no more then the French. An Officer and 30 Men mounts Guard daily.

Rd. De.

CAPTAIN RAYD. DEMERE TO LIEUTENANT WALL¹⁸

Fort Loudoun, January 10th, 1757

SIR, You are to proceed to Tellico with all the Traders and others that came from that Town to this Fort for Protection, now that all the Headmen and Warriours are come in, you are to deliver them a Talk from me agreeable to my Orders; and you are to receive another from them, and if you see that they are our Friends, and well affected to us, agreeable to the Mankiller's Promises to me, in such a Case you may assure the whole Town that great Notice will be taken of them by me, and that I shall recommend them to their Brother, [the] Governor, as being our true and beloved Friends, that he may remember them as well as the other Towns.

And assure them strongly that they shall not be forsaken by the English, and as a Token of our Esteem and Affection towards them as they are Cherrockees and Children to King George, you are to deliver to them as a Present the several Articles mentioned in my Order per you on Thomas Leopard. You are to execute this Business with a great Deal of Discretion and Exactness, and return back as soon as possible. I wish you Success and am Sir,

Your humble Servant,

RAYD. DEMERE

Given under my Hand the Day above mentioned
To Lieut. Robert Wall

CAPTAIN RAYD. DEMERE TO GOVERNOR LYTTELTON

Fort Loudoun, January 12th, 1757

|352|

SIR, On the 8th Instant I was invited to Dinner at the Great Warriour's House at Chottee. Old Hopp was there, and several of their Headmen. They all seemed to be well pleased. Old Hop desired to know what I said to the Mankiller of Great Tellico. After having acquainted him with it, he said that he approved much of what I said to him. Further, I said that he pleaded much for Presents being given to his Town, and that I thought he had a Mind to turn good. They said he was a Rogue, and what could they do. They were but one Town; they must have no Presents for their bad Behaviour. I agreed with them that they did deserve none, but represented to them that I did expect some Expresses a coming from the Governor and some Provisions for the Troops, and that their own Traders were also a coming up with Goods for them. That if some Expedient was not taken in Time about them, they might cutt of our Communication, and seize the Goods, Provisions, &c. and put us to a great Nonplus. Then they advised me to send an Express to Mr. Doharty to acquaint him that the Expresses and every Thing else should come the other Way. I told them that I had already took Care of that as soon as I had heard of the bad Talk flying about from that Town, and told them that Scheme would not do long, that as soon as they did hear of it, or suspect any Thing about the same, they might as well intercept any Thing coming up to us that Way. More

¹⁸ This is an enclosure with the letter which follows below.

than that, I told them that all the White People, Traders and others which did live at Tellico, and Shattougue, which had been obliged to fly away in the Night Time from those Towns to save their Lives, were stil in the Fort; I told them that I regarded myself as a Father to all the White People that were in the Nation. Therefore I was obliged to represent to them, that it would be very necessary that some Measures were taken to bring that Town to a right Understanding with us, that Matters of bad Consequence might not erisue. They told me that the Traders should stay in there Towns and send for all their Goods. Then I said the Town of Chattugue should be disappointed of Goods. No, said they, they will come to buy their Goods here. Such a Saying did not please me at all, for I know perfectly well that if the Traders had been taken away from these Towns, the Tellicoe People would have been ten Times worse. Then they would not mind doing any Mischief; they would [have] thought themselves quite forsaken by the English, and then our Communication would have been in course intirely cutt of. Therefore would not agree to it. As they had said that they should have no Presents before, I did not know how to bring about the following Reason for Fear to affront them, and there was no other Way to make up Matters with the Tellico People except by giving them Presents in Proportion with the other Towns as they had desired themselves to bring them to a mutual Friendship with us. I proposed to them to try them, that perhaps some small Presents might bring them too. They told me that I was afraid. No, said I, I am under no Fear at all, and why should I be afraid when I am amongst you and when I have so many brave red Coat Boys under my Command, that likes the Smel of Gun Powder. What I said made them laugh much; in short one is obliged to humour them in every Thing against his own Inclination. When I saw they were so well pleased I told the |353| Interpreter to tell them that I was no more afraid then a good Father ought to be for some of his Children that were at a Distance from him, that he could not help in Case any Thing should happen to them. Well, said they, it's natural you should love them and we approve you for it, and we like them too. I was glad to hear them give me such an Answer. Well, I said, as they are Cherrockees, and are very poor this Year I must give them some few Presents, and then we shall see what good Effect the same will produce. They all agreed and concluded that it should be so. Some of them were as much to blame as the Town of Tellico, but they want to show that they were not concerned in any Thing. If the Mankiller of Tellico does turn good that's more than I expect, for I do not like his Looks, and I think he is a very deceitful Villain. He can do Nothing of himself; his own Town will forsake him and he will bring the whole Nation against him. They all begin to hate him, and it's thought that his own Brother will be persuaded to kill him, if he insists much longer in his Opinion. I pray God it may be so, and wish I could do it myself, but am willing to try farther with him.

Yesterday Morning I dispatched Lieut. Wall with Orders to proceed to Tellico in order to give that Town a Talk, as they are all come in, and to receive another from them, and to give them some Presents as they required so much if he thought they were deserving of it. He took with him all the White

People that were come into the Fort for Protection. Copy of those Orders Mr. Wall had from me, I send inclosed to your Excellency.

The Provincials are now imployed about levelling the Breast Works; the Pallissadoes cannot be laid on without that being done. The Regulars are very willing to work, but none is imployed till such Time I hear from your Excellency which hope will be soon, or that you are pleased to send some Person to inspect Mr. DeBrahm's great Doings. I have a Corporal of my own which is a Gardiner and there is another Corporal, a Dutchman, in Capt. Stuart's Company which could go on with the Works, that are to be done now that the great *Quelque Chose* is abandoned. I may assure your Excellency that we do not stand idle; there is enough to do. At the News of our last Alarm I was obliged to mount the great Guns any how, but now all the Smiths are imployed about making new Irons for them, none of the old Iron will do. I bought, since my last, ten Canoes of Corn. I wish my Dispatches may reach Charles Town before Capt. Stuart setts out. I heard Yesterday that Mr. Chevilette was arrived at Keowee with Provisions. He sent to Mr. Doharty for some Horses, and told him to send first to the Fort for some Baggs without writing to me, the like was never heard of. I have more Reason to be tired of this Expedition than any Body.

Your Excellency will do me the Favour to read the orderly Book, which I now send, when you are at Leasure [*sic*], and hope it will appear that the Duty was not done like Pandors [*sic*], as Mr. DeBrahm has said; beside your Excellency will see how careful I was in my Orders in any Thing which related to Mr. DeBrahm's Directions, for to promote the Good of the Service; in short Nothing could have pleased him. He took Umbrage to what he had no Occasion for.

[354] As all my Dispatches has been of such a Nature and cannot but have been most disagreeable to your Excellency with the Multitude of bad Intelligences I [have] been obliged to inform you with, I [am] now proud to assure your Excellency by this Express, Thos. Leopard, that I am about preparing to dispatch as soon as Lieut. Wall returns from Great Tellico to inform your Excellency that Matters has a more pleasant Aspect then ever they had betwixt the Cherokees and the English. I am at a Loss how to express their great Friendship and Union to us; it's all attended with the best of Understandings and I dare say, at Present, there will be a Continuation of the same which gives me great Joy to have the Pleasure to inform your Excellency with, being sure that this good News will give you an intire Satisfaction as well as to the whole Province of South Carolina. Just at the Conclusion of the Word Carolina, Lieut. Wall arrived from Tellico with the best of News. I am with Respect Sir,
Your Excellency's most humble and obedient Servant,

RAYD. DEMERE

CAPTAIN RAYD. DEMERE TO GOVERNOR LYTTELTON

Fort Loudoun, January the 13th, 1757

SIR, At the Conclusion of my last Night's Letter to your Excellency, Lieut. Wall returned back from Tellico, where I had ordered him to go in order to

execute a Commission with the Headmen and Warriours of that Town; the Report he made to me of his Negotiations was agreeable, pleasant and joyfull, being so tending to the English Interest, by the Variety of those Indians in general coming so readily into our Friendship again, that I could not delay a Moment without transmitting your Excellency the full Truth and Contents of it, by dispatching the Bearer Thomas Leopard, who went with Mr. Wall from the Fort and was present during the whole Time of the Cerimory at Tellico.

That Town wanted Nothing else but I should take Notice of them in the Manner I did. Your Excellency has been informed that I had Reasons not to do it openly without Approbation for Fear of offending other greater Towns &c. But I do assure you that I lost no Time in doing it under Hand to bring it to bear. If my Health had permitted me to go so far, I would have gone there myself, but am very well satisfied with Mr. Wall's Success; the Matter being so well conducted, the Mankiller and the greatest Part of his Warriours proposes to wait on me, so soon as the Weather come to be a little more moderate, to give me a Talk and to assure me of their Fidelity and Loyalty to the English, and to consult and conclude upon whether they shall go with me to Charles Town, or if they shall go before to wait on their Brother, the Governor. In short the News is so extreamly good and there is so much of them that your Excellency will excuse me, if I do not mention every Particular myself, but shall refer you to Mr. [355] Wall's Report relating to the same, which goes inclosed with my Orders to him how he was to proceed. I am with the greatest of Respect Sir,

Your Excellency's most humble and obedient Servant,

RAYD. DEMERE

CAPTAIN RAYD. DEMERE TO GOVERNOR LYTTELTON

Fort Loudoun, January 15th, 1757

SIR, The Express would have gone Yesterday had it not been for a Message that I received the Evening before from Old Hopp desiring me to come and dine with him the next Day. Accordingly I went and the old Fellow was mighty merry, and good humoured, and acquainted me that all the Headmen and Warriours of the seven Upper Towns were to be assembled at Chottee the next Day for to take me by the Hand and to assure me that the whole Nation in General were true Friends to the English, and that I might depend on them in all Occasions. I returned him Thanks, and told him that I never did expect otherwise from them. He desired me that I would come again the next Day to see what Number of young Fellows he had. I promised him I would come again to have the Pleasure to see them all. And said he, when you see them, you will judge if we have to fear any dreadful People to hurt us, when we have the White People with us, Carolina on one Side and Virginia on the other. I affirmed to him that there was no Danger, and that we were both pretty safe with the Assistance of one another.

I almost may venture to say that the Nation will be pretty safe of any Enemy coming here, except some sculking ones, as they will do at all Times.

The French will not attempt to come except they had the Cherrockees on their Side, after all I might mistake, great Numbers of the Cherrockees will go for certain to the Assistance of Virginia in the Spring of the Year. This Nation are now fully convinced of all their Errors. They see we are come to stay with them, and be their Friends, and of late more than ever since they saw so many Houses being built within the Fort, and that the Work goes on in another Manner and not searching the Ground here and there and every where like wild Turkeys in Mr. DeBrahm's Time without finishing any thing, (as they say) that the Iron we brought is imployed in other Uses, then to make Hand Cuffs for them. That their Guns, Tools &c. are mended by a Man sent on Purpose which they never had before, and it's very agreeable to them. I may assure your Excellency that the mending of Guns only takes the whole Smith's Time. I ought to have observed before, that Old Hop had acquainted me that there was a Message from the Creeks, whether it was an old Talk or new he could not tell, but no Talk should be given except I was present and at the hearing of it, which is to be Tomorrow before the seven Towns, but I fancy it is an old Talk.

[356] At my Return in the Fort I found the Mankiller of Tellico, his Brother, Kenitete, and six more Headmen of that Town. The Mankiller asked me how I did like his Looks, whether he did not look more pleasanter than the last Time I saw him? I told him that his Looks were very good at any Time. He confessed that his Thoughts were then very bad for the English, but that the Great Man above and my Talks had changed his Heart. I told him that the Great Man above would never have permitted him to do any Harm to any Englishmen; they all laughed much at it, and after I returned him Thanks for the good Reception he made to my Messenger Mr. Ball [*sic*], he then gave me a Talk. But Kenitete his Brother begun it, as having your Excellency's Commission which was read first of all.

This Talk, which I send to your Excellency, is much about a Trader they want in their Town and till they have one, Matters will never go right. Therefore I beg your Excellency will take the same into Consideration. He wants Things pretty cheap, but thought proper to make him no Answer, only said I should send his Talk to the Governor for him to resolve upon. Your Excellency will see that he is very pressing for having a Trader of his own at Tellico. Mr. Gowdy is much to blame having a Lycence for those two Towns, Tellico and Chatugue, to supply those Towns with Goods and not doing it. He sells his Goods at Ninty Six to some Fellows, that are worse then Indians themselves, at so much per cent Profit. And then those Fellows comes with few Goods to those Towns and imposes much on the Indians and will not trust them a pound Weight of Leather which has obliged them to take the Goods from those People. They must have a Trader that deals on his own Account and has the Goods from Charles Town on the same Footing as the rest of the Traders have. I have imployed William Showry as Linguister, who is as good as any in the Nation, till such Time as Ambrose Davis comes back, who went with Capt. Stuart. This William Showrey was present at all the above Talks and went with Mr. Wall to Tellico.

This Day the 16th I went with 3 Officers to Chottee, and as I went by the Town of Toco, most Part of the Indians of that Town a Top of a Hill, and rested their Arms to me, and then saluted me with a Fireing. We put of our Hatts to them and then proceeded to Old Hop's. The old Fellow was waiting for to carry us to a Place near the Town House where there was at least 400 brave Fellows. We satt down and all the young Fellows were round us. The Talk abovementioned from the Creeks did prove an old one, and a very bad one too, but your Excellency has been informed with it before. The Old Man did behave mighty well, gave the best of Talks to his People, and told them that the White People had been always good Friends to the Cherrockees and recommended them all to look upon us as true Friends and as Children to King George as they were themselves. That some few were now in their Nation, that he would keep and love them and looked on us as [357] Brothers, and desired them never to give Ear to the French Lies. They were false People, and told them that Peter Shortee was at the Head of all these Disturbances because he was a Rogue, and had robbed the English, and the Old Man declared publickly to all his People that he was accused wrongfully by the Mankiller of Tellico, to say that he went to the French by his Consent, that he stole the Talk from him to make himself welcome to the French, and made to me the same Protestation and desired me not to [believe] it. That I was his Brother's Head Warrior and we imbraced several Times, and there was the greatest Joy that could be seen amongst all these Indians.

Just as I was getting on Horseback arrived your Excellency's Express, and came with me to the Fort. As my Dispatches were ready, I dispatched the Bearer Thomas Leopard who was appointed for going before. I shall keep the Courier till such Time as I have Occasion to dispatch him back. I hope your Excellency will excuse my Scrawl. I [have] been obliged to write this at Night after my coming Home and my Eyes are not of the best with the Candel Light and have no Time to write in the Day. I am with great Respect,
Sir,

Your Excellency's most humble and obedient Servant,

RAYD. DEMERE

P. S. I have read your Excellency's Dispatches with Attention and your Orders shall be strictly obeyed as far as every Circumstance of its Contents will permit with Joy and Pleasure, and am in great Hopes that if the French comes into this Nation my Wishes shall be attended with Success.

I had the two Cohorns mounted on a small Carriage of 4 Wheels each; they may be moved from one Place to another and may be levelled just as one shall think proper, and may serve now for two Uses. In case of any Storm or any near Approach from the Enemy, they may be loaded with small Shott and levelled as a Gun and do Execution.

RD. DE.

TALK OF LIEUTENANT WALL TO THE TELLICO INDIANS¹⁶

Great Tellico, 11th Day of January, 1757

FRIENDS AND BROTHERS, It gives me the greatest Joy that I have the Pleasure of seeing so many of the Headmen and Warriours of this Town together as it presents to me an Opportunity to acquaint you that I am a Messenger sent by the Great Warriour at Tuskega (Fort Loudoun) to talk with you; I shall not at this Time trouble you with a very long Talk, but I make no Doubt what I shall say will meet with your Approbation as you are Men of Sence and Understanding. The repeated News that we have heard [358] concerning this Town's having gone to the French with a Design to bring them to Highwassee Old Town and suffer them to build and garrison a Fort there in order with their Assistance and in Conjunction with the Indians in the French Alliance to distress and kill all the Englishmen in the Cherrockee's Nation, is a Thing so Contrary to whatever the English would have expected from the Cherrockees that I think, as I am an Englishman myself and consequently a Friend to the Cherrockees, it cannot be taken amiss in me to begin first on that Subject.

In the first Place I shall acquaint you that the French are unable to supply even the most inconsiderate Town in this Nation, in the Manner the English do. This I will ask no other Proof for than yourselves who have often seen the poor, starved, naked Condition of all the Indians in the French Alliance. The Savannahs who, when they continued in Friendship with the English were a fine flourishing Nation and lived at ease and plenty, since they have joined the French, have been obliged to ramble about like a desolate lost People, almost starved and as naked [as] Doggs. This is so well known in every Town in your Nation that the Savannahs have often been obliged to make Brothers with your People for Nothing else than to get your Cloaths to cover themselves from the Cold.

There is many of you here who are great Warriours and have often been out and killed your Enemies. I ask you if you ever got a good Match Coat or a good Blanket at War? I shall conclude this Subject with desiring you to turn your Eyes and behold the unhappy and wretched Condition of the great Nation of the Chactaws who are near Neighbours to the French and ask if you ever saw them well cloathed like the Cherrockees? No! They are almost starved and quite naked, and you all well know that what few Goods the French supply them with are not to compare with the English Goods, and are sold to them by the French for more than ten Times their Value. I shall now only ask you how the French could supply your Nation, or even any one Town in it, when they are not able to cloath those Indians who live close by them and are their Neighbours. It is true they supply them with Guns, Powder and Bullets to kill Skins, which the French get from them for Nothing. This is so well known to all the old Men and Warriours in the Cherrockee Nation that I shall say no more about it at Present, but shall leave you to think what notorious Lies the French have insinuated to you and I shall leave you to judge what is due to People who

¹⁶ This is an enclosure with the Report of Lieutenant Wall to Captain Rayd. Demore of January 13, 1757 on pp. 321-24.

were about to distress, ruin, and make you an abandoned, lost People. I say I shall leave your Headmen and Warriours, who ought to study the Welfare of your People and Nation, to judge what is due to those deceitfull lying People, the French, who study Nothing but their own malitious Ends.

The Cherrockees have for a long Time been Friends and Brothers with the English and have acknowledged to be Children to King George, and you all well know he has always provided for you like a tender Father and has served and obliged you in every Thing your Nation has ever asked of him. The Governors of Carolina, Virginia &c. [359] do every Thing in their Power to serve, oblige and protect you. None of you ever went to Carolina or Virginia, but you were received in the most kind and affectionate Manner and returned Home loaded with Presents. Sometime ago the Cherrockee Nation asked the English to build and garrison them a Fort in the Upper Part of their Nation. And what could be a greater Mark of the Esteem and sincere Affection of the English, then their sending Workmen and Artificers into your Country to build you a strong Fort and Garrison the same to defend your Wives and Children when you Warriours are out at War or a Hunting, and yourselves in case of Need. Nothing I am sure has ever been wanting in the English to make you a happy, contented and blessed People, and you yourselves cannot be ignorant of it as you have experienced their Friendship for many Years. I don't know one Thing that the English could have served your Nation in, that is undone or neglected by them. They have most plentifully supplied you with Goods of all Sorts for many Years past and will always continue to do the same. You see there is Men and Warriours come up into your Nation, agreeable to your Desire to build a Fort and garrison the same for you. You are all sensible that we are come as Brothers to live amongst you, with no other Intent or View then to serve, protect, defend and fight for the Cherrockees whenever there shall be Occasion. You must also be sensible that serving you in this Particular has been at a very great Expencc to the Province of Carolina.

Now, my Friends and Brothers, What is it that the English have not done for you? You ought imbrace them wherever you meet them. For all the young Men in your Nation has in a Manner been brought up and nourished by the English who are always sorry and bewail any Misfortune that happen to the Cherrockees. Though there be many Towns in this Nation, the great King George, the Governors of Carolina and Virginia, and all Englishmen esteem them all alike as Cherrockees and Friends.

In the next Place what Man living could have done more to serve and oblige the Cherrockees in general then your Brother the Great Warriour at Tuskega (Fort Loudoun). He has renounced Sleep, Rest and Food to talk with you, to please you and to redress your Wrongs, what one of you ever was with him but was received as a Brother, used well and received some Presents from him? He has been very uneasy about the bad Talks he has heard, and has sent me here to talk with you and to receive an Answer from you. And as a Token of the great Love and Affection he has for you, being all Cherrockees and Children to the great King George, he has given you, in behalf of the Province of So. Carolina, these Presents which I hope will meet with your

Acceptance and be pleasing to you, and that you will receive them as a Token of everlasting Friendship with the English.

N. B. I delivered this Talk to a very thronged Audience of Tellico Indians, in their Town House at Great Tellico on the 11th Day of January, 1757.

ROBERT WALL

CORNELIUS DAUGHERTY TO CAPTAIN RAYD. DEMERE

[360]

Highwassey, January 7th, 1757

SIR, Yours I received dated the 3d Instant wherein you desire I should stop all Traders and others from going by Great Tellico which I shall do my Endeavour to do. Last Night I had sent off two Men to go to your Fort for the Country Bags, but as they did not go above 5 Miles I sent after them to go the other Way.

There is a Fellow called the Bigg Raven, who lives in Settico, went down to the Lower Towns in order to go out a Hunting from thence, but he made it his Brag that he would not come in without some of the Creeks' Scalps, and I hear for certain by a Messenger that this said Fellow has killed five, and he further says that he does not value Creeks nor French, for there is a Body of White Men in the Nation belonging to Carolina would take his Nation's Part, so that if this News be true I fancy Great Tellico will have Something else to do than killing of White People.

I cannot tell you News, for I have Messengers out in all Parts and they can't come in yet. But when I hear I shall send you Word concerning all Affairs; the Indians here stands very well affected to our own Interest, and they say Tellico is but one Town alone, and they say they are sensible the French cannot supply them. I am Sir,

Your humble Servant,

CORNELIUS DAUGHERTY

P. S. I wish this News may be true, if the Creeks have left us. I received this Letter the 9th.

Rd. DE.

TALK OF THE MANKILLER OF GREAT TELLICO TO
CAPTAIN RAYD. DEMERE¹⁷

Fort Loudoun, January 15th, 1757

This Day the Mankiller of Great Tellico with his Brother Kenoteta and several other principal Warriours of Great Tellico, waited on Capt. Rayd Demere and gave him the following Talk.

PRESENT: Lieut. Robert Wall, Lieut. James Adamson, Ensign Richard Coytmore, Ensign Maurice Anderson, and William Showry, Linguister.

¹⁷ This is an enclosure with the letter from Captain Rayd. Demere to Governor Lyttelton of January 15, 1757 on pp. 314-16.

He says that the Town of Tellico is not as it formerly was. That they used to have a Sufficiency of Goods amongst them, but now they have not one Trader sent to that Town. He says that in Mr. Elder's Time they had a good Trade brought amongst them and Goods enough, but that since he has been gone they have had no Trader amongst them that could supply them, or that was worthy being called a Trader, and that they were all naked. He says that he received Capt. Demere's Messenger (Lieut. Wall) very joyfully who let them know what Kind of People the French were and that King George was their Father. He says that they acknowledge King George to be their Father and that all the English are their Brothers, and they shall look no where but to King George, and the English for Supplies and Assistance of all Kinds.

The Mankiller of Tellico then said that it is very true, he had |361| some-time ago a very bad Thought but now it is quite altered, and his Mind is easy and his Thoughts are good. And he acknowledges that the great King George is His Father, and shall never look to any other Person, for Protection and Supplies, and hopes that what is past may by no Means prevent the English from sending them good Supplies and taking Notice of them as formerly. He altogether the Indians' Faults, for the Traders in Chatuga sell them check Shirts &c. for four, six, seven and eight Weight of Leather, and imposes greatly on them in the Prices of all their Goods. He says that some Years ago they used to give seven Pounds of Leather for a Match Coat, but now he hopes it may be ordered that they may have one for five Weight of Leather. He says says that they do sometimes quarrel with the Traders, but he cannot think it is that he speaks freely from his Heart, and hopes also that Trading Guns may be sold for them, for eleven Pounds of Leather. He begs also that a Woman's Petticoat (viz.) three Yards of Callicoe may be sold for 3 Wt. of Leather. He says that he desires that the paint Measures that the Traders measures them their Paint in, may be made a little larger, for what they get at present for a Deer Skin is but very little. He says that formerly they used to get a white Shirt for 3 Wt. Leather, but now the Traders ask them six, seven and eight Wt. for them. And that they also impose on them with their Stilliards, which he hopes will be looked into. He says that such Doings is the Occasion of their being discontented and troubled. He says that as the Town of Tellico is quite naked and it's their Desire to have a Trade amongst them, he hopes it will not be long before their will be a Trader sent to them. That when one comes, which he desires may be soon, they shall be all of them satisfied. He says concerning going to Charles Town he cannot give an Answer till he sees the Little Carpenter &c. and hears what Talk they bring, and that after he sees them, he shall then either go down in the Summer or in the Spring. He says that he is in Hopes when the Governor sees this Letter he will think of them and send a Trader immediately to them and when he comes he shall have more to say, but at present he is done.

RAYD. DEMERE

[REPORT OF LIEUTENANT WALL TO CAPTAIN
RAYD. DEMERE]¹⁸

Fort Loudoun, January 13th, 1757

SIR, Agreeable to your Orders on the 10th Instant I proceeded directly to the Town of Great Tellico, taking with me all the Traders and others who had left that Town for Fear of being killed by the Indians thereof; I arrived at Tellico late that Evening and immediately waited on the Mankiller who received me with the greatest Appearance of Friendship, and as soon as I entered his House ordered a Sentry to be posted at his Door, which was immediately done. I told him that I was sent as a Messenger by Capt. Demere to talk with him and all |362| the Headmen and Warriours of Great Tellico; and that I should be glad he would have them assembled the next Day, that I might have an Opportunity of speaking to them altogether. He told me that it should be done and that he was much obliged to Capt. Demere for sending a Messenger to them, and appeared infinitely pleased and satisfied. In the Evening I was invited to sup with the Emperor who entertained me in a most elegant Manner and Nothing but the greatest Friendship appeared.

On the 11th Instant very early in the Morning they hoisted the Union Flag on the Top of their Town House, and the Mankiller sent to inform me that it was their Custom to give and receive all Talks in the Forenoon. In a little Time after he sent 3 of his Men to conduct me to the Town House and also to bring all the White Men that came with me. As soon as I entered the Town House I was received by the Mankiller, Kenoteta and the Emperor who led me to a Seat they had provided for me at the upper End of the Town House. As soon as I was seated, the Mankiller shook Hands with me, and ordered every one in the Town House to do the same. After this Ceremony was over I proceeded to give them a Talk which is here inclosed and hope will meet with your Approbation; I must here observe to you that there was between two and 300 Indians in the Town House when I delivered them my Talk, and that before I began it the Mankiller placed the Emperor on my left Hand and one of his principall Warriours on my right, and ranged all his Headmen in a Circle round me and that Nothing but the greatest Order, Decorum and Attention was observed, the Headmen giving their usual Word of Assent and Approbation to every Sentence.

After my Talk was over the Man Killer gave me a String of Wampum (White) and a large Buck Skin, which he said was due to me as being a Messenger from their Brother the Great Warriour at Tuskega (Fort Loudoun). He then proceeded to tell me that Nothing could have given him more Pleasure and Satisfaction then seeing me and hearing my Talk, and that he was convinced that the Great Warriour of Tuskega was a Friend and Brother to all the People of Tellico. He told me that he had for some Time past had very bad Thoughts, as well as all the People of the Town of Great Tellico, but now as he had seen his Brother's Messengers, and had heard him talk, his Heart was easey and

¹⁸ This is an enclosure with the letter from Captain Rayd. Demere to Governor Lyttelton of January 13, 1757 on pp. 313-14.

his Thoughts were good. He further added that before he saw me the very Breath that came out of their Mouths were infected and bad, but now it was quite altered and that Nothing but Content and Pleasure took place and that he was well convinced that his Brother at Tuskega had thought of the Tellico People and remembered them. He said that he acknowledged they were all of them Children of King George, but that they had long been in a Dispute amongst themselves whether or not King George looked on them as his Children. But now that he had heard my Talk he should take it for granted that the great King George was and always would be a Father to them. He said that the Reason the Town of Tellico had, for [363] doubting that the great King George did not regard them as his Children, was, that they never received any Presents from him and that they never got any Thing without paying for it. That when any Presents came they were always distributed without any Notice taken or Provision being made for them. That it appeared to them they were looked upon as a different People because their Town was separated from the others, but that now those Fears and Suspicions were over, as they all saw that their Brother at Tuskega had taken Notice of them. He said that it was very true that he and some of his People had been with the French, but that now they plainly saw their Error by which Means that Path was so darkened that they could not possibly go it again. And that he was highly pleased and satisfied with the Talk I had given them and would always prove loyal and true Friends to the English. He then told me that he had no more to say only that he had a very long Talk to give to (Captain Demere) their Brother, the Great Warriour of Tuskega, and that he and several of the Headmen and Warriours should wait on him for that Purpose.

I then took my Leave of him and waited on Old Capt. Cæsar of Chatuga who told me that he hoped every Thing would go well, that the two Towns seemed to be in a Manner reconciled to each other, and that he was very proud I had given the Tellico People a Talk, but added that he did not know what Influence the French Presents might have on their Minds, and that it was thought the Tellico Indians who went down to New Orleans were either killed or taken Prisoners by the Creeks or Chactaws, and that if this should be the Case the Tellico Indians would never be Friends with the French again. I should have talked more with Old Cæsar but I received a Message from the Mankiller desiring me to come immediately to the Town House of Tellico.

I [accordingly] waited on them and was received in the Town House with all the Demonstrations of Joy and Satisfaction they could possibly express. As soon as I was seated Kenoteta got up and with an audible Voice told them that they now saw as he had often told them that the English were and always would be their Friends and Brothers, and that when he was in Charles Town he received a Commission from the Governor of Carolina which Commission he held fast in his Hands, and would never throw it away, but would dye by it in Behalf of the English. He then gave me his Commission and desired I might read the same, which I did and had it interpreted by my Linguister which seemed to give a general Satisfaction to all present. The Presents were now divided and although there was not the Value of a Pair of Boots per Man yet they were in-

tirely satisfied and appeared to be in Raptures of Joy. All the Headmen embraced me and assured me that they received them Presents as a Token of everlasting Friendship with the English. That they on their Parts should continue loyal and true as long as the Sun, Moon, [364] and Stars should shine and as long as the Water run downwards. It being now late in the Evening, the Mankiller desired that I would come to the Town House that Night. That on account of the general Satisfaction I had given all his People, they were desirous to entertain me that Night with severall different Dances; I promised that I would wait on him with great Pleasure.

As soon as it grew dark the Drum was beat in the Town House, and I received a Message from the Mankiller to come immediately there. As soon as I came he told me that he never danced but upon some extraordinary Occasion, but that as his Thoughts were good and his Heart light he would give me a Dance at the Head of a Party of his Warriours and young Men. He then went out of the Town House and in about half an Hour he returned; before he entered the Town House he gave several Hoops which was answered by a Number of different Voices and seconded by a Kind of a yelling Howl from every Indian in the Town House. The Drum was immediately beat and the Mankiller came in almost quite naked and painted in Streaks of White all over his Face and Body. He was followed by fifty-seven of his Warriours and young Men, and they were all painted in the same Manner (which amongst those Indians is a Token of Peace and Friendship). They continued dance in their usual Manner round a large Fire about an Hour and then were joined in the Dance by every Man in the Town House and continued dancing [*sic*] for about three Hours without Intermission. They then ceased and the Masquerade came in which I can not possibly give you an exact Description of. After that was over the Mankiller ordered all the young Women to dance. They danced some Time and were joined by all the Women in the Town House.

I was thus entertained till about 2 o'Clock in the Morning when I proposed to go to my Lodgings when the Mankiller ordered all the Dancing to cease and Nothing but a profound Sylence was observed. He then ordered one of his principal Warriours to get up and speak as he had directed him which was accordingly done. The Man made a very long Oration the Purport of which was that now as they had received a Messenger from their Brother the Great Warriour of Tuskega and had heard his Talk all their bad Thoughts and Intentions were vanished and at an End, and that they were going to dispatch Runners to their Brothers at Chottee and all the seven Towns to acquaint them with the same and to certify to them that their Hearts were streight toward the English, and that the Mankiller and several of his Headmen and Warriours were to go to their Brother's at Tuskega and to give him a Talk in behalf of the whole Town of Tellico; also that they intended to dispatch Runners to the Creek Nation to confirm a strong and lasting Peace with them. When this Talk was over every Indian in the Town House gave their usual Word of Assent thereto. I then left them, they continued dancing and rejoicing all that Night.

The next Morning very early the Mankiller came to me and told me in Private that he stil remembered what his Brother the Great Warriour at Tus-

kega had said to him concerning |365| taking of Lantignac and all the French Men that should come with the Presents, and that he hoped I would not talk about it as he should speak to Capt. Demere himself in a little Time on that Subject. He told me that he and some of his Warriours had agreed to go with me to the Fort, but the Weather being very cold, he declined it, but begged that I would acquaint his Brother that he would wait on him the first good Day that came. I then took my Leave of him and [proceeded] on my Way to Fort Loudoun.

As I think it my Duty I cannot omit mentioning to you that the Towns of Tellico and Chatuga are very indifferently supplied with Goods. There is not more Goods in both these Towns than one Packhorse can carry, and if there is not some Alteration and Amendment made therein, those Towns will always be uneasy and dissatisfied. I am Sir, with the greatest Respect,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

ROBERT WALL

CAPTAIN RAYD. DEMERE TO GOVERNOR LYTTELTON

Fort Loudoun, January 17th, 1757

SIR, I received a Letter from Capt. Stuart bearing Date at Keowee the 10th Instant importing that the Middle and Lower Towns were but very little more to be depended on then the Tellico People, so that I must still acquaint you that Matters are in a very unsettled Condition in this Nation. The French Presents are hourly expected and it's impossible to tell what Effect they may have on the Minds of those Indians who were the most avaritious People I ever saw. I am with Respect Sir,

Your Excellency's most humble and obedient Servant,

RAYD. DEMERE

P. S. I am yet in Hopes to accommodate Matters.

JOHN FAIRCHILD TO GOVERNOR LYTTELTON

In the Fork between Broad and Saludy Rivers, 1st Jan., 1757

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, After humbly asking your Excellency's Pardon for taking this Liberty, which is Presumption in me, but from your Excellency's Goodness, I am the greater emboldened and do humbly beg Leave to inform your Excellency that some Time past a Neighbourhood of People living on the southering Branch of Broad River was drove |366| from oft their several Settlements by the severe Threats of Indians and are stil obliged to keep from their Lands and Livings. Also some of the Inhabitants from the northermost Branches of that Part of Santee called Great Saludy and after plundering the Houses, with other Mischiefs, sett some on Fire which gives the whole Inhabitants, this Way, unspeakable Uneasyness that almost the whole Place threatens to break up, declaring they cannot possibly stay much longer, for Fear worse should happen.

I having removed into this Part of the Province myself, and having the Welfare of my Country intirely at Heart, and in order to quiet the Minds of

the frontier Inhabitants in this Part of our Province, in the best Manner I can, till your Excellency's Pleasure be known, I have begun to build (with my own People and Hands) a strong Fort for the Reception of the Inhabitants hereabouts in case of Emergency if your Excellency will be pleased to allow the same, and I shall cheerfully do every Thing in my Power to compleat the said Fort and have it tenable and sufficiently able to hold 300 fighting Men having the timber Planks and Feseins ready waiting your Excellency's Commands which shall be received with Pleasure by me who begs your Excellency will pardon the Freedom I have here taken. I am,

Your Excellency's most dutiful and most obedient, humble Servant,

JOHN FAIRCHILD

CAPTAIN RAYD. DEMERE TO GOVERNOR LYTTELTON

Fort Loudoun, January 31st, 1757

SIR, On the 15th Instant I was honoured with your Excellency's Dispatches per George Duckard and on the 19th Lieut. Howarth and Mr. Chevillette arrived here. By the former I received a Letter from your Excellency. As the Contents of both your Dispatches are of such Importance on His Majesty's especial Service, I ordered immediately every Thing to be got in Readiness to execute and obey your Orders to attack the French so soon as they should offer to enter into any Part of this Nation on what Pretence soever, which in my Opinion, is the best Expedient that can be taken to disappoint them in their Expectations.

The Means and Measures I have taken was first to desire Old Hop to summon all the Headmen and Warriours of the seven Towns to be present at a Talk I intended to give them which is streight and bold as it ought to be on all such Occasions, and generally produces quick Compliance. I delivered it on the 25th Instant in their new Town House at Chottee in the Presence of all the Officers except Capt. Postel and Lieutenant Adamson, before all the White People that live in these Upper Towns, and before a Multitude of Indians on that Occasion assembled together, a Copy of which is sent to your Excellency and I hope will meet with your Approbation. I had a long Belt of Wampum made for that [367] Purpose which I presented to Old Hopp after the Talk was over. He received it very kindly and soon after he gave a very long Talk to all his People relating to what they had heard, and persuaded them very much to take up the Hatchet of War against the French and go out for Scalps, but added that the Reward was too small. Oconostoto, otherwise called the Great Warriour of Chota, after consulting with the Headmen and Warriours a little while in Private came into the Town House and offered with his Gang to go out to War, and asked Lieutenant Wall if he would go with him; Mr. Wall told him that he was ready and willing to go any where to War with him if it was agreeable to me. On such an Occasion as this I could not well deny the Great Warriour or Lieut. Wall. I therefore condescended to it. (Comme Monsieur Wall est tres porté et remply [*sic*] de Zelle [*sic*] d'Affection en toute Occassion pour le Service du Roy, votre Excellence voudera [*sic*] bien me permettre de vous le recommander comme une Personne digne de Meritte [*sic*].

Et que quelque Connessance [*sic*] fut prise de [lui?], comme n'ayant que son Epée pour pousser sa Fortune. Sy [*sic*] par Cas les deux Companies [*sic*] servit reduittes [*sic*].)

Old Hop desired that he might have a Kegg of Rum the next Day to drink with his Warriours that they would think further of what I had said and that I should have an Answer in two or three Days of their Result. At my Return to the Fort I met a Man with a Letter from the Mankiller of Tellico (which I send inclosed) for a Kegg of Rum, and then that he would go and meet the French and execute his Promise to me. I asked the Man how the Indians of that Town behaved. He assured me that the White People were quite happy there and that the Indians were very civil and friendly to them.

Mr. Howarth hearing at Highwassey that Matters were made up with the Tellico People, he came through that Town and asserts that all was well there. Mr. Doharty and his Wife and two Indians, the one called the Black Dog and the other Moyatoya, Son to the Mankiller of Highwassey deceased, came with him to the Fort to whom I gave some Presents and they were much pleased and satisfied, and promised me they were going to War against the French. I do whatever I can that there may be a Blow given immediately which will put a total Period to the sanguine Hopes of the French that are in this Part of the World and prevent their making any future Attempts of the like Nature in the Cherrockee Nation. As your Excellency's Orders direct me strongly to forward the Works, I am sorry for a certain Gentleman to have wrote to your Excellency that in ten Days he would finish his Canton. He has been at it ever since that Imposter, Mr. DeBrahm, went away to the 28th of January, and it is not finished and there is four Times the Work to be done on the other Side. But since Lieut. Howarth's Arrival, his Men have been employed another Way.

I appointed Lieut. [368] Howarth to inspect the Works and act as Adjutant, but before he begun we agreed on what was the most material, expedient Matters which were to be taken to secure ourselves in case of any Attack, and the same was resolved upon to forsake all Mr. DeBrahm's Outworks, being of no Kind of Service or Signification rather more prejudicial to us than otherwise, and to proceed immediately about cutting large and substantial Pallisadoes fifteen Feet long and to put them round the whole Fort close to the Breast Work above which [they] are to project eight Feet. By this Means we shall be more safer from small Arms, for as it now is we are open, exposed and commanded on all Sides. We propose to make all the Intervails which were left to go into the Traverses in the Side of the Hill into a Breast Work to lay our Pallisadoes against. We shall cutt Loope Holes through the Pallisadoes at proper Distances from our Fireing, and the Garrison will be much safer then at present. The Guns will be mounted on Carriages on pretty high Platforms at each Bastion. The two Rows of Pallisadoes and Traverses that are within the Fort must be taken down for they will be of no Service to us, nor were they ever of any. They only crowded the People. I have got two Pair of Truks made to bring the Pallisadoes in which are drawn by Horses; it will take a long Time before our Pallisadoe Work is finished.

We do not meddle with any of Mr. DeBrahm's Works; we leave them to be seen by some Body of Judgment that your Excellency will be pleased to send up to be informed of the exact State thereof. As to Lyttelton's Ravleen and Glen's Fort, they are situate in such a Place that we know not what to do with them; neither did Mr. DeBrahm before he went away, for he left them unfinished after having put the Province to a most considerable Expence. After our Pallisadoes are up, the Fort will be defencible (I believe) till such Time as the Pallisadoes begins to decay which will be in three or four Years. There is a great Plenty of Stone here of which a Wall may be made, or of Brick as the Clay is very good, but it never can be called a proper Place for a Fort, nor the Ground will never admit of a regular Fort to be constructed upon it. Had Mr. DeBrahm been willing to serve his Country as an honest Man ought to have done, he might have built a beautiful Fort at about four hundred Yards from this Place with Ramparts &c. which would not only have pleased the Indians very much, but would have answered every Purpose intended by having a Fort in this Nation and might have been finished in two Months as that Situation was formed by Nature for a Fort. But because Mr. Pearson had pitched upon that Place for a Fort, Mr. DeBrahm would have Nothing to do with it (so much did the Spirit of Contradiction prevaile with that Man). The Place I have mentioned will certainly (in my Opinion) be the Place for a Fort to be built if there is ever a Garrison continued in this Nation which there must be, and that a considerable one, if we intend to keep those Indians in our Friendship.

No Regulars have been employed at any Work except doing the Duty of the Fort since the 24th of December last; neither did I think it necessary as the Provincials were sufficient for the Work that was about |369| which was Ax Work, and we have but few Axes and indeed of late the Weather has been so very bad and rainy that we could not proceed on any Kind [of] Work. We have been almost drowned in this Fort. It is situated in such a dismal Place, and we shall be obliged, at the Expence of much Labour, to sink a Drain to carry of the Water &c. to the common Shore.

As your Excellency observes that the Fort cannot be called a regular one without Barracks and Conveniencies of the like Kind being built; I had the Honour in one of my last by Thomas Leaper to inform your Excellency that I had all my People lodged in the Fort, therefore hope your Excellency will excuse me if the Carpenters should not go immediately about Barracks &c., they being now employed about something more pressing (viz.) Platforms and Carriages for the Guns, and the Sawyers are sett to sawing of three-inch Plank for the same, but they shall return to sawing Stuff for the Barracks so soon as they have a sufficient Quantity for the Carriages &c. The Mason is now preparing Stone to build the Chimneys which may be built beforehand. The Hedgemaker had begun some Part of the Hedge before Mr. DeBrahm went away and since has provided most Part of the Ditch with rich Soil and had likewise got the young Plants in Readiness that he might not lose the Season of the Year. He is now setting the Hedge and has, for the better Dispatch, employed two Men to assist him. I have advised Mr. Chevilette to send down to Keowee for the 50 Head of Cattle which your Excellency mentions as soon as they come there,

for should they be left at Keowee they would all be lost, besides we shall soon have Occasion for them here, as Matters have now a better Prospect of Peace and Union with this Nation.

I am sorry I wrote to Virginia, but I had wrote before I received your Excellency's Letter, and at that Time the Intelligences I had were of such a Nature that I think I should not have done Justice to myself or the Public had I missed the Opportunity of writing to Lord Loudoun and Governor Dinwiddie by their Express to inform them with the State of Affairs here, as they then were, Copies of which Letters I have sent to your Excellency.

With regard to entering any of the Traders or Packhorsemen to strengthen our Forces, I must answer your Excellency that we are much better without them. They are a Sett of bad People not to [be] depended on, a Kind of Bandite, the very Refuse of all Provinces, who harbour themselves here from the Laws of the Land. They have no Principles of Liberty or Property, and I leave your Excellency to judge if I am not better without a Sett of People that would desert on the first Appearance of an Enemy. I return your Excellency Thanks for sending Lieut. Howarth to me, since the above wrote the Breast Work of each Side of the Fort is falling down, they being put up in a very slight Manner no Ways substantial, and were constructed Contrary to any Rule of Ingenuity [*sic*].

I have been informed by an Indian that the Chickesaws had killed eighteen Savannah Men, Women and Children, and that the Chactaws had killed all the French Traders in their Nation, and that they were [370] agoing to solicit a Trade from Charles Town; every Thing differs here so much from one Moment to another that I cannot assert any thing for certain.

We are no Engineers but we shall do for the best, the Fort scarcely deserves the Name of a Camp. I have ordered Joseph Gallway from Keowee here, and another Man has been left there in his Room. He is the properest Man we have for a Gunner; he has been at some Expences for moving his Family here. Your Excellency will be pleased to allow him some small Gratification per Annum during the Time he shall be employed as a Gunner to this Fort. As some Necessaries will be wanting to keep the Guns in order, and the Platforms and Carriages from spliting, when the hot Weather comes on, I send inclosed a small Memorandum for Things wanting to prevent the same. I shall get some Tar made here. I am with the greatest of Respect Sir,

Your Excellency's most humble and obedient Servant

RAYD. DEMERE

P. S. Old Hop says that the late Governor made him a Present of the two Swivels that are left at Saludy, and he does expect them for his Town of Chottee of which he desired me to acquaint your Excellency that they may come up.

Rd. De.

THE MANKILLER OF TELlico TO CAPTAIN RAYD. DEMERE

January 25th, 1757

SIR, The Mankiller came to me and desired I should write to you but hopes you will not take it ill of me, for there is no denying such a Thing, but

for the Future it would be a good Way if you would not give them prime Rum, for it only distracts them for two Keggs of prime will make three dash'd.

He also says he remembers the Talk you gave him when he was there last, and his Thoughts stands good and for ever it will remain, but he desires you may send himself, and not to the Town, a Kegg of Rum, not that it should be given to him for Nothing, but he will see it paid for. Also the Paint is gone you gave him, and desires a little more to paint himself when he is drinking. And likewise he intends to give a good Talk to both young and old, and then to sett off to where he told you, and when he returns you and he will both be glad to see one another.

his
THE MANKILLER OF TELLIQUO _____
Mark

CAPTAIN RAYD. DEMERE TO JOHN KELLY

[371]

Fort Loudoun, Jan. the 26th, 1757

MR. KELLY, I have wrote a Letter to the Mankiller of Great Tellico. You are to see that the same be interpreted to him in the best Manner. You are also to be cautious with regard to the Wampum inclosed, and to let him know that the white String denotes Friendship between the Cherrockees and us, and that every Thing is streight and clear between me and the Mankiller. You are to tell him that the black Wampum relates to the French whom we expect he will strike immediately.

In short you are to conduct the Interpretation of the Letter and Wampum as well as possible you can.

Yours &c.,

(Copy)

RD. DE.

The Mankiller of Tellico has sent me Word since by John Kelley that he was exceedingly thankful to me for my Attention, and that I might depend on him at all Times.

CAPTAIN RAYD. DEMERE TO OSTOSSITY OF GREAT TELLICO

Fort Loudoun, the 26th Jan., 1757

TO OSTOSSITY OF GREAT TELLICO, MY GOOD FRIEND AND BROTHER, I have received your Letter, and I think of what you tell me therein. I had only [one] Kegg of Rum which I intended to keep and drink with my Friends, but now my Brother has asked it of me. I don't love [*sic*] it from him. I sent it to you and my Thoughts are good and streight towards all my Brothers, the Cherrockees, and I will remember what you tell me. You are a Man and a Warriour; your Brother at Tuskega wants some Scalps, and as there is Enemies enough, you won't miss to get some when you and your Warriours go out.

When I see you a coming with some Scalps, I shall hold you fast by the Hand, and I won't let you go before I give you Something. It is the Desire of your Brother that you do immediately strike the French, and all the French Indians, our Enemies, with the Hatchet of War. In Confirmation of this Talk

you will receive the inclosed String of Wampum. I tell you that I am your Brother, that I remember well what I have said, and I expect that you will always do the same. I wish you good Luck when you go to Warr, and so forth.

Given at Fort Loudoun, the 26th Jan., 1757.

(Copy)

Signed, RAYD. DEMERE

I send you some Paint also.

EXAMINATION OF JAMES FRAZIER

[372] The Examination of James Frazier taken the 4th Day of February, 1757.

In the Absence of Cornelius Doharty, Indian Trader of Highwassie, when the said Doharty was at Fort Loudoun, there came to the said Doharty's four Indian Fellows, two Women and a Boy of the Stinking Linguo's. One of the Fellows came to one McCloud which was at the said Doharty's, and said give me your Shirt for I am a King. Don't you know, says the Fellow, I am a King. If you don't give me your Shirt, as you go along the Road I will kill you, and take your Shirt from you. What is the English like? for they come very slow. Oh! the French are very good, for they come very fast. What is it like for the English loves their Goods? The French are not so. They threw down a Parcel of Skins to Isaac Atwood that was in charge of the said Goods, and the said Atwood lays by so many Skins for a Matchcoat, a Blankett, a pair Boots, a Flap, which the said Atwood let them have for their Skins. Further the said Frazier says that two of the Fellows spoke in proper English and said, what are the English like Dam, D, D, the English, oh! the French are very good, striking themselves on there Breast at the same Time. They struck the said Doharty's Negroe Fellow, and pushed the said Atwood about and so went off. This is all I can declare on Oath.

Mark

JAMES _____ FRAZIER'S

He further said that Mr. Doharty thinks they are the right down French Indians, and are come as Spies, and they give an Account that there is ten more out, and they were to come to Highwassey, as the others went out. One of our Indians called the Pigeon, Brother to Moytoy, Son to the Mankiller of the abovesaid Town, was with them when all this happened, and was much inclined for joyning with them to any Mischief and was at the Head of them. His Brother, who was here then in the Fort with Mr. Doharty, at his Return Home gave him a good Whipping. On such an Affair as this Mr. Doharty has sent a Summons to all the seven Towns in the Valley to have a Meeting this very Day, and he is to acquaint me immediately with what shall be agreed upon by a Runner. I think it was the best Thing I could have done to give Presents to Moytoy of Highwassey, and to the other Indian called the Black Dog of the Town of Notoly which came both with Lieut. Howarth, and went away highly pleased as I mentioned the same to your Excellency in my Letter.

RAYD. DEMERE

This Day, the 11th, I heard that the above Indians were gone off. There has been a Meeting of the seven Towns on the Valley; they are well affected to us. Mr. Doharty acquainted them with the Talk I gave at Chottee, and they are willing to go to War. I am to hear further in a very few Days.

TALK OF CAPTAIN RAYD. DEMERE TO OLD HOPP AND
UPPER CHEROKEE HEADMEN¹⁹

[373]

Fort Loudoun, January 25th, 1757

The following is a true Copy of a Talk given by me at the Town House of Chottee to Old Hopp and the Headmen of the seven Upper Towns, when was present Lieut. Probart Howarth, Lieut. Robert Wall, Ensign Richard Coytmore, Ensign Maurice Anderson, and William Showey and Cornelius Doharty, Linguisters.

FRIENDS AND BROTHERS, It gives me the greatest Pleasure to see so many of you together as it presents me an Opportunity to shake Hands with you, and to talk with you as one Brother ought to do to another. The Great Man above is a Witness of the Truth of what I am now going to say; he is also a Witness of the sincere Affection and Love that the English have always had for their Brothers, the Cherrockees; I think myself under an indispensable Obligation to acquaint my Brothers the Cherrockees of every Thing I hear and know tending to their Hurt or Prejudice. Our Father, the great King George, has for many Years past, and does at this Time hold the Cherrockees fast in one Hand and the English in the other. There is many of you here who remember his Talk wherein he told his Children to love one another, and that he would always provide for them like a kind, tender and affectionate Father. His Thoughts are always about his Children, the Cherrockees, and Nothing would give him more Uneasyness then to hear that any Thing bad was intended against them. The great King George has ordered his Children, the Cherrockees, and the English to love each other as Brothers and to live together as one People, to assist each other upon all Occasions and to go Hand and Hand together. All you Headmen and Warriours who are here present know this to be true. You sometime ago asked for a Fort to be built in the Upper Part of your Nation to be garrisoned by your Brothers the English, for the Protection of your Women and Children when your Warriours are out a Hunting, and yourselves in case of Need. You all see that we are, agreeable to that Request of yours, come up to you with Workmen and Artificers to build you a Fort and Warriours to garrison the same when finished. You are all sensible that we have no other Intent or View than to serve, protect, defend and fight for the Cherrockees whenever there shall be Occasion. The English have given many Proofs of their Regard and sincere Affection toward the Cherrockees, but my Brothers, what greater Marks of our Esteem could we possibly give you then serving you in this Particular? We came up here with the greatest Alacrity as it was consistant with our Brothers' Desires and we had a View in serving

¹⁹ This is an enclosure with the letter from Captain Rayd. Demere to Governor Lyttelton of January 31, 1757 on pp. 325-28.

you therein. These Thoughts made the Toil and Trouble of our long and fatiguing Journey as Nothing when compared with the Pleasure and perfect Tranquillity we promised ourselves when we should arrive amongst you.

I have heard a great Deal of bad Talk since I have been here, and I have now called you together to let you know, that whenever I hear of any Thing bad against the Cherrockees I cannot be easy in my Mind till I have told them of it that we may both join together and endeavour to prevent any Thing bad to happen. As you are Warriours and Men of Sence and Understanding, you are all sencible that the French are your great |374| Enemies, that they want to deceive and ruin the Cherrockees and you all know that they are unable to supply even one Town of you. You all know the naked Condition of the Savannahs who are running about like a Gang of Wolves; the Chactaws also who are Neighbours to the French are all naked. The Upper Creeks who live just by the Fort are supplied with Goods from Charles Town. Now my Friends and Brothers, is it possible that the French are able to supply you? No, they are lying, deceitful People, and I tell you they want to have it in their Power to ruin this Nation and make you a despicable People like the Savannahs. Now is it possible for me to sit stil and see the impending Danger that threatens my Brothers with Destruction and not to tell them of it? No, when I hear any Thing bad intended against the Cherrockees, it makes my Mind uneasy and I must acquaint them with it. Therefore my Brothers in a few Words, I tell you that the French and their Indians are our professed Enemies, and as we are Men and Warriours I will attack them wherever I can.

I have heard that some French with a Number of their Indians are shortly to come to Highwassey Old Town &c. I tell you that let them come where they will, or into any Town in this Nation I am determind to attack, kill, scalp and drive them of. I shall not only attack the French but the Chactaws, Savannahs and all the Indians that shall act in Conjunction with them. I am a Man and a Warrior and remember well what I say; I came here to fight for the Cherrockees and you shall see that I will do it.

As you remember King George's Talk I don't expect to go by myself to War. I expect to see some of my Brothers the Cherrockees on each Side of me. Come my Brothers, let me see how many of you will join me. I insist that you strike the French with the Hatchet of War that your Father, the great King George, may know that his Children, the Cherrockees, remembers his Talk and won't be deceived by their Enemies. I say that now is the Time I want to see how many of you will strike the French immediately.

Nothing is more valuable amongst brave Men and Warriours then Trophies of Victory. Nothing is more worthy Acceptance than the Scalps of our Enemies; I want some and hope that some of you will soon bring me some French Scalps, or some Indian Scalps that are in Friendship with the French. When I see you come to me with some of our Enemies' Scalps, I shall hold you fast by the Hand and look about for something to give you. I shall be in a great Hurry and shall soon find something, then I shall reckon the Scalps and give you to the Value of 30 Wt. of Leather for every Scalp and in confirmation

of this Talk I give you this Belt of Wampum. My Mouth is now shutt. I cannot say any more till I have your Answer.

RAYD. DEMERE

TALK OF THE MANKILLER OF GREAT TELLICO TO
CAPTAIN RAYD. DEMERE

[375]

Fort Loudoun, Feb. 6th, 1757

The Mankiller of Great Tellico Yesterday arrived at this Fort and this Day he gave the following Talk to Capt. Rayd. Demere.

PRESENT: Lieut. Wall and Wm. Shorie, Linguister.

He says that one of his People that [went?] down to New Orleans is returned and reports that he left the rest of his Companions that went with him at the Creek Nation in the Town that the Savannahs live in. He says that the Messenger informs him that very early this Spring there is eight Boats and a hundred French to come from Fort Cuscuskia. He says that while his People were at New Orleans they saw a great many English brought in Prisoners, and two Vessels that the French had taken. He says that in 26 Days he can go from this Fort to Fort Cuscuskia. He says that the Boats aforesaid are to be loaded with Presents, and that the hundred Men are to be divided, and that twenty of them are to come here and the rest are to go to their own Settlements.

He says that the Person that brings this News is not the proper Messenger that they expected, but that an Indian called Tiftoa of Tellico is to come who is the proper Person and he will tell them every Thing, and that as soon as he hears what Tiftoa says he will come to Capt. Demere and talk with him, and that he shall act agreeable to his Promise.

RAYD. DEMERE

P. S. The Emperor of Great Tellico is now at the Fort with his Wife. She is agoing to buy us some Corn at her Town. Capt. Cæsar and Kenoteta are both here also.

After having asked seriously of the Mankiller what he thought of the French coming, he told me that he believed that no Presents nor the French would come that it was too farr off for them. But he thought that French John would come back with their People because he is a Slave to Old Hop, and he went upon those Conditions to return.

CAPTAIN RAYD. DEMERE TO GOVERNOR LYTTELTON

Fort Loudoun, Feb. 5th, 1757

SIR, As the Weather has been very bad of late and the low Ground overflown, Old Hop and his Warriours could not come to the Fort according to their Promise to give me an Answer to my Talk. On the 4th Instant in the Morning I had a Message from Old Hop desiring me to be the next Day at Chottee that he was not well, therefore could not wait on me that the Warriours were ready to answer my Talk. I took all the Officers with me except one to keep the Fort and first waited on Old Hopp at his own House and then with

him we all proceeded to their Town House, where after their usual Ceremonies were over, Old Hopp said that he had given us Land to build a Fort on, and to [376] walk upon. That there had been many Promises made him for the same, but that he had been waiting a long Time without seeing any Thing for it. That he did not know what to think about it, but that the Great Man above knew how every Thing would be. He then produced a Paper signed by James Glen, Esq. when at Saludy. The same was a Regulation of the Prices of several Articles sold them by the Traders. Old Hopp said that the Traders had no Regard to that Paper, and that notwithstanding what Governor Glen had promised them, the Traders continued to sell as formerly, and had no Manner of Regard to the Treaty made at Saludy. He added that they had the Promise of another Trader for the Town of Chottee by the late Governor, and as Nothing was performed they looked upon that Paper to be Nothing but Lies as they did on all the rest of the Papers that came from Carolina, and that Charles Town was a Place where Nothing but Lies came from. I examined Mr. Elliott before the Indians and it appeared that he had sold them several Things at a most exorbitant Price particularly Shirts, Linnings &c.

I do assure your Excellency if there is not some Measures taken to regulate the Trade of this Nation and Laws provided to oblige the Traders to act conformable thereto, there will be always a Discord amongst those People, and the Consequence will ever be prejudicial to the common Cause. The Traders are for the most Part a Sett of Villains who studdy Nothing but their own narrow Views and private Emoluments without having the least Regard to Justice or the public Weel. Old Hopp told me that Elliot had mixed the Paint he sold to them with red Lead, and that he and the other Traders imposed on them with their Stilliards &c. They produced some Paint they had bought of Elliott who being called confessed that he formerly used to mix it, but that he left of that Custom.

Old Hopp then told me that he had been told that all the Goods &c. that should come up to the Fort was for them. He then called one of his Warriours (viz.) the Prince of Chottee and told him to tell me what he had been told by the Warriour who run away in the Night, (meaning Mr. DeBrahm), which was immediately done. I send your Excellency a Copy of what he said signed and sworn to by the Linguisters. He wanted to make himself a great Man amongst these Indians it's believed with no other Intent then to screen himself in case any Thing should happen for he was always on the Wing. The Purport of the Talk that DeBrahm gave these Indians together with the Situation and Construction of Fort Loudoun plainly shews that he had Something in View quite the Reverse of serving the Province. I wish he may lay a true Plan of this Fort before your Excellency, which I very much doubt. Excuse this Degrasion [*sic*] and permit me to return to Old Hop and his Warriours.

After the Prince of Chottee had given Mr. DeBrahm's Talk, Old Hopp told me that his Warriours should answer my Talk. An Indian of Tennessee called Bullet Head was pitched upon to give the Talk they had [377] unanimously agreed on; the Fellow holding the Belt of Wampum in his Hand (which I gave to Old Hop) said that as we were then altogether he would talk.

He said that I had desired them to go to War, and desired me to look about and see if there was any Blood spilt and let them know where it was, for they did not know of any Blood that had been spilt near them. He told me that my Talk required Consideration and was not a Thing to be done in a Hurry. He said that when they went they generally carried a large Body and asked me if I had every Thing necessary to supply them with. He said that they could not go to War without some Thing to defend themselves, and that if I did expect them to go to War I must supply them with Guns, Powder and Bullets, Paint, Blankets, Boots, Hatchets, Cutlasses, Looking Glasses and Awls to mend their Mocasins with. That when they should see these Things they would think of my Talk, but as I had given them Nothing but a Belt of Wampum to go to War with, they should return it, which they accordingly did.

Old Hop told me that they had for a long Time expected Guns, Powder and Bullets and other Things that Kenoteta told him he had your Excellency's Promise concerning the same. And that you told him that there was a large Number of Guns to be sent up to them. He said that he supposed they were lost on the Road or sent to the Creeks. He hinted to me that the French when they sent out their Indians to War offered them great Rewards for Scalps and fitted them out with every Thing necessary as abovementioned. He told me that he should say no more for the Present that it was as I would to have Regard to what he said, but it was his Advice to remember it and be strong and that he hoped it would not be long before he should see every Thing necessary sent up to them from their Brother the Governor. I am well convinced that this Talk proceeded from something that was told the Indians by John Elliott and John Watts. I shall inquire further into the Affair and will acquaint your Excellency thereof in another Letter. Elliott and Watts are a Couple of dangerous People. Watts speaks their Language very well. I am with Respect Sir,

Your Excellency's most humble and obedient Servant,

RAYD. DEMERE

TALK OF WILLIAM DEBRAHM TO THE PRINCE OF CHOTTE

Upper Cherrockees

Fort Loudoun, Feb. the 6th, 1757

A true Copy of what Mr. William DeBrahm told the Indians of those Upper Towns, particularly to the Prince of Chotte, the Great Warriour's Brother, by Thomas Beamer, whom he got to act as Linguister for him, which was told to Capt. Raymond Demere at a Meeting of the Headmen and Warriours of these Towns at the Town |378| House of Chotte on the 5th Instant when was present all the Officers, William Shoure and Jno. Watts, Linguisters.

The Prince of Chottee being called by Old Hopp to say and declare what Mr. William DeBrahm had told them, said that about the Time that he and the other Warriours were getting themselves in Readyness to go out a hunting, Mr. DeBrahm asked them where they were agoing? to which he answered, that they were going a Hunting. He says that Mr. DeBrahm then said that the Weather was very cold, and what did they go a Hunting for, that they had no

Need to go a hunting and had better stay at Home. That he answered they were obliged to go a Hunting to kill Skins to purchase Cloaths for themselves, their Wives and Children, who were all naked. Mr. DeBrahm told him that he remembered the Talk of their Father King George who always took care to send a great many Goods to cloath his Children the Cherrockees, and that t he said Goods were always to be given to them, but instead of that he now saw they were all naked and were obliged to buy all the Goods they wanted which was quite Contrary to King George's Orders, for that all the Goods that were brought into this Nation was their own and was given them by King George, and that he now saw that they were obliged to buy their own Goods of the Traders at a great Price, and that all the Officers knew as well as he that all t he Goods that came into this Nation belonged to them and that King George never intended that his Children the Cherrockees should pay for any Thing they had. No, every Thing they wanted was to be given to them, and that all the Officers knew it very well, but they did not any of them think it worth their While to tell them of it except himself who looked upon the Cherrockees as his Brothers and would not hide it from them, and that this was the chief Cause for which he came here. That King George expected they were as well cloathed and that they had every Thing they wanted for Nothing, and that the Governor of Carolina had King George's Orders to see that the Cherrockees had every Thing they wanted given to them for Nothing. And that he did not know what was the Reason that the Governor of Carolina suffered them to be so cheated and abused, but that if they would appoint him to manage their Affairs he would go down to the Governor and see that they had Justice done them, and that if he could not obtain it there he would go to King George and let him know how they were used.

He says that Mr. DeBrahm further added that there was a Quantity of Presents coming up for them, and that if they would order that he should have the Care and Charge of them they might depend that they should not be wronged out of the least Thing, but that if they should leave them to the Care of the Officers they would cheat them, and when they came in from Hunting they would make them buy their own Goods.

The Prince of Chotte says that he hereupon thanked Mr. DeBrahm and acknowledged that no White Man had ever given them so good a Talk before, and that he expected to have further Talk with him when he should return from hunting. Mr. DeBrahm told them that probably he might be gone before their Return, but that if he [379] was they must remember him and his Talk, and think that he was gone to see and have every Thing done as he had told them, and to see that the Goods should be brought up safe to them &c. &c.

Fort Loudoun, Feb. the 7th, 1757

This Day Wm. Shourie and John Watts (at the Request of Capt. Raymond Demere) personally appeared before me one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the Province of South Carolina, and made Oath on the only Evangelists of Almighty God that the within is the true Sence, Meaning and Purport

of what the Prince of Chotta told them to tell Capt. Raymond Demere at a Meeting in the Town House of Chota on the 5th Instant.

WM. SHORIE
JNO. WATTS

Sworn before me Jno. Chevilette

JOHN CHEVILLETTE TO [CAPTAIN RAYD. DEMERE]

Fort Loudoun, Feb. 8th, 1757

SIR, In Pursuance of your last Night's Orders, I have the Honour to acquaint you that there is in Store 19 Baggs of Flower each 150 Wt., Corn none, but some expected Tomorrow, 33 Hogs salted except a few Pieces made use of. There is besides 30 Head of Cattle and 87 Head of Hogs. I am Sir,

Your most humble Servant,

JOHN CHEVILLETTE

JOHN CHEVILLETTE TO GOVERNOR LYTTELTON

Fort Loudoun, Feb. 9th, 1757

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, On the 21st of last Month I arrived safe at this Place. Out of the 91 Head of Cattle Isham Clayton had to deliver here, 82 Head came safe over, one Head who tired Mr. Gaudy killed and will pay for, so that there is 8 Head lost. There is this Day 30 Head of that Parcell remaining. The Cattle are very small and fallen away on their Journey that they don't weigh 280 lb. round. The Hogs I bought at the Congrees, 132 Head in Number, came to safe to this Place, that is to say, 123 here and 9 Head I killed at Keowee that I thought would drive no further, and they happen to be of great Service as Capt. Stuart with his Party Indians when they came there, wanted Provisions which they had during their Stay there, and for their Journey in Flower and Pork, also a Cagg of Rum and Sugar by Capt. Stuart's Orders.

I brought with me from the Congrees to Keowee 10,953 Wt. of Flower, 3,000 whereof is come here; what remains there I have ordered to be sent here. [380] There is no Corn in Store; I expect some Tomorrow. The Indians are very backward in letting us have any Quantity. I have employed some Traders to buy what they can, and I have engaged them at 30 Shillings per Bushel delivered here. I bought last Week of the Indians 30 Bushels for a Cagg of Rum. All what the Indians want for their Corn, is Gartering, Cadis, all Sorts of Beeds and Vermillion. Captains Demere and Stuart and Postel has hitherto supplied the Store with those and more Articles. All those Articles should be supplied with from Town. I don't expect to get above 600 Bushels of Corn in the Upper Cherrockees which when got will be two Months Bread Kind. I have therefore with the Advice of Capt. Demere directed Mr. Henry Gallman to send to Keowee 20,000 Wt. of Flower. I have Advice that the 50 Head of Cattle of Mr. Minnick's are at Keowee, 2 Head of them Lieut. Gray's Command made Use of. I have sent for the 48 Head and agreed at £3 per Head delivered here.

I acknowledge the Receipt of your Excellency's Letter of the 29th Decernber; the Contents shall be punctually observed. As this Fort (if I may call it so) should have always 6 Months' Provision secured, I think a further Supply of 100 of Cattle will be absolutely necessary.

I cannot omit acquainting your Excellency of the Surprize I was in when I came in sight of Mr. DeBrahm's Fort. I have seen many Fortifications, but never such infamous Work as he has begun. The Pallisadoes that are proposed to be added to it will require two Months Work. When done it may support a small Attack, but we must never expect an honourable Capitulation. It is situated in such disadvantageous Place that no Man but a Villain would have erected a Fort up, when at 400 Yards Distance there is a beautiful Piece of Ground for that Purpose and where a good rampart Fort might be built in 2 Months Time. I am with Respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient humble Servant,

JOHN CHEVILLETTE

JOHN CHEVILLETTE TO GOVERNOR LYTTELTON

Fort Loudoun, Feb. 11th, 1757

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, Since I sealed up my Letter per this Express, I recollected that I omitted to acquaint your Excellency that it is necessary that 100 Baggs should be sent to the Congrees to put the Flower in, to each Bagg there is 2½ Yds. Linning required. Common Oznabrigs Baggs are not strong enough, therefore I believe Duck will be the best. I have wrote to Gallman to send for them. I am with Respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble Servant,

JOHN CHEVILLETTE

CAPTAIN RAYD. DEMERE TO GOVERNOR LYTTELTON

[381]

Fort Loudoun, February 15th, 1757

SIR, On the 11th Instant I waited on Old Hop at Chottee with several of the Officers to hear his Talk. The old Fellow appeared to be quite another Sort of a Man to what he was on the 5th, that is to say, much pleasanter as well as all his Warriours. After the usual Ceremonies were over, he complimented Mr. Gray, and then addressed his Discourse to me as being his Brother &c. He told me that he had acquainted me with many Things in his last Talk which he had desired me to inform the Governor with, and that he should depend on my doing it. That what he said was without any Malice and with great Freindship, but that it gave him great Uneasyness to see his People in Want and so much imposed upon by the Traders and always new Complaints about Elliott. That his People had no Guns or Ammunition to go to War with that he should expect those Things mentioned in his last Talk; that he could not send his Men to War to be killed.

That he was as willing and eager as myself for them to go out, but desired me to consider their present Situation. The Traders bring no Guns or Ammunition and that all his People's Guns were old and good for Nothing. That

I knew it myself as they were every Day mended at the Fort. That he could not send his People to fight with their Fists. That the French wore Shoes and would kick them, which he was sure would not be agreeable to him or me, and perhaps some of his People would leave their Scalps behind, instead of bringing some of their Enemies Home. That he was very willing to do any good Thing to serve his Brothers, the English, and desired me to tell him what he should or could do in his present Condition. He asked me where the Enemy was lurking or where the Blood of a White Man or an Indian was spilt, and where the Fire burnt cross. That it was Time enough to take up the Hatchet in case any of these Things should happen; that in short he was ready at all Times to serve and assist his Brothers, but that he did not know where the Enemy was.

Then I told him that the Blood of the English was spilt both at Home and to the Noward. That the Frenchmen were our declared Enemies and that the Hatchet ought to be taken up every where against them, and that it was the Duty of the Cherokees to make Use of the Hatchet against the French to the Southward as they formerly did, and should they bring the Scalps of some of those People down this River, they never would attempt to send any more Emissaries into this Nation to deceive them. That it would give us great Satisfaction, and would convince us of their Friendship.

I told them that as to the Warriour who run away in the Night, that had told the Prince of Chottee a Pack of Lyes, I was going to send Home all he said to the Governor and he would be punished for it. I told them that there was no Guns come for them as yet, but that I would agreeable to their Request acquaint your Excellency with what they had desired me. I told them |382| that it was not your Intention that all the Presents that came up should be given at once, and that those who went to Charles Town would have Presents given to them there, but seeing their Necessity and Want, I had done it of my own Accord and that I would do any Thing to serve them. That I know very well they had no Guns that were good and that I would acquaint the Governor therewith. As to Powder and Ball I told them they should have what I promised them at first (viz.) 5 Baggs Powder and ten Baggs Bullets and some Flints. I told them that I could not provide any Thing else for them except a little Paint, some Knives and perhaps a few Hatchets and hoped that they would go to War both the Southward and Northward.

They appeared to be more inclinable to go to War to the Northward than the Southward with no other View (I believe) than because they are sure of having rich Presents on their Arrival in Virginia. I hear that forty of them from the Towns of Chilhowe and Telassee were to sett out Yesterday for Virginia and that they were determined not to see Gov. Dinwiddie till they should carry him some Scalps from the Frontiers of that Province.

The Great Warriour of Chottee goes next Week to the Middle Settlements in order to raise all the Men he can to go to the Assistance of Virginia. They are not to sett out till the Little Carpenter and Judge's Friend returns from Charles Town with whose Assistance it's expected they will raise 300 Men to go to Virginia. Yesterday we began to sett up the Pallisadoes and they make a noble Appearance. I wish it may be agreeable to your Excellency to give me

Leave of Absence that I may be in Charles Town by the Middle of May next, otherwise I do assure your Excellency I shall be a very great Sufferer, my Affairs being in such an unsettled Condition. My Health also is very indifferent; therefore begg your Excellency will take the same into Consideration as a good Officer will be left behind better able for any Service than I am.

I conclude being with the greatest of Respect Sir,
Your Excellency's most humble and obedient Servant,

RAYD. DEMERÉ

Old Hopp told me that he was of Opinion that no Presents would come nor Nothing else from the French.