

*South Carolina Indian Affairs  
Documents, 1754-1757*

## LAUCHLAN MACKINTOSH TO GOVERNOR GLEN

[1] Lauchlan Mackintosh to His Excellency the Governour,

Letter dated Cacligos, 6th of August, 1754

HONORABLE SIR, I thought it my Duty to acquaint your Excellency what News we have in this Upper Creek Nation. About ten days ago Dewal's Landlord is gone to War with forty of his own Warriours and twenty Mantins and 10 [Breed?]<sup>1</sup> Indians to War against the Flatts, and the Wolf has sent Runners over the Nation to all such as want to War with the Flatts to call in all them Indians immediately with all Speed otherwise he would raise some of his Warriours and go and kill the Mantins. The Old Red Coat King says he beleives that the Wolf is mad after making such large Promisses to the English King, and the Old Red Coat King says he will never forget his Promise to your Excellency, and the Gun Merchant is very much disatisfied with the Wolf's Proceedings.

This Day came into the Oakfuskee Town fifteen of the Mantin Indians in order to have a Meeting with all the Head Men in the Upper Creek Nation to get the Peace confirmed betwixt them and the Creeks. All the Head Men seem to oppose the Wolf in his Proceedings. I have no further News here worth acquainting, and I am with great Esteem, Honorable Sir,

Your most humble Servant,

(signed) LAUCHLAN MACHINTOSH

I beg your Excellency would be so kind as to let the Bearer know which Way I am to be paid the Money promised me by your Excellency.

## AFFIDAVIT OF JOHN SHAW

Affidavit of John Shaw concerning the Situation of the Inhabitants of Virginia near the Ohio.

Before me James Glen, Esq., Governor and Comander in Cheif in and over His Majesty's Province of South Carolina personally appeared John Shaw who being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists made Oath that he was born in Dublin in the Kingdom of Ireland, that he is of the Age of twenty Years and upwards, that he has used the Sea several Years, that he was a Boy on board His Majesty's Ship Expedition, Captain Summers, but was discharged from her at the breaking up of the late War, and has since been employed in the Merchants Service in the Virginia Trade. That he was in Virginia when Proposals were made and published to give Encouragement for settling some

<sup>1</sup> In the original, the name here is "Bride," but "Breed" is written above it.

Lands on the Ohio, and that he was one amongst many others that embraced the said Proposals and he beleives there might be 100 in all. But it being found necessary that some Force should be raised they were <sup>2</sup> thrown into the Virginia Regiment as few or none would enlist and were called Volunteers. There were also twenty-two Gentlemans' Sons or thereabouts that made a Part of the said Regiment as Cadetts, but he beleives they were to receive no Pay, but all the Volunteers who were to settle the Lands were to have eight Pence per Day Virginia Currency, but that he never received one Farthing though he was above five Months in the Service.

That Col. Washington marched with the first Detachment of that Regiment over the Allegennie Mountains some Days before the Detachment that he belonged to followed. That the Detachment the Deponent belonged to consisted but of eighty Men and when they were all joined the whole Virginia Regiment including Cadetts and Volunteers did not amount to two hundred Men. Four or five Days after the Virginia Regiment had been altogether at a Place called the Great Meadows they were joined by Captain Mackay with the Independant Company from South Carolina, makeing in the whole with the aforesaid Regiment a Body of near three hundred Men. That they were for several Days together without any other Provisions than a Quart of Indian Corn delivered to each Man and for three Days with only one Pound of Beef without any Corn. That he has heard the Wolf King had sixty Indians with him who were in our Interest, but that he never saw above forty. That he has been informed by all the Men who belonged to the first Detachment that a few Days before the Second joined them they had had an Engagment with a Party of the French and the Account given to him was as follows: That an Indian and a White Man haveing brought Col. Washington Information that a Party of French consisting of five and thirty Men were out [scouting] and lay about six Miles off upon which Col. Washington with about forty Men and Capt. Hogg with a Party of forty more and the Half King with his Indians consisting of thirteen imediately set out in search of them, but haveing taken different Roads Col. Washington with his Men and the Indians first came up with them and found them encamped between two Hills, being early in the morning some were asleep and some eating, but haveing heard a Noise they were imediately in great Confusion and betook themselves to their Arms and as this Deponent has heard one of them fired a Gun upon which Col. Washington gave the Word for all his Men to fire. Several of them being Killed, the Rest betook themselves to flight, but our Indians haveing gone round the French when they saw them imediately fled back to the English and delivered up their Arms desireing Quarter which was accordingly promised them.

Some Time after the Indians came up the Half King took his Tomahawk and split the Head of the French Captain haveing first asked if he was an Englishman and haveing been told he was a French Man. He then took out his Brains and washed his Hands with them and then scalped him. All this he has heard and never heard it contradicted but knows nothing of it from his own Knowledge only he has seen the Bones of the Frenchmen who were killed in Number about 13 or 14 and the Head of one stuck upon a Stick for none of

them were burried, and he has also heard that one of our Men was killed at that Time.

[3] That some Time after Capt. Mackay had joined the Virginia Regiment, Col. Washington proposed to march to attack the French Fort and accordingly marched with the Virginia Regiment to clear the Roads leaving Capt. Mackay behind at the Great Meadows. That they cleared the Roads about twelve Miles haveing been on that Service three Days, and then News haveing been brought by two Indians that the French haveing been reinforced with a large Body of Men were comeing to attack them with nine hundred Men, Orders were immediatly sent to recall all Parties, and also that Capt. Mackay should advance with his Company which he accordingly did, and haveing joined them about two in the Morning they marched all back to the Great Meadows burrying in the Woods what Part of their Ammunition they could not cary with them.

They continued at the Great Meadows three Days before the French came to attack them, and in the Morning before the Engagement they endeavoured to throw up a little Intrenchment round them about two Foot deep, but could not finish it as the French appeared betwixt nine and ten in the Morning. We had Centinals placed out to give Notice of the Approach of the French, one of which fired his Peice immediatly after the French began to fire, but being still at a considerable Distance and did us no hurt. Our Men were drawn up before the French but did not fire, the French still keeping at a Distance. They then turned of to a Point of Wood that lay very near our Men upon which our Men went into their little Intrenchments upon which the French made a general Discharge, but our Men having kept up their Fire their Indians were thereby encouraged to advance out of the Wood, and show themselves pritty near where our Men lay. Upon which Col. Washington gave the Word to fire which was accordingly done and many of the Indians were killed, our People having two swivel Guns which were discharged at the same Time. After this neither French nor Indians appeared any more but kept behind Trees firing at our Men the best Part of the Day, as our People did at them; there was at this Place a smal Stocado-Fort made in a circular Form round a smal House that stood in the Middle of it to keep our Provisions and Ammunition in, and was covered with Bark and some Skins and might be about 14 Feet square and the Walls of the Fort might be about 8 Feet distance from the said House all round. The French were at that Time so near that many of our People were wounded by the Splinters cut off by the Bullets from the said House.

All Night the French desired to parly with our People, but Col. Washington refused, imagining it might be some Deceit. However, upon the Assurances given by the French that they would act honourably, Capt. Vambram and Adjutant Pyronie were sent to them, and were told by them, that they were to be reinforced in the Morning by 400 Indians who lay about 12 Miles off, and then it would not be in their Power to give them Quarters, advised them therefor to capitulate, that they should be permitted to return Home with their Arms and to cary with them what Provisions and Ammunition they could cary, but they should engage that none of them should be seen upon the Waters of the Ohio for a Year and a Day afterwards, and if that they agreed to these

Terms they should hoist no Colours the next Morning. This was accordingly agreed to and signed by Col. Washington, and agreed to by all the Officers, and accordingly next Morning we hoisted no Colours, and as soon as it was Day the French and their Indians came in a Body beating their Drums and formed themselves into two Ranks that our People might pass through which they accordingly did with their [4] Drums beating with their Arms, and whole Provisions, and Ammunition they could carry, but we were obliged to leave behind our swivel Guns and some Arms which soon after were destroyed and broke to Pieces by their Indians, such of our Men that were in that little Fort having broke the Heads of the Powder Barrels and strown it about that it might be of no Service to the French. We were also obliged to leave with them Capt. Vambram, and Capt. Robert Stobo as Hostages for the Delivery of the twenty-one Prisoners that had been taken by Col. Washington's Men as this Deponent has related above who were then at Williamsburgh.

That the French had been joined that Morning by above one hundred French Indians who could hardly be restrained by them from falling on our People.

This Deponent has heard that some Dutchmen who was along with the French told some Dutchmen who was with us that they had lost three hundred Men, but does not know that of his own Knowledge, but believes they lost a great many as our People constantly kept firing at them the whole Day; of our Side there were ten of the Carolina Company killed, of whom Lieut. Mercier was one, and twenty belonging to the Virginia Regiment. There were also a great many wounded whom our People carryed away with them the first days March, but then were obliged to leave them, and a Party with them to take care of them till Horses could be sent for them, but he has heard that seven of them died the first Night.

This Deponent then marched on with the rest of our Men to Wills Creek but were obliged to leave all their Stores and Baggage behind them. At Wills Creek sixteen of the Volunteers of the Virginia Regiment went in a Body to Col. Washington telling him that as they came to settle the Lands which they had now no more Thought of doing they were determined to return Home. Col. Washington endeavoured to perswade [them] to stay, promising to procure them some Gratuity from the Government of Virginia for all their Trouble and Losses, but he could not prevail with them for they went off in a Body. Soon after he and Capt. Mackay set out for Williamsburgh, and after he was gone the Men went off daily in twos and threes so that he verily believes there were full two-thirds of them gone when he, this Deponent, came off.

Some of the Indians who were in our Interest some Days before the Engagement under Pretence of making some Discovery went towards the French Fort and meeting a French Party were told that if they would not fight against the English they would scalp them upon which they all turned to the French. The Half King however with their Women and Children in Number about thirty came with our People to Wills Creek from which many of them set off for a Place called Jemmy Arther in Pensilvania where they intended to live for Fear of being killed by the other Indians on the Ohio and in those

Parts being in the French Interest. And this Deponent declares that there was not one Indian with our People in the Engagement, the two that brought the News of the Approach of the French having immediately set off after delivering that Intelligence.

JOHN B W SHAW's Mark

Sworn 21st of August, 1754  
before me Peter Leigh

### LACHLAN MCGILLIVRAY TO GOVERNOR GLEN

|5|

New Windsor, September 8th, 1754

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, The latest Accounts here from the Creek Nation inform us that a Number of Cherrokees were arrived in the Upper Creeks sometime last Month who were joined by Deval's Landlord and a considerable Body of that Nation, and fitted out to War against the French Party of Chactaws. This is the happy Effects of your Excellency's unwearied Dilligence in uniting those two Nations together. George Johnston, lately from the Creeks, reports that the Woolf, doubtless set on by the French is the only Man that opposes a War with the Chactaws and said that he will break out War with the Cherrokees in case his Nation persists in a Chactaw War.

A Spanish Agent has been for some Time at the Covetaws. In August last his Bussiness was to purchase the Appalatchi Old Towns, but hopes he will meet with no Success.

I am credibly informed that John Toumer, late under Malatchi's Protection at the Covetaws, set out from thence last Month for the Albama Fort. There is a flying Report prevails here by one Cornelius Cook from the Cherrokees, that the Remains of the brave Chickesaw Nation propose to evacuate their Country, one Part of them to take Shelter amongst the Creeks, and the other Part amongst the Cherrokees. This wants Confirmation, and I hope not true, but if so I humbly beg Leave to insinuate that I wish they might all take Shelter amongst the Upper Creeks, because in all moral Probability they would involve the Creeks in a War with the French Indians, and in Time would occasion a Breach between our natural Enemies the French and the Creek Nation which would inviolably attach that Nation to the British Interest.

I am your Excellency's most devoted and obedient humble Servant,

LACHLAN MCGILLIVRAY

P. S. There is nothing but your Excellency's express Command can apologies for sending you the enclosed dirty and incorrect Paper. I hope you'll be pleased to send it back by the Bearer, Mr. Johnston, in order that I may write it over fair and correct it at my Leisure in the Indian Nation, for I can assure your Excellency that I am so hurried since my Arrival here about settling our Company Affairs that I can hardly spare Time to eat my Dinner.

### CHEROKEE HEAD MEN TO GOVERNOR GLEN

|6|

September the 21st, 1754

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, All the Headmen of seven Towns met at Choettee. Old Hopp speaks in behalf of them all and returns your

Excellency and beloved Men hearty Thanks for the Ammunition you sent up to them by James Beamer which was safely delivered to us, but we still desire your Excellency to supply us with the same Quantity more. Then we reckon we shall have enough to withstand our Enemy which is daily on us; the white People imprisoning the Savanahs has caused them to join the French against us because we would not join the Savanahs against the English. This News we have received lately which causes us to ask for more Ammunition. The white People was to blame for imprisoning the Savanahs which has caused us to loose a great many of our People by it and don't know how soon we may loose more; as for the War with the Virginia People that is upon another Branch, but the Savanahs has now joined the French, and they expect them early in the Spring down another Branch of the River, if not this Winter.

We always reckoned you to be our Brother and has now found you to be so and it is what he will to defend us and our Lands from the French for we and all our Lands belongs to the great King George over the great Water, and knows ourselves under your Protection for my Boys is now almost gone and I am almost left alone, for the Enemy is like great Snakes lying on our River Banks ready to devour us, and I am affraid we shall loose the Light of the Sun and remain in Darkness for the Want of Guns and Ammunition to defend ourselves from our Enemy.

his OLD _____ HOPP Mark	his TOSSETY _____ TELASSEY Mark
his CHUKENANTA _____ WARRIOUR Mark	his TOSSETY _____ OF SETTICOE Mark
his SLAVE CATCHER _____ OF TENNESSY Mark	his KELLELUSSTEKEY _____ OF TALLASSEY Mark
his EMPEROR _____ Mark	his WARRIOUR _____ OF TOKOA Mark
his CANORCORTUKER _____ OF CHOETTEE Mark	his SEQUROGHUENOY _____ OF TELLICOE Mark

### JAMES BEAMER TO GOVERNOR GLEN

September 22d, 1754

MAY IT HUMBLY PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, The People of Great Telliqua made a heavy Complaint and desired I would acquaint your Excellency that Mr. Goudie uses them very ill, for I asked White. That as soon as they have any Skins he is with them, but as soon as their Skins is gone he is gone and never comes to them again as other white Men do to their Towns till late in Summer or towards the Fall. Then he sends up his People and gives them Orders not to trust any, and the Enemy is so on them that they cannot hunt but in the Winter, and he will not trust them as other white Men do their

People, which obliges them to do what they would not do if they were used as other Indians is. Therefore they beg of your Excellency to allow them another Trader for they say they used to have |7| two Traders formerly with them.

I am further to inform your Excellency that the Company at Savana Town has settled a Trade and Store in the Old Towns where I did live in order to trap the Hunters as they come in with Hunts which if they take that Liberty I don't see why should be hindred from going to their Hunters in the Woods to trade. I beg your Excellency will not let me loose my Business which is all from

Your Excellency's most dutiful and obedient Servant to command,

JAMES BEAMER

P. S. Great Telligua looks to me as if it won't stand long if they were not better used.

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### GOVERNOR GLEN TO KING MALATCHI

October 2d, 1754

MY GOOD FRIENDS AND LOVING BROTHERS, You are no Stranger to the Pains I took to bring about a Peace betwixt the Creeks and Cherrokees and I am perfectly happy in seeing my Labours crowned with Success. Both Nations are pleased at being Friends and therefore I have Reason to hope the Peace will last. Your Behaviour both in War and Peace has been comendable. You was not the Beginner or Promoter of the War, nor was you the first Proposer of the Peace while the War subsisted. Your Courage and good Conduct made your own People love and follow you, and your Enemies fear and fly from you, but the Part you acted at the concluding of the Peace was truly becoming a great Man. I then saw the Goodness of your Heart and your Behaviour at that Time and since has for ever secured to you the Esteem and Respect of the English, and my sincere Love.

It would give me great Pleasure to see you down that we may renew the Friendship that was then contracted betwixt you and me that I hope is never to have an End but with our Lives, but I hope the strict Union that was cemented betwixt the English and the Creek Nation will subsist many Years after we are both dead. The Beloved Men join with me in desiring a Visite from our good Friend Malatchi, and I have writen for the Gun Merchant also to come, and have desired him to come by the Cowetas that you may come together. You need fear no Enemy on your Towns in your Absence and the Path is clear from Enemy. Charles Town is healthy, the Heats are over, and even the Musquitoes are gone. I shall take Care that you be well lodged and well provided for and you shall not be detained. Pray bring no Skins for a Present but bring Horses both for the greater Dispatch and to help to carry up the Presents that I intend to give you. As many of your People will be going out a hunting, I suppose a Headman or two, and some Warriours from



the Lower Creeks will be enough to accompany you, but I leave this to your Prudence. If you come soon I shall take it as the greater Favour I am, &c.

The Governor of Carolina

To His Good Friend and Loving Brother

King Malatchi

#### INFORMATION OF GEORGE JOHNSTON

[8] His Excellency the Governor acquainted the Board that Mr. Johnston, licensed Trader for the Town Oakfuskee in the Upper Creek Nation, was [lately] arrived from thence and had given him some Accounts of some late Transactions in that Nation which he had committed to Writing, Mr. Johnston being reconed a Person of Veracity, and that such Accounts when the Truth of them could be depended upon were very proper to be preserved as they contained the genuine influenced Sense of the Indians, not the Sentiments of a few of the Headmen, but of the whole Nation, for which Reason this Account was ordered to be entered in the Book for Indian Affairs and is as follows:

That some Months after the Peace was concluded and agreed to in Charles Town betwixt the Creeks and Cherokees, three Cherokee Men arrived in the Upper Creeks commissioned by their Nation to confirm and strengthen the Peace in their Way, and it was agreed by both Nations there should be four such mutual Visists. These three Men continued a considerable Time in the Creek Nation and were well entertained there, and when they returned to their own Country they were conducted thither by ten Creek Warriours of note, among whom were the Red Coat King's Son, the Indian called the Handsom Fellow, and some others of the Second Men. That those having made some Stay among the Cherokees were now returned Home, and with them came fourteen or fifteen Cherokees, some of whom were principal Head Men. That immediately upon their Arrival Expresses had been sent all over the Upper Creek Nation to summon the Head Men of every Town to meet at a certain Day at the Town of Oakfuskee, and all the Traders were invited to be present. That Mr. Johnston was present in the publick Square and heard every Thing that passed, that he understands the Language a little, but one of his Servants sat by him who is a Master of their Tongue, and explained every Word that was said which as near as he can recollect, was to the following Purpose:

The ten Creeks gave an Account that they had [accompanied] the Cherokees back to their own Country, that they, the Creeks, had been received by the Cherokee Nation like Brothers and had been entertained in the most kind and affectionate Manner, that during their Stay there they had several Conferences and Talks, and that they had not only heard their Mouths but seen their Hearts, and that they were certain they were sincere and hearty in the Peace, and it would now be the Fault of the Creeks if it was not a lasting one.

The Head Man of the Cherokees spoke next and said that he had been appointed by his Nation to see their Brothers the Creeks Home in Safety, but that he was also commissioned to confirm and strengthen the Peace and to concert Measures of rendering it, if [9] possible, perpetual, that it was not long since they had been at War and were daily killing and destroying each other,

by which means both Sides were weakened, and though he did not doubt but that the wise Men of both Nations wished that it were otherwise, yet it was not in their Power to bring about a Peace, that good Work was the Work of the Governor of Carolina and had cost him much Trouble and Pains to bring it about, that therefor it was doubly their Duty to preserve it, that he had for many Years carefully observed every thing the Governor said or did, and remembered every thing as if it had passed Yesterday, and he found it was all calculated for their Good. When he made them any Present of Axes, Hoes, Knives, Guns, or Ammunition as he frequently did, he always desired them to hunt briskly to kill plenty of Deer, that with the Skins they might buy Cloaths for their Wives, and with the Flesh that they might feed their Children, that they might grow up stout Men and good Hunters and that they might become a numerous and powerfull People. That he beleived the French had few Goods, but he had little Knowledge of them. However he heard that they sometimes made small Presents but their Language was very different; it was, go kill and destroy, bring us plenty of Hair, plenty of Scalps, this was their constant Cry, that it was no difficult Matter to discover who was their Freind and who was not, since the one wanted their Preservation and other desired their Destruction.

That the Governor's Care not only extended to their two Nations but to all others who were Freinds to the English he wanted that they should be all Freinds to each other. What then would he say when he heard that the French and Chactaws were daily destroying the Chikesaws, and that they permitted it to be done? He would think that they had thrown away his Talk, but indeed the Chickesaws deserved to be supported for their own Sakes, as being brave Men, for though by the constant Wars of the French and their Freinds, the Chactaws, they were now reduced to a Handfull of Men, yet they still stood their Ground and he hoped with their Assistance they would be enabled to stand it, but if there was nothing else their own Interest would make them help the Chickesaws, for if the French should so far succeed as to destroy them or drive them from their Land, what must be the Consequence? Would not they immediately either fall upon the Creeks or Cherokees, and when they had sufficiently weakened the one, they would then attack the other, and at lenth destroy both? It was therefore his Opinion that the Chickesaws should be supported by both on the Ground where they now lived, and this was the Opinion of his Nation, and they had sent many Parties to their Assistance and to make War on the Chactaws, and he wished the Creeks would do so also.

This Speech was very much applauded by all present and the Gun Merchant, the greatest Head Man in the Upper Creeks, made Answer. That he was glad to find the Cherokees of the same Sentiments with them. That the Chactaws had begun with them already and had killed two of |10| their People, that the French Captain at the Albama Fort had sent to the Head Men and pressed them to have the Matter made up and would have perswaded them to make Peace with the Chactaws but that they had absolutely refused, and that a few Days before the Arrival of the Cherokees, he had seen one of their principal Head Men (Duval's Landlord) go out to War against the Chactaws with thirty Warriours from his own Town, twenty from Ocehoys, ten from

the Abienchaws, ten Chikesaws, and twenty Cherokees, in all ninety, but he must not conceal from him that another of their Head Men was very averse from these Measures and had sent round the Nation to acquaint the Head Men that unless they would desist from the Chactaw War he would break out War with the Cherokees.

The Cherokee Head Man replied that he hoped it would never be in the Power of one Head Man to create a War betwixt their two Nations, and before he had left his Country they had all agreed in order to preserve the Peace and to make it lasting that if any of their People should be found killed in the Woods that the Creeks should never be suspected or accused of it although there might be Tokens left as if done by Creeks; but they would always attribute it to the French and Northward Indians, and when they saw and certainly knew that any Mischeif was done by any of the Creeks, that they would not upon that Account break out War but would send and complain of the Injury and seek Satisfaction from the Nation or they would take it of the particular Person who committed the Offence or at least of his Town, but that they never would involve the two Nations in a War upon such Accounts and he hoped the Creeks would join with them in these Proposals, to which they agreed.

He then proceeded and cautioned them above all Things to beware of giving any Offence to the English or suffering any of them to be hurted telling them how concerned the Cherokees were that two Years ago two white Men were killed not far from the Creek Nation as they were going up to their Brothers, the Cherokees. That their Nation was greatly affronted to hear that the Creeks blamed them for it, that had they not been involved in a War at that Time with their Nation they would have found out the Murthérsers and they should not have gone unpunished. That both the Creeks and Cherokees should join in loving the English and in esteeming them as their best and only Freinds and Benefactors.

(Signed) GEORGE JOHNSTON

Mr. Johnston attending was called in and the foregoing Information from him being read to him Paragraph by Paragraph declared that every Word of it was true and was sworn before me in Council.

October 2nd, 1754

JAMES GLEN

#### GOVERNOR GLEN TO THE GUN MERCHANT

| 11 |

Dated 2nd October, 1754

MY GOOD FREIND AND LOVING BROTHER, It is several Years since I had the Pleasure to see you, and the earnest Desire that I have had, has made me think the Time longer than it really is but no Lenth of Time can ever wear the Gun Merchant out of my Mind. I can never forget that you are the greatest Man in the Upper Creek Nation, and what makes you still more beloved by me is that you are the greatest Freind to the English, but during that Period of Time I have upon many Occasions sent you Letters and Talks whenever I thought that my Advice or Assistance could be of Service to the Creek Nation.

I have never failed to offer it and as on the one Hand you must see by my Letters that they are all written with a View to your Welfare, that they are all calculated and center in your true Happiness, so on the other Hand I must do you the Justice to acknowledge that you have ever been the first and readiest to comply with what has been desired, and have at all Times proposed our Desires to your People and perswaded them to agree to them. I shall still continue to keep up the same freindly Communication with you by Letters but yet a Meeting or personal Interview now and then is absolutely necessary, and I know of no Time that it has been more necessary or that would be more proper for it than the present.

You are now happily at Peace with the Cherokees and need fear no Enemy upon your Upper Towns nor upon the Path, but as you are at present at War with the Chactaws perhaps it may be improper for many to come down, one more Headman or two, and a few Warriours from the Upper Creeks will be sufficient, and as I have invited Malatchi I would have you by all means to call at the Cowetas and you may come together. Charles Town is at present very healthy and the Heats are gone, so that I hope you need fear no Sickness and you shall be well lodged and provided for. It has been usual for [the] Nation to make a Present of Skins when they come to see the Governor, but upon this Occasion I desire you would not encumber yourselves with any thing more than is absolutely necessary for your Journey. I assure you, you shall not be long detained in Charles Town. If you all bring Horses I apprehend you will make the greater Dispatch and you will be better able to carry up the Presents that I intend to give you or if the Ammunition should prove to heavy it shall be sent. I thank the Mad Bear of the Hillabys for the Present that I hear he intended me and I am hopefull that by this Time you have had good Accounts of [12] our good Freind, Duval's Landlord. I long to see him, but I am sorry for the Behaviour of the Wolf, but as I still hope that his Heart is English I desire that you will persuade him to come with you and be pleased to let him know that I should be glad to see him.

His Excellency the Governor to the Gun Merchant

### THE TUCKESAWS TO GOVERNOR GLEN

The Tuckesaws to His Excellency the Governor

Letter dated 10th October, 1754

With Submission to our Brother the Governour and the Beloved Men of Carolina, we return you Thanks for the Powder and Bullets you sent us to defend ourselves against our Enemies. We received but two Bags of Powder and four of Bullets which is but a small Quantity for seven Towns, we haveing the Enemy as bad against us as the People over the Hills, and the Cheif of the Ammunition that was sent up was carried over the Hills, and we beg that the Governor and the beloved Men will be so good as to send us up seven Bags of Powder and fourteen Bags of Bullets, that is one Bag of Powder and two of Bullets for each Town to defend ourselves and the White People that live amongst us for the Enemy is so hot upon us that we can hardly go from Town to Town.

And if you please and think proper to send us Pistols, Cutlashes, and small Hatchets, Flints to defend ourselves we shall be very glad for we have News of a great many Enemies coming upon us, and we beg that this Letter may not be forgot as our last was as we have sent our Token as you told us to send it when we were in Want and we desire an Answer to our Letter as we remain in brotherly Freindship.

TOSATE \_\_\_\_\_ OF TUCKASAGE  
TOSATE \_\_\_\_\_ OF SLOCKE

KING AND HEADMEN OF THE CATAWBAS TO  
GOVERNOR GLEN

|13|

Catawba Nation

By the Request of the King and Head Men of the Catawba Nation

LOVING BROTHER, I am sorry to let you know that a few Days ago there was 16 of our Freinds, the White People, barbarously murdered and cut all to Peices, and 7 or 8 carried away alive by some Indians of what Nation I cannot tell. It was done within 40 Miles of this Town and we never heard of it for ten Days after. We went there but the Enemy being gone so long it was needless for us to follow them after so long a Start. Likewise we were scarce of Powder and Lead, haveing no Trader nor Goods amongst us all this Summer that we suffered much for the Want of one. That a few Days ago the Governor of Virginia sent us a small Matter of Powder and Lead amongst us by Abraham Smith and when we came to divide it was not above ten Shotts apeice.

We have waited a long Time for your Powder you promised to send us. The Enemy is a skulking about us now and then, and if a Body should come, we should be every Man destroyed for the Want of Powder. As the Waggons are now a going down no doubt but they would bring us up some, if you please to send it by them.

We have been wanting our old Freind and Linguister to go down, but he says he cannot for they will put him in Prison. Our People owe him a great Deal and have neglected to pay him these two Years past, but if we were fortified with Powder and Lead this Winter we would be able to set him on Foot once more. Our old People dye very [fast], and it is mighty sickly among us at present. We hope you will not forget us.

We are your humble Servants,

his  
KING \_\_\_\_\_ HAGLER  
Mark

his  
CORNILL \_\_\_\_\_ CHICKENS  
Mark

his  
CAPT. \_\_\_\_\_ JOHN  
Mark

his  
CAPT. \_\_\_\_\_ SUGAR JEMBY  
Mark

his  
CAPT. \_\_\_\_\_ HARRIS  
Mark

Headmen of the Catawbas Letter to His Excellency the Governor  
Dated 15th Oct., 1754

## LUDOVIC GRANT TO GOVERNOR GLEN

[14]

Cherrockees, Tomatly Town, 22d July. 1754

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, It is not easy to conceive, much less to express, the inward Satisfaction of Mind I, in my mean Circumstances receive, by being in the least countenanced by your Excellency, neither is there any Thing that can depress that Joy which rises in my Heart on that Account, more than my Inability to effectually serve your Excellency and the Country in which I sojourn, and as my Will is sincere and ready on all Occasions I pray it may make up and excuse what Deficiencies are not in my Power to help while it is my good Fortune and Happiness that your Excellency does remain in this Province of South Carolina. I shall not fail as Oppertunity serves allways to acquaint your Excellency of what shall come to my Knowledge in relation to the Behaviour of these Indians as far as it concerns the Peace of Carolina or else where belonging to the King of Great Britain and likewise the Benifite and Security of the Trade which is at present carried on among these Cherrockees.

Since I wrote my last Letters by Mr. Buttler there is little happened in this Nation worthy your Notice, though I propose to acquaint your Excellency also with Things seemingly of mean Concern and leave the Inferences to be drawn by yourself.

Your Excellency may remember in my last Letters by Mr. Buttler I gave an Account of a Message sent to Old Hopp by the Governor of Virginia inviting the Emperour and Little Carpenter in thither, in order to receive some Presents as the Letter specified, sent for them from the King of England. Abraham Smith who was the Messenger went in Person over the Hills, and as I can learn received one verbal Compliment for another to carry Home with him. However Smith returned with expedition from Virginia to Kewohee the second Time and proceeded no further, but from thence sent the second Letter which he had brought by one of the Virginia Traders who was there at Kewohee at that Time to Old Hopp who said he was much obliged to the Governor of Virginia for his Correspondence, but that as he was promised by his first Messenger, Ammunition and war Utensils, and that not being sent according to Promise, neither he nor his People could make Powder, and Bullets, and other Things they very much wanted, and Paper alone, meaning the Letters, would not defend them from their Enemies either at Home or abroad and upon slight Excuses altogeather declined going.

However they desired the Virginia Trader, one Paris by Name, to write their Answer to the second Letter and carry it to the Governor, and when the Headmen were convened in order to consult what Answer to send, he, the said Paris, declined it till they should come to Starnekers, the Dutchman's House, on the Virginia Path, and where Paris proposed they should convoy him, and there he said the Warriours who were his Gaurd might send an Answer. It may be supposed that Paris by deffering to write the Answer till upon the Path, thought to lay an Obligation upon the Headmen to convoy him, but after all this he could hardly perswade any of them [15] to gaurd him homewards, only twelve Fellows nine whereof were Northward Indians who have lived some Years Over the Hills and almost naturalized.

That Night or soon after they were come to Starnekers, there were thirty of the Catabaws who had been at War to the Northward and being so far returned homewards, took up Camp in the adjacent Neighbourhood in order to get some Provisions from the Inhabitants of the Place and to procure which sent a young Man of their Company ignorantly to a House near to Paris's Gaurd, who so soon as the Northward Fellows who were with the Cherrokees heard of an Indian and a Catawbaw they rushed into the House where the Catabaw was sitting and seizing and tying him brought him off. As I before mentioned there were thirty of the Catabaws and had taken three Slaves and killed two on the Spot, and there being but nine Northward with Paris, they tot without Delay of making the best of their Way homewards and for Fear of being pursued by the Catabaws which doubtless they were the fourth Day came to Setticoe which was an unaccountable Haste. The Northward Fellow that first laid Hands on the Catabaw and for that Reason claimed him as his sole Property lives in Setticoe, and there he first intended to carry the Slave, which when the Little Carpenter, the Great Warriour, and several other Headmen heard they went and with stern and angry Countenances, cut the Slave's String with a Knife, and stamped upon the rattling Callabash they had given the Slave in his Hand to sing to, and told the nine Northward if they wanted to go to their Country they might when they pleased, that they were not affraid of them or their Nation nor the French, but they should carry none of their Friends as Slaves, so these Warriours above mentioned brought the Catabaw Home to them, and as in such Cases there Manner is, washed, painted, and new cloathed him, and intends to send him Home with a Gaurd to his own People as soon as he can walk, his Feet being much swollen by running.

It is now a general War between this Nation and the Northward Indians, especially those belonging to the French, some of whom were in this Nation early this past Spring, and as they said were sent from their Nation for some of these Overhills People with the Little Carpenter to go to their Nation in Company with them to confirm a Peace with them and other Nations; the Little Carpenter when they came first into Chottee was out at War, for which Reason most of them declined staying till he should come Home, and leaving an old Fellow whom they called a Warriour to accompany the Little Carpenter when he should come in from War, the rest returned Home. The old Fellow whom the Northward had left finding but small Encouragment for in those of the Cherrokees who had been at War and had brought in French Prisoners wanted much to be gone, and getting his Clearance from Old Hopp and his Council made the best of his Way homewards, fearing I suppose worse might befall him.

The Peace betwixt this Nation and the Creeks is unanimously confirmed by mutual Presents and amicable and free Intercourse [16] with each other; Companies of the Creeks have been in this Nation this Summer and several Creeks have been and are gone to the Southward. I am informed that over the Hills are gone by Way of the Chickesaws in order to assist them and the Creeks against the Chactaws with whom the Creeks are now also at War. However it may be thought the French who pretend an Interest in both Nations will do what they can to hinder that War to continue for unless it be a Piece of their Policy to hinder the Chactaws from falling to the English which that Nation

have several Times attempted, they, the French, will spare no Cost to bring about a Peace again. This Nation at present are wholly averse to the French Interest which has intirely been brought to pass (under God) by your Excellency's mild, friendly and judicious Managment of both Nations, as for these they have no thoughts of other Masters or Benefactors than the English at present and I belive will continue so.

The Fort which your Excellency laid out and personally settled at Kewohee (let unthinking People talk as their shallow Capacities prompts them) has had already an excellent Effect upon this Nation as they are daily more and more confirmed in their Minds of the Benefite it will in Time be to them and their Successors though I really belive, by some white People who had Reason to fear the Consequence of it, in relation to themselves, that the Indians were by such strenuously perswaded against it; yet notwithstanding all by what I can learn from thence, the Indians were not only willing the Soldiers should plant the Land your Excellency purchased, but freely offered them other Plantations if they should want them. However I belive your Excellency is better informed of Affairs from the Fort than I am capable off, living at such a Distance from it.

As for my Part every Oppertunity that suitably offers I fail not to tell and endeavour to perswade these People that the very Name of a Cherrookee is abominable to the French, and that they together with their Indians want to patch up a pretended Peace with them that they may have the safer and surer Oppertunity to destroy and in Time to cut them off from being a People which I am perswaded the most I have talked with belive.

This Summer the Chekesaw Indians sent in Messengers over the Hills informing these People that the French and Chactaws had lately attacked them in their Towns, and that they beat them off with smal Loss, but they were still affraid the French would some Time or other send a Force against them which they might not be able to overcome for which Reason they intended this Fall to break up their Nation, that four Towns of them would come in over the Hills and the other three would settle in the Upper Creeks, and that the Over Hills People should meet them at the Chekesaws' Landing with Canoes at the Time appointed to transport their Women and Children. How true this may [17] prove I know not but belive that your Excellency may before this [be] informed of that Affair from the Southward and Mr. Elliot who lives in Chottee can acquaint your Excellency relating to that Design, what he has heard, and also what those People have resolved.

The 3rd of July came Messengers from Great Terequa to this Valley desiring their immediate Assistance to hunt after and drive from about their Town the Enemy who were numerous and they were affraid would attack them, that the Enemy had killed Uslunecus' Nephew as he was riding from Terequa to Tannassie, but that they had not got his Scalp. The Horse he road carrying him off some Distance from where he was shot before he fell to the Ground.

It is certain that all the Over Hills Towns are much infested with the Enemy who every Year kill some of their best Men which much weakens and discourages them. Should it at any Time be in the Power of the French to drive the Over Hills People from thence it would certainly prove of fatal Consequence first to this Nation and afterwards to the Out Settlements of Caro-



lina, for it is not to be doubted when the Over Hills Towns were broke up and gone that the French with those Indians would soon settle these famous back Rivers to which at present these Indians Over the Hills are the only Hindrance and afterwards would in Time drive this Nation to the Settlements or force them to comply which at Present they seem most averse to. However it is to be hoped that the Country will spare no Pains or Expence to enable them to stand their Ground by sending them Ammunition &c. the Want of which they complain of.

Frequent Communication with these Indians both by Word and Writ is a great heartning to them and they look upon your Excellency's Familiarity, Lenity, and good Usage they always have received, very much, and are always talking of it.

Again the 4th Day of the said Month, July, in the Morning, came other Messengers from Chotte, two for this Town Tomatly to the Warriour, and two to the Mankiller of Iwasee. These as they passed my House told me they had a Letter written by the white Men by Order of the Warriours desiring this Valey People to repair over the Hills with all Expedition to their Assistance against a great Body of Enemy who as they were informed were approaching their Towns especially Chottee. Iwasee, Canoste, and Little Telequa should go to Great Terequa, the long-Savanna People, Noewee, Tomatly, Cheawee, Nantarialy to Chote. That the Enemy had killed a beloved Woman in a Canoe by the Town by which they being alarmed pursued them, and took one of them and bringing him to the Town burnt him. He was by his Confession an Over the Lake Indian, and by his Whiteness they supposed him to be a whiteman's Son. Before he was burnt he told those People by a Northward Fellow, the Interpreter, who has lived some Years in this Nation that there was an Army of white and red down the River he mentioned and which he came from. That they were inforting themselves [r8] and afterwards designed to come against Chotte and cutt it off because that Town only was always killing their Indians and taking their white Men who were Traders which Report though I belive groundless as I told them, as to the Design to cutt off any Town has occasioned their great Surprize and caused them to send for Help to this Valey.

I told these Indians that it has always been the French and their Indians' Custom in the Spring, for more or less of a Town to join together and go into the Woods, and upon some convenient River to settle and infort themselves for the Safety of what Women and Children they should have with them, and from thence to send off what Companies they should think proper to molest the frontiers Towns of this Nation, but that it was very improbable and hardly possible they ever would come in a Body against their Towns, for an Army sufficient for such an Enterprize would not live in the Woods for want of Provision, especially when they should approach near any Town where there were neither Bear, Deer nor Bufflow to be found, and that it was impossible for a Body of Men to come near their out side Towns undiscovered some or other being always in the Day Time a scouting, and at this Time they had War enough at Home.

The Messengers from the Over Hills Towns brought also a Letter sealed to this Warriour of Tomatly desiring him with all Speed possible to send it to the Fort at Kewohee, and that from thence it should in all Haste be forwarded to your Excellency, and that no white Man should read or see it till it came to Kewohee which when the Warriour told me I said it was some what strange that his Uncle, Old Hopp, should send a Letter to him in whom they all so much confided, and not in the least to acquaint him with the Contents, and desired to see the Superscription thereof which when he brought it, found it was directed to the Commander of the Fort, and not to your Excellency and nothing in it, for I broke it open but a Heap of confused, incoherent Jargon which I suppose your Excellency has received before this.

Old Hopp attributes in it the Occasion of the War to your Excellency in putting and detaining in Prison those Savanahs that on that Account the Savanah Nation had given Belts of Wampam to the Northward Towns in general to come to War against these Cherrokees because they, when in Charles Town, did not procure the Freedom of the Savannahs from your Excellency and send them Home. That he would not write for Ammunition again, because he had been disappointed before (which of itself is a modest Demand and cunaign Reproof). However each Trader has promised them if they shall stand in Need of it one Bag of Powder and two of Bullets to defend them untill they hear from your Excellency, which they very much long for and especially the Warriour of Tomatly who expects with Impatience some Acknowledgment that your Excellency received his Talk.

The Letter was signed with Old Hopp's Mark, and what I have wrote was the chief Contents thereof, and thought proper to acquaint your Excellency least it should miscarry and not come to hand.

[19] Two young Men of Tannasse who were lately out a hunting were surprized in their Canoe by 3 Northward Enemy who fired upon them and missing them the two Cherrokees jumped out of the Canoe into the Swamp with only their Guns and shot Pouches which I suppose lay at Hand. The Enemy not daring to venture into the Swamp seized the Canoe and what Body of Skins &c. that was in her and turning her adrift took the Land. Some Days after a Party of Great Terequa Indians who were out at War coming across the Tract of the three Enemy, and finding a Mush Basket they had taken out of the Canoe, and knowing it to be of Cherrokee make, supposed that they had killed some Woman in her House and pursuing the Tract came up with them, killed one, took another, and the third run of and got clear. The Fellow they caught they brought Home to Great Terequa and burnt him there. This happened about the 12th July.

Twelve of the Northward Enemy lately came upon Iwasee River near the Town and in a Plantation killed a Cherrokee Man and carried off a Notchee Woman, and being hotly persued the Enemy killed the Woman about 20 or 30 Miles from Iwasee, and left a considerable Booty of Beads and Blankets. When the Pursuers found the Woman dead proceeded no further but returned with what they had got.

Some time ago five or six Men of Canoste went over to Great Terequa to assist them to hunt the Enemy about the Town, and being one Day out in

search of them in the Afternoon when they had given over Hopes of finding or seeing any were returning Home when suddenly they were fired upon from a Thicket by the path Side, one was killed on the Spot, one taken, and the rest made their Escape to tell the News. He whom they had taken Prisoner the fourth sought after when they were all asleep got off from the Enemy by cutting the Slave String with which he was tied, with a sharp, white Flintown, but much hurt with running and tying.

This Summer one of the Virginia Traders, Paris by Name, whom I have before mentioned with a young Man Paris, his Hifeling, a Negroe Man, and John Hatton's Sister, half breed, had almost been killed in the Great Terequa Path from Canoste. The said Paris with his Company had come from Stecoe on Tewtewah River and passing my House went to Docharty's where he bought two Cows and Calves. The Day after took his Journey for Great Terequa which he was to pass in his Way to Toquo where he resided with a remarkable Indian and a Warriour of Tannasse who had some Days before come over the Hills to Docharty's in order to pay a Debt he owed him. When Paris was come within four or five Miles of the Terequa for Fear least his Cattle would tire encamped, the Indian who was a little Way behind coming up, said he would proceed to the Town it being but a little Way [20] off, and notwithstanding Paris and the Woman entreated him earnestly to stay and told him the Path was dangerous, however the Indian would not and not two Miles from where Paris stayed had his Horse shot under him, and was himself carried off where no News has been heard of him since, and I belive [ever] will, and Cattle though they have been the Death of some Virginia Men in Times past at that Time saved the Life of one with his Company.

There have been but few killed in any of the Middle Settlements and the Lower Towns that I can hear of.

I have made bold with Submission to give your Excellency this tedious Account of these People in relation to their Enemies and if nothing else can be enferred from it, I am sure one Thing may, to wit that they stand much in need of what Assistance and daily Encouragment South Carolina can give them to continue their Allegiance and Friendship firm as it certainly is at present throughout the Nation for the Indians are not powerful Enimies, yet was it so to happen they would be found very troublesome ones.

I shall not trouble your Excellency with any Account of the Trade only that it is carried on in strict Opposition to the late Ordinance, more or less, by all, for the less Traders must of necessity follow the Way of the greater or they have no Business here. I humbly beg Pardon for this Trouble and am with all due Submission and Respect,

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

LUD. GRANT

#### JAMES FRANCIS TO GOVERNOR GLEN

October 7th, 1754

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, Sir, I should have wrote sooner concerning this cruel Murder perpetrated (as I suppose) by a Camp of French

Indians, but heard the Day I was going to set off that Mr. Wicose of this Neighbourhood was already set off to Town to acquaint your Excellency of the same, viz. on Friday the 27th last past. However Sir, I beg Leave to relate the particulars in few Words which is as follows.

On a Creek called Buffalo Creek supposed to be in North Carolina, by others supposed to be in the South Province, at the House of one \_\_\_\_\_ Guttery, a sociable, hospitable Man, and of good Resolution (at whose House I have been) at this House Sir, a travelling Family or two had stoped from the Northward, and a neighbouring Family was at this unfortunate Time at the said House waiting the Return of a young Couple that were gone 40 or more Miles to a Justice to be married. In the interim (some say 60, some more) Indians came upon these unhappy People old and young accounting 21, sixteen of whom were found barbarously murdered in the Circumference of 2 or 300 Yards, the other five not found wether carryed off or killed at a Distance and not found is not certain. The People missing are a Woman and 3 Children, the 5th I could not get a true Account off.

This Sir is the exactest Account I can get [21] of this unhappy Affair in relation to the Persons killed. As for the other Part, Hogs and Fowles that they could find were killed and piled upon the Bodies of the murdered. Several Cattle were also found dead adjacent and at least 20 head of Horses, some very valuable belonging to the Travellers drove off, but one Man as I could understand was killed with a Bullet, the rest all killed with Arrows and Hatchets, and some left of both sorts sticking in the Bodies of the Dead when found.

It also appeared by their Camps in the Corn Field that they remained after the said Murder some Time, and when they did go off blazed Trees in the Way they went. However it seems the white People that first discovered the Affair which was the new married Couple &c. had not a Force sufficient to follow the Indians, but were themselves in such a Panick that they could not wait to bury the Dead [but] by flinging them into a Well on the said Plantation, viz. 16 Persons old and young. This Affair, Sir, has caused a great Dread in these Parts. However as it falls out that our Muster Day happened on course at this Juncture, I took the Oppertunity as well to pacify and encourage them, at the same Time to warn them to keep a wary Dilligence to be ready to assist each one his Neighbour at an Hour's Warning and to be always ready at a sudden Call. This was the chief I could do at this Time.

Sir, but humbly beg Leave to acquaint your Excellency that there is lately come into this Settlement 6 or 7 Familes, some of which are in low Circumstances and appeared at the Musterd Field without Arms, which when I talked to them about, their Answer was that with purchasing their Lands, Provisions &c., they really could not purchase Arms as they were very dear and scarce to be got. If therefore, Sir, it is not a Trespass to request that we may have 10, 15, or 20 more or less as your Excellency shall see good it surely will be doing us a great Good, as these People will not only be useless but troublesome in case an Alarm should rise, and they without Arms. Your Excellency is not unacquainted with the Constitution of this Settlement, and if we dare with due Submission interceed for some Ammunition that the poorer of the People may

be supplied it will really be an Encouragement according to my humble Opinion far beyond the Expence. At the Request of the Company, Sir, is this Letter. That your Excellency may long reign and live happy in Carolina is the sincere hearty Prayers of Sir,

Your Excellency's most dutyfull and obedient, humble Servant to command,

JAS. FRANCIS

P. S. The aforementioned Buffulo Creek is about 5 Miles from where the Path crosses Broad River which leads from the Cherrokees to [the] Catawaw Nation, and the said Guttery's Plantation about 20 from the said Ford which Ford is about 100 Miles from this Settlement of Saludy. This Sir is the truest Computation that I can make of this Matter from Sir,

Your Excellency's ever obedient, humble Servant,

J. F.

GOVERNOR GLEN TO THE CHEROKEE HEAD MEN  
OF THE OUT TOWNS

[22] Copy of a Letter from the Governor of South Carolina to his good Friends and Brothers, the Headmen of the Out Towns of Tuccaseegin Kehoway and Steecoy &c. &c.:

November 14th, 1754

GOOD FRIENDS AND BROTHERS, I have received your Letter of Thanks for the two Baggs of Powder, and four Baggs of Bullets that I lately sent you by Mr. Beamer, but I was surprized to find in that Letter a Request for more. However as I am always willing to serve you, I laid your Letter before the beloved Men and represented to them that your Out Towns lay exposed to the Enemy, and that Chuchiche and the Tacites and other of the Headmen had always behaved like dutyfull Children of the great King George and loved the white People of Carolina. Upon these Considerations the beloved Men advised me to make you a Present of some more, and I shall send it by some of the Traders the first Oppertunity.

I think of sending for some of your Headmen and Warriours to come down to see me that we may talk together of some Things relating to the Wellfare of the Cherrokee Nation which I have much at Heart. If I send I shall be sure to let you know it, that some of your Headmen may come with the Headmen from Over the Hills; 'tis a long while since I had the Pleasure of shaking Hands with any of the Head Men of the Out Towns, yet I often think of them. I consider them as Brothers, and as I know that the Situation of their Towns layes them open to the Attack of the French and Northern Indians, I sent them a Supply of Ammunition, and they may depend upon three Baggs of Powder and six Baggs of Bullets more, by the first Oppertunity as I have promised in the begining of this letter.

I am, Friends and Brothers, your loving Brother,

JAMES GLEN

## LACHLAN MCGILLIVRAY TO GOVERNOR GLEN

Augusta, October 1754

SIR, I received your Excellency's Commands by Geo. Johnston. I shall at all Times gladly embrace any Oppertunity to serve my Country when in my Power, but our latest Accounts from the Lower Creeks, Malatchi has been dangerously ill so that his Life has been dispaired of. The same Accounts informs us that Headmen of the Upper and Lower Creeks were invited to Mobile there to receive Presents from the Governor of Orleans. Two Chickesaw Fellows arrived here yesterday from the Cussetaws in the Lower Creeks who say that the French at the Albama Fort are useing their utmost Endeavours to make a Breach between the Upper Creeks and Cherroekees, which is very disagreeable to the Lower Creeks. Nothing further at Present offers from

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

LACHLAN MCGILLIVRAY

P. S. I should be glade to know how the Indians are to be mentained here as undoubtedly they will want to rest themselves a few Days after their long Journey, but when come I shall make there Stay here as short as possible.

## LACHLAN MCGILLIVRAY TO GOVERNOR GLEN

[23] [MAY] IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, Since my last, Accounts from the Upper Creeks say that the French have been more than common bussy this last Summer, endeavouring to foment Disturbances and gain over that Nation to their Interest, and have actually prevailed upon several Head Men to go down to Mobile in order to receive large Presents, and without the least Doubt (if possible) to put them upon some Schemes prejudicial to the English Interest, but it is not in the least to be doubted but that the same unwearied Care and Watchfullness so peculiar to your Excellency over Indian Affairs, and which has rendered the French's diabolical Schemes abortive for Years by past will also be effectual at this critical Juncture by sending so seasonably for the Heads of that Nation, but I am afraid some of the Head Men most wanted will not come down this Season because severals of them were gone out for their Winter's Hunt before your Letters could possibly be conveyed to their Nation.

A Trader from the Cheroekees the other Day says that a considerable Body of that Nation from Tannasee, Chottee and other Towns set out for the Chickesaw Nation about the latter End of last Month in order to escorte the Remains of that brave People into the Cherroekee Nation. Thus, a brave People who fought manfully and struggled hard for many Years for their native Country are at last obliged to quit it and leave it to be possessed by their implacable Enemies, the French and their Indians. The same Man says it was confidently reported there that it was a French Nation of Indians called Notaweas in conjunction with some Savannahs that lately destroyed some of the Inhabitants on Broad River.

I hope your Excellency will excuse this long Epistle, neither would I presume to trouble you with this and many others on the same Head, only that I know how much you have Indian Affairs at heart.

I am your Excellency's most devoted and obedient, humble Servant

LACHLAN MCGILIVRAY

I this Moment received a private Letter dated at the Abecootchees, October 19th, 1754 from Mr. Clark, a Person of good Authority, an Extract of which I thought proper to communicate to your Excellency as follows:

SIR, I arrived at the Ockehoys the 15th Instant and notwithstanding what Dispatch I made the Gun Merchant and most of his People were gone a hunting a Fortnight before my Arrival. It was with a great Deal of Perswasion that I could prevail with the few Headmen who were at Home to send after him to the Woods to let him know of His Excellency's Invitation, and was obliged to give two Blankets to a Fellow for carrying the Message to him. What Disturbance has been in this Nation has been intirely owing to our natural and inveterate Enemies, the French, and I am sure that these Fellows (the Creeks) who are now at Mobile will be greatly encouraged to raise and foment Jealousies between us and the Creeks which I hope and make no doubt our Governors in their great Wisdom will prevent.

[24] By our latest Accounts from the Cherroekie Nation they expect Assistance from our Government to enable them to stand their Ground, otherwise will be obliged to move. A Party of them and some Savannahs are gone some Time ago upon some of the French Settlements on the Mississipi to get Slaves. I wish them Success.

I look upon this Account in regard to the Chickesaws to be more authentick than that from the Cherroekies. I hope your Excellency will pardon this also as there is no other Motive than that of the publick Good induces me to give you this Trouble. I am as before

Your Excellency's most devoted, humble Servant

LACH. MCGILIVRAY

#### GOVERNOR GLEN TO OLD HOP

Copy of His Excellency's Letter to Old Hope, Headman of the Cherroekie Nation

Charles Town, December 12th 1754

MY GOOD FRIEND AND LOVING BROTHER, I received your Letter thanking me for the Ammunition that I sent you to defend your Towns against your Enemies and desiring more. I sent you an Answer to it, but in case that Letter has not been safely carried or truly enterpreted I now send another by a faithfull Messenger who is acquainted with most of the Headmen, and who can speak your Language well. 'Tis Mr. Richard Smith. The Intent and Meaning of this Letter is to repeat and renew the Assurrances that I have frequently given you of the Favour and Friendship of this Government, though I am perswaded when you reflect on the Care and Kindness of Carolina to you, you cannot have the least Doubt of the Continuance of it. We look

on you as one People with ourselves, the Cherrookee Nation and Carolina have been so long in Treaty with one another. You on your Parts keep the Path clear and clean, and we take care to keep it streight and smooth on ours. The French have used their utmost Endeavours to make Peace between the Chactaws and Creeks and to incite the Creeks to brake out War with you that both the Creeks and Chactaws might come against you on one Hand while they and other Indians to the Northward fall upon you on the other that so putting you betwixt two Fires they might intirely destroy and consume you, but I have hitherto prevented all their Plots and I doubt not but I shall be able to defeat all their Designs.

I have sent for many of the Head Men of the Creeks, and I expect them here about the begining or at the furthest the Middle of February. It would give me great Pleasure if some of your Headmen and Warriours could be here about the same Time, particularly Chucannuta, Oustenaiké, Oconnostate, Amasosita of Telliquo, Scaeloske of Chatuge, the Smal Pox Conjurer of Setticoe, The Bread Slave Catcher, Tacite Hyowassy, and his son Amaetae, the Warriour of Tomatly, the Prince of Ierohee, The King of Nagnossi, Chuchitchi of Tauangia and Round O from the Out Towns, Wahatchi of Keewohee, Carane, the Raven of Toxaway, Little Tethtoy and Cannauaughte of Keewohee with any other of the Over Hills [25] Headmen that Old Hop pleases to send or any other from that Valley that Tacite thinks fit should come, and as all these are Head-men no doubt they will bring some other Warriours with them, for I wish to see many of my Friends, and I doubt not but they will all come with true Hearts and with full Powers to consult and transact what may be for the Safety, Peace and Happiness of the Cherrookee Nation and what will not only tend to their present Prosperity but what may make them a great and flourishing People when the present Generation is all dead and gone.

I have already told you that I have sent for many of the Headmen of the Upper and Lower Creeks and that I expected them about the Middle of February. I shall also send for the Head-men of the Catabaws. You are all at present Friends and Brothers and I shall always (as I have hitherto done) study to keep you so but one great and important Point to be considered is how to keep your Enemies, the French Northern Indians, the Tawaws and others from hurting you, who last Year came against your Overhills Towns in Numbers, but may be expected as you inform me next Summer in greater Numbers assisted with Frenchmen. I think one Way of preventing them coming against you will be to go against them, and we shall supply you with Arms and Ammunition, and if I can prevail with both the Creeks and Catabaws to join with you heartily and to go chearfully with you, you will soon give your Enemies to the Northward work enough at Home. One great Difficulty will be to defend your old People, your Women and Children, while you may be gone against your Enemies, but I doubt not when we meet and when your Head-men and Warriours come down we shall think of [something] that may make your Towns safe, and give Security to all your old People, your Women and Children, but there is no Time to be lost. Writing Letters and sending Talks and Messages backward and forwards will not do the Bussiness, and therefore



I hope they will not make it later than the Middle of February. I mean that they should be in Charles Town by that Time.

I am the sincere Friend of the Cherrookee Nation, and of you, Old Hop of Chotte, the Head of it.

JAMES GLEN

GOVERNOR GLEN TO TACITE OF HYOWASSIE, COLANE OF  
EURPHORSEE, KING OF THE VALLEY

Charles Town, 12th December, 1754

MY GOOD FRIENDS AND LOVING BROTHERS, TACITE OF HYOWASSIE, COLANE OF EURPHORSEE, KING OF THE VALLEY, I hope this Letter will find you and your Spouse, your son Amahetai and George all well and in good Health. You was so kind as to come and see me [at] Keewohee with your old friend Cornelius, and I endeavoured to make you as wellcome as I could. You and I have often met in Charles Town, we have met in the Woods, we have met in your Nation and though both you and I grow older than when we first knew one another, yet I hope we shall meet again and I wish to see you and your Son about the Middle of February in Charles Town with any other of the Headmen of the Valley or Warriours that you please.

I have written to Old [26] Hop for some of the Head-men from Over the Hills, and I expect Chuchitchi and Round O from the Tuccasegia Parts, and some from the Middle Settlements, and also from the Lower Towns that we may have a great Talk together.

I have also sent for some of the Headmen both of the Upper and Lower Creeks and they will be here about that Time. One Part of my Design is to confirm and settle the Peace betwixt your two Nations for the French have been lately endeavouring to make a Breach and to kindle the Flame that I happily extinguished, but I have defeated their Designs. But another great End of my desiring a Meeting with the Headmen of the Cherrookees is to consult what Steps are to be taken to prevent the French, their Indians the Tawasaws, and other Northern Indians from hurting your Nation. They want to bring both the Chactaws and Creeks against you on one Side and they themselves and their northern Friends attack you on the other Side and so by putting you betwixt two Fires they may intirely destroy and consume you. It is to protect your Nation from this that I want to consult with you and to enable you not only to stand your Ground and defend your Towns, but to drive your Enemies before you and I hope I shall unite together both Cherrookees, Creeks and Catawbaws like one Man against the common Enemy. You shall not want for Arms and Ammunition and we must consult how to secure your old Men, your Wives and Children not only against any Enemy, that may come against your Towns, but while your Warriours are gone against the Enemy.

You are sensible that there are great Points and Matters of the utmost Importance and therefore though you are old and the Weather will then be cold yet I doubt not but you will come. I want you because you are wise and good and love your People. This is a great and solem Meeting. After this

your Son Amehetae may supply your Place, but at present I want you both and I will take no Refusal.

I am your good Friend and Brother,

JAMES GLEN

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GOVERNOR GLEN TO CHUCTHITCHE AND ROUND O

Charles Town, 12th December, 1754

MY GOOD FRIENDS AND BROTHERS, CHUCTHITCHE AND ROUND O, It has given me great Concern to find that the French and their Friends, the Northern Indians, have come in such Numbers against your Towns and have killed so many, both of you and the Overhills People, and there is Reason to think that they may come in greater Numbers this Summer, for which Reason I have sent for some of the Headmen of your Nation to be here in Charles Town the Middle of February next. I hope you will both of you come down then with any other Headmen and Warriours of the Out Towns that you may think proper to consult and advise with me of the most proper Ways to defend your Nation against the Attempts of your Enemies. You shall not want for Arms and Ammunition, and I hope both the Creeks and Catabaws will join with you heartily to drive the Enemy before you. I hope you will not fail to come at the Time appointed.

I am good Friends and Brothers your Firm Friend,

JAMES GLEN

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GOVERNOR GLEN TO THE CATABAW HEADMEN

[27] Copy of a Letter from His Excellency the Governor to the Headmen of the Catabaw Nation

Charles Town, 18th December, 1754

GOOD FRIENDS AND LOVING BROTHERS, You cannot doubt of the great Pleasure I received when the Peace was betwixt you and the Five Nations. You well know of the great Pains that I took to bring it about. You have indeed complained for a Year two past that the Five Nations did not faithfully observe it, but came into your Country under [Colour] and Pretext of the Peace, and calling themselves your Brothers, watched Oppertunities of destroying such as were not upon their Gaurd against them, and in some of your Letters you have not scrupled to say that they joined publickly with your Enimies and came openly to War against you. I was in hopes that you might have been mistaken, and that some of the French Indians who came against you might have given out that they were of the Five Nations purposely to create a Breach between you and them. But I cannot conceal from you that all your Apprehensions seems to have been well founded, for the Honorable William Bull Junr., Esq., one of the beloved Men who as Commissioner from the Province carried you with him to New York and went along with you to Albany where the Treaty was concluded, has lately had an Account sent him from thence from Arrance Stevens, Interpreter for the Province of New-York to the Five Nations whom no doubt you remember, that a Party of the Five

Nations consisting of near fifty Warriours were set off from thence to come to War against you and gave out that they would destroy and scalp you. Upon this News the Governor and Council of this Province considering the long Friendship that hath subsisted betwixt your Nation and us thought proper to send you a considerable Supply of Ammunition, consisting of 300 wt. of Powder and 600 wt. of Bullets, besides 500 Gun Flints which you will receive in a few Days as a Present from this Government. Mr. Nightingale carries it in his Waggon and will deliver it to you. I desire that you may cause it to be weighed in his and your Presence, but in regard it might be necessary for you to have the earliest Intelligence of the Designs of your Enemies, I prevailed with him to go express that you may without Loss of Time call in your Hunters to take care of their Families and to prevent the Destruction of your Women and Children, for I hear that at present and for some Time past few or none of your Warriours have been left at Home, a Circumstance that may some Time or other prove very fatal to your Nation especially now when the Five Nations hath broke out War with you who are much better acquainted with your Towns than the French Indians were and by their Nearness to you will have better Intelligence of evry Motion you make. I sincerely wish the Peace, Preservation and Prosperity of the Catabaw Nation.

I am good Friends and loving Brothers, your good Friend and Brother

JAMES GLEN

#### RICHARD SMITH TO GOVERNOR GLEN

|28|

Suludy Old Town, December 24th, 1754

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, The Bearer is the Fellow that the White People took and and confined somewhere about Peedee and was brought to Charles Town and your Excellency returned, and he desired I would write to your Excellency by him that he is destitute of a Gun and baggs your Excellency may give him one. I yesterday met a Man of John Hallons that affirmed the Creek Indians had broke out War against the Cherokees. But meeting Mr. Beamer here, Mr. Beamer informs me that it is false and that the Cherokees and Creeks is hunting together in Peace, and I thought it my Duty to acquaint your Excellency the Truth for that Fellow of Hallons will I suppose tell there is War which I imagined would give your Excellency some Un-easiness.

Your Excellency may depend I shall take care to bring down the Indians by the Time your Excellency desired, and if your Excellency have any further Orders be pleased to write me Word by the Bearer. And your Excellency may depend I shall do what lyes in my Power to serve,

And am your Excellency's most obedient and most humble Servant,

RICHD. SMITH

#### MONECATONTHA TO THE CATAWBAS

A Speech made by Monecatontha to the Catawbaws in behalf of the Warriors of the Six Nations, Dalaways and Shainnas Resideing on the Ohio and delivered to Capt. Jo. Makay

Bretheren we have heard of the Peace made by your Kings and ours of the Six Nations, but as a Warr between us is carried on by the Warriors so the Peace should be confirmed by Warriors. And as we did not meet by the Appointment of our Brother the Governor of Virginia, I now send you these four Strings of Wampum to invite you to meet us at Winchester next Spring sometime about March where we will make a lasting Peace that shall hold while the Sun shines. That this Speech may have a good Impression on the Minds of our Bretheren, we send you these four Strings White Wampum.

Bretheren we desire much to see and meet with you and we hope your Kings will come with you, and all our Brethren that is in Alliance with you. We shall be glad how many you bring with you. To confirm the Truth of what I have said, I send you this String.

Wampum.

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#### KING MALACHEY TO GOVERNOR GLEN

[29] King Malachey's Letter to His Brother the Governor of South Carolina

November 15th, 1754

I received your good Talk you sent me, and would come down to see you, but am very ill that I despaired of Life and am still in a very bad State of Health that I cannot come down, nor have I any Thing left me but my Body, having been obliged to give all I had to the Doctors, and as you was so good as to order me to bring Horses for to carry the Presents with I would have come if I had been able. But hope I shall be better by the Spring, and if you would send them to Augusta, it would be a much shorter Way for me to fetch them or if you think fit for me to come to you to Charles Town I hope you will send me Word between this and then, and as for the Peace with the Cherrokees I hope it will be a lasting one. The Upper Towns and all my People in general have no Thought of a War with the Cherrokees at present for [they] hunt lovingly together.

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#### JOHN PETTYEROW TO GOVERNOR GLEN

John Pettyerow's Letter to His Excellency

Dated Breed Camp, the 1st December, 1754

HONOURED SIR, As I think my Duty to let your Excellency know the State of Affairs in this Nation where I arrived the 20th of November in Company with Mr. Clark and Mr. Spencer where we found all well and peaceable at that present, but was acquainted by those that staid in the Nation that there had been a great Demur amongst the Indians about the white People's incroaching upon their Lands which had like to have proved of bad Consequence to us. The French finding that Oppertunity endeavoured as much as possible to infuse worse Talks in their Heads than they really had got by telling them that we was now providing a great Army below to cutt them all off. And that we was then a building a Garrison at the Oakmullyg River in order to keep Possession of their Lands as far as there. This I am credibly informed has been their chief Instigation of any Mischief being likely to have been done.

Before we got into the Nation the Gunn Merchant had set out a hunting ten Days, but immediately hired a Fellow to follow him to let him know your Excellency wanted him, but have not seen the Fellow since his Return from him, but am informed that his Answer back is that he cannot wait on your Excellency till the Spring and then will readily go down if you should want him. I have talked lately to the Wolf and Devall's Landlord about their going down and found them very ready and willing to go now if the Gunn Merchant had been at Home, but seemed not desirous of going without him.

There has lately been one hundred and odd of those Upper Creeks and Savannahs down at Mowille [30] in order to meet the Governor of New Orance. I made it my Business since their Return to enquire what they was sent for about, and their first Talk was to make Peace with the Chocktaws all the rest being entirely against us, and that he, the Governor, was sent by his Great King to be a Father to all Indians, and that he had sent for them to let them know that now we are coming upon them, and that we was now preparing a great Army to cutt them entirely of &c., take Possession of their Lands, and a great deal to this Effect too tedious to trouble your Excellency with at this present, the Wolfe promising to tell you all when he sees you himself. I have great Reason to believe the Wolfe is not so bad as many People reports of him for I never knew a Fellow in this Nation stand more for our Interest then he doth at this present. He makes a great Complaint to us in general, and says there is dayly some of our People deserting to the French Fort as certainly there is and carrys various Reports much against our Interest. Therefore the Wolfe has declared openly that the first Englishman that he sees deserting, for the Future he will actually kill him as I doubt not but will have Oppertunitys enough of so doing, having so many idle Fellows amongst us that follows Nothing in the World for a Livelyhood but going a Deer hunting with Indians, and continually quarrelling and breeding Ryots amongst them, and I really believe if there is not some Method taken to call those Fellows out of the Nation that has no Employment that in Time it will bring Warr upon ourselves, but this I shall leave to your Excellency's further Discretion.

There is an Indian Fellow lately arrived in this Nation from Allagainny. He goes for a Savannah but I believe to be sent by the French by his Talk being as follows:

That we had sent a great Army to the Northward to cutt of all the Indians at that Place and take their Lands from them, but the French joining with them have entirely cutt our Armies off, and that he was now come to tell this Nation that we was now raising another Army in order to take the Creek Land from them, and that he would advise them to join with the French before it was too late and they would protect them and their Lands too, and if they did not they might expect our Armies here next Summer. This Talk in please your Excellency I had from a Head Man of the Abaconacheys.

About 20 Days ago two Savannah Fellows came in here with six French Men's Scallaps. They gave me an Account that they came from the Allagainey River, about ten Men of them. When they went out to War they steered their Course to the Breed Nation in order to get some of them to join them which

accordingly did. They went to a Fort above one hundred Miles above New Orlande at a Place called the Norche Old Town then had a smart Engagement with both French and Indians. The Savannahs lost three Men, but the Breed none. They brought their Scallaps to Shertee and his People, but they would not receive them, so the two Fellows returned to the North from whence they came. They left five in the Breed Nation in order to join the Breed to go back to War again. A few Days ago I received some Letters from my Partner in the Breed [31] Nation wherein I have an Account that all is well there and have not lost any Men there this last Summer, but that the Breed is now more vigorous in defeating their Enemies than ever they knew them, and says they will stand by their Land while they can find an Englishman to supply them with Ammunition.

The Presents your Excellency was pleased to send last Summer very much affected the Hearts of them Indians to our Interest, and if they had not got them they really must have quitted their Land, for the Enemy keeping them so close confined at Home, they are not able to supply themselves either with Powder or Bullets.

The President and Assistants of Georgia has sent me 500 weight of Powder and 1000 weight of Bullets which I received at Augusta before I came away with Flints, Knives and Paint, but cannot get it to the Breed Nation before March, travelling being now rendered very difficult, therefore shall be obliged to stay for a Guard of fifty or sixty Men.

If your Excellency with the Advice of the Honourable Council should think it proper to make them People a Present of more Ammunition to encourage them to protect their Land and defeat their Enemies, the only Time it could assist them would be for it to be at Savannah Town by the first of June for it is generally a dry Time of the Year, and a Guard is easily got to protect us to their Nation. If there is any thing that offers against the Interest of this Nation or the Breed, your Excellency may depend of being acquainted with it by every Opportunity. I have Nothing more at present to add and am

Your Excellency's most obedient and most humble Servant,

JOHN PETTYEROW

CERTIFICATE OF GIETON HOWLEY AND  
GEORGE GELRIWELL

The Certificate of Gieton Howley and George Gelriwell dated October the 15, 1755 [*sic*].<sup>a</sup>

In the Country of the Six Nations

October 25th [*sic*], 1754

Greeting, Gieton Howley, Missionary from the Commissioners of the Honorable Society in London for propagating the Gosple sendeth Greeting:

To all Persons to whom these Presents may come, this may certify you that the Bearer hereof and the other five who attends him are Indians of the Cunning Tribe, or of Hendricks Tribe as they are commonly called this Way; they

<sup>a</sup> This is an enclosure with the next document below.

belong to the Upper Castle where Hendrick lives and are all of them near Relations to that same Chief. We have no Reason to suspect that they are going upon any civil [*sic*] Design, and it is to be hoped as they are our Allies and of the Mohawk Nation, they will meet with Kindness every where among the English Settlements. They say they are going upon publick Business to some of the Southward Nations and as they are your Friends to be hoped they will meet with Hospitallity.

GIBTON HOWLEY  
GEORGE GELRIWELL

#### THOMAS NIGHTINGALE TO GOVERNOR GLEN

[32] Letter to His Excellency the Governor from Thomas Nightingale dated at the Congrees January 17th, 1755.

Congrees, January the 17th, 1755

SIR, The Waters being impassable did not get to the Nation with the Ammunition till the 13th Instant, though without any Damage. I thought proper to acquaint your Excellency at my Arrival there that six Indians of the Five Nations had been in there three Days with Tokens of Peace, and a Pass, the Copy of which is inclosed; there was also two Messengers went Express, the one, Edward Guest, the other, Joseph Oliver, late of the Cherokees and are gone thither on the same Errand. The Letter to the Catawbaws I scrupled the Truth of by Reason there was neither Date of the Year nor Name subscribed to it. It was to invite the Catawbaws to meet some of the Five Nations in a particular Place when the Turkeys gobble, and that Capt. McCoye was gone to Carolina with a Letter the same Purport and Tokens. However my scrupling the Truth of that, Edward Guest showed me another, nothing like the former, directed to the Catawbaws and Cherroekes with the Governor of Virginia's Hand to it. It was to invite the Cherroekes and them to assist them in the Spring against the French. I came to the Congree expecting to get Opportunity of sending this short Account to your Excellency before my People set from Town that your Excellency if Occasion there was might send me further Instructions who am

Your Excellency's humble Servant

THOS. NIGHTINGALE

#### ENOCH ANDERSON TO GOVERNOR GLEN

[33] Letter to His Excellency the Governor from Enoch Anderson:

January the 21st, 1754

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, the Bearer comes to inform you that the Report of the Southard killing the Cherokees is only a Fool's Report, and for Fear your Excellency should be uneasy he comes to acquaint your Excellency of it and to acquaint that his People has met the Southard and shook Hands and smoaked Tobacco together.

I am no Lingister, but as near as I could understand him this is the Head of his Business and to tell the well Wish that he has for the white People, and

also desires that your Excellency may be so good as to victual him and his Wench and Child, and also him and others of his People is willing to assist the English against the French Enemy. This from your very humble Servant to command,

ENOCH ANDERSON

Postscript. They was victualed at Mrs. Burnets.

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### THOMAS NIGHTINGALE TO GOVERNOR GLEN

Letter to His Excellency the Governor from Thomas Nightingale.

Dated at the Catawbaws Nation, February 1st, 1755

SIR, I met your Excellency's Messenger the 31st January on my Way down with the inclosed about 18 Miles from the Nation with whom I returned and had the Letters interpreted by Matthew Toole the next Day to the Haggler and a few others. They was mightily pleased and return your Excellency Thanks for your Trouble and design to set of for Charles Town in 15 Sleeps.

I am your Excellency's humble Servant

THOS. NIGHTINGALE

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### SIX NATIONS TO THE CATAWBAW NATION

To the Sachims and Warriors of the Catawbaw Nation.<sup>8</sup>

FRIENDS AND BROTHERS, The 20th August last arrived here in our Camp Thugh Shaw and Laridagos with 8 more Warriors of the Six Nations in their Way to War against the Catawbaws. We prevailed upon them to stay a few Days until the Arrival of Scaroncatha, alias Monacatotha, now Half King, and one of the Chief Warriors of the Six Nations who made the following Speech "telling them that the French had invaded their Hunting Ground and "taken it from them, and they were the People they must fight against, and "make Peace with their Brothers the Catawbaws."

Upon which the ten Warriors got two French Scalps and returned back to the Six Nations. After which, Capt. Mackay being going to South Carolina, Monacatotha with the other Warriors made the following Speech and sent two Strings of Wampum, one of them all white, the other black and white. "We the Warriors of the Six Nations invite you to come to Winchester when "the Turkeys gobble, that is, in March or the beginning [34] of April when "we will meet you and shake Hands. Our Kings have nothing to do with "making Peace, we the Warriors are the People that must make Peace, and if "you come at that Time you may depend upon our making Peace which will "be firm and lasting. Let your Kings come along with you and listen to what "we the Warriors agree upon. If you should neglect comeing at that Time we "shall think your Hearts are not good toward us, and the War must go on, "but to convince you that we speak with an open Heart we have requested our "Brother the Governor of Virginia to assist in making this Peace lasting and "firm between us, you and your Allies."

<sup>8</sup> This is an enclosure with the document which follows below.



In Token of which the Governor of Virginia and the King of England's great War Captain sends the String of black and white Wampum to our Brothers the Catawbaws to assure them that what is here said by the Warriors of the Six Nations is true.

#### CATAWBAW KING AND HEADMEN TO GOVERNOR GLEN

The Talk of the King and Headmen of the Catawbaw Nation to their Brother the Governor of South Carolina

January 21st, 1755

We the Warriors of this Nation are obliged to their loving Brother the Governor and beloved Men for the Care they have in sending us a Supply of Ammunition to defend us against our Enemy for which we all return you a great Thanky.

Our Ears has always been open to your Talk and always shall because of your Goodness to us.

We have lately received from the Warriors of the English Camp a Letter with four Strings of Wampum to acquaint us that there was some Enemy designed again us, but was prevented by the English Warriors.

Some of the Head Men of the Five Nations desire us to meet them to confirm our Pease when the Turkeys gobble; the Letter we have sent to you to see, understanding one like it is come to you by Capt. McCoye if so we may depend on the Truth of it.

In a few Days after we received that Letter, came in six Indians of the Five Nations which belong to the old white headed Man called Hendrick of the Upper Mohawk Nation which we received as Friends and Brothers.

They told us a few stragling Fellows belonging to the Quennick, Hawger and Naw, Ute, Hah Nation in the Interest of the French they met with that was coming to War against us whom they endeavoured to turn back, but could not tell if they did.

We have a Desire to see you ever Chief Brother, to know what we must do concerning the Letter, and if you are willing, a few of our old Men will come to hear your Answer, besides we have a great deal more to talk about.

#### AMMUNITION DELIVERED TO THE CATAWBAWS

[35] Memorandum of Powder and Bullets and Flints delivered to the Catawbaw Indians by Mr. Nightingale

January 21st, 1755

##### 500 Gun Flints

1 Cagg Bullets wtt.	- - - - -	59
1 Do	- - - - -	56
1 Do	- - - - -	56
1 Do	- - - - -	58
1 Do	- - - - -	58
1 Do	- - - - -	58
1 Do	- - - - -	57

I Do	- - - - -	58
I Do	- - - - -	57
I Do	- - - - -	57
I Do	- - - - -	57
I Do	- - - - -	57
		<hr/>
		688
I Cag Powder wtt.	- - - - -	29½
I Do	- - - - -	29½
I Do	- - - - -	29½
I Do	- - - - -	28½
I Do	- - - - -	29
I Do	- - - - -	30
I Do	- - - - -	29
I Do	- - - - -	29
I Do	- - - - -	29
I Do	- - - - -	29½
I Do	- - - - -	29
I Do	- - - - -	29
		<hr/>
		350½
		688
		<hr/>
		1038
		090

233 IB

Ammunition divided:

- to Newstee Town, 2 Caggs of Powder, 2 of Bullets;
- to Nawsaw, 2 Do of Powder, 2 Do of Bullets;
- to the Villidg, 2 Do of Powder, 2 Do of Bullets;
- to the Sugar Town, 2 Do of Powder, 2 Do of Bullets;
- to the Corrow Town and Peedee, 2 Do of Powder, 2 Do of Bullets;
- to New Town, 2 Do of Powder, 2 Do of Bullets;
- Flints equally divided

JOHN FITCH TO GEORGE CADOGAN

[36] Letter from John Fitch to George Cadogan, Esq. dated at

New Savannah, February 16th, 1755

SIR, The following Account I think necessary to communicate to you that you may acquaint the Government of the same if you think fit:

On Saturday the 15th of February I had Intelligence at the Indian Camp at New Savannah that six Northward Indians has crossed the River Savannah the Day before at Augusta near Mr. Martin Campbel's which put the Inhabitants in some Uproar for Fear there may be more of them lurking about considering the great Mischiefs they have done from Time to Time before this.

Upon this I acquainted the Chekesaw Indians of it as I happened to be then at their Camp, whereupon they immediately took the Alarm and went

out in search of them and in their Way met a Negroe Fellow belonging to Mr. Duronzeaux who told them they were near his Master's House where they soon discovered them painted and armed well, after the Indian Fashion, some of them at the same Time sculking behind Trees as their Custom is when they are bent upon Mischief, but finding themselves discovered, they very artfully sung up the Peace Song, but this Stratagem would not take, for they were soon disarmed and made Prisoners and carryed into the Town to the King's House where, after they were seated and Victuals got for them, I came in with a very good Chekesaw Interpreter along with me and was desired to sit down at the Head of their rear Cabbin close by the Leader or Headman of the said six Northward, and after the Pipe and Tobacco was handed about was desired to ask them if any of them could talk English, and found that one of them could. Upon this they desired me ask them of what Nation they were, and they answered Mohawks and were come to make Peace with them. Hereupon they desired to know how long they were travelling from their Nation upon Errand, and they said four Months. To this they replied that they thought it strange they should take so much Pains to come to make Peace with a handfull of People so remote from them. To which they very artfully answered that the Commanding Officer of our Forces on the Ohio Expedition had sent them to get them and all the friend English Indians to go against the French there the Spring following. Hereupon they desired me ask them for their Paper or Pass from that Officer, to which their Answer was that they forgot it in the Catawbaw Nation. Whereupon the Headman of our People readily replied it was strange if it was so; that they could not send a Runner back for a Thing so material, and finding upon the whole that they doubted, he told them that they must not think they were Fools for that they could plainly see by every Token that they were Rogues and Enemies that came to kill and destroy them and carry as many of their People off as they could. Calling upon this one of their Women who with her Mother and two Children were taken by the Northward about two Years before and had made her Escape. This Woman they asked if she knew any of them and she said she did two of them and perfectly trembled with Passion telling her People if they were old Women they might |37| save them, but if Men and Warriors to kill them directly.

Upon this they called a Council and the whole Multitude unanimously agreed to put them all to Death. Accordingly they were led out to some Distance where an Ambuscade was laid for them of about twenty Men to shoot them down upon a Signal given which was accordingly executed, four being shot down and scalped, one taken alive which they put to Death after fifteen minutes Torture or thereabouts of Fire and Sword and scalping together after their Manner. And the sixth, warmed in the Body, made his Escape though pursued by several, and is supposed by being naked and swimming of the Creeks to have perished for Want in the extream Cold and Frost that happened the Night after, which is the whole in the Surprize and Suddenness of the Affair that I can recollect (except this) that I observed to them before they killed them, that their Arms, Cloaths, and all were of the English make and Fashion, upon which the Head Man asked me if I loved them (as though resenting that I should speak up for their Enemies) to which replied that they were their

own Colour and not mine, and might love or hate them as they thought fit, and finding that I had no Room to prevail in their Behalf I thought fit to retire, least if any of them escaped they might report to their own People hereafter that the White People had a Hand in their Destruction, and this is the whole that I remember at present from Sir,

Your humble Servant,

JOHN FITCH

MARIÉE—FAMME [DUIRT?] LAVALLEE TO HIS EXCELLENCY  
THE GOVERNOR

MONSIEUR, Ne trouva [sic] point mauvea [sic] sy je prend [sic] la Liberate [sic] de [vous] de [vous] [sic] emportuner [sic] [pauvre?] [l'Écriture?] [n d'atribue?]. Je [vous] suppliée [sic] qu'a votre seul merite que je [suis] obligée de [exercer] comme étant la [seulle] Personne [sur] laquelle j'aurais Foy. N'ayant point voulu me [rapporte] à la [Déclaration] de la Veuve du deffeunt Baury touchant la [Mort] de mon Mary. Homme Pierre La Vall'e connu [également] d'un Homme [verteux] [et] [Chrétien] Soldart [sic] de la Mobille qui [était] dans le Lieux [sic] lorsque le dit La Vallee [est] décéde; [donc] je vous envoie la Déclaration que la ditte [sic] Baury a fait au Conseil Supérieur de la Louzianne [sic].

Pour que vous [ayez] la Bonté de voir sy la [sic] ditte Déclaration est Veritable. [Et] sy setta [sic] est efectic [sic] je vous prire d'avoie la Bonté [38] de levee [Lettre] [montrée?] [où?] mon Anvoyee [sic] vu [certifie?] à votre Maim.

[Et] [pour] [lire] l'Information que [vous] serez peutetre obligé de faire faire pour [Lavter.] [Cauze?] les [Dépenser] que [setta?] pouret vous avoie [sic] [cauze] vous [n'aurez] qu'a me le faire seavois [sic] pour que je [puisse] vous en faire touchee le Moutant.

[Certes?] la [Gratte?] qu'a tant de vous celle qui a l'Honneur d'imploree votre Clemance. [Et] suis Monsieur,

Votre trez heumble Servanté,

MARIEE FAMME [DUIRT?] LAVALLEE

DECLARATION OF MARIE GENEVIERE

Aujourd'huy seizième May uni sept [cent] cinquante quatred [sic] cett Ann est comparue [sic] au [Grefte?] du Conseil Superieur de la Luiusianne [sic] Marie Geneviere [feindein?] Veuve de [deffunt] Baury cy-devant [demeurante?] aux Iles [Kaniad?], de present [en cette Ville Ety?] demeurante; Laquelle nous a dit qu'en l'Année mil sept [cent] quarante neuf au Mois de May le [Es?] Sauvages Chicacha, l Chactar [sic], Abeeca, et mal Coquins joinu ensemble, [fraperint?] au [d'Lieu?] [des?] Arcançar, tuerent puisieuer [Personnes?] et [prirent] Prisonniere la Declarance [sic]; qu'ils [L'a meueretre?] dans la Nation Chicuchar [sic] et quelque [Temps après] chez [les] [Anglais] à Charleston, où [elle] a demeure pendant six Moise [sic]. Que [déjà] elle

fut à [Gatiry?] [on ny?] appartenance aux [Anglaise]; qu'étant à Charleston vers le Mois de September ou Octobre uni sept cent cinquante [un]; elle [après] [faire] [Connaissance?] [qui a?] nommé Lavallée anciennement Embly eu cette Cousine François de [Mution?], y demeurait dans un petite Maison pioche la Prison et ye mourut; [qu'elle] allait souvent le voir pendant sa Maladie et se trouva même [chez?] luy [lorsqu'il] mourut et [qu'elle] même La [sic] [enseveli] et a [assiste] au [meutre] enterre dans le même terrain qu'il occupait attendu que les [Anglais] ne [routinier] point [l'Enterre] aimer attendue sa [Religion], qu'il [n'as aine] aucune [Dieux?], qu'il était [contraint] de demander savie [sic] [n'ayant] pair [vue] [punir?] [seul?] luy et nous a fait [sic] la présente Déclaration pour servir et valoir a qu'il appartiendra et a [telle] Fins qui de [Raison affirment] [loue?] et qui est [39] cy demeurer veritable [eux ou am?] cet Concience [sic], [donc acte?] et a déclare [ne ça voir écrire ny ssignu?] de ce [Enquir] suivane [sic] l'Ordonnance.

CHAMALOU

#### RICHARD SMITH TO GOVERNOR GLEN

Letter from Richard Smith, Indian Trader, to his Excellency the Governor  
Kehowe, the 23d March, 1755

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, At my Return into the Nation I delivered your Letters to Mr. Beamer and consulted with him to put your Excellency's Instructions into Execution. I set of for Chote the 22d of February with Mr. Beamer's Son and arrived there the 27th following. I went to Old Hop and interpreted your Letter to him and told him all you desired me; his Answer was, he could say nothing till his Head Men and Warriors came in from Hunting which would be in about 4 or 5 days Time. He desired me to wait till they came in as he inclined to send sooner, but had no body at Home I waited till the 9th Day of March which Day the Warriors all came in. I went to Old Hop and told him I was in hopes he would give me an Answer as soon as possible. That I know your Excellency did long to see his Brothers. He told me I should have his Answer as soon as he could get the Heads of the 7 Towns together for that Purpose the 15th Inst. He told me to go Home and get ready that they would set of in eight days Time from that Day so I expect they are on their Way. As soon as they come this Length, Mr. Beamer, Jos. Aron and I shall accompany them to Town and observe in every particular your Excellency's Instruction. As for the Number of them I am afraid it will exceed the Number you pointed at. I remain,

Your Excellency's most obedient humble Servant,

RICHARD SMITH

#### LACH. MCGILVRAY TO GOVERNOR GLEN

[40]

Upper Creeks, Feb. 1st, 1755

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, By this Oppertunity I have the Honour to convey a Letter delivered to me by the Commandant of the Allebawma

Fort, who told me it was from the Governor of Orleans and intended for your Excellency.

As the Indians are but just beginning to come in from their Hunt, I have had no Opportunity to converse with the Head Men therefore can have nothing material to communicate, but it is most certain that the Governor of Orleans made a vigorous Push last Summer at Mobile, to set on the Creek Indians to break out with the English, all the little, low, mean, insinuating, malicious Lies, that the French Policy could suggest, was made use of to impose upon the Indians, but after all, there was several of them came away not well satisfied: of all which shall be able to give your Excellency a full Account when I come to Charles Town.

His Excellency the Governor of Georgia, has thought proper to acquaint the Upper and Lower Creeks of his Accession to that Government, by Letter; that, for the Lower Creeks directed to Mr. Galphin, and that for the Upper Creeks to me which Letters also imports that he proposes to have an Interview with them soon. As in all probability both the Invitations will happen much about the same Time, I'm afraid there will be a great many more Indians go to see your Excellency than is wanted, which I know will not be agreeable.

I have sufficient Reasons to think that the Government of Georgia will insist upon my being Interpreter on this Occasion, which in all probability may not be in my Power being engaged to your Excellency before Mr. Reynolds arrived at this Government, and although he issued out a Proclamation, forbidding all Persons under the severest Penalties to trade with any Indians within his Province without first having obtained a Lycence from under his Hand and Seal; I hope it won't be a Motive with him to refuse me a Lycence because I am not at Liberty to serve him at this Juncture. It is well known that I am at all Times ready and willing to serve my Country.

If your Excellency would be but pleased to write me two or three Lines for my further Guidance in these Matters, it would be the greatest Favour that could be conferred on,

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

LACH. MCGILVRAY

LACH. MCGILVRAY TO GOVERNOR GLEN

|41| SIR, having missed the Opportunity of a Conveyance, I layd hold of this, the Gun Merchant is not yet come in from his Hunt; Malichi is upon the Recovery, the French use their utmost Efforts to get him down to Mobile this Spring.

Accounts lately from the Checkesaw Nation by one John Brown say, that the Chekesaw's lost but one Man all this Winter by the Enemy, and that they don't talk of moving, which I am heartily glad to hear.

If the Crown of Great Britain was but sensible and take into Consideration what a vast Extent of Country it will lose by the Chekesaws being drove, doubtless the Ministry would take effectual Means to support them in their Possessions.

A Spanish Officer is daily expected at the Covetaws with twenty Attendants and considerable Presents, his chief Errand is to purchase the Appalatchi Old

Fields. The French Policy keeps the Indians in a kind of Confusion; give me Leave to assure your Excellency that I have spared no Pains to confute and expose the French Schemes. I am afraid I have intruded too much upon your Patience, and as I don't doubt but Mr. McIntoch has wrote you fully shall beg Leave to conclude,

Your Excellency's most obedient and devoted humble Servant,

LACH. MCGILVRAY

A considerable Number of Savanahs are expected into this Nation this Spring. I hope this long Epistle may be excused. I forgot to tell your Excellency that the French have got De Lantinyack; some French were down at the Lower Creeks, and flattered him the Allebamas with Hopes of a Pardon, was sent down to Mobile the other Day by Water.

#### LUD. GRANT TO GOVERNOR GLEN

Cherokees, Tomatly Town, Mar. 27th, 1755

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, In my last by Mr. Gaudy of the 23d Instant, I told your Excellency that I had not Time then for Fear of missing the Oppertunity of giving your Excellency an Account of the Indians' Resolution to proceed no further than the Congrees; I should in my next relate what passed at the several Meetings held in Chote by the Head Men and Warriors of the seven Towns over the Mountains.

While Axson, the Languister, and myself were waiting at Tomatly for an Account of the Great Warriors with his Company their coming in from Hunting, we heard there passed by Cheawee, where Mr. Hunter lives, two Men from Virginia whom, when I with Axton came to Chote afterwards, we found to be one Guest, a Messenger, and Oliver, his Interpreter, with |42| a Letter from Lieutenant Governor Dinwiddie inviteing the Warriors and young Men of this Nation to assist the White Men to [dispossess] the French, of some Lands they had clandestinely taken Possession of and were designing and endeavouring to encroach farther on the Lands belonging to these and other friend Indians, in order in Time to destroy the Indians, and for the Present to spoil their Hunting and so incapacitate them from providing for themselves, Cloathing and other Necessaries of Life &c.

Mr. Butler sent us Word that a Messenger had passed by his Town without calling at his House or any other, only an Indian who by chance spoke to Oliver in the Woods, told the said Butler that they were Messengers from Virginia and had a great Paper from the Governor thereof to the Head Men over the Hills and to Canacachte, Old Hopp in particular. After we heard this I, being curious to hear what their Business was and to give your Excellency an Account thereof, with Joseph Axson set of next Day for Chote in bitter Weather which had like to have cost me my Life and in Company only with the old Warrior and one young Warrior more, and the third Day after, in hard Frost and Snow, come to Old Hap's House in Chote, to whom I read your Excellency's Letter, with which I believe he was unfeignedly well satisfied, and entertained us kindly with all the Variety his House afforded which at that Time of the Year, and the Indians being just come from Hunting, was not dispisable.

He told us that he had received a Letter from the Governor of Virginia, that the same with your Excellency's Letters, should be read a second Time at a Meeting in the Town House next Day, that all might hear and remember it, but that he could not nor would give no Answer to either, till the Great Warrior who was not come in from Hunting should be at Home, whom with others he dayly expected.

The next Morning the White Men were all called to the Town House and the Letters read and interpreted, and I found the chief Contents of the Governor of Virginia's Letters to be as before related, and further he had appointed them a Place of their first Rendeavous where they were to be met at a Place called Red Creek by one Colonel Buckannan and there to be supplied with Necessaries, Arms, and Ammunition for their farther Journey and Presents promised them, which last Article, together with a great and constant Trade, which was promised them only by Guest, the Messenger, took much with them all; so that to me they, in general, seemed willing to go to Virginia, though I verily believe more [43] for the sake of the Presents and Trade from that Colony than for Honour, and by Reason of an almost hatred that [they] have contracted for most of the Traders from Carolina occasioned by their Mismanagement which I have hinted at in many of my former Letters; and if they were yet extant might be seen.

Notwithstanding the many and wholesome Laws which from Time to Time have been made and enacted for the better regulating and carrying on a Trade with the Indians in which the Peace of the Province consists, and with those of that Nation in particular; and the late Ordinance made by your Excellency, the Council and a Committee of the Lower House at that Time in Council present, yet there has not been one single Article observed by a Trader: Mr. Elliot begun well, and I believe would have continued, but finding himself to be the only Man, and a Stranger, soon found he must either follow the Multitude, endanger his own Safety, or find some other Way of living, which at that Time he could not safely do, in respect of his Credit from his Merchants, without hurting both himself and them; I don't pretend to say Mr. Elliot is without Faults, but this far I dare affirm, that he would be cautious not to hurt his Creditors or endanger the Peace of the Province, were he among Men who had Regard to the Laws, and their own and the Province's Safety.

I am confident there will be many and greivous Complaints made to your Excellency concerning the Trade, in cheating the Indians in the Prices of Goods, especially of light Goods, such as Linnings, Flannels, &c. &c., of fals Stilliards, short Yards, and little Measures, which I am conscious are not groundless in that respect on severals in this Nation, and although the Trade at Present is at such a low Ebb and the Price of Skins so smal, that it cannot be afforded cheaper especially Strouds, and Duffles, yet they may and ought to have the Yard and Measure your Excellency appointed; the Iron Yards which were made, and appointed to be left at the respective Towns in the Nation, were never brought up, but left at McGregor's House, where they are stil if not lost; and few or none of the Powder Measures were brought up, the Traders pretending they had no punctual Orders to carry them; neither would the Indians have rejected the Scales and Weights, had they had the half Pound; all under might have



gone for nothing, but the Indians when the Traders begun to weigh Skin by Skin soon found out the Loss they would sustain in many Droughts, not being formerly used to such Ways of Trade. However had the Traders had Resolution enough [44] at the first, to stand to the Articles of the Ordinance, the Indians could not have helped themselves, and in a short Time it would have become familiar to them.

How the Traders to the Creeks will maintain their Trade hereafter, I shall not take upon me to determine; for a Body of them came this Winter when I was over the Hills, within 4 days March of Great Terequa, with their Skins, and from thence, sent in by some of this Nation and their own People to Mr. Elliot to come out to them with Goods to trade. The Little Carpenter was to have gone out to Mr. Elliot, but the Great Warriors sending to him for Horses to bring in his Skins hindered him from going to the Creeks, and which being against his Will to go at first he was glad of. So Mr. Gaudy sent Kelly with three thousand Weight of Leathers' Worth of Goods to trade with them. What Hand he has made I have not yet heard, but it is reported that they are very troublesome to trade with for raw Skins in the Woods and thinking themselves cheated, want the Goods for really Less than the Prices of this Nation. However I believe Mr. Gaudy having no Head Man of this Nation with his Goods, will have little Reason to go a second Time, for I think it not lawful to endanger the Trade and Peace of that Nation, when it was so advantageously settled by Mr. Oglethorp and the Province of Carolina many Years ago.

Two Days after Axton and I arrived at Chote, being the 23d of February, came Richard Smith with Mr. Beamer's half bred Son, who delivered also a Letter to Old Hap from your Excellency who was well pleased therewith, though but with a seeming Indifference to Smith, who the second Visit he paid him, which was by himself, after he came out from him, said he believed him to be the greatest Rogue in the Nation. To which I made Answer that his Opinion of him was not consistant with his former Behaviour, who was said to be the sole Preserver with the Great Warrior of every White Man's Life in the Nation; and I observed afterwards he was careless of giving himself much Trouble because Old Hap gave but little Heed to what he said or advised, and I was informed by one who was present when Old Hap gave the Great Warrior his last Instructions, he enjoined him, not to suffer Smith to be his Interpreter before your Excellency; and I really believe with Reason he was surprized to here Smith say any Thing for Carolina, who in former Times had advised and said so much to its Disadvantage in respect of Virginia and its Trade.

I have before taken Notice of a seeming Hatred and Grudge the Indians have taken, against the Traders from Carolina, the Reasons of which are evident to any thinking Man who lives and have traded among them and that is, the extravagant Trust the Generality of the Traders give the Indians which if not timely put a stop to will [45] end in fatal Consequences, both to the Trade and Indians; for it is not natural, even among ourselves, much less among Indians who are solely guided by the Laws and Ties of Nature to be kindly affectionated to one whom we are daily afraid of, by Reason of a Debt which we are incapable

to pay, and thus it is with these Indians, in respect to most of the Carolina Traders, and alienates their Affections not only from the Traders but even from the Place they come from, and this is the sole Reason why the Indians covet and are fond of a Trade from other Places; because by that they think, they will be supplied with Goods, and boldly and pleasantly go to the Man, to whom they are not indebted and buy them. Necessaries for Hunting is sufficient to trust an Indian, and there is no Occasion to trust him to the Value of Pieces of Strouds and Blankets to lye by in his Corn House, and which the Trader must inevitably lose should he be either killed by his Enemy, or affronted by any Ways which may, and often happens.

Your Excellency may remember, in some of my former Letters in the Spring, I mentioned one Paris, a Trader from Virginia, and Price, his Partner; the former went in the Summer last for Virginia, and the latter to Carolina, not having wherewith to answer his Credit in Virginia; when the said Paris came there, one Guest, his Merchant and Father of this Guest who was sent into this Nation as Messenger from Virginia, seized on his Leather and denied him any further Credit, which obliged him here and there to pick up what Goods he could get, and consisted only in some single Matchcoats, Northward Blankets, and some other smal Things, of inconsiderable Value, which he packed up in Baggs and brought two White Men, (who they say fled from Virginia for the Press) and a Northward Indian who had lived some Time in this Nation and had gone in with Paria to Virginia; these he sent in to Chote, desiring a Guard from thence into this Nation, and Long Jack's Brother called Chekesaw, with some others, went out to conduct and guard him in hither. It seems Paris had told the White Men he had a Letter also from the Governor to Old Hap, and had given the Indian a Letter of his own Writing, to Old Hap desiring him to give no Credit to Guest, or his Languister, Oliver, that they would tell him nothing but Lies and that Guest had stole the Governor's Letter from him and that he himself was the Man to have brought it; and that they should keep them both till he came into the Nation.

It happened that a Party of the Overhills Towns were at that Time out at War, and about two days March from Chote, came up with the said White Men and Indian, killed the Indian and brought in his Scalp with Paris, his Letters, and the White Men to Chote; which Letter I heard read and very much laughed at.

While I was over the Hills in Chote, passed by Long Jack's Brother and Paris keeping the other Side of the River for Toquo where his Woman lived, which very much affronted Old Hap and all the Warriors who were then convened and sat in Council in the Town House [46] expecting there coming when they found they were past, Old Hap, sent a Messenger for him, desiring him to come forthwith that they might hear his Message, who next Day came and being asked for the Governor's Letter he had said to the White Men he had brought, told them he had none, which much startled Old Hap, and put him to a Pause, and some high Words passing between Paris and Guest, Old Hap told Paris to be quiet, and as he had brought no Letter nor was a Messenger, he should only mind his Trade, and as he had brought little or no

Goods among them (save Whiske, a spirituous Liquor it seems made of Rye of which he had twenty Caggs) he should therewith pay, according to his Promise pay his Gaurds who had conducted him in, and out of the Nation. Old Hap asked him why he lost his Way and passed the Town and whether the Governor had sent any Message to his Woman, and said he could compare him to nothing but a young Buck in rutting Time, who run hither and thither, not minding where; after a Doe til he found her.

The 26th of this Instant came the Warrior of this Town early in the Morning to my House, and informed me that in the Night arrived a Messenger from Chote, with great Expedition who gave an Account that a Warrior named Cainca, after a People these call by that name, who had in the Winter with his Company gone to War from Chote (he is a Fellow born in this Nation, and when young was taken by the Northward where he lived till the last Peace, and then with others came in here) that the said Warrior on his Return homewards was surprized by forty of the overlake Indians belonging to the French; and with his Men who were only but six, taken and tied, after which he asked them (the Enemy) what Nation they were of, in their own Tongue, who, but few or one only understood him, he told them he was also a Northward, but for the present lived in Chote a good and peaceable Town; upon which the Enemy after a Consultation as he reports, losed them and by his Persuasion are now in Chote. When they arrived there, they were all brought into the Town House, and Old Hap sent for, who when he was come there, looked sternly round upon them, and turning to all the Warriors, said, here are your Enemies who tied you and came to kill you, you now know what to do with them, and immediately in Anger and Haste went out of the Town House, without saying another Word, upon which his own People knew he determined they should dye, and in Haste in the Night, dispatched a Messenger to his Valley ordering with Speed all the young Men thereof to repair to Chote forthwith, to assist in the Execution of the Enemy which was forthwith obeyed. I could not but think with what Chearfulness, Alacrity, and Haste, some in the Night and some in the Day, they were with one Accord willing to shed Blood. Whether they will continue in their Resolution over the Hills I know not, but the Warriors over the Hill and this Warrior here, says they shall die. I hear they are kept with a strict Eye though seemingly careless, and that the River on both Sides [47] with all the Passes are every Night guarded. Mr. Gaudy is to pass by here this Day as I am informed so it is not possible for me to give your Excellency an Account of the Event by him, it not as yet being brought to pass, the Tragedy being to be acted two Days hence.

I cannot help mentioning poor Butler whom I believe your Excellency has a regard for, and not undeservedly, for to my Knowledge there is not a Trader in this Nation, who trades with more Caution, and of whom the Indians complain least; which makes others envy him; he trades by a Yard and Measure he had of me, the Yard I made by a three-foot Rule, but his Indians with many other Towns in this Valley made but very poor Hunts this Winter past, so that a considerable Part of his Goods remain on his Hand. Expecting a summer Hunt, and as far as I can learn he [deals] with one who is not able to trust

long, and is much unacquainted with the precarious Nature of this Trade, which chiefly and solely consists in the Indians making good Hunts, which every Winter they do not.

Docharty who was expected by others and did himself expect 13 or 14 thousand Weight of Leather this Winter, had the Indians made but tollerable Hunts will not reach to five thousand, Mr. Butler has taken more than any Man expected, though not in his own Town only; for the Indians knowing he deals honestly by came from other Towns and traded with him. The Town where he lives is hardly capable to maintain a Trader, and I hear his Merchant is neither able nor willing to supply him with Goods to maintain the Trade of a better.

I dayly hear more and more of the Indians' Dissatisfaction in relation to the Trade which is solely or at least in the greatest Measure, on account of the Debts they owe, and which yearly increase. It really deserves to be speedily looked into and by some Means prevented, for the Indians are now ready by what I can learn by their Talk, to take all Measures (the killing of the Traders which as yet they talk nothing of) to get rid of their Debts, they never being capable of paying them and cloathing themselves, and it is to be supposed if a Man rightly considers the Nature of an Indian that Murther itself if they thought they could get of unpunished, would not be a Lett, to the Design, and if they could any other Way be supplied, had it not been hindered by your Excellency's wise Conduct and Lenity, would have been effected before this Time, and now in the present Posture of Affairs the French would be willing to embrace them and forget all former Offences which makes the securing of these Indians to be most considerable, in Peace and Quiet.

I have been as punctual in my Informations, as is requisite at this Juncture, seeing the Indians are themselves going down and shall never as Occasion offers and requires, fail to be so in Time to come, and at Present with humble Submission and Obedience to your Excellency's commands beg Leave to subscribe myself with Sincerity,

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

LUD. GRANT

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#### LUD. GRANT TO GOVERNOR GLEN

|48|

Tomatly, Mar. 27th, 1755

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, I forgot to give your Excellency an Account of a Letter, which I saw at Chote when I was last there, and which Guest brought in there, from the Warriors and Head Men of the Six Northward Nations, desiring their Assistance as they were theirs and the English's Friends to help them to expell the French of the Lands they had taken Possession of belonging to them and the English, that they had got from their King a sharp and keen Hatchet for that Intent, and that they expected these People had another, and that both should lift it up against the common Enemy, the French, that when they were met together they should eat, drink, and smoak, and ever after continue Friends and renew the Friendship before the Governor

and his beloved Men, but that if they failed to come according to Appointment they would think their Hearts not streight.

This Letter was also read in the Town House and interpreted and seemed to be very well liked by all, as commonly all new Things are. I beg your Excellency's Pardon for this second Trouble and am in all Submission and Sincerety,

Your Excellency's most obliged humble Servant,

LUD. GRANT

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LUD. GRANT AND JOSEPH AXSON TO GOVERNOR GLEN

Cherokees, Tomatly Town, March 23d, 1755

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, The hourly Expectation of Mr. Gandy's passing this Valley on his Journey to Ninety Six makes it impossible for me to give your Excellency a full Account of what passed at the Meeting of the over hill Indians least I should miss the Oppertunity of informing your Excellency of a Secret which they keep to themselves and neither told Joseph Axson nor me thereof, until the Warrior of this Valley, according it seems to Old Hap's Orders, declared at a Meeting in this Valley; which is that the Warrior of Tomatly was ordered to tell all the Warriors, who were by him ordered for Carolina should proceed no further than the Congrees, that Old Hap's Reason therefore was that he had from Time to Time according to your Excellency's Orders and Desire sent down the best of his Warriors to Charles Town, and that by Reason of Sickness they contracted there, or on their Journey homewards, they had lost their Lives and their Bones did yet lye on the Path, and were there to be seen in many Places on the Path and if by Strength of Constitution some of them did reach their own Nation yet they dyed before they reached to their respective Towns. That it was not out of any Disobedience to your Excellency's Orders he had given such Orders, but merely for the Preservation of his best Men, and that in Time he said he was afraid he should have none to send as Messengers to your Excellency or to preserve his Nation from the Insults of the Common Enemy [49] which he was certain was neither your Desire nor Intent in sending for them, that therefore he had given such Orders, that they should acquaint your Excellency, once, twice and thrice, of their being come thither in order to hear, there from your Excellency's own Mouth, what Orders and Commands you had to give and injoin them; that if your Excellency should not come in Person thither they should proceed no farther but return homewards. He also (Old Hap) desired the Warriors to inform your Excellency, that when you should come to the Congrees; if then, or any Time after, your Excellency once would proceed to Kewohee, he, if alive, would there with Gladness meet and talk with your Excellency of whatever should be needful.

Though the Warriors nor Old Hap himself gave Axson nor any other Whiteman Orders to acquaint your Excellency of this until they should come to the Congrees, yet we thought it highly requisite to inform your Excellency of the same, that your Excellency might not be surprized suddenly of their Resolution; but might have Time to determine what your Excellency shall see

fit to be done. May it please your Excellency begging Pardon for this Trouble, we humbly beg Leave to subscribe ourselves,

Your Excellency's most humble, most obedient and most obliged Servants,

LUD GRANT

JOSEPH AXSON

P. S. The Indians over the Hills determine to set of from there the 27th Instant, but believe it will be longer before they can be in Readiness and have their Business done; the most of the Head Men being but lately come from Hunting. The Letters which Tottershall brought up were all safely delivered.

### LUD GRANT AND JOSEPH AXSON TO GOVERNOR GLEN

Tomatly, the 24th March, 1755

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, Since I wrote my last, Joseph Axson and myself went to Tomatly Town House, in order to hear of the old Warrior what else Old Hap had told him of his Intentions concerning their going to Carolina; and finding him in a good Humour (for he is seldom otherwise with our Colour) he went on with his Discourse as follows, he said, Old Hap would have (wrote as he told him) to the Governor before the Warriors went down, but they intending to set of soon had deferred it till that Time, and that by them he would write to your Excellency; the Contents of which should be good, that he would send to your Excellency a Belt of Wampum as a Token of his Love and Friendship, that he was now sensible of your Excellency's Care of him and his People in general; and that as the French had and were stealing theirs and the |50| English Lands they were ready to assist the English in the Defence thereof.

He said further that as your Excellency had proposed building a Fort to defend the Nation from the Enemy when they should be attacked the whole Land and Country belonging to him and his People was your own, and it was what you pleased to build Forts where you had a Mind it should be; that he intended to tell your Excellency, he expected to see you at Kehowee, and he would desire a Messenger to be sent by your Excellency from Ninety Six, to give him Notice of your coming that he might have Time to convene his best Men and Warriors to guard your Excellency to that Place, and there to talk with your Excellency Face to Face, which he had long wanted to do, and hoped to hold your Excellency in Token of his Love and Friendship, to the English in general, strongly by the Hand, that the great King George his Father had promised him and his People long ago, that he would protect them from the French if they should at any Time be invaded, and now he saw plainly, by your Excellency's Care that the Great King had not forgot these People that he was now glad, and his Heart streight, and there should be no more bad Talks, and that as they depended upon none but the English, for what they might from Time to Time stand in need of; so they would always love the English as Brothers that sucked one Mother, and that they with the English were all the Great King's Children, as he himself had declared to them when over the Great Water that now they should have but one common Enemy, that if the French

or any other People should be the English Enemy they should be theirs likewise.

May it please your Excellency what else they may talk concerning the Trade the Warrior told us but little, but am perswaded they will have much to say when they shall see your Excellency concerning the same; humbly begging Pardon for this second Trouble we are again,

Your Excellency's most humble, and most obliged Servants,

LUD GRANT  
JOSEPH AXSON

### WARRIOR OF TENNESSEE TO KING HAGLER

March 16th, 1755

FRIENDS AND BROTHERS, As the Governor of Virginia has invited you and us to come to assist him we are very willing for it, and hopes you are of the same Mind we are; we are intended to set of, and sent this Letter that you may know our Minds, hoping to meet with you [at] Reed Creek; then we will both travel together. Our Head Man of Chote has given to me, the Warrior of Tennessee, a sharp and keen Hatchet, which I doubt not Brothers but your Head Man does the same to you; hoping you will send as great a Number of your Men as possible you can, the more the better, that we may be able to defeat and subdue the Design of the Enemy. Our Head Man of Chote likewise sends the same [51] Talk to you, and as we are Friends and Brothers with one another, he likewise hopes that when we go together against our Enemies, we both go with one Intent of helping one another; which plainly appear when we have our Hatchets and our Knives in Readiness against them.

We have seven Warriors out of our seven Towns, and each of them their Gang of Men with them, that proposes to go. We have sent over to the Valley to the other Towns for them to come our Way and go with us. As for the other Towns that is farther from us they will go by Tukseygey and are to meet us at the first House. This is from,

THE WARRIOR OF TENNESSE

his

THE WARRIOR \_\_\_\_\_ OF TENNESSEE

Mark

P. S. Note that from the above we set out in seven Nights.

### CATAWBAW INDIANS TO GOVERNOR GLEN

To the Governor of South Carolina

An Account of a Catawbaw Wench which she gives after her Escape from the Mohawkes or the five Nations, by whom she was taken by Mrs. Russetts and carried of.

She heard that they intend to cut off every Soul of the Catawbaws for Revenge, as the Catawbaws has formerly cut off some of the above Indians, and killed their Head Man.

This Woman further says that she heard them say, in their House where they talked; that they knew where the Catawbaws fetched their Water and Wood and they would utterly destroy them.

King Hagler says he is not afraid of the People in this Country, but of the French. This Woman came to me two Days before we came from Home and this is the ninth Day we left our Nation.

Your Excellency sent but for eight of us, but we were afraid coming so few; as we had one of our Men killed at his Door.

Just before we came away King Hagler says the Mohawk Indian that escaped the Chekesaws, was killed at his Nation by a Cherokee Indian.

### JAMES BOMER TO GOVERNOR GLEN

April the 28th, 1755

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, I have sent the Bearer down to you with these Letters to acquaint your Excellency that Mr. Smith arrived Yesterday at Kewee with the Little Carpenter and the Great Warrior, Old Cesar, and some more from over the Hills, and had a great deal of Trouble before he could get them to consent to go down; this is the second Time he has been over for them, the first Time he and my Son went over for them in February and they was not then come in from Hunting but they staid there till they did come in and had a Meeting with them, and they agreed to come off in twelve Nights after them, but they disappointed us; then Mr. Smith went over again and with much Ado has got |52| them the Length of Kewee and this Day had a Meeting at the Fort and they got the Surgeon to write to you. I have all the principal Men of the Lower Towns down with me and would have had them down two Months ago if it was not for the Overhills People delaying and their Excuse is they are afraid of loseing their People by Sickness.

I have a good Deal to acquaint your Excellency with, two [*sic*] tedious to mention. We have had a great deal of Disturbances with the Indians this Winter and had like to have had a War again between the Creeks and Cherokees chiefly occasioned by the White People of Augusta. The Creeks has killed a Cheroekee Woman by their Stories from our Party to the other and would been more Mischief done but I went out to their Camps and prevented it.

Mr. Smith and myself humbly begs your Excellency will grant us a fresh Protection, as the other is out, for as long a Time as you please to grant us, that we may do our Business after yours is done; and we have and always shall be willing and ready to serve your Excellency and our Country while Life remains from,

Your Excellency's humble and obedient Servant to command,

JAMES BOMER

P. S. Pray, Sir, dispatch the Bearer that he may meet us before we get low in the Settlements, or we shall be forced to delay till he does meet us.



## THOMAS HARRISON TO GOVERNOR GLEN

Fort Prince George, April the 29th, 1755

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, This Day from over the Hills came the Head Men to the Fort, the Little Carpenter made the following Speech and desired it to be sent to your Excellency as soon as possible. That Old Hop had sent them as Messengers to desire your Excellency to come and meet him at Kewee and hopes you will not fail to come to meet him; as he is Governor of the Cherrokees he wants to settle the Affairs of the Nation with your Excellency.

He says he would have been very glad to have met your Excellency when you was up but the Warriors was all in the Woods, and now the Enemy is so thick about, that they cannot spare all the Head Men out of their Towns so long as to come to Charles Town, but if you think proper to meet them here they can soon settle Affairs with you. Old Hop further says as he has sent these seven Warriours his Messengers to bring you up by the Hand that he desires your Excellency to send him a Letter to let him know when you will come as he may come to meet you at Kewee for he wants to have a good Talk with you and to settle every thing right in the hearing of all his Warriors. They will set out from here in three Days for Town and some of the Lower <sup>53</sup> Towns with them which will be about Twenty in Number. I am Sir,

Your most humble and most obedient Servant,

THOMAS HARRISON

## LUD GRANT TO GOVERNOR GLEN

Kewohee, April the 29th, 1755

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, In my last of March past, I gave your Excellency an Account of forty Northward Indians, their being come into Chote, and that these People determined to kill them, supposing them to be Enemies, which in reality I believe they certainly are; and though they come into this Nation as Friends to these People, seldom or never go Home without some of these Cherrokees Scalps. However upon a second Information, notwithstanding all the young Men of the Valey being sent for and went over for that Intent; I heard afterwards, that these People said they were come in as Friends, and that they had not tied any of the Cherrokees or white Men in the Woods, as was first reported, only some of their Company (I suppose their Van Guard) came up first to the White Men and took them as Prisoners, shewing them a Slave String, and run one of their Horses through with a Lance and cut another grievously in the Buttock, upon which Noise the Cherrokee Warrior hearing on the opposite Side of the River, to which he had crossed just before, called to the Enemy in their own Tongue, desireing them to forbear until he came over to them who hearing their own Language immediately desisted. The said Warriour crossing the River and the Body of the Enemy being come up, they talked together and agreed to come with him to Chote. The Cherrokee Warriour is (in their Way) much of a Man, he was taken by the Northward when a Boy, and at the last Peace when the Northward came in to his own Nation, where he has stayed ever since, and has killed several of

the Northward, and professes himself, (as I believe he is) a Friend to the English; his Name is Caiuka. At the Arrival of the Northward in Chote they found several Savannas with whom they did not seem well pleased, and told these People that they were great Rogues and Liars, and that they should not harbour them.

I really believe the Savannas to be professed Enemies to the English, and that they have been the Occasion of much Blood shed, both of Indian and White Men of this Nation; although the Northward called themselves Friends to the English when in Chote, yet it cannot be imagined that any of the Six Nations would come here, immediately after sending to these People a Letter inviting them to Virginia to confirm their Peace with one another, and to join with them and the English against the French, which Letter I saw and read when over the Hills as I intimated to your Excellency in one of my last by Gaudy. It may be with Reason supposed [54] they come from the French with Orders to find out the Strength and State of the Overhills, and to learn by conversing with the Indians how they stood affected to the English, which by the Behaviours of the one to the other is at this Juncture not to be supposed steady; they told these that the French were so strongly enforced that the English could not drive them, and that all the Northward Indians were resolved to stand Neuter, till they should see who prevailed, which with their telling them there were a great many Enemy on the Path to Virginia, was the chief Reason these Indians did not proceed thither, as they determined, but sent back Guest the Messenger alone, only gave him a Letter of Compliment to deliver to the Governor, the Contents of which your Excellency will hear from Bunning, together with what passed publicly between these and the Northward at the General Meeting, but their secret Conferences which as I hear were many none knows but themselves. It is reported that the Savannas brought from the rest of their People, who are a part of Shirtees first Gang and settled about 5 or six days March from Chote, some Pipes and Tobacco to these in token of Peace, which when carried to Setticoe the Head Men took and threw into the Fire. Notwithstanding which, the said Savannas stay as yet openly over the Hills, and tell these People they are not afraid to dye, which is a sufficient Proof, that the Cherrokees are afraid of the Northward, and that they judge themselves incapable without Assistance to withstand a Body of them, were they to come upon them in a hostile Manner, and which I'm afraid in Time, if not prevented, will come to pass.

While I was over the Hills most of the Young Men with Warriours set out for War, to different Places against the French and their Indians, so that few Men were left at Home in any of the Towns, when the Northward came in, and I believe might be one Reason of their not prosecuting their Design to kill them, but it is reported Old Hap and the Little Carpenter were their only Friends. It is certainly reported, by the Indians who went over the Hills in order to assist in the Execution of the Northward French Indians, that Old Hap and some others, told the Enemy, that if they wanted War they should not come against any of the seven Towns over the Hills, but that it was what they would wish the rest of the Nation to which the Enemy replied that the Towns

upon Stecoe River were great Rogues, that they had killed many of their People, and that they would have Revenge, this the Enemy certainly said openly. It is said that most who were present did not approve of the Talk which very much confirms the Effeminacy and Cowardlyness of these Indians in general, and shews plainly they afraid of the Northward; if all this be literally true and which is affirmed by many who say they |55| heard it and at this Time is the Talk all over the Nation, it is most unaccountable and cannot be judged to be said by a People, who had the least Thought of their own Safety, for when the other Parts of the Nation are weakened and reduced, these over the Hills must suffer next, for as long as an Indian without being civilized, lives, he must be some where, or some Way shedding of Blood. It is not seemingly in the Power of an Indian to project any Thing to the Advantage of Futurity.

It was reported over the Hills, and as I heard by the Creeks themselves when there, that the Lower Towns, Kewohee especially, had sent into the Cawetae's to have their Traders killed, that the Creeks should first strike the Blow, and that these were ready to follow. This, your Excellency, if true, will certainly be acquainted with from the Southward, but this both wants Proof and Credit, the Indians here not shewing by their Behaviour, the least Inclination thereto, or Symtom thereof, though an Indian I must confess will laugh in a Man's Face and immediately stick a Hatchet in his Seul. The Chief blamed as Instigators, are Little Testoe and Wahatcha, which by themselves I cannot imagine how they could effectuate, neither is it probable or possible.

April the 8th Mr. Butler sent me a Letter wherein he wrote that Richard Smith left his House that Morning in order for Chote, to bring down the Warriours with what Expedition he possibly could and likewise by the same Bearer a Letter from Beamer to myself desiring me when they came to my Town to hasten them forward with all the Expedition possible; the same Day Mr. Smith returned in the Night to Tomatly having met Long Jack's Brother in his Path from Cheawee to Chote, who informed him, that the Warriours, the Little Carpenter, Judd's Friend, and the Great Warriour, were set off by Great Terequa and twenty young Men for Burtheners in order as he said to bring up the Ammunition which they said lay for the Overhills Towns in the Fort at Kewohee, but that he could not tell whether they intended any farther. Smith the 9th of April went from Tomatly again to Canoste where the Warriours were to pass to wait for them least they should go another Way, and there at Canoste, and Iwassee staid three Days, and by a Fellow from Great Terequa was informed at last that their Horses had run back to Chote, and that the Warriours were gone back also. When I was over the Hills the Warriours had agreed among themselves in eight Days to set off; some for Carolina and some for Virginia, this was Old Hap's particular Orders at that Time, but afterwards, and but lately, I heard the Northward who came into Chote, had told these People that the Woods were full of Enemy, that the Virginia Path was dreadful, and that if they went thither they would certainly be killed, which made these People intirely break of that Design, so none are gone or will go to the Northward.

[56] The 13th Smith hearing the Warriors were gone back set of again for Chote, being of Opinion, that he, Beamer, and the Warriours of the Lower Towns (who he said were most uneasy to be gone to the English) when the Overhills Warriours should come thither that they could persuade them to proceed in Company with them to Carolina. Smith when he came at first to this Valley, gave an Account that just as he was mounting his Horse, he heard the Warr Hoop coming from Beamer's Town, (Estertoe). The Messenger when he arrived as is usual went to the Townhouse, where Smith also went, to hear the News before he should set of for the Overhills; when he came there, before he entered the House, two Warriours who were coming out, told him, that his own Man and a French Man belonging to James Beamer, were Horse hunting on the 12 Mile River, that the French Man had been that Day surprized by a great Party of French Enemy, who tied him and were going to carry him off, but that having spoke to them in French, they untied him, and turned him about his Business, who when he came to Mr. Beamer's gave the above Account and Smith's Man was not returned home, neither to Beamer's nor Kewohee when the said Smith came off; it hardly seems credible that the Enemy would have turned the French Man loose so near these Towns, but as these are so fearful of the Northward, and they so little afraid of them it may be true. However your Excellency shall be informed of the Certainty thereof afterwards.

I have mentioned before, of several Companies of these Indians over the Hills, and am certainly told since, that Old Hap and others gave them Orders not to hurt the French white Men, only their Enemy Indians. There is one Findlay, a Virginia Trader, who says he knows most of the Indians came into Chote and that he had traded among them, and that they were of the Mingo, one of and the Chief of the Six Nations belonging to the English, that when the French came first there he himself was one of the Traders, they took Prisoners, and would have killed them, had not the Mingo Half King saved them, by saying if they intended to kill an Englishman they must kill him first, and that his Life after they had taken it would not go unrevenged. This Findlay affirms for Truth, he likewise reports while he traded among the Northward Indians, that if any of them brought in a Cherroekie Scalp, it was not looked upon as a warlike Action, neither was he looked upon or rewarded, as if he had killed any of another Nation because they say, the Cherroekies are but old Women, that they can come into their Towns, eat and drink and take their Wives before their Face, and when they go off kill them, whom they meet in the Woods, [57] or go upon another Town, and the second Time they come into the Nation be received as friendly as ever, which indeed I myself know to be Truth. The Northward Indians have left two of their Gang in Chote in order to go in Company with these People against the Chactaws, but I am of Opinion they will alter their Resolution, and be afraid to trust themselves with the Cherroekies in the Woods for they say they are a treacherous and false hearted People.

The same Day the Northward went from Chote, some of these People went out after to see which Way they went, two of whom seperating themselves from their Body in order as they said to kill a Deer or a Turkey, as they went

seperately through the Woods, one happening to come within View of the Northward as they went along the Path, and being afraid to be seen by them as he reported, turned homewards, and as he was going along the Path he heard two Guns fired at once, which made him make what Dispatch he could Home to the Town, and not finding his Comrade to be returned Home, said he was afraid he was killed, and gave the above Account. It being then too late to go out to seek him, they deferred it till next Day, and then most of the Town in the Morning, taking the Fellow with them, to the Place where he heard the Guns fire the Day before, and there they found the Man lie dead being scalpt and shot with two Bullets in the Back. They found by him several Pieces of Meat of Buffalos and Deer, some whereof was half barbekewed and some dry, a looking Glass, and an old French Blanket half burnt, for the Enemy stayed after [they] killed the Cherroekie to set the Woods on Fire, which proves they were not much afraid of these People, they sent the Looking Glass to Chote in order to discover whether it belonged to any of the Northward who had gone off the Day before, but none knowing of it, and by the half roasted Buffalo Meat, the Enemy left, they concluded that it was not those who went off the Day before, who had killed the Cherroekie; however most are of Opinion if they were others, that those who went from Chote must have seen them and talked with them, being both in the Path, where the Murther was committed. There is nothing more probable than that the French will do what lies in their Power either to reduce or conquer the upper Part of this Nation as soon as convenient Oppertunity offers, which in my humble Opinion ought to be prevented with what Expedition is possible, for if the Enemy once gets Possession of the Overhills Indians all the others will quickly submit to have their Lives the Consequence of which would not only be expensive but fatal, at least, to the out Settlements of the three adjacent Colonies; an Enemy is not so easy dispossessed as hindred from taking Possession, which I am afraid will be the Case in our Northward Expedition, which I pray God to favour and prosper. I know, that two hundred Indians were they to come in over the Hills might do what they pleased, especially if they [58] came in as Friends, and these now behave [*sic*] would be advised to any Conditions for their present Safety, as they would think, for they have no Thought for Futurity, and am certain these Indians being at this Juncture so much insenced against the Traders in general, by their being so much in Debt, and missing their last Winters Hunt, and complaining of the Traders cheating them, that they were ready, and would enter into any Measures to redress themselves that offered, with the Security of their Lives; these are also at present Suspicious of a Southward War, which if their be any Reason for such Conjectures your Excellency will certainly know from thence so that they were every Way perplexed and dispiritted, and they expect many Northward Enemies upon them this Summer.

The 19th of April three of Chote People had been in this Valley, who in their Way Home, as they were refreshing themselves by a [River?] Side in the Path between Cheawee and Tallasee were set upon by the Northward Enemy, the Woman and a young Fellow found dead, and the Man (who was the Chote King's Brother) not being found is supposed to be carried off or killed at some Distance.

The 27th of April I came in Company with the Overhills Indians to Kewohee, where by Old Hap's Orders [they] desired an Express to be sent to your Excellency, as is accordingly done, the Contents of which your Excellency will see therein.

I have taken Notice before of several Complaints intended to be made concerning the Trade and Traders; the Little Carpenter is the Man pitched upon as Speaker. Your Excellency will I believe by what I can learn find him impudent and unmannerly to a Degree almost above what can be suffered.

Axson is according to your Excellency's Orders come down with the Indians, he is not much seemingly wanted by the other Interpreters, which I told him not to mind but obey by all Means your Excellency's Orders.

It is hard to affirm what these People say for Truth, for they talk commonly for the sake of talking, without any regard to Reality, and it is no great Wonder seeing they are subject to no Law, and seldom the Checks of Conscience, which if that happens, is quickly stifled by them. It is my Duty to inform your Excellency of what happens in the Nation, that comes to my Knowledge, but do not affirm all the Circumstances of my Intelligence, only the Matter of Fact, for Truth, except I am an immediate eye or ear Witness, to it myself, which your Excellency may easily perceive by my Letters.

May it please your Excellency as at this Juncture I am come down with the Indians, and want much to have the Honour to talk to your Excellency before they have the first Hearing; I humbly pray that I may be included in one of your Excellency's Protections, [59] without which I cannot safely appear, and although my Creditors can recover nothing of one in my Circumstances, being utterly incapable to pay the least Mite, yet a Prison might cost me my Life, though but a short one; and as I flatter myself with the Happiness of once more seeing your Excellency before I die, so I must humbly beg Leave with all Sincerity and Respect to subscribe myself,

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

LUD GRANT

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### GEORGE GALPHIN TO GOVERNOR GLEN

[Cowetas], March 22d, 1755

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, After I arrived in the Nation the Twin came to me, and askt me if your Excellency had paid me his Order; I told him you expected him down every Day and then you would satisfie him. He says you promised when he was in Town to let him have whatever he sent for. I got Mr. McGilvray to talk to him and we excused you as much as lay in our Power.

We have had such doing here with the French and Spaniards that I have been obliged to give him upwards of £200 worth of Goods out of my own Pocket to keep him in the Country's Interest.

The Governor of New Orlande is at Movel, and sent for the Twin and the rest of the Head Men to receive Presents; there is a Suit of Cloaths for the Twin that is all covered with gold Lace. There was a French Officer and 3

Cadets came for him 3 Days after they were gone. The Capt. of Horse of Augustine and ten Spaniards arrived here to invite the Twin and all the Head Men of the Lower Towns to St. Marks; I have stopped the Twin from going to both Places though there is about 100 of the Lower Towns People a going down to St. Marks. It is a Pity there was not Presents always lying in the Nation to give the Head Men at such Time as this.

I am with the greatest Respect, your Excellency's most obedient, humble Servant,

GEORGE GALPHIN

P. S. This Day two white Men came down from the Oakfuskes and [said?] that the Indians there told them that the Talk was come up from the Lower Towns to kill them, and they came down here to know the Certainty of it. I told them we had no such Talks here. I sent for the Twin and asked him if he knew any thing about it. He said it was Lies and there was no such Talk went from here, and got me to write up to the Red Coat King that it was Lies and not to believe it. I have never seen the Indians behave better since I have been abroad than they have done this Year. I understand there is 4 or 5 White Men run off for Fear, and I suppose they will alarm the whole Country with a false Report. These two Men told me that they hell the Trade to 5 lb. Leather a Blanket they found it would ruin them, they came to an Agreement and raised it to 8 lb. again; [60] I told them perhaps that made the Disturbances but they say not. It certainly must been the Case as we have had no bad Talkings here nor no likelihood of any. There is not one Fellow gone from here to the French nor no Fellows of any Note gone down with the Spaniards. I have been present at all these Talks here and they spoke no Harm against the English neither them nor the Indians. The Savannahs is gone out to meet another Party of their Nation that is coming to live in the Upper Creeks. I have not heard how many there is of them. I was obliged to open the Letter after I sealed it.

I am with the greatest Respect your Excellency's most obedient humble Servant,

GEORGE GALPHIN

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### JOURNAL OF AN INDIAN TRADER

January 11th, 1755. Set out from Augusta for the Creek Nation in Company with Mr. George Galphin, and arrived at the Covetaws the 22d without any material Occurrences in our Journey. At Mr. Galphin's Request I interpreted Governor Reynold's Letter to Malatchi and some other Head Men; he seemed much pleased, askt me several Questions about the new Governor, such as, "whether he was an agreeable, good natured, and free spoken Man;" I answered him in the Affirmative and told him that I never had the Honour to see him, but that every Person that had the Happiness to be acquainted with him gave him an extraordinary Character, with which he was much pleased; at the same Time enquired kindly for his Brother the Governor of Carolina. Among several Matters, I enquired into the State of Affairs in regard to the

French, I found him much upon the Reserve and did not care to discourse upon that Head.

From the Covetaws proceeded for the Tuckebatchees Upper Nation. Was entertained next Morning with Casseena in the Assembly House. I acquainted Old Brekit and other Head Men, of Governor Reynold's Arrival at his Government and that he intended to have an Interview with the Cheifs of the Indians, as soon as convenient, with which he was well pleased. Among several other Matters we had a good deal of Discourse concerning the new Settlements upon Hogetchee, which he let me to understand was very disagreeable to the Indians in general; I made Answer that howsoever them Settlements might be magnified to them, there was only a few Familys lately come from Virginia settled there, and that I did not in the least doubt but the new Governor would satisfie them on that Head.

Old Bracket did not fail to put me in mind of the great Services he did the English in his youthful Days but now that he was neglected being old and upon the Brink of the Grave, ready to step into it.

February. Very few Indians come in from their Hunts. A head Warriour, who is a sensible Fellow and by Name Mad Wind had staid at Home all Winter, came frequently to my House and among other Matters acquainted me how that |61| the French made strong Efforts to set the Indians against the English. He told me there was a grand Meeting of all the Creek Nation held at the Albama at the Instigation of the French some Time last August in order to negotiate a Peace between the Creeks and Chactaws; which being concluded and that Affair being over, the French Linguist stood up and said that he had an Affair of the greatest Importance to communicate to all the Indians and desired them all to give Ear and be very attentive to what he was about to tell them. That now the Time was come that they, the French, had told them off long ago; that now the destructive and pernicious Designs of the English towards the Creek Nation were brought to Light. That some of the Lower Creeks were in the Cherroekes lately, and were told (as a great Secrete by an old grey headed Indian) that there was a Scheme formed for the Destruction of the Creek Nation. (Vis.) That the Governor of South Carolina engaged the Cherroekes to make a Peace with the Creeks with a View to destroy them; that when the Creeks, depending on the Peace, should go to hunt with their Women and Children in the Winter, then the Cherroekes at the Instigation of the Governor of Carolina was to fall unawares upon them and destroy them Man, Woman, and Child; which Piece of Service, when the Cherroekes had performed, they were to be presented with two long Houses full of Goods, such as fine scarlet Coats, Strouds, Duffles &c. Then they were to follow their Blow directly by an Army of English and Cherrockees and so lay waist the whole Creek Nation. That likewise the old Man who told the Creeks this Secrete begged not to tell their Author for if it was discovered he would be surely put to Death, though for his Part he was an old Man and could not live much longer by the Course of Nature if he was killed it would be only robbing him of a few Days, and that he did not much care whether he was discovered or not. The French told the Indians that all this was very true, that it was high



Time for them to keep a sharp look out upon the English, and as for their Parts (the French) they would assist their Friends the Creeks as a tender Parent would his Children, therefore that it was the Interest of the Indians to adhere close to the French; that they have had Letters from the English Governors and received one lately by an Englishman desiring them to join in order to destroy the Indians, but they never would join in any such wicked and pernicious Schemes against their beloved Children the Indians.

The French Linguist further spoke and said when is the Day that ever us, the French, encroached upon your Land? 'Tis true you lent us a Span of Land to build a Fort upon, and it is equally true, that we never offered, in the least, to encroach further than what you granted us. But let me ask you does the English observe the same just Rules? No, far from it; they, the English, encroach daily upon your Lands from Creek to Creek and from River to River until they have all at last, and yourselves along with it. We, the French, have [62] often warned you of your Danger, and we now warn you, the Time is very near at Hand; therefore look to yourselves and keep a sharp look out, upon the English. At this Meeting were present the Handsome Fellow (present French Linguist) who took great Pains to persuade him of the Truth, Devall's Landlord, the Wolf, and Head Men of almost every Town in the Upper Creek Nation.

I askt the Mad Wind how our commissioned Officers behaved during all this French Harrangue? Replied there was not one of them had a Word to say, but on the contrary the Story being laid out so plausable a great many believed it and some of them that are looked upon as staunch Friends to the English; but that the greatest Part of the Nation were at a Stand, and under a Consternation, did not know what to conclude. This Story being improved upon by Head Men in the French Interest has kept the Indians in Confusion ever since. I told my Author that the whole of that Story was nothing more than a horrid malicious Lie, invented by the French thinking to impose upon the Simplicity of the Indians, and get them to ruin their Nation by falling out with the English, and then they would have all these Lands to themselves; that it is remarkable by all Nations, wherever the French are known, their constant Practice is to set Nations together by the Ears to blood shed and Slaughter.

I discoursed with Devall's Landlord, the Wolf, Yoakly of the Okehoys, and several other Head Men and found all the foregoing Narration to be true with a good many aggravating Additions. The Gun Merchant who was then preparing to go and meet the Cherrockees in the Woods was advised from this grand Meeting, not to proceed, for Fear of this Plot laid against the Creeks by the Governor of Carolina. He (the Gun Merchant) made Answer, that he could not nor would not believe that their great beloved Friends, the English, had any such Designs; but if it was so, he would go in to the Cherrockees and pay that Debt for them all.

March. In Consequence of an Invitation last August to Mobile Head Men went there from almost every Town of the Upper Creeks, where they had a Conference with the Governor of Orleans. Towards the latter End of said Month they arrived at a Village inhabited by a few Appalatches Indians, some Miles above Mobile on the opposite Side the River, where they waited for ten

Days, with some Discontent, for the Arrival of the Governor from Orleans. At length Boats arrived at the Appalatchs Town to take in the Indian Chiefs. They put aboard and arrived at Mobile about Midnight, where there was not one Soul waited to receive them nor conduct them to a Lodging. They wandered up and down the Town among the Houses looking for a Lodging, but could find none; at last about the further End of the Town found a House where Carpenters had been lately at Work, where they took up Lodging, making Use of the Shavings they found there for Fire and Lodging.

The Governor arrived at Mobile next Day, landed under a full Discharge of the Fort's Artillery and [63] the same Day welcomed the Indians at their Lodging, being a long House built on Purpose for the Reception of Indians, but not quite finished. The Day following the Governor, accompanied by a Number of Officers, held a Conference with the Creek Chiefs. After the usual C eremony of welcoming them and the never failing Protestations of an inviolable and perpetual Friendship was over, the French Governor intimated how necessary it was, for the Interest and Welfare of the Creek Nation, to adhere close to the French who had no other Designs than that of promoting their Welfare and Happiness of the Creek Nation; that they, the French, would never be slack in offering them their Advice and Assistance on all Occasions, which always did, and will tend towards the true Happiness of their Friends, the Indians. But have the English the same Sentiments towards you? No, far from it, notwithstanding that he (the French Governor) never was in the English Country yet he knew their Designs as well as if he was, that he had good Information notwithstanding the Distance so great, nay, red bloody Letters brought him from the English Governor that it was plain their Design is to take the Lands from the Indians. That the English encroached upon the Indian Lands by great Strides was obvious to every Man that had his Eyes open; therefore it was high Time for the Creeks to open their Eyes and keep a sharp look out on the English, for they might be sure that three Years would not expire before the Creeks would be at War with the English. Therefore it was the Interest of the Indians to watch them well and oppose them before they advanced too far and became too powerful for them.

Notwithstanding the Governor's fair Speeches, several of the Chiefs of the Indians were discontented. They neither liked their Lodgings nor Entertainment, and some of them would have come of privately, if Care had not been taken to clap Locks upon all the Boats in the Harbour. However the Indians were kept there four or five Days, during which Time the Governor had a Conference with the Indians every Day, in all that Time the greatest Part of his Discourse tended towards spiring up the Indians against the Encroachments and pernicious Designs of the English, as he was pleased to term it.

At Length the Day came when the Indians were to receive their Presents. Among other Discourse, the Governor told the Head Men of the Creeks that they disobliged him very much in quarrelling and warring with the Chactaws, who were his faithful Friends and Warriours, and were always engaged in killing and destroying his Enemies the Chekesaws; it was true that the Creeks were his great Friends also, but as they did not think proper to join and help

the French in the War against the Chekesaws, they ought not to hinder the Chactaws from prosecuting that War, and they must not do so no more. He likewise told them that he had no Occasion to expatiate upon the Reasons why the French entered into a War with the Chekesaws, it was but too well known, it was because the Chekesaws protected and screened the Notchees (who had done them inspeakable Damage) from their just Resentment. The Governor askt the Creek Chiefs if the English made them such large Presents as he did? Answer was made, by the Long Second Man Speaker, that the English Presents were much larger, great Piles of Saddles, Red Coats, and other Goods in Abundance. Chertee being present replied smartly, that the Long Second Man was a Liar, that he (Chertee) was present last Time the Creeks were in Charles Town, that for his Part (the Long Second Man) he got nothing but a mangy Coat, [64] a felt Hat, and some other Triffles of no Value; that the English took no Notice of him but called him a French Man, it being surmised by the English that he (the Long Second Man) was in the French Interest. The Lie being cramed down the Second Man's Throat, before the Governor, so confused him, that he did not know what Reply to make, so that Mr. Chertee carried his Point, being helped and backed by the Governor, to the Shame and Confusion of the other. The next Day the Creeks set out from Mobile and arrived safe in their own Nation in a few Days.

These Discourses of the French backed with Presents kept the Indians in a kind of a Stir all the Winter; and the French Speeches were not a little helped by a Parcell of Lies and Nonsense brought from the Lower Creeks to the Upper. It was reported that a Lower Creek run away Fellow who left the Cherrockees last Fall (and came round by Augusta) pretended to find out great Secretes in the Cherrockees, such as, that the Governor of Carolina built a Fort in that Nation with a View to help the Cherrockees against the Creeks, that he was likewise told by a Chekesaw Fellow (that resided about Augusta) that the White People seemed to be ripe for a Breach with the Indians, and that a White Man should ask the said Chekesaw whether or no he would not help the White People against the Creeks &c. This Narration, silly as it was, raised a fresh Commotion, and to that Degree that some English Men in the Oakfuskee and Okehoy were apprehensive of imminent Danger; especially one Richard Henderson (a [Pack Horse] Man) run for Life being forwarned of the Danger by a particular friend Indian, as he said.

There was three more White Men left the Nation at the same Time. James Germany thought proper to enquire of the Red Coat King, concerning the Danger that was apprehended, who assured him there was none from them, at the same Time sent two white Men to the Lower Creeks to get further Information. I happened then to be at the Okehoy, in the Evening went to the Cawledgees about three Miles in my way Home. Early next Morning there came a Runner to me desiring my Attendance immediately at the Assembly House, accordingly went, accompanied by Mr. McIntosh, and found Capt. Goakly of the Okehoy and a Head Man of the Oakfuskees drinking Casseena who delivered himself as follows (viz.)

“That it was a great Deal of Surprize and some Concern that he heard  
 “of the White People at the Oakfuskees being under a Consternation some of  
 “them already run away, and the rest ready to follow; that he was informed  
 “of it late the Night before and could not sleep all Night for thinking what  
 “could be the Cause, or Reason of the White People’s being afraid, that James  
 “Germany told the Red Coat King that he sent a Letter by Henderson to warn  
 “the Government; and that if there was any real Danger he would soon follow  
 “himself; from all which he inferred that there must have been some Letter  
 “from the Governor to order the Traders away, and which was kept a Secret  
 “from the Indians, that he could not imagine what could make the White  
 “People take such a Step without it was by Advice from the Government. It  
 “was, very certain, a bad Step and might be attended with bad Consequences  
 “for that some of their hot headed young Warriours, taking it for granted that  
 “it was spoiled, might do |65| Mischief without considering what they were  
 “about.”

He further said “that he was very sure the English never need to appre-  
 “hend any Danger from the Upper Creeks, for they valued themselves upon  
 “their strict Adherence to the English that even when the last War broke out  
 “they had no Hand in it, but were at that very Time with an Army upon the  
 “Chactaws taking Revenge for an English Gentleman that was killed in that  
 “Nation some Time before.” However if you know any thing of this Matter  
 pray be candid enough to tell me the Truth, for if there is any thing from the  
 Government you must certainly know of it. Therefore I came after you on  
 Purpose to know your Sentiments on this Affair.

I made Answer that I was as much surprized as he was, that for my Part  
 I never would believe or think that the Creeks ever would harbour any bad  
 Designs against the English because it was inconsistent with the Welfare of the  
 Creek Nation. That all our Governors were very sensible of the strong Friend-  
 ship the Creeks had for the English, therefore would never believe any thing  
 to the contrary, that Germany’s Letter could not be of any Weight below, for  
 that I wrote a short Letter to both the Governor of Carolina and Georgia, and  
 not a Syllable of any such Thing mentioned, for you may be sure that the  
 Governors would naturally conclude, if there had been any such Thing as evil  
 Designs against the Country, that I would make mention of it in my Letters.  
 Besides our Governors have such a great Opinion of the strong and sincere  
 Friendship of the Creeks, that they never will believe that the Creeks will spil  
 a Drop of English Blood until it is actually done.

As to any Letters from our Governor, ordering the Traders out, I know  
 of none and I am sure there is none; and I very well know the Cause of our  
 People at the Oakfuskee’s being afraid. It is entirely owing to the malicious  
 Falshoods worked up by Runagadoes from the Cherrockees; and improved upon  
 by the Father and Mother of all Lies and Mischief, the French. In short I  
 endeavoured to convince them of their Error, and told them not to give them-  
 selves any more Trouble about such idle Nonsense that did not deserve the  
 Attention of any serious Person.

I took all Opportunities to confute what the [French] were pleased to advance in private and public, but the French have got Presents to dispose of and knows very well how to apply them which is more prevailing with the Indians than all the Rhetorick of Aristotle and makes my Discourse lost in the Air very often; for Presents well applied and better timed can do a great many Things.

April 22d. The Gun Merchant, being absent since last August, arrived from Chote and Terrico in the Upper Cherrockees, ordered a general Meeting of the whole Upper Nation (the Halbama Indians included) at the Oakehoys, in six Days from his Arrival. His Excellency, the Governor of South Carolina, and likewise the Governor of Georgia having had wrote Letters to the Upper Creeks, I thought it a proper Opportunity [to interpret?] the said Letters to the said Gun Merchant and the rest of the Head Men of that Nation; I accordingly set out for the Oakehoys, two Days before the Time appointed for the general Meeting, |66| to wait upon the Gun Merchant who told me that he set out last August to meet the Cherrockees in the hunting Ground, accordingly met them, eat, drank, and smoaked together in a very kind and friendly Manner continued together many Days with their Women and Children; amongst several other Matters, that they conferred about the Nature of Trade in both Nations, and finding that the Rates of Goods were much lower than in the Creeks, the Gun Merchant sent some of his Head Warriours into Chote to invite one of the Cherrockee Traders to come out to the Hunting Ground with Goods to Trade with the Creeks, which Invitation met with a ready Compliance, and instead of one Trader, they had a good Deal to restrain 3 or four more Traders from coming out to trade with the Gun Merchant and thirty of his Warriours that were at Camp nearly half Way between the Creeks and Cherrockees. However one Trader came out from Chote with 20 Horses and Goods. Robert Goudy accompanied by the Gun Merchant's Warriours and some Cherrockees, arrived at the hunting Camp, where, he traded with the Creeks, bought all their Deer Skins, and had Goods left which the Trader carried back with him, left them no Hides to pay their Debts to the Trader that resides in their Town.

At the same Time the Gun Merchant was invited by the King of Chote, which he accepted of, and arrived safe at said Town, where he was received with great Grandeur, settled all Matters relative to the Peace subsisting between both Nations, and arrived safe in his own Nation (as above). Agreeable to the Time appointed the Head Men of the Upper Creeks met the 27th, the Halbamas and Tallapoosees excepted, Abecoots, Savanas, and Chekesaws who did not attend. I interpreted the two Governor's Letters to the Gun Merchant and the Head Men to which he thought proper to make no Reply there. He presented a Pipe, some Tobacco, and severall Strings of White Beads, sent to the whole Creek Nation by the Cherrockees as Emblems of Peace. The Gun Merchant having very elegantly delivered the Sentiments of the King of Chote and all his Warriours and the usual Ceremonies upon such Occasions being over he, the Gun Merchant, addressed himself to me, Mr. Lach. McIntosh,

Mr. Geo. Johnston, Mr. Jas. McQueen and self, being the only Traders then present, as follows (Viz.)

[GUN.] I am now about to make a Demand of you and all the Traders in our Nation, a Matter which I not only hope, but even insist that all of you shall immediately comply with; before I had an Opportunity of coming to the Knowledge of a Cherrookee Trade I was easy without it, and had no Thought of it, but now that I am, I cannot be easy till I obtain it. Therefore I insist that you will agree to it without Hesitation, if you do not it will be a Means to stop me from going down to see the Governor. The Request I desire of you is for the good of my People, I expect from henceforth that you Traders, here present, and all the Traders in our Nation, will trade with us the same as Traders do among the Cherrockees, Duffle Blankets at 6 lbs. Leather, Match-coats of Strouds the same, and all other Articles the same as the Cherrockees, to this I expect a ready Compliance which will prevent any further Stir or Noise about it.

We consulted what Answer to make [67] and concluded upon the following (viz). That we were sorry we could not gratify him in his Request, that Matters of such publick and great Consequence as that, ought to be decided before the Governor and Council that their Pleasure and Sentiments ought to be consulted therein before the Traders could presume to conclude upon an Affair that so nearly concerned the Publick and Government but that whereas that he, the Gun, and other Head Men were invited down to see the Governor, they would have an Opportunity of requesting the Government upon that Head.

THE GUN MERCHANT in a great Heat replied that he expected such an Answer, but that he was not to be put of in that Manner as to going to see the Governor he never would until he got the Trade the same as the Cherrockees. That he and other Head Men of his Nation found by Experience that it was of no Use to apply to the Governor on that Head, that they were told the Traders might do as they pleased. Therefore insisted, that his Desire might be directly complied with to prevent any further Consequences or Noise that may attend a Denial. At this Time we were surrounded and bound up in Gun's House by all the Head Men (viz.) Gun, Red Coat King, Oakfuskee Capt., Helabbee Captain, Devall's Landlord, Woolf, several other Head Men and their mad Warriours, and their Visages pronosticated Wrath and Violence.

THE OAKFUSKEE CAPTAIN in great Wrath spoke and said. I find there was only three Head Men sent for, we have lost a great many Head Men already, in paying Visits to your Governor it is high Time to desist from that Practice and take a Resolution to lose no more, of the few that is left, in that Manner.

GUN. He wondered what the Governor's Reasons could be for sending for Head Men at this Juncture. Nothing was the Matter, all was in Peace and Quietness and well affected, as to making them Presents that would be no sufficient Reason because they could buy Goods of the Traders to supply their Wants. A Letter would be sufficient as for his Part he would never see Charlestown, nor the Governor, he never would act in any Shape in any Affairs that related to his Commission, neither would his Heart be at Ease or Rest but

always be cross till he got a Cherrookee Trade for his People, and such of the Traders as did not like that Trade would do well to go about their Business. That last Time Head Men were in Charles-town one of his Head Warriours was denied that Favour, which he, Gun, himself stomacked for some Time, but if this Demand was granted now he would reassume his Commission and go down to see the Governor with a chearful Heart.

Answer—That but few of the Traders were then present, as he had thought of making a Demand of that kind, ought to send for all the Traders that he might know their Sentiments upon that Head. That severals of them were at Savannah Town, that a few could not answer for all the rest of the Traders, therefore could give no positive Answer to that Demand, besides that if all the Traders were present, they could not pretend to give their Assent to an Affair of so great Consequence without it was first done by the Governor and Council, that was the proper Place for desiring a Favour of that Kind, that Head Men now being sent for was a fair Opportunity, and ought to be a strong Motive to accept the Invitation with Chearfulness. That as to their loosing some of their Head Men in our Settlements we were but too sensible of it, and was sorry for it. That White People were [68] lost frequently in their Travels to their Country, drowned in high Rivers, and many other Accidents and besides Beloved Men or Agents came often among them and underwent the same Hardships in travelling to the Indian Nation as their Head Men did to Charles Town. That Custom of going to see the Governor was handed down to them by their Forefathers, thinking it absolutely necessary for a general Good.

THE WOLF WARRIOUR OF THE OKEHOYS interrupting the Discourse, in a furious Accent, said, that as to the Agents or beloved Men's coming abroad amongst them they never sent for any of them, that no Instance could be mentioned of that Kind; they (the Indians) had but a few Head Men left, it was high Time for them to look out and take care of them, or they should loose all. 'Tis true the White People did not lay violent Hands upon them but was next of Kin to it by sending for them to die there; and besides we know that you Traders always did and will oppose any Favour of this Kind that we can demand of your Government by being before hand with us in prepossing the Governór against it. That he, Wolf, stopped the Head Men from going, and not one should go. He spoke a good Deal more but being in such a Fury could not be understood.

THE GUN repeated again that he took a Resolution never to see the Governor till he got a Cherrookee Trade for his young People, to which he would absolutely stand, that he was not a Child to say one Thing Today and unsay it Tomorrow. That all this Land was the natural Inheritance of the Indians, even the very Grass, Trees, and every thing that grew upon it, and that such of the Traders &c.

Answer. The Case being so, all that remained for us was to acquaint our Governór of his Resolution, and the Reasons of his coming with the other Head Men to visit him according to the Invitation, that it was not within our Province to comply with his Demand, otherwise should readily do it, but

any thing within the Bounds of Reason we should readily comply with at any Time. We could not think of plunging ourselves in the same Pitt as Cherokee Traders, dare not be seen, in Charles Town beside a new Governor Georgia did not know his Sentiments, or Instructions from his great Majesty King George.

GUN. Well, as you insist upon the Necessity of consulting your Governor, I'll wait till that can be done, though with a good Deal of Impatience; you may tell him that the Reason of my not going down was, because you (the Traders) would not consent to trade with my People the same as the Cherokee Traders do with them, that I have seen the Trade there with my own Eyes, is perfectly sensible of the Difference, each of us are Friends to the same Government, and ought to be used equally well, and shall never desist, nor be at Rest till I get the same Trade. We were cheated then, but was nothing to the Multitude of Skins we have thrown away Years past, shall expect an Answer to this Demand by Midsummer at furthest, by the Linguist, and if this is granted me then I shall with a chearful and joyful Heart, get up and tread upon the Path to Charles Town in order to see my Friend and Brother the Governor; that he would expect a pr. of Stilliards with the Answer without Fail.

[69] Answer. That we would acquaint the Governor of his Demand and that then all the Traders at Augusta and elsewhere would know of it also but not to expect an Answer by any particular Person, because something might prevent him; but as there was several that understood the Language, in his Nation, could not be at a Loss, he might expect an Answer, though probably not by the Time he mentioned.

All this happened in the Gun's House and in the mean time there was an Uproar in one End of the House, some of the Head Men accusing some of the Traders, that were heard publickly to say that their Goods were their own, and would dispose of them or give them away as they thought proper. That the Traders at the Oakfuskee gave the same Trade as was asked of the Governor when the Head Men were last Time in Charles Town, and some Time since, them Traders rose their Trade to the Old Standard; from all these Circumstances they could not think otherwise but they were grosly imposed upon and would know the Reason why or as the Creeks were always a People known to be with great<sup>4</sup>

It may not be improper to hint at the Reason of this insolent Proceeding by the Creeks, in order thereto it must be noticed, that when a Peace was proposed between them and the Cherrockees, the Creeks had all along the Cherokee Trade in View, and was a strong Motive with them as well as in Compliance with the Governor's Request to a Peace with the Cherokees and though the Creeks met with several Insults during the Preliminaries, they choose rather put up with that than break of a Negotiation that would obstruct the Hopes they had of obtaining a Cherrockee Trade. Agreeable to this Scheme the Wolf Warriour of the Okehoys took upon him to conduct that Affair who also brought in the Gun Merchant and other Head Men into the Scheme. The Gun, Wolf Warriour, Helabbee Captain and other Head Men meeting the

<sup>4</sup>In the original, the remainder of the sentence is missing.