

*South Carolina Indian Affairs
Documents, 1752-1753*

SOUTH CAROLINA INDIAN AFFAIRS
DOCUMENTS, 1752-1753

TALK FROM THE RAVEN OF HIGHWASSEE TO
GOVERNOR GLEN

[1]

March 31st, 1752

When I satt off from this Town I left it peaceably and quietly between us and the Southward, but had not been long gone till the Southward came in two Gangs and killed three of the Lightwoods close by the Town, and likewise the third Day after he gott home, there came another Gang, and killed his Brother, and then he thought off [*sic*] Nothing but War. He does not know, he says, what is the Reason they do so, for when they was here he used them well and made a firm Peace, but he believes they found they were desolate and the Traders stopt which made them come and kill his People like Dogs. He says he has a Commission from your Excellency for seven Towns and they all take his Advice, and when you sent to him not to go again [to] the Southward, he stopt them but now he acquaints you that it is War, and the Woods is as free for them as it is for the Southward.

Now he sees he has found that your Excellency has been a Father to him and his People and he has heard that you have sent to them Time after Time to be quiet, but they won't hear you, which makes him think they don't mind you. But as for his Part he and his People has always heard you, and will for ever. It is true there is some Rogues among them, but he says he and his People will break them as they had but little Amunition. If they had Peace they would have more Skins than what they have, but in a short Time he hopes all the Traders will go down and have plenty of Skins to pay their Merchants. He says he lives in a troublesome Life which he believes if he was dead it would be better, but Death he don't fear as long as he can see a white Man nor his Towns shall not break up although the Southward has strove to do it five Times.

THE RAVEN of Highwasee's Mark _____

Now he says he has done and returns you Thanks for the good Usage he and his People had when down, but still hopes your Excellency and beloved Men will take Compassion on them, as they are surrounded with Enemy, to send them a little Ammunition to guard their Towns, for what little they had given them he only just turn'd his Back, and by Beamer's Doings the Lower People took all and was loth to make Disturbance to go back to acquaint your Excellency.

TALK FROM JUD'S FRIEND TO GOVERNOR GLEN

|2|

March 31, 1752

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, He desired I should acquaint your Excellency that he got Home safe, only very sick which detained him the longer from going to Sticoe and through the Nation to give them your Excellency's Talk, which when he recovered he went among them all and told them that took the white People's Horses and Goods to return them and go down to Carolina and make all up with the beloved Men below, and that they need not think to run to Virginia or New York for a Trade, for if it was stopt from Carolina it would be stopt from every Place, for they were all one People and that it was not the white People's doings, it was their own.

He also thought when he came Home it was Peace with the Southward and having but little Ammunition did not go far from the Towns to hunt, and the Southward came and stole their People which they did not expect as they was in and made a firm Peace, so that for the Future he desires the Government won't trouble themselves no more with them but let them deal with one another for he can steal as fast as they.

He also returns you many Thanks for the good Usage he received from you and your beloved Men below, and if he does not see your Excellency in the Nation, he will go and see you but not for the Sake of Presents but only to renew the Friendship which shall never be forgott and his Assistance shall never be wanting towards the white People, as also the Norward has threatned Mr. Grant and I. He said the [*sic*] shall not think to play their Pranks for he will learn them another Path.

CORNS. DAUGHERTY's Mark _____

PROPOSAL FROM JAMES GRAEME, ESQ., TO THE
GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL

In the General State of Indian Affairs proposed to be laid before his Excellency the Governor, and Council, the following particular Articles may be necessary:

1. The Numbers of Gunmen in the Upper and Lower Cherokees, Upper and Lower Creeks, Chekesaws, Catabows, Chactaws, and such other Tribe[s] of Indians as this Province has any Connection with.
2. The Treaties or Talks subsisting between this Province and these Nations with the good or bad Faith kept by them for Years past.
3. The Numbers, Names, and Characters of the principal Head Men or Warriours with the Power and Influence they have in their respective Towns or Nations.
4. The Connection of the French with any of these Nations and the Consequences to be apprehended from French Influence amongst them.
5. The Connection of the Indians with this Province and the most proper Means to preserve Peace and Friendship with them and prevent French Influence amongst them.

6. The Indian Trade in its several Branches in Relation to this Province and to Great Britain.

7. Indian Affairs in General and the Expence of them as they relate to Carolina or Great Britain and the Advantages and Disadvantages which may be expected and apprehended from a speedy and due Attention to or a Neglect of them.

8. The Connection of the several Indian Nations with each other and of their respective Town and Tribes within such Nation with their several Powers, Numbers, Districts, and Situations relative to themselves as well as to us and the French.

9. A Map &c.

PROPOSALS FROM CHARLES PINCKNEY, ESQ., TO THE
GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL

[3]

South Carolina
1752, April 20th

Hints for Heads of Inquiry for a more perfect Information concerning Indian Affairs.

Cherokees, Lower:

First, to get the Exactest Maps or Descriptions in Writing of the Cherokee Nations of Indians.

2nd. Their Distance and Situation from Charles Town.

3d. The Names of the Towns of the Lower People, and the Number of People in each Town with the Names of the Head Men in each Town, particularizing those that are reckoned to have the most Sway among them and those that are most heartily attached to the British Interest with the Names of the Traders to each Town.

4. Their Situation in Point of Geography as to the Catabas [*sic*] and Upper Cherokee Towns.

Upper Cherokees:

5. The same Inquiries as to the Upper Nation.

6. Their Situation as to the French Settlements on the Missisipi [*sic*].

7. The Interest which the French or Northern Indians have either with the Lower or Upper Nations.

8. Their Distance and geographical Situation from the Upper and Lower Creeks, Chickesaws and Chactaws.

9. The Places proper for erecting Forts in the Upper and Lower Towns.

10. The Situation and Limitts of the Provinces of Georgia, North Carolina, and south Boundary of Virginia.

Creeks:

11. The same Inquiry concerning the Lower and Upper Creeks with the following Additions:

12. Whether they lie within the Boundaries of the Province of Georgia, that is on the Lands lying between two east and west Lines from the Head of

the southern Branch of Matamaha, and of the northern Branch of the River Savannah, or whether they lie to the Southward as is supposed of the southernmost of those Lines.

13. Their Situation as to the Halbama Fort and New Orleans.

14. Their Situation as to the Spanish Settlements at St. Augustine and in the Bay of St. Joseph's and Pensacola.

15. Their Situation in Regard to the Chickesaws and Chactaws.

Chekesaws [*sic*]:

16. Their Situation in Regard both to Creeks and Cherokees, the Number of their Towns, the head Men in each, the Number of their People, and their present Strength and Inclination as to the British Interests.

Chactaws:

17. The same with the Division of them into English and French Interest, and the Geographical Situations of each.

18. The Value of the British Merchandize sold and consumed annually in the foregoing Nations respectively, and the Number of Deer Skins or Furrs brought to Carolina from each and every of them.

All the Nations:

19. The Lands heretofore purchased by this Government from either of the said Nations for building Forts on for his Majesty's Service.

20. The Promises or Engagements of this Government to any of those People to build Forts among them.

21. The Promises of those People to this Government to assist therein.

22. The Expediency of those Forts and the Ability of the Province to do the same.

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23. The Treaties of Trade, and Commerce, and Peace, and Friendship between this Government and these People respectively.

24. The Breaches therein or Fulfillment thereof respectively, and reciprocally.

25. The Necessity of securing all these Nations in the British Interest.

26. The most effectual Means of doing thereof.

PATRICK BROWN TO GOVERNOR GLEN

Augusta, April the 25th, 1752

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, I arrived from the Cherokees two Days past and brought with me a Talk from the two head Warriours of Keowee and Estatoe which I delivered to Capt. Cadogan in order to be sent to you. That Nation seems to be in a distressed Condition. On Account of the Warr subsisting between them and the Creeks, all the Lower Towns excepting three is broke up and removed further back, and from what I can observe they have Enemy on all Sides for while I was there the Norward Indians killed thirteen or fourteen of them near a small Village which is newly settled about one hundred Miles Distance to the Northward of the Nation, which has occasioned

the Indians to break up their new Settlement and return to their respective Towns again.

I brought a Peace Talk from the above Warriours to the Chickesaws which reside about this Place. They have accepted of it, and agreed to be at Peace with them, and have sent for some of their Head Men to come down in order to make it a firm and lasting Peace, so the Difference that have lately subsisted between them, it is to be hoped, is now composed.

I am Sir, your Excellency's most obedient Servant,

PATRICK BROWN

TALK FROM SKIOGUSTO KEHOWE AND THE GOOD WARRIOR
ESTUTTOWE TO GOVERNOR GLEN

Estuttowe, April 15, 1752

FATHER AND BROTHERS, Since our last to you we have lost thirty and three of our People in those Lower Towns. The Loss of our People has occasioned all our Lower Towns to break up and wander all over the Nation, all but this Town and Kehowe. We expect every Night that we shall be killed before Morning, and therefore intreats you to do your best Endeavours to make a Peace between our Enemy and us as soon as possible you can. And the white People that is among us has a Sufficiency of Goods and Ammunition, but are Loosers by us as we are obliged to make Use of their Powder, Bullets to defend ourselves from our Enemies as we are not able to hunt to kill Skins to pay them for it, but still depends on your Promise to make a Peace for us or else we can not be able to stand where we are, but must be obliged to move our Towns somewhere we can be something safer which will be against our Will.

We suppose it will be a hard Matter for you to make a Peace between the Creeks and us, as they have the French and Spaniards to apply to in Case you won't supply them. We have one Favour to ask of you which is to supply us with a little Ammunition as it is not reasonable to expect our Traders Ammunition all for Nothing, which if you do we will stand to our Towns. If not we shall be obliged to move some where else, and begs you to let them have some Pistolls as they are useful in War. This Day we had a Meeting, and your Letters |5| interpreted, and we return you Thanks for your endeavouring to save our People, and the Care you have taken of the wounded People, notwithstanding your broad Path is sprinkled with the Blood of our People.

We conclude your loving Children and Brothers,

SKIOGUSTO _____ Kehowe
GOODWARER _____ Estuttowe

JAMES BEAMER AND RICHARD SMITH TO GOVERNOR GLEN

Toxso, May 2nd, 1752

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, Yesterday came to the old Town of Cheowe' about forty of the Lower Creeks, and some of our People being there about their Business they came to them in a very insolent Manner and plundered them, and took from them three Horses of ours, and to a riding Saddle of one of our Men, one Wm. Bails, and his Gun, and Pistols, and throwed

one Bodington, another of our Men, off his Horse, and took his Saddle and Bridle, and two Blanketts. They likewise took at the same Time from one James Welch, Goods of ours in the Care of this Welch, 9 large Knives, at 2 Pounds Leather Price, 20 smaller Sort at 1 Pound of Leather, 1 trading Gun, 6 Padlocks, 7 and ½ Gross of Buttons, 400 Gun Flints, 8 Yards of Oznabrigs, and Pack Saddles, and Wantys, and took Mr. Dowey's riding Saddle, and a Blankett and took one Jno. Dunklin's Blankett. The People tried what they could to gett their Things from them, but they said it was what they would, and they would keep them.

We humbly begg your Excellency to take some Compassion on us as we suffer so by these Villains, and we make no Doubt if your Excellency would be pleased to order them to return us our Horses, but they would as also pay for our Goods. We have Nothing more to acquaint your Excellency, but that the Nittewakes have broke out War with the Cherokees and killed 26 of them lately of Stickeowe and them Parts, and one Currie, a white Man, out. Norrodely of Stickcove, and these two Lower Towns still keeps their Towns in Hopes of your Excellency's getting a Peace for them as they may be able to hunt, and if they have not a Peace it is our Opinion to your Excellency that it will be of ill Consequence for now as they take to robbing white People there will be hardly any passing safely.

We humbly beg your Excellency will be pleased to let us hear from your Excellency by the first Opportunity. The Indians are very desirous to hear from your Excellency, and whether there is any Probability of getting a Peace or not. No more to acquaint your Excellency but we are

Your Excellency's most humble and most obedient Servants to command,
 JAMES BEAMER and RICHARD SMITH

MEMORANDUM OF WHAT WE SUFFERED BY THE LOWER CREEKS

9 large Knives which we sold @ 2 Lb. Leather	- - - - -	18
22 small Do @1	- - - - -	22
1 Gun @ 14	- - - - -	14
7½ Dozen of Buttons	- - - - -	7½
400 Gun Flints	- - - - -	16
2 Gun Locks	- - - - -	10
8 Yards of Oznabriggs	- - - - -	8
3 Horses, one a Roan branded _____		
A black Horse branded _____		
A Sorrel branded _____		
and four more stole from us by the Creek Indians about four Days before branded _____		
Took from Wm. Baits, Saddle and Bridle, Pistols, and Gun		
From Mr. Dowey, Saddle and Bridle, and 2 Blanketts		
From Wm. Bodington, a Saddle and Bridle, and 2 Blanketts		
From John Dunklin, a Blankett		

DEPOSITION OF JOHN ELLIOTT

|6|

In the Council Chamber, May 25, 1752

John Elliott, Trader to the Cherokee Nation of Indians, being duly sworn saith that on the 6th Instant he was in the Town of Cheowee in the Lower Cherokees from which the Indian People were all removed for Fear of the Creeks, and that there then remained there James Welsh, and John Downing, and severall other of the English Traders who were then carrying Mr. Beamer's Goods which were left over to Beamer's Town where he lived, viz., Estatoe, and this Deponent then and there heard the said Welsh, and Downing, in particular tell the Circumstances of the Creek Indians plunder[in]g the House in Cheowee, and carrying of the Goods, as mentioned in the foregoing Letter signed by James Beamer and Richard Smith, and this Deponent further saith that when he was at the Town of Cheowee as aforesaid, all the Lower Cherokee Towns were broke up, and removed further up into the Nation for Fear as he verily believes of being cutt off and destroyed by the Creeks except the Towns of Estatoe, and Toxowa.

JNO. ELLIOTT

Sworn to this 25th Day of May, 1752 before his Excellency the Governor in Council.

ALEXR. GORDON, C. C.

TALK FROM SKIYOGUSTA OF KEHOWE AND
GOOD WARRIOR OF ESTUTTOYE

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, the Speech of Skiyogusta of Kehowe and the Good Warriour of Estuttoye. We two Warriours of the Lower Towns mett this Day, and determined according to our Promise to your Excellency to have sett off with young White, the Offender, in four Days, but the Rest of beloved Men thought it not safe to travel just at this Time. The Enemy being so brief and concluded to stay till we could hear from his Excellency and honorable Council, and by that Time probably the Enemy may be returned Home. We remember your Talk, and are willing to comply with every Thing we promised. White himself was present when this was writing.

The Speech of White himself:

That he never had any Harm against any white Man, and never intended any, but this Accident happened when he was out at War. He saw a Horse that the Creeks took away when they killed one of his Relations, and thought then he should have Satisfaction, not knowing there was any white Man in the House, and a young Fellow, one of his Relations put him in a Passion, and seeing a white Man come out he run up, and gave him one stroke with a Stick of Wood, though it was not that that killed him for he was shott before in the House, and after he says he came to consider what he had done to think that he had killed his Father as he calls white People he was troubled to his Heart to think he should strike a white Man through the Creeks' doings. He looked on it then that the Creeks was Accessary to the Death of the white Man, and he has been constantly at War with them to take Satisfaction for it [is]

true I have been guilty of what the white People calls me a Rogue, for but it was not my Intent ever to have given them Occasion to have called me.

As the Governor has sent for me I'll come down, and hope the Governor will forgive me this Time, and he'll never be guilty of any Thing that white People shall ever have any Occasion. I account myself as much a white Man as a Indian. My Father was a white Man and I respect all white Men on that Account. I've been guilty of Folly though without an Intent of mine. Here is all the white Men that trades in the Nation, ask any of them if ever he behaved any Ways disrespectfull to them in any Ways, and he says he believes they will say they never knew any Harm of him only this, that that call him Harm, striking this white Man through Mistake, which was not the Cause of his Death, and says that he was not satisfied since that happened, and has been constantly at War since, and just came in with three Slaves and two Scalps from the Creeks for Revenge for the white Man that was killed through their Doings.

JAMES FRANCIS TO GOVERNOR GLEN

|7|

April 14, 1752

SIR, I herewith make bold to inclose two Letters, the one to me from Richd. Smith of Keowee in the Cherokees as from the Headman of that Town to the Chickesaws, as also a true Copy of the Answer from the Chickesaws. It happened that an Opportunity offered the very Day I received the inclosed from Mr. Smith of sending to Augusta which I made use of and according to the Purport thereof, dispatched a Letter to the Chickesaws, the Answer to which I received some few Days past, and have sent it to the Cherokees by two young Fellows of Mr. Beamer's Town, who called at my House in their Way Home. It seems the Chickesaws got some Notice that some Cherokees were in Company with the Savannahs that killed the Chickesaw Fellow mentioned in Mr. Smith's Letter, and at the same Time took two Women Prisoners which greatly irritated the Chickesaws who raised a small Party of their People who were not gone many Days, as I am informed, before they returned with ten Cherokee Scalps and three Prisoners, but hope the Breach will not last long. What may lie in my Way to be Assistant in mediating Matters shall not be wanting.

I beg Leave to be further troublesome, Sir, and acquaint your Excellency of some Passages lately happened concerning Burgess whom Mr. Vann is now making Pretensions of taking, and it is the Opinion of most, and that not without Reasons, that it is only Pretence for it is well known to all that Mr. Van hath had it in his Power to have taken Burgess at any Time since his Escape from Curry, and that his House hath been his Place of Residence and Support almost ever since, off and on, untill they gott Notice that there were Schemes laid to take him there, and then he was sent away to Broad River. But even then no two Brothers could be more intimate than John Vann and Burgess, which is the Reason that most People are doubtful of Mr. Vann's being real when he talks of taking Burgess. However, I shall be very glad they may be deceived in their Opinion, and that Vann may make good his Word, though it should be an Instrument as base as Burgess himself. And indeed, if he can

be taken by such a one, no Man hath greater Plenty of such at Command than Mr. Vann, for he hath no less than three Negroes, one Mulatto, and a half-bred Indian now living with him, all bearing an equal Character with Burgess and which I believe there is not three Families on Saludy would suffer any one of them to remain four and twenty Hours on their Plantation. The half-bred Fellow is noted for his Roguery. The Mulatto is one of Scott's Sons who escaped out of Prison before last Sessions, and one of the Negroes has been burnt in the Cheek for his Practices and the other two of the same Stamp. One of these Negroes, Sir, Mr. Vann saith he employed some small Time past to take Burgess, but by his Behaviour most People doubt he was rather sent to knock him on the Head to prevent his telling of Tales in Case he should be taken. Be it as it will, it is most certain that Mr. Vann might have taken Burgess long before this without hurting a Hair of him. And this Negro aforesaid went to Burgess' Camp, and taking the Opportunity when he was asleep, made a Stroke at his Head with a Hatchett, but missed his Blow and struck him on the Side of his Face and broke his Jaw Bone very much. He still endeavoured to follow his Blows, and at Length lost his Hatchett in the Fray but drew a Knife and stuck it in his [Body?] in two or three Places. But at Length Burgess fled and made his Escape, the Negro having beforehand hid the Gun while Burgess was asleep, and it is supposed that he would not make Use of that, that he |8| might have a Plea of his Side.

However true these Conjectures are I don't pretend to judge, but have sufficient Reasons to know that they might contrive to take Burgess without taking these Measures if they had any real Design for it long before this. And the many different Ways they have of telling this Matter from the Truth makes People judge the Worse of it. After Burgess's escape the Negro Fellow instantly drove up two Horses that Bruggess then had (one of which was the Dutchman's that he had escaped from Curry on), and packed them with all his Effects then at the Camp, viz., twenty-odd Deer Skins, about as much Beaver, a Rifle Gun, and in short, all his Accoutrements whatsoever and brought them to Mr. Vann's.

I happened at a House some few Days after this where was John Vann, his Brother, and this Negro aforesaid, and not knowing any Thing of the real Truth of the Affair otherways than that this Negro had got the Dutchman's Horse aforesaid from Bruggess, I therefore asked him concerning the Matter, and he acknowledged he had him on which I ordered him to bring him in that he might be delivered and surrendered up to the Owner. But Mr. Vann resented the Demand, and said he had the Horse, and when he saw his own Time he would surrender him and not before, and several such like Expressions, and in short made Use of some Expressions against Authority and even the highest in this Province that I thought myself in Duty bound to put a Stop to his ignorant and ridiculous Discourse with Threats, and in short ordered him on his Peril to surrender the Dutchman's Horse in three or four Days at farthest, or I should take other Measures with him, and notwithstanding his Bravados then I hear he has since sent him down to Mr. Creil, so that I presume the Owner hath him before this.

I hope your Excellency will excuse my relating at large this Affair which (as I have credibly heard) is the real Truth though it would not be unacceptable to your Excellency to be acquainted with. And I hope, Sir, it will not be long before Burgess is taken either by fair Means or foul, which shall be forwarded in all Shapes that be in my Power. There hath been several Indians amongst us since the Spring in two's and three's. Some hath been suspected to have been Norwards but mostly Cherokees, some of which have been at my House and behaved very civil. There hath been two or three petty Thefts done by a stragling Rogue or two, but not of Consequence. The Particulars I have acquainted Major Thompson of, according to his Orders.

Humbly begging Pardon for this Intrusion, I remain as in Duty bound, Sir, your Excellency's most humble Servant to command.

JAMES FRANCIS

SQUIRREL KING TO THE HEAD MEN OF KEOWEE

[9]

[30 March, 1752]

To the Head Men and Warriours of Keowehee, the Answer of the Squirrel King for himself and his Warriours:

That the Squirrel King received your Letter sent by Mr. Francis, and cannot well think the Cherokees are desirous of being in Friendship with the Checkesaws while they entertain and encourage the Savannahs to live among them in order to come and war against the Chickesaws, nay, and the very Cherokees came with them. If the Cherokees are so very desirous of maintaining a good Understanding with the Chickesaws, the only speedy Way of showing it is by driving away or killing the few Savannahs among them. But particularly the Fellow who killed a Chickasaw named Chinaby near Mr. Patrick Brown's House. This the Chickesaws insist upon as also that the Cherokees send back the two Women to my House, and let some of their People come with them and they shall not be hurt. But the head Men will talk with them and hear what they have to say. Upon the Cherokees speedy performing these Things there will always remain a firm Peace between them, and then the Chickasaws will send a Runner to the Okfuskes.

But if the Cherokees do not soon bring the two Women back as above and kill the Savannah Fellow abovementioned, or drive them all away from their Nation (because while the Cherokees suffer them to live there they will be always stealing the Path in order to kill the Chickesaws, which will always occasion a Misunderstanding), the Chickesaws say they will not leave off, because they cannot think them their real Friends till they comply with these just Demands.

I am in the Meantime your Friend and well Wisher,

Signed, JAMES FRASER

30 March 1752

A true Copy

TALK OF CANEECATEE OF CHOTE AND OTHERS

Cherokee Nation, April 22 [12?], 1752

PRESENT: Samuel Benn, John Watts, Anto. DeLangtania, Antho. Deane, and others, being all ready this Day but Samuel Benn to sett of[f] on their Journey down were stoped by the Prince of Tanassee on account of a Meeting they held wherein it was resolved to send down a Talk to his Excellency and the honorable Gentlemen of His Majesty's Council, the Substance of which as delivered by the Caneecatee, commonly called Old Hop.

1st Speaker for their Mother Town of Chotee is as follows: That the Savannahs, he says, and others were very industrious all last Summer in spreading Lies amongst them which in great Measure occasioned the Trouble that was in the Nation which they are now very sorry for as also for the bad Talks and Letters they sent down promising they never more will send down any such.

Says he heard with Pleasure the good Talk the great beloved Men below gave his People for which Reason he will look upon all white People hereafter as his Brothers.

Says he is an old Man but that notwithstanding his Talk is much looked upon in this Nation, and that the Care of the Town of Chotee is now committed to him, Uconnostote, the Great Warriour, and other Chiefs of the Town being gone out to War against the French Indians, but that as long as he lives he says no white Man shall ever be hurted in this Nation for that in the Height of all the Trouble he sent to all the Towns farr and near to be careful of the white People and not to hurt any of them, and that while he lives he will do the same, hoping the great Men below will forgive their People, and [not?] be angry with them for what is past.

[10] Kitteegunsta, the Prince of Tanassee, says much to the same Purpose as within that it was the Stories dispersed amongst them occasioned the Trouble, but that since they had the good Talk below that they will believe no more Lies.

Acknowledges that upon them Reports they were bent upon Mischief and Destructions which now they are very sorry for, adding it shall never be so any more, and that they will love their white Men heresoafter. And no bad Talk or Letters shall go down and hopes in like Manner they will have all good Talk come up to them according to what was given their People below allready.

Tassittee, commonly called Eusteeneko, that was in Charles Town, reserves his Speech, he says, till he goes with us to Great Tellico before the Emperour Tomorrow, but desires us to sett down now that it may go before the Governor, that every Trader of us for the seven Towns over the Hills should each of us bring for his Town six Bags Powder or twelve Bags Bullets with Guns, Flints, Knives, Hatchets, and every Thing else equivalent that Way as also two Boxes Paint for every Town and Glasses forsooth to dress themselves with. Likewise, Tape and Ribbons to lace their Match-Coats, and silver Wrist Hoops and Sample of which they send per Mr. Langtaniae, also Brochio's [*sic*] or silver Breast Rings for the Bosoms of their Shirts with plenty of Barley Corn, Beads, and your Purple and white Wampoms, and the forked or three-cornered Wam-

poms in the Manner of the Northward. In Short, with great Plenty of all Sorts of trading Goods too tedious to mention, concluding his long Harrangue with an Intimation to us that his Excellency ordered him to send him an Account of every Thing that was necessary or amiss in Relation either to white or Indians in this Nation.

P. S. Desires Swan Shott to fight their Enemies and that every Trader, if the Governor pleases, may bring up four Caggs Rum, two for the Trader, and two for the Town to be merry with together.

Great Tellico, Monday, April 13, 1752

Tassitsee aforesaid finding on our Arrival here that the Emperor was out at Hywassee, sends to his Excellency the following desiring an Answer to it and the annexed per Watts, who stood the Interpreter to both.

Says that there was a great Deal of bad Talk and Trouble in the Nation some Time ago, but that since he came from Charles Town he sent every where about to make Things strait and good of every Side as the Governor desired him, and that now every Thing is so, and that there will be no more bad Talk or Trouble.

Says he remembers well the good Talk the Governor gave as if it was but Yesterday for which Reason the white People he says may pass and repass through all Parts of this Nation as they Please, for that they now esteem them as their Brothers, adding that they are linked together now in such a Manner that the Chain of Friendship is never to be broke, and the Path that leads from their Nation to the English is like a durable Rock or great Bar of Iron, never to be worn out. Wherefore he hopes the Governor will never believe any false Reports hereafter, neither will they of him on any Account whatever.

Says the People entertains a great many Notions of the Scales and Weights as not knowing Nothing about them. Wherefore desires the Stilliards as formerly.

TALK OF THE HEAD MEN OF IOREE

|11|

April the 17, 1752

The Head Men of Ioree, their Talk. We remember every Thing that was said below in Charles Town and are glad to hear that [you?] are in Search of the Creeks that killed our People. We give you Thanks for the Care of our People that was left. We hope that they won't forgett to see they have Satisfaction, and when it is done they will believe good of you in our Hearts and always think good of you and look on you as a Father. We do not think it was the Cause of the white People on what befel them but the Creeks who are like Dogs. We expect to hear from you as soon as the Messenger returns from the Creeks. This is the Talk of nine Towns besides a great many which is driven amongst us by the Enemy. We all think good of your Talk and hope you think the same of ours.

TALK OF THE MANKILLER OF IWAIISSE

The Mankiller of Iwaiissee, his Talk. The Heads and beloved Men of Carolina, their Thoughts are always on us the People of the Cherrokees and

our Thoughts are the same to you and your People of Carolina. In my last Letter to your Excellency I desired some Ammunition, but forgott Flints and Paint. Our Thoughts has been very much troubled at so much Warr as is at this present Time loosing our Men. We begin to grow cross at last, sett out for Warr, and some of our Men went on this Side the Oakfuskees where they killed 3 Men and returned without Loss, having been gone but 18 Nights and brought 3 Scalps with them which I was very glad off [*sic*].

I am here but with a few People. When the Creeks gett the upper Hand of us then we must be peaceable and quiet. I beg the Favour of a Drum that while the Rest are fighting I'll beat the Drum. I give you many Thanks for your Care and Assistance to those People that were left alive when the Creeks fell on them near your own House. I keep all your Talks and never will throw any away, for where have I to fly to but to you. The Coweaters slights your Talks by Reason they are nigh to the French, as for my Part I never had any Thought of ever going near them. I heard that the Coweaters should say that if the English slight them and brought no Cloth, they could get Ammunition from the French to defend themselves.

If the Creeks are willing to make a Peace as they have said at Great Terico, I am willing to yield to it. We talk together when I was in Charles Town, which I will always will [*sic*] remember as long as I live and I am sure you will do the same. I shall never have any bad Thoughts, neither shall they come into my Head.

TALK OF THE CHEROKEE EMPEROR AND OTHERS

Cherokee Nation, Great Tellico, April 27, 1752

Ammo-u-iscossitte, Emperour in Presence of several of his Chiefs and others, says the Messenger his Excellency sent up is come here to him in an outside Town where to look about him is dreadful that his Fire now is almost spent. He says his old Warriours being almost all destroyed so that he is left destitute with only a Parcel of young Fellows about him for whom he has built a Fort which is empty. Wherefore hopes as his Excellency's Thoughts are so good towards him and his People that he will now remember them, and send them Necessaries to defend themselves with. Says he sent already to him for Pistols and prays also for Cutlasses, that when their Pistols are fired of [*sic*] their Cutlasses may be ready to defend themselves with.

Desires that the former Letters of the 12th and 16th if Mr. Elliott should overtake the Messenger to get them from him and carry them down himself.

Tassittee, commonly called Eusteeneko, says the Talk his Excellency sent up is very good. That he and his People are daily and hourly thinking of all his Talk, but believes the Creeks think Nothing about is [it?] because they killed his People close by his Door.

Says he remembers when he was down below his Excellency's [12] Talk to him, was always to be good, and to keep in Mind every Thing he told him which he says he will never forget for which Reason he says if his Excellency has any Business at any Time to be done in this Nation to send him Word, and he will see that his Commands shall be executed.

Says the Government of Carolina and this Nation have one and the same Heart and Mind which are alike streight, and that they are as one and the same in every Respect, and that they both depend upon the Great King George over the Great Water so that they have no other Nation or People to run to in their Distress, but the Country of South Carolina, whereas with the Creeks it is otherwise for they have the French at their Hand.

In Fine he says the head Men all, and he like his Excellency's Talk with one Voice thank him for sending Word of what the Creeks have done.

Skiagusta of Great Tellico says the Talk he heard this Day by his Excellency's Messenger he likes, and finds by it that his Brothers' Thoughts towards them are good, for which Reason he says a great Regard to his Letters, but thinks the Creeks don't do so on their Part because they killed their People contrary to the Treaty between them. However, he says that he trusts to him again to make the Peace he intended between them promising that when their young Fellows come in from War that they shall stay at Home till they have further Accounts from his Excellency, adding that the Creeks have been often killed by French Indians and the Blame of it laid upon them.

Says he is himself an old Man, and knows he has not long to live so that his Regard is not so much for his own Life, but for that of his Wife, and Children, and the young People of his Nation growing up in whose Behalf he sends this Letter, hoping the Creeks when he sends to them will listen to his Talk. Also which will be good for both Sides in Regard they can then hunt in Safety and get Skins, but if the Creeks will not give Ear to his good Talk to send them Word before the Fall, that they may take their Measures accordingly.

Says the bold People of his Nation are not all gone yet, for they have a great many Towns and a great many brave young Fellows still left, that will be ready to lay down their Lives for the Sake of their Country notwithstanding, he says, if the Creeks prefer Peace to War, they are willing, and if so they invite them to come in here as their Friends to their Green Corn Dance. But if they are afraid to trust to this Invitation to send Word to his Excellency that they may give further Assurances of their good Intentions for in short, he says they are determined if the Creeks don't come to a Resolution of Peace before the Green Corn Dance that they will stand to the War with them to the last.

JAMES BEAMER TO GOVERNOR GLEN

[13]

April 26, 1752 [sic]

MAY [IT] PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, Since my last to your Excellency there has been the greatest Confusion with the Indians in these Lower Towns that ever I knowed since I have been in the Nation which has caused every one of the lower Towns to break up except Estertoe and some Part of Tock-saway and Kewokee, and Kewokee has moved up to Toicksaway, and joined what few was left there, and say that they will stand it as long as they can, or till they here [sic] from your Excellency. But it can't be expected that two Towns can withstand such Numbers of Enemies as comes against them from the Creeks and Chickesaws when the Whole could not, and I can't see how

they will be able to plant themselves a Morcel of Provisions. The Enemy is so hard on them, and to the best of my Remembrance has killed thirty-odd of them this Spring, so that I am afraid that they can't stand it much longer. And if they once gett all together over the Hills they may do what they please with the white People and there be no getting at them.

My humble Opinion the best Way will be to prevent them from moving any further up, and to enduce what is moved to return back is to send to both Nations and Chickesaws, and let them know that their Warr is not only a lessning to their Nation, but a Hurt to your white People that you allows to trade among them, for while they are at War they can't hunt with Safety, so that without a Peace the Trade must lessen for the Merchants can't always supply the trade and no Returns made them for their Goods which I am positive no Body can this Spring. But if there was once a Peace with both Nations and a Fort in these lower Towns just over against Kewohee, which is out of the Bound of Georgia or North Carolina, both it would induce more Indians to settle these lower Towns than ever was, and would be a Safety to the Province and Trade.

The Norward Indians have broke out War with these People, and has killed a good many of them lately, and likewise has killed one of our Traders, Daniel Murphy, near Tuckretche as he was riding along the Road. I am of the Opinion the Norward Warr with the Cherokees is the best Thing could happen with the Proviso the Cherokees was at Peace with the other Nations and the Fort once built. There has been some of these People at the Catabas this Spring to renew their Friendship, I do suppose, and has brought in Stores that they said one John Eles, a Virginia Trader, told them that he was their Friends, and did not care to see them hurted, but advised them to go Home for the white People still had an Intent to hurt them. But they don't believe much in it, but it may be of an ill Consequence such Stores from

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

JAS. BEAMER

April 30, 1752 [*sic*]

GEORGE GALPHIN TO GOVERNOR GLEN

|14|

Cowetas, April 20th, 1752

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, Sometime ago the Captain of St. Mark's sent up for all the head Men of the Lower Creeks to come to him, and to receive Presents as he proposed to settle two large Stores there for the trade with the Indians. They are all gone and agoing. They are not to be back till the last of June, and then we shall hear the Certainty of their Talk.

The War continues very hott between these People and the Cherokees. These People has killed and taken 23 Cherokees this Spring, and has lost but 6 Men, and there is out 5 Parties of these People that is not returned yet. The Cherokees sent in to the Upper Creeks to make a Peace, and after a Meeting there was a Man killed at the Oakfusskees, and another at the Cossas. He that brought in the Peace hath made the best of his Way back. I have not heard how many Men the Upper Towns' People has lost this Spring.

I am Sir, with the greatest Respects, your Excellency's most obedient, humble Servant.

GEO. GALPHIN

P. S. There was 12 Oakfusskees People going down to Georgia upon the Path; they were all killed by the Cherokees but one Man that is just arrived.

TALK OF CANEECATEE OF CHOTEE TO GOVERNOR GLEN

Cherokee Nation, April 29, 1752

Caneecatee, commonly called Old Hop of Chotee,

PRESENT: sundry Chiefs and Others,

Says the great King George is his Father, and the beloved Men below (meaning his Excellency) his Brother, whose Talk he heard this Day in this Town-house which he will be mindful of. Says he remembers to hear that the Great King told his Excellency that these People were his younger Brothers, and to be careful of them as such, wherefore he hopes now as they are stark naked that he will take Pity of them according as their Father bid him to do.

Says he looks every Day to the Rising Sun where his Brother lives close by the Great Water Side, and that when he was a little Boy the white People began to settle thick in the Country, and that all the Ground [then?] from that to this was theirs till the King their Father told them to live together as Brothers upon one Land, but now he says he finds they are debarred from it, his People being not suffered to go further than the dividing Waters commonly called the Long Canes. Says that the Lower Towns People received some Presents or Consideration for it, but that neither he or his People living in the Mother Town of all ever got any Thing for it. Says that the great King's Talk which he sent over formerly his Excellency and the beloved Men below, meaning the Honorable of his Majesty's Council, have it still in their Town-house in Writing. That in that Talk he desired them to be kind and good to his People, that accordingly they were well supplied for some Time, for which Reason they assisted the white People in the Tuskoraro War. That they are now very bare of every Thing, though their Enemies from all Parts are brisk upon them, particularly the Creeks who are well supplied, by which it would seem as if the white People loved them better than his People. However as the Chain of Friendship is now made stronger, he hopes his Brothers below will remember them still, for the Fire, he says, is spread to a great Length. Therefore he desires the Assistance of his Brothers to extinguish it, and to new edge their War Hatchett which is very much blunted.

Says that the Troubles in the Nation last Summer was like a strong Gale of Wind which blew hard for some Time, but is now all over and calm again, every Thing being in Peace and Quietness as before. That there were a great many Lies told on both Sides which occasioned a great Part of the Trouble. That notwithstanding he sent to all the adjacent Towns with Orders to be careful of their white People, and not to hurt any of them, though he knew they were, but as Swine Herds or Hog Cleaners in Regard of the great beloved Men below. And as to the Little Carpenter, he says he is his Relation, and that he never heard any bad Talk of him. That if he was to utter any he

would check him for it, that perhaps he might speak somethings in Rum Drinking which he hopes may be forgott.

[15] Says he believes the Mischief done by the Southward at his Excellency's Door is as cutting to him and his beloved Men as if he was to take a Knife and cut a Piece of Tobacco in two, which he accordingly did, giving a Piece of it to the Messenger to carry down to his Brothers as a Token of Friendship, desiring them to smoke it out of a great red War Pipe he sent them as a Present a great while ago, so concludes that they have Spirit enough still to meet their Enemies, but prays of their Brothers, notwithstanding to send them Ammunition, Guns, Pistols, and so forth, and to do it speedily if they please before their Fire is entirely out.

ANTHONY DEAN TO GOVERNOR GLEN

Great Tellico, April 13, 1752

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, Though I had your Excellency's honoured Commands to write upon clearing myself about the last Talk of Letter that went from Chotee, and as it was my Duty in Obedience to it, so to do, yet notwithstanding being desired to take down the inclosed Talk, urged it all in my Power to them to send for Mr. Grant or Bunyan, the Interpreter, as a Person proper on such an Occasion. But being not able to prevail, and well knowing that an absolute Denial would be represented to my Prejudice, which might prove very injurious to my Trade and Affairs in the Nation, I was therefore under a Necessity of gratifying them, being the rather inclined to it by finding their Talk to be an Acknowledgment of their Faults, and an expressing of their Sorrow and Repenance for what was past which I judged would not be unacceptable especially as it gave me and the Rest of the poor suffering Traders here an Opportunity of returning our humble and sincere Thanks for your Excellency and their Honors for the Peace and Tranquility we enjoy in the Nation at this Time, so different from what it lately has been owing to the Care, Vigilance, and Wisdom of your Excellency's Government under the happy Influence of which we may always expect a joyful Encrease and Continuance of these and future Blessings. We humbly beg Leave to observe to your Excellency with some Regrett what a great Cargo of all Sorts of Goods Eusteeneko writes for much above the Ability of most of the Traders to purchase which he very peremptorily seems to expect without saying one Word of our Debts to us, or how he or his People intend to pay for these or our other Goods. However, we doubt not but these Things will be all accomodated with them when Things are better secured and settled.

It would seem by the Demand of so much Ammunition more that is necessary for some Towns, as if they wanted to make sure of a good Stock to serve them for their next falling out.

As to the four Cags Rum mentioned which they would expect us to bring up gratis for them on our own Horses, few I believe if there was even an Order for it, would be willing to do it on such Conditions, though I think with great Submission there are no People under your Excellency's Government that a little Spirit is more necessary for than the poor Traders in Regard their

Journies lie over Hills, and Dales, Rivers and Creeks, subject to Want, Danger, and all the Inclemencies of the Weather. However, we are sensible there was lately a Necessity for stopping it, though upon some Occasion it was both profitable and useful.

As to Scales and Weights the Indians of Cotico seemed to me to be satisfied after a few Days so that I suppose this Nation was infused into their Heads by those that traded with the Stilliards with them contrary to the Intent of your Excellency's Ordinance that their Complaining may be a Sort of Plea for them for so doing.

And as to what Old Hop says that he, in the Height of all the Troubles, sent to all the Towns farr and near to order them to be careful of their white People, and not to hurt any of them, this, may it please your Excellency, I am apt to believe because when they broke open my Store in Toco, and carried away my Goods, he with the Advice of Uconnostole, the Great Warriour, went down there and made them return what they took though not without Loss, and afterwards brought me up to his House in Chotee where he kept me and my Goods in Safety, during all the Trouble, telling me if it was Warr or otherwise, they had appointed not to hurt me. Wherefore it grieves me much to think I should be by Misrepresentations removed from a Town where such Care was taken for my Preservation, and where I lived for these five Years past without being guilty of taking their Cloaths, Arms, or Horses, or breaking open their Houses as I have been served myself by white People in this Nation whose Actions and Contrivance together have put me much back in the World. Besides most of my Debts lye out in that Town, the getting [16] of which was the only probable Way I had of surmounting my Troubles, and of being one Day or another able to appear before my Creditors. Whereas now I am removed to the poorest Town over the Hills under all the Disadvantages of a new Town, and new Debts, and in Danger besides by such Removal, of loosing my Life by being obliged to run about after my old Debts when at the same Time there was Nothing I wished for from my Heart so much in these Parts as a Regulation and to see this Trade brought under the more immediate Protection of the Laws which when it happened my Town was given to another, a Person to whom your Excellency, if rightly informed, would never have given it from me to him. One who has his Goods not from any Merchant, but from another Trader in this Nation, that would feign meddle every where, and aims at Nothing but his own Ends. All which is most humbly submitted to your Excellency. So fearing to trouble you any longer amidst more important Affairs shall conclude with grateful Acknowledgements for your Care of us, and our Trade at this Distance. So wishing you many long and prosperous Days I do myself the Honour to subscribe with the most profound Respect. May it please your Excellency,

Your Excellency's most humble and obedient Servant,

A. DEANE

[P. S.] The Sett of Weights from Mr. Thos. Smith by your Excellency's Order shall send the Leather for per first good Opportunity, or pay when I come myself.

LUD. GRANT TO GOVERNOR GLEN

May 3rd, 1752

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, As soon as Mr. Nightingale arrived with the Ordinances for the Indians, I went to Iwassee where the Emperour who had come over some Time before with several of his Head Men was present, and were in their Fort which they have about their Town House. I had the Ordinance read and interpreted to all present, and delivered one Copy to the Emperour &c., and one to Tacita of Iwassee who with the Emperour and Head Men desired I, with Dean, should stay till they should consult and return Thanks to your Excellency and beloved Men. There was some Confusion in the Town of Iwassee occassioned by the Southwards killing a Notcha Fellow the Day before which hindred their writing till Dark, so that I prevailed with Mr. Dean to take the Talk down for me, he having better Eyes with Candlelight than I had, the exact Substance whereof I have sent your Excellency by Mr. Elliott.

The Manner of the Creeks killing the said Notche was somewhat remarkable. There was two of them had gone some Days before a hunting a little Way over the River from the Town where eight of the Enemy came up and fired upon them and wounded one of them in the Thigh so that he sunk down and sat upon the Ground, which the other seeing betook himself to a Tree with his Gun loaded in his Hand. The Enemy called to them and asked what Town they belonged to, who made Answer, Iwassee. The Enemy said, Iwassee was good and the Raven who was made a King at the English was good, but that the Cauetas, Kewohe, Estertoe, and the other Lower Towns were great Rogues, and desired them to come to them and they would dress the wounded Man. The Fellow who stood by the Tree not willing to trust their fair Promisses betook himself to Flight and got Home in the Middle of the Night, and having alarmed the Town they sent out next Morning (being the Day I came there) by the break Day to bring in the wounded Man whom they expected was yet alive. But when they came to the Place where he lay they found his Body shott all over and mangled after a most barbarous Manner, and found that these who killed him were gone Home but that a little Way farther a Body of them had lain, and by their Track had made toward the Middle Settlements of this Nation. However, there has been no farther News of them since, so that it may also be supposed they have missed their Aim and returned Home. The Raven said that the Enemies wanting the 2 Notche Fellows to come to them was a Decoy in order to kill them both, that they might the better come upon the Town undiscovered and do more Mischief.

Mr. Brown, one of the Augusta Company, came to this Nation [17] this Spring in Pursuit of one Daniel Murphy who had before his Arrival run out of Canutry, a Town where the said Murphy had formerly lived, and designed to settle with his Slaves, Horses and Leather which he had taken at the New Settlement which I mentioned in my former Letter called Aulola, or in the lower Tongue, Aurora, and to supply that Place with Goods from Virginia. Mr. Brown finding he was gone with six Men pursued him to the said Settlements, but being informed he was gone to Virginia for Goods for the Leather

he carried with him, endeavoured to get the Slaves, but the Indians said it was like stealing and would not let him have them till Murphy should return Home, and then it was what he would with them. However, the Slaves themselves told Mr. Brown that they should not be long after him which happened as they said, for either the same Day or before Mr. Brown sett of Homewards, the Northward Enemy sett upon two Camps of Indians a hunting and killed seventeen Men, Women and Children belonging to the said Settlement which has since occasioned it to break up.

I have sent your Excellency a Letter which I received of Chachetcha, the Warriour of Tuckasega, I believe written by Mr. Crawford. It is most certain that the fronteer [*sic*] Towns of this Nation in general are not capable now in Time of this general Warr to hunt to purchase Ammunition &c. meerly to defend themselves from their Enemies. This constrains them to have Recourse to your Excellency and Province for Succour and Relief which may be of good Consequence for the Future, and may be a substantial Argument for the Government to put them in Mind of their Obligations. They always have layn under to Carolina, and now are obliged to lye under for their Relief. I hear all the Lower Towns have quitt their Ground and moved to other Towns upwards in the Nation which is entirely taken up in consulting their own Safety, so that they have no Time to think of the Trade, and as it is not carried on according to the Laws by all and every Trader, if not remedied by making Examples of the Offenders as they shall be found guilty, it will certainly stir up new Commotions and be forever a Burthen to the Province, and likewise give the Indians a mean Opinion of the Government in General when such a Sett of Men by Disobedience to the Laws show their Disesteem and Respect to the same unobserved or taken Notice off [*sic*] it is most certain that the Indians would and must come into the Measures the Government prescribes were the Traders unanimous and would consult their own Interest and the Peace of the Indians without being in the least unjust or severe on the Indians in the Way of Trade. But how is it possible they should be easy to know and see themselves robbed by some and imposed upon by others in the Way of Trade, and cannot help themselves being in Necessity obliged to acquiesce to what the Traders pleases, though afterwards it must breed Discontent in his Mind so that he will always be studying Revenge and by any Means, just or unjust, contrive to recover his Loss though long after. Some Indians pretending they would not weigh by the Scales is more Nonsense for if the Trader had been of Resolution, the Indians could not have helped it and would have been obliged to trade or keep their Skins, which they would not have done nor ever yet did do.

The Emperour with the blind Slave Catcher of Terequa came to my House some Time ago and talking of the Trade, I asked him the Reason why the Chote People would not trade by the Scales which the Governour and his beloved [18] Men he knew had sent up on Purpose the Traders might not cheat them as formerly he was informed they had done by different and false Stilliards. He told me the People of Chote said they lost the half-Pounds by the Scales. I told him there was no half-Pounds allowed at the English to one another on such Commodities, that before they were used every bitt that had

Hair was cutt off, and thrown away, but the Governor &c. considering they could not bear such a Loss, only ordered the Ears, Hoofs and Horns to be cutt off as he see in the Counsel Chamber. He said it was very true and he would do as he had there promised. He likewise said he remembered the Virginia Traders used to trim their Skins round leaving neither Tail nor other Hair on the Skins, but that it was after they had bought them. I told him it was very true and that was the Reason why they never came back, falling for several Years in Debt to their Merchant, that at last he would let them have no more Goods and so they were obliged to stay at Home.

The Traders from Georgia, if they cannot be perswaded or obliged to trade as those of Carolina are obliged to do, must certainly ruin the Carolina Traders, for I do not find by their Licence that they are restrained any other Ways save only to trade in their own Towns therein specified, and that they may trade promiscuously with any Indian of any other Town if they bring their Skins to him where he resides. What View the Magistracy of Georgia has in not consulting the Interest of Carolina conjunctly with their own I cannot conceive. The Company of Augusta intends as I hear to Licence from Georgia several Men of this Nation, and fitt them out with Goods against Winter through the Towns licenced from Carolina and particularly against poor Mr. Elliott because he is none of them. A monstrous Sett of Rogues for the major Part of whom the Gallows groans.

2 Days ago some Indians from the Northward came in first to Tallasee enquiring where the white Man lived that they wanted a Bagg of Bullets and a Bag of Powder to go against the Creeks. They told them they believed they were Rogues, that they told Lies and wanted to go down to Carolina to kill their Friends as they had done, they bid them go to the Town House and eat, but they would not, upon which the Tallasee People sent a Runner to Chote who came and received them off their Hands, and carried them to Chote where Mr. Elliott then was and will inform your Excellency truly concerning them. The Tallasee People would certainly, as is said, have killed them had they not been afraid of Chote.

The Little Carpenter is not as yet returned, as yet some believe he is killed with his Company, and others that he is gone to English over the Great Water, and some believe he is with the Northward, which if he is, may be of some ill Consequence. If he is the Rogue they say he is, for my Part, I never could percieve [*sic*] it by his outward Behaviour and Talk, but some of them are naturally bloodthirsty and deceitful more than others.

May it please your Excellency, I had a Letter from a poor Man from a Settlement of the north Branch of the Cutabo River in Pursuit of some Horses these Indians had stolen from his Father and brought into this Nation. There is one Lewis Branham it seems exchanged another Horse for one of them and if true would not deliver him to the Man except he would procure his Horse from the Indians, and as the Letter intimates threatens him if he did attempt to take him. I have also sent the Letter which your Excellency may peruse. I have also sent the Emperour's Talk after reading the Ordinance together with some of the Head Men's Talk then present. As for my Part, I never saw the Nation better contented and satisfied than they are at present. I be-

lieve would always continue so were the white Men who live amongst them |19| so careful of their own Interest as to perswade the Indians always that the Government has calculated every Thing for their Interest that the Traders might pay for the Goods they brought amongst them from Time to Time by which Means they would never want a full Supply of Goods for all the Nation. I shall trouble your Excellency no farther at present only that I shall miss no Opportunity to let your Excellency know every Thing that comes to my Ears and am

Your Excellency's most humble and most obedient Servant,

LUD GRANT

MARY BOSOMWORTH TO GOVERNOR GLEN

June 1st, 1752

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, As I am informed it is the unanimous Opinion of your Excellency and his Majesty's honorable Council of this Province that there is an immediate Necessity of sending an Agent to the Creek Nation to negotiate several Maters of high Consequence to the Publick Welfare. As I have formerly have had the Honour of serving this Government, been consulted in Cases of Difficulty whilst an Inhabitant of this Province, and recommended by his Excellency Robert Johnson, Esq., his Majesty's then Governour of this Province to Mr. Oglethorpe when he arrived with the first Imbarkation for the Settlement of Georgia as a proper Person to be employed in all Negotiations with that Nation.

And whereas both during the Command of his Excellency General Oglethorpe, Major Wm. Horton and Lieut. Col. Alexdr. Heron, all Affairs with this Nation have been chiefly transacted by my Interest and Influence (authentick Proofs of which I am ready to produce if required) over several Chiefs of which I have a rightful and natural Power by the Laws of God and Nature.

These Reasons and Motives but more particularly my Zeal for his Majesty's Service lays me under Obligation to make an offer of my best Services in negotiating those Matters with the Creek Nation, provided this Government will employ me in such a Manner as is consistant with my Character, and I shall be so farr authorized and empowered to act in this Affair that the wise Ends and Intentions of the Government may not be frustrated by the Interposition of any other Person contrary to my Advice and Opinion.

I repose so much Confidence in the Honour of this Government that I desire no Reward but what the Meritt of my Services may be deemed to deserve when performed, though I believe your Excellency is not insensible of the present unhappy Situation of my Husband's Affairs, who is hourly liable to be arrested and harrassed by his Creditors whose Demands is not in his Power at present to satisfy till I can recover from the Government at Home such Sums as are justly due for my past Services in Georgia. And as all the Difficulties and Distresses my Husband is at present involved in are in Consequence of my having sacrificed my own private Interest to the publick Welfare, I hope the Government here will think him worthy of Protection as there will be a Necessity of his proceeding with me to Nation.

As the present Melancholy State of our Affairs will not admitt of long Delays, I hope your Excellency will as soon as possible favour me with your determinate Answer, and that if we do engage in this Affair a due Regard will be paid to our Characters, and present necessitous Circumstances, and that we shall be enabled by the Government to make such an Appearance in the Nation as may best answer the Ends of the Agency and the Dignity of this Government.

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

MARY BOSOMWORTH

THOMAS BOSOMWORTH TO GOVERNOR GLEN

|20|

June 2nd, 1752

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, I am really under the greatest Uneasiness for Fear of being thought importunate, which is an additional Load to my present Troubles. I flattered myself Mrs. Bosomworth would have this Day received from your Excellency and the Council a final Answer to the following particulars which I presume she did not state in a proper Light, or did not rightly comprehend the Answers.

1st. What Services they are that this Government expects Mrs. Bosomworth should perform in this Negotiation.

2nd. How she is to be authorized and impowered to act in this Affair.

3ly. In what Manner her Services are to be represented to his Majesty in Case of Success.

4ly. What Reward she may expect from this Government in Case every Thing is performed to the Satisfaction thereof.

5thly. How our present Expences are to be defrayed, and how and in what Manner we are to be provided, attended and enabled to proceed to that Nation, and to make such an Appearance there as will give Weight and Sanction to her Authority and redound to the Honour of this Government.

6ly. How long it may be judged before we can proceed on this Negotiation.

By what I can learn from Mrs. Bosomworth your Excellency is fully impowered by and with the Advice and Consent of Council to give an Answer to these Questions in Writing, and all other Particulars upon that Head.

I must therefore renew my Petition to your Excellency to favour me with your Answer this Evening as I am necessitated to give a final Answer to the Captain of a Vessel with whom I am about to agree for a Passage to England this Night or Tomorrow Morning who has for some Days past delayed clearing out his Vessel on my Account as I was undetermined.

I am your Excellency's most devoted, humble servant,

THOS. BOSOMWORTH

MARY BOSOMWORTH TO GOVERNOR GLEN

June 4th, 1752

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, I have maturely weighed and considered each particular Trust and Circumstance your Excellency was pleased

to do me the Honour to communicate to me concerning the Acts of Injustice, and the high Indignity offered to this Government by some of the Towns of the Lower Creek Nation, and I humbly offer it as my Opinion that the Satisfaction this Government thinks itself in Honour bound to demand will be a very nice and difficult Point to be obtained.

But however in order to give an Instance of my Zeal for his Majesty's Service, and my Interest and Authority in that Nation (which seems to be much disputed) by and with the Advice and Consent of Mr. Bosomworth, I am ordered to acquaint your Excellency that we will engage to have this Service performed, viz., that some of the Offenders shall be brought down and delivered into the Hands of this Government to be punished as the Wisdom and Justice thereof shall direct.

And as to any other Matters to be negotiated we do likewise further engage that the Creek Nation shall comply with any Thing that is consistent with the Laws of God or Man, Nature or Nations.

But as the Advice and Cooperation of Mr. Bosomworth will be absolutely necessary for my carrying these Matters into Execution which the unhappy State of his Affairs will deprive me unless he is favoured with a Protection from this Government. This is a Boon which Reason, Law, and Justice I hope will authorize me to ask and your Excellency to grant, the sooner this Favour can be obtained the more Expedition may be made in the necessary Preparations for our Journey, and Mr. Bosomworth be at Liberty to be honoured with your Excellency's further Commands which permitt me to assure your Excellency no one shall execute with greater Pleasure or Fidelity than

Your Excellency's most devoted, humble Servant,

MARY BOSOMWORTH

JAMES BEAMER TO GOVERNOR GLEN

[21]

June 1st, 1752

MAY HUMBLY PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, I am sorry to trouble your Excellency always with the Insults of the Creek Indians. Since my last Complaint to your Excellency of their robbing my People of a hundred and five weight of Leather worth of Goods, and 9 covering Blanketts, and three of my Horses, and three of the Men's Saddles, one Case of Pistols, and one Gun that belongs to the Men, they have been since here in my Horse Range, and has carried away with them Matter of twenty Head of my Creatures, and Mr. Smith together, which is very hard that I should suffer so by the Villains. Besides it will encourage these People to do the same till at last there will be some Body killed by these Robbers, for People can't always bear their Insults. And themselves will at last take to killing of white People as well as rob them.

I humbly beg your Excellency will do your Endeavour to order our Creatures to be returned to us, and the poor Men's Things, and for them to pay the hundred and five Weight of Leather they took in Trifles that they won't return. So hope they'll be made pay Leather for them. I am afraid it will always be so while they are at Warr, one with the Other. They will always be doing some Mischief or another to white People. These Indians

is very uneasy to hear from your Excellency in hopes of a Peace from the Southard [*sic*], which I wish there may or they must break up being but two Towns that can't stand a Warr and they don't care to go over the Hills. They had rather joyn with the Cutobas by what I can learn by their Talks, but one or the other they will certainly do if a Peace can't be obtained for them, and let you which Way they will. It will be a great Detriment to our Province for they'll leave such a Vacancy betwixt them and our out Settlements that the Norward [*sic*] Enemy will always be apicking on our out Settlements, and stop a commerce of Trade with the white People, and then shall be forced to joyn them. This is my humble Opinion what will be if not prevented by a Fort in these Lower Towns which will encourage what is here to stay and a Peace with the Southard will enduce what is gone to come back.

The Bearer is one that was robbed by the Southard Indians, which is all that is material at present to acquaint your Excellency with, and am

Your Excellency's most humble and obedient Servant to Command,

JAMES BEAMER

COMMISSION TO THOMAS BOSOMWORTH

|22|

July 2, 1752

South Carolina

George the Second, by the Grace of God of Great Britain, France and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, and so forth,

To Mr. Thomas Bosomworth,

We reposing especial Trust and Confidence in your Loyalty and Fidelity to our Royal Person and Government, and Zeal for our Service, and in your Knowledge and Experience of the Affairs of the Creek Indians, have thought fitt to nominate and appoint you, and we do by these Presents nominate and appoint you the said Thomas Bosomworth to be our Agent in the Creek Nation, there to negotiate and transact all such Matters as you now have or hereafter may have in Charge from our Governour or the Commander in Chief for the Time being of our said Province of South Carolina, and particularly you are to complain of the Injuries and Wrongs done to our Subjects in attacking and murthuring several of their Friends in their Settlements and under their immediate Protection, and you are to endeavour to procure Satisfaction for the said Offence. You are also to complain of some late Robberies committed by the Creeks upon our Subjects, Traders in the Cherokee Nation, and you are to demand Restitution and Satisfaction for the same, and you are faithfully to perform and execute all Matters recommended to you, and we do by these Presents strictly charge and command all our loving Subjects not to distress or molest you, but on the Contrary to be aiding and assisting in Discharge of the present Trust hereby reposed in you as they will answer the Contrary at their highest Peril.

Given under the Great Seal of our said Province. Witness our trusty and well beloved James Glen, Esq., Governor in Chief and Captain General in and

over our said Province of South Carolina the 2nd Day of July, Anno Domini, 1752, and in the 26 Year of our Reign.

JAMES GLEN

By his Excellency's Command
WM. PINCKNEY, Deputy Secretary
A true Copy from the Original

THOMAS AND MARY BOSOMWORTH TO GOVERNOR GLEN

[23]

Charles Town, July 3d, 1752

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, Being informed that it has been reported to your Excellency that the Indian called the Acorn Whistler had lately been at our House in Georgia, this is to assure your Excellency that neither of us have seen the Acorn Whistler for some Years past, and that all that has been said upon that Occasion is entirely false and calculated to hurt and injure our Characters, and we are both willing if your Excellency requires it to make Affidavit that we have not seen him within that Period of Time.

We are Sir, your Excellency's most obedient Servants,

THOS. BOSOMWORTH
MARY BOSOMWORTH

To his Excellency, James Glen, Esq.

GEORGE GALPHIN TO GOVERNOR GLEN

Augusta, January 28, 1752

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, I am just arrived from the Indian Country. I met Mr. Bosomworth and his Wife the 19th of this Month at the Ochmulgey River about 95 Miles from the Nation. I wrote you some Time ago that the Captain of St. Mark's had sent for all the head Men of the Lower Creeks. His Business with them was to get Liberty of them to settle the Palachey old Town, and to build a Fort there, but they would not give him Liberty, though he gave them 40 Caggs of Rum amongst them.

By the next Opportunity I shall send you a peace Talk the Creeks has sent by me to make a firm Peace between them and the Cherokees, but I shall not concern myself about it before I see your Excellency. I would have sent it now but it is along with my pack Horses, and I did not care to miss this Opportunity to acquaint you that all Things is well in the Indian Country. As soon as my Affairs is settled I shall come to Town.

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

GEORGE GALPHIN

JOURNAL OF THOMAS BOSOMWORTH

Extract of Journal and Proceedings as Agent to and in the Creek Nation.

July, 1752

Charles Town

July 3d, 1752. This Day received a Commission under the great Seal of the Province as Agent to the Creek Nation with instructions to proceed to the

said Country with all convenient Speed, and there to negotiate and transact such Matters as are therein more particularly expressed. In Obedience to which this Afternoon set forward on my Journey.

Saturday, 4th. Met Mr. McGilvray, Indian Trader, at Dorchester, on his Way to Town, and as I had been informed that one Mellan, Trader in the Upper Creeks, had asserted in Charles Town that he heard these bad Reports which an Indian Trader called the Acorn Whistler spread abroad after his last Return from thence to his own Country (which Mrs. Bosomworth and I were falsely accused as the Authors of) from him; I taxed Mr. McGilvray with it, and he absolutely denied that ever he heard the Acorn Whistler say that he had seen either me or Mrs. Bosomworth after that Affair of murdering the Cherokees there, or that ever he told any such Thing to Mellan, adding that he knew we were very much injured by several [24] false Reports from the Nation, and that he would declare the same to the Governor. The only Observation I shall make upon this different Turn of Behaviour is *Alia Tempora, alii Mores*. This Evening writt a Letter to his Excellency from Edisto Ferry desiring him to enquire into the Truth of this Matter that our Innocence therein might appear the more conspicuous, and the Crime thereof be charged to its proper Authors.

Thursday, 9th. Late this Evening arrived safe at Augusta. The excessive Heat of the Weather and the Fatigue of travelling having thrown Mrs. Bosomworth into a violent Fever, were obliged to wait here two or three Days in order to refresh ourselves, and provide fresh Horses and other Necessaries to proceed on our Journey.

Sunday, 12th. This Morning Mr. Baxter, one of the Company, sent an Express to the Cowetas, the Purport whereof perhaps Time may discover, though from the Spirit of Opposition that is here raised against us by the vile Calumnies and malicious Insinuations of artfull and designing Men who have their own sinister Ends in View, I dare venture to prognosticate without being endowed with the Gift of Prophecy, that it is not to forward the Intentions of the Government but to throw every Obstacle and Difficulty in our Way that Malice or Envy can invent. But I have this Consolation, that when Facts and Circumstances come to be maturely weighed and considered, that all their extravagant Lies and Fictions projected and published with a malicious Intention to taint my Reputation, and thereby to frustrate the wise Ends and Designs of the Government will carry a sufficient Antidote with them to the Venom they endeavour to diffuse, at least in the Opinion of all unprejudiced Men of Sense.

Monday, 13. This Morning sett off from Augusta to proceed on our Journey to the Nation, but first writt a Letter to the Governor to which I must refer for further Particulars during our Stay, only shall observe that those that were sincerely our Friends advised us to beware of the Dangers that seemed to threaten [*sic*] us whilst Others again set to work all the Engines of their Policy to bugbear and frighten us from executing the Commands of the Government. Camp't 20 odd Miles from Augusta.

Tuesday, 14. About 2 Miles from a Place called Bryers Creek we found a bloody Hatchett sticking right in the Path with some light coloured white Person's Hair about the Head of it. The Handle finely adorned with fresh Peacock's Feathers and the Wood painted all over fresh with Vermilion.

N. B. It rained very hard last Night which must have washed of the Paint if it had not been done since the Rain. The Messenger to the Nation is just gone before us. Fresh Peacock's Feathers are seldom found in the Woods. Mean Artifice indeed.

Thursday, 16th. At a Place called Buffalo Creek with one Perry Man with a Gang of pack Horses from the Lower Creeks who acquainted us that Malatche was gone out to War for Satisfaction for a Friend that [25] was killed by the Cherokees just by the Town at the very Juncture that one Lucas, a Hiring to one Smith, a Cherokee Trader, had brought a peace Talk, from them which had much exasperated the Creeks against the Cherokees, and would be a very great Obstacle to the making a Peace betwixt the two Nations.

Friday, 17th. [This] Morning came to the Oconny River, the Distance from thence to Augusta by the best Computation I could make I take to be about 100 Miles.

Sunday, 19th. This Morning crost the Oakmulge River, the Distance between the two Rivers, 35 Miles.

Monday, 20th. Crost Flint River, the Distance from the Oakmulge, 36 Miles; from Augusta, 171 Miles.

Friday, 24. Arrived safe at the Coweta Town. Were saluted by firing their great Guns. Received with all Demonstrations of Joy by old Chiggilli, and the Mad Men took upon our Lodgings at Malatchi's House, where we were hospitably entertained, but could not proceed to the Execution of my Commission as Malatchi was not returned from War, but expected in a few Days. I acquainted old Chiggilli that I had several Things of Consequence in charge from the Government of Carolina which I had orders privately to communicate to him and Malatchi together, which I should do at his Return with which he was well satisfied. Distance from Flint River to the Nation, 70 Miles; from Augusta, 240.

Saturday, 25th. This Morning Chiggilli assembled the Head Men of the Cowetas, and after having drank black Drink he made a long Speech, the Purport of which was to acquaint them that I was come upon Business of Importance by Commission from the Governor and beloved Men of Carolina and though he did not know what it was himself, yet he told them as their great beloved Woman (meaning Mrs. Bosomworth), his own Relation, had given herself so much Trouble and Fatigue to come so farr with it, at that hott Season of the Year, it must be some Thing of very great Consequence which they would all hear when the King returned, and he hoped they would pay all due Regard to it.

Monday, 27th. This Morning one Ellick, an Indian, came to the Cowetas, and Mrs. Bosomworth being informed that he had stole three of my own Horses from the Settlements in Georgia, and brought up to the Nation with him and several other Lies that he had told her (for which Qualification he is very noted), they gave him a very severe Reprimand, made him restore the Horses and acknowledge himself a Lier both before the Indians and white People of which he was very much ashamed. And the only Plea that he had was that he was told by the white People to report such and such Stories several

of which I have received taxed with the Lies and Misrepresentations that they have projected and published touching our Characters, but all the Satisfaction that can be obtained is an absolute Denial of what they have so maliciously spread abroad. But alas, this is but poor Amends for the irreparable Injury that may be done to the most innocent Man's Reputation by groundless Calumnies and rash Censures which are like Downs or Feathers that once dispersed in the Air it is impossible for the Man that spread them to gather them up again, but so epidemical is the Contagion here and so few have any Characters to lose that the reporting of Things which would touch a Man's Life is looked upon as a very trifling or rather no Crime at all.

[26] Wednesday, 29. This Morning the Ollassee King of the Upper Town came to the Cowetas, and brought Advice that two Savannah Fellows who have been some Time amongst the Cherokees and were admitted into all their Council Debates were arrived in the Upper Creeks, and brought Intelligence that the Cherokees had resolved shortly to come out with a Body of 4 or 500 Men in order to destroy some of the Upper Towns. The Savannahs likewise informed them that the Scalps of the two white Men that were killed at the Coosaws were brought into the Cherokee Nation, and told them the very Name of the Indian that committed the Murder, and all the Arguments that can be made Use of to convince them to the Contrary will be of no Effect.

Thursday, 30. This Evening five Men of Malatchi's Party returned, and brought Advice that they left him ten Days ago near the Cherokee Old Towns, and that they had been discovered by a white Man which they detained some Time (but used very civilly) for Fear he should give Intelligence to the Enemy.

There is one very unlucky Notion that generally prevails amongst the Creeks which will be a very great Obstacle to the Business in Hand, to wit, that all the white People favour the Cherokees and are against them, and what contributes towards this Belief is that two or three Parties that have gone to War have always been discovered by the white People near a Day's March from their Towns, and they will not be perswaded but the white People are employed as Scouts for the Enemy to bring them Intelligence. Another concurring Circumstance: this Lucas (I before mentioned) without any Power or Authority whatever brought a Peace Talk with Pipes, Beads, and Tobacco from the Cherokees here, and whilst this Man was busy in himself with Matters that did not concern him, in the very Interim one of their People was killed by the Town which gave them Grounds to believe that this Man was purposely employed by the Enemy to delude them with Proposals of Peace till they had an Opportunity to kill them. The like unlucky Accident happened some Time before in the Upper Creeks upon the Point of a Peace being concluded so that the very Name of a Cherokee is hateful to them, and the white People by their impudent Behaviour in telling of them every Thing they hear have contributed greatly towards it.

But what is so much worse Consequence, this Lucas that came from the Cherokees has declared to the white People here who have told the same to the Indians that he knew the very Man that killed the white People at the Oconoy, that he was a half-bred Cherokee Fellow known by the name of Andrew White,

that the Governor had demanded his Life, but that the Cherokees would not deliver him up. That the Powder Horn and Bridle belonging to one of the white Men that was killed at the Coosaws was brought into the Cherokees before he came away. Such Talks as these spread among the Indians at this Juncture are of very dangerous Consequence, and is a Confirmation of what Intelligence they have had from the Indians themselves and will greatly retard, if not entirely prevent, the Success of our Negotiations.

August, 1752

Sunday, August 2nd. Received information that two runaway Negroes were seen sculking about the Owsicha.

Monday, 3d. Sent Mr. McIntosh with a Letter to Mr. Ladson, Trader in the Owseeche Town, desiring his Aid and Assistance in taking and securing the said Negroes.

[27] This Evening Malatchi returned from War; no Success against his Enemies. He received us with many Expressions of Joy and Friendship. I told him that I had been ten Days in his Town, and had received many Testimonies of Esteem and Respect from his People though he was not at Home. That now I congratulated him on his safe Return from War, and that as soon as he had recovered the Fatigues of his Journey, and thought proper to hear me I had several Matters of Consequence in Charge from the Government of Carolina to communicate to him. To which he answered that Nothing could give him greater Joy than that I should be appointed to bring any Talk from the Government. But as it was their Custom when they returned from War to relate all their Transactions to the Head Men and other Ceremonies of Physicking, &c. to be undergone, and necessary Orders to be given for the Bush (or annual Treat) he hoped I would excuse him for two Days, and the third Day he would hear what I had to say.

Tuesday, 4th. This Morning Mr. MacIntosh returned with one Negro, the Other having made his Escape into the Woods. Mrs. Bosomworth spoke to all the Indians, and promised a Reward of two Blanketts to anyone that would bring him in so that I hope he will be caught in a few Days, if the white People do not screen him and keep him out of the Way which I am informed some of them are very capable of doing. The Fellow that is brought in says he belongs to one Mr. Daller at the Indian Land, South Carolina, and that they have been three Months from their Master.

Thursday, 6. This Morning (in the Presence of Mr. McIntosh) pursuant to my Instructions I communicated the first Article I have in charge to Malatchi and Chiggilli by a Speech in Writing, the Proximity of which the Multiplicity of necessary Dispatches to the Governor, and the Scarcity of Paper puts it out of my Power at this Juncture to copy at full Length. Therefore I hope a Recapitulation will at Present be satisfactory.

I first acquainted them that his Excellency the Governor of South Carolina, who represents the Great King in that Government had so high an Opinion of their Wisdom and Justice in acting both for the Good of their Friends, the English, and the true Interest of the People of their Nation of which they

were the Heads, that I was first ordered to communicate my Business to them two alone. I then read to them my Commission and told them that the Governor in Behalf of the Great King, and all the beloved Men and Inhabitants of Carolina under his Charge had made fast that great beloved Seal in Testimony that they might be fully satisfied I had full Power and Authority for what I said, and that they might depend upon my Talk to be the same as if they heard it from the Governour's own Mouth.

That as I had always professed a Friendship for their Nation in general, and them two in Particular to whom I stood more nearly allied by Blood and natural Affection. They must imagine my Heart was very sorry to hear many Things related which some mad People of their Nation had been guilty off, which had so direct a Tendency to break that Chain of Friendship which it was so absolutely necessary for the Welfare of their Nation to continue with their Brethren the English.

That though the Injuries and Wrongs done to Carolina were sufficient Reasons to have induced that Government to have taken such Satisfaction as the Laws of all Nations direct without expostulating the Matter with them (the Consequences of which I |28| need not represent to them), yet as the strongest Instance of the Governor's Sincere Inclinations to be at good Understanding with them, he had appointed me as Agent (whom he knew to be their Friend) in order to remove all Obstructions to the future Continuance of a mutual Friendship.

That as I from a Principle of Zeal and Duty to his Majesty King George had undertaken this Service at a Time when I attended and my own private Affairs called me to England, I should be extremely sorry and grieved to the Heart if my Words did not produce that Effect that might so reasonably be expected from them as I hope they believed, and were convinced in their own Hearts that I would not advise them to any Thing but what had a manifest Tendency to the Welfare of them and their Posterity.

That it had pleased the great God above by giving me the Advantages of Education to enable me to see more clearly the true Interest of their Nation than perhaps they were capable of themselves. That as my Wife (who by the Laws of God and Man is the same as myself) has a great many Friends and Relations amongst them, the Ties of Blood and Nature laid us both under Obligations to advise them for the best when we see the Welfare of their Nation concerned.

That as they were both Men of Sense they must be convinced in their own Judgments not only from the Professions of Friendship they had made to the English in general, and the Confidence they had reposed in us in particular, but from the Duty they owed to themselves, their Wives and Children, of the just Demands of the Government. Therefore I did not doubt of their ready Compliance in granting that Satisfaction which the Laws of all Nations require from such Offenders.

But that they might the more clearly comprehend the Reasonableness and Justice of the Satisfaction, I was instructed to demand, I first read and explained to them the Articles of Peace and Friendship with their Nation after the Indian War. Amongst other Articles I told them "that the Emperour and the Head

“Men of their Nation at the Time of concluding the Peace with the English did faithfully promise and engage that in Case they should meet with any of their Enemies that were in Friendship with the English in any of the white beloved Towns that they would not suffer any Blood to be spilt at or near any of the said Towns, and that if any of their People should be mad and stain the white People’s beloved Ground with Blood they did then promise and engage to deliver the said Offenders up to be punished by the English Laws or the Laws of their own Nation as the English Governor should direct.” I then added that I hoped they had too much Wisdom ever to break through any Engagements their wise Ancestors had strictly entered into with us. I further added that Malatchi’s Brother ratified and confirmed the said Articles in Governor Nicholson’s Time in Behalf of the whole Nation in the Year 1721. That they were afterwards ratified and confirmed in Governor Johnson’s Time by several Head Men of the Upper and Lower Creek Nation, the particular Names of which I had gott a List off, and mentioned to them. I likewise told them that the Purport thereof was told to the Offenders themselves by the Governour in the Town House before all the [29] beloved Men of Carolina so there could be no Plea of Ignorance, or the least Excuse for the Breach thereof of which I should give them most flagrant and notorious Instances.

I then proceeded to relate to them the whole Affair of murdering the Cherokees at Charles Town, and used all the Arguments in my Power to convince them of the Heinousness of the Crime, and the Expediency of their agreeing to give the Satisfaction demanded which was to punish with Death some of the most considerable of the Offenders, [they?] had amongst other Things I told them their known Wisdom and Regard for the Welfare of their own Nation as well as in Compliance with their Engagements to the English which all wise Nations ought inviolably to observe gave me the strongest Assurance to expect it from them.

After I had finished upon this first Article which was all I communicate to them this Time they paused a considerable Time, and an Air of deep Concern was very visible in their Countenances. Chiggilli first broke Silence and said, “He was a very old Man, but never in his Life had heard of such a Demand for such a Crime. Had they killed any white People they should readily have agreed to it, but to kill their own People for killing their Enemies was what he could not understand.”

To which I replied that the Satisfaction was not demanded for killing the Cherokees as their Enemies, but for staining the white beloved Town with the Blood of our Friends who were under the immediate Protection of the Government contrary to the Articles of Peace betwixt their Nation and Carolina which I had already repeated to them, and contrary to the solemn Promises of the Offenders themselves to the Governor and all the Beloved Men before the Action was committed, which was done in open Defiance and Contempt of the English and trampling their Friendship under Foots, and if the Satisfaction demanded was not granted it could not be looked upon in any other Light but as an open Declaration of War against us, and as the Governor had waved taking such Measures of doing Justice to the English as the Insults and In-

juries given required in order to give them an Opportunity of convincing the World of their sincere Inclinations to be at good Understanding with us, I hoped they would accept it as the greatest Proof of his Friendship for them and strong Desire to be at Peace with them, and that they would well weigh and consider the Matter.

To which Chiggilli made Answer, "that it was well that Mrs. Bosomworth "was come up as the Offenders were her Relations as well as theirs, and had "as much to say in the Affair as they had, and they must certainly have a Regard for her own Flesh and Blood as well as them, but for their Parts they "thought it a very hard Sentence."

Upon which Mrs. Bosomworth talked to them a considerable Time with Tears in her Eyes, and amongst other Arguments made Use off she told them that she had as much Regard for her Friends, and Relations, and the Welfare of the whole Nation as they could possibly have, and that she had well weighed and considered the Matter before she came from Charles Town, and as they had [30] been guilty of Crimes that deserved Death and Nothing but the Blood of some of the Offenders would make Satisfaction to the English. She for her Part thought it was better that one or two should suffer Death than that the Rest of her Relations and the whole Nation who were innocent should share the Penalty of their Guilt. After Mrs. Bosomworth had talked to them a considerable Time in a very feeling and affectionate Manner with which they seemed much affected, I desired to know their Answer. To which Malatchi replied that it was a Matter of such great Consequence that they did not know what Answer to give till they had consulted with all the head Men which should be at the Bush which was appointed to be in four Days.

This Answer put me a little at a Stand how to act in Conformity to my Instructions. I acquainted Mrs. Bosomworth that the Orders were in Case of their absolute Refusal to comply with the Demands of the Government to proceed directly to the Oakfuskees in the Upper Creeks without communicating my Business to any more of the Lower Nation, but as they had neither affronted nor denied, I did not know how to act, as by a general Consultation the Affair would be made Publick. Therefore I should be glad if she could obtain a positive Answer one Way or Other.

To which she replied that they were so much concerned with what she had said to them already that she did not think proper to push the Point any further at Present, but gave it as her Opinion that all our Hopes of Success was entirely founded upon the Interest and Authority of these two Men, and that if we should proceed to the Upper Creeks without receiving their Answer it would naturally disgust them and would be a very great Obstacle towards obtaining the Satisfaction demanded as our only Resource would then be to the Interest of the Upper Creeks who, she was convinced, would not concern themselves with it in Opposition to them, which Reasons determined me to wait their Answer.

Monday, 10th. This Day assembled all the Head Men of the Lower Creek Nation. Malatchi and Chiggilli acquainted them with the Purport of what I had privately communicated to them the 6th Instant upon which they sat in Council all Day and all Night.

Tuesday, 11th. This Morning all the head Men came to wait upon me, and Mrs. Bosomworth at our Lodgings. Mr. McIntosh and Mr. Ladson (the only Trader at this Time in the Lower Creek Nation and understands the Language) being present. I then made known to the whole Assembly the Substance of what I had before communicated to Chiggilli and Malatchi, and told them that I expected from the known Wisdom of that Assembly a satisfactory Answer to the just Demands of the Government.

[31] To which the Indians replied, "That all the wise Men of their Nation had met together for Nothing, for all their united Wisdom could not determine what Answer was best to be given to the Demand that was made."

After I had used all the Arguments in my Power to convince them of the Necessity of complying therewith, Mrs. Bosomworth made a very long and publick Speech, the Purport of which was that as she had as many Friends and Relations in the Nation as any of them, she thought it her Duty to speak for their Welfare. That it was such an Insult and Injury offered to the English as the great King could never suffer to be put upon his Subjects. That they had openly declared War against their best Friends, and what would be the Consequence if Satisfaction was not given which she largely expatiated upon, and if they, the head Men, did not punish the Offenders, the Innocent would suffer with the Guilty, and as those who committed the Crime were her own Relations they must be perswaded. She would not speak against her own Flesh and Blood if she was not convinced that it was for the Good of the whole Nation. In short, she told them that she would receive no such Answer from them, that it was very weak and childish for them to declare that they did not know what was best to be done for the Good of their own Nation. That she was a Woman could tell them that it was best to agree to give the Satisfaction demanded.

Mrs. Bosomworth then perceiving a young Fellow of the Oroseechees called Hiacpellechi (a Relation of her own, and one of the Party that did the Mischief in Charles Town) who had all the while sat undiscovered in the Room, hearing what past. Addressing her self to him, "You too was one that was the Occasion of all this Disturbance, and you hear what must be the Consequence some of you must suffer Death for it. Therefore you had better tell the Truth, and let us know who it was that first begun." Upon which he acknowledged the Truth of what was said in a great Measure in Regard to killing the Cherokees in Charles Town, but said that the Acorn Whistler was the Cause of all the Mischief that was done as they all knew as well as he, for in the first Place they (the 26 Lower Creeks) went out purposely in Pursuit of their Enemies, and had no Manner of Intention of going to Charles Town, but accidently meeting with the Acorn Whistler and some more Upper Creeks (who were going there) near Savannah River, he perswaded them to go along with them and promised to get some Presents for them at his Request. As he was a great Man they thought it was good to go along with him. That it was by his Orders that they feigned a Peace with the Cherokees and when they went out of Town he told them that it would be good to kill them. That he (the Acorn Whistler) was the Man that received the Talk from the Governor which they did not understand, and when the Cherokees went out of Town

he told them they came to seek for their Enemies, and now there they were, and if they were Men now was the Time to kill them, upon which they did as he ordered them, thinking no Harm of it as he was the leading Man and ought to know best what was to be done.

[32] Mrs. Bosomworth then told the Head Men that they ought well to consider who was the most criminal for some of the most considerable must suffer Death if they thought the Friendship of the English worth preserving. Upon which they all declared that they left it entirely to Malatchi, and whatever he thought proper to do in this or any other Affair, they would stand by and confirm. See Messrs. MacIntosh and Ladson's Affidavit No. 1.¹

As I found that most of the head Men were afraid to speak or act in this Affair, and upon that Account perhaps would not attend a second Meeting, I thought proper whilst they were all together to make a peremptory Demand of Satisfaction and Restitution for all the Injuries and Wrongs done to the Cherokee Traders, and those in their own Nation in stealing their Horses, Goods, &c., and that they should give a severe Reprimand to their young Men not to committ the like Outrages for the Future, which they readily agreed to, and a publick Talk was immediately given out in the Square for all the head Men of the different Towns to give Orders to the People thereof to comply therewith.

As it was now impossible that this Affair should any longer be kept a Secret [*sic*] which I was very sensible would be liable to be strangely perverted and misconstrued, and that all Delays in the Execution thereof would throw fresh Obstacles in our Way as our Chief Hopes of Success was founded upon Malatchi's Interest, I told Mrs. Bosomworth that there was an absolute Necessity of immediately knowing his final Answer. That in Case he should refuse to comply with the Demand of the Government, we might with all Expedition proceed to the Upper Creeks to endeavour to secure their Interest before the Affair made too much Noise. Upon which Mrs. Bosomworth sent for Malatchi and Chiggilli, and I told them as the Governor had reposed so much Confidence in them and the whole Nation had left the Affair to Malatchi's Determination, I hoped he would make no Hestitation in giving the Satisfaction demanded, and I desired to know his final Answer thereupon that I might comply with my Instructions from the Government.

To which Malatchi replied that any Satisfaction should be given but shedding of Blood which he thought a very hard Demand and complained very much of our Partiality to the Cherokees, particularly mentioning their killing one of their People on the Town of Savannah, and another at the white Man's Door in Augusta, and asked why their People's Lives should be demanded for making the white Town bloody any more than the Cherokees. He likewise asked if any Satisfaction was got for killing the white People at the Oconoy, and those at the Coosaws which he said they were told by our own People were murdered by the Cherokees.

After many Disputes on both Sides too tedious to be related, Mrs. Bosomworth told him in short that some of them must suffer Death for Nothing

¹ Below, pp. 308-09.

else would make Satisfaction to [33] the English, that it did not signify talkin [*sic*] any longer about it, for it must be done or all the Traders would immediately be ordered out of the Nation. I must here observe by the Way that in order to invalidate the Force of this Argument, the white People have endeavoured as much as possible to perswade the Indians that in Case the Governor of Carolina should be cross and draw the Trade from the Nation, they need not mind that, for they would be supplied with Goods from Georgia, and that very soon all the Goods would come from Savannah. From whence this could proceed is not my Business to conjecture.

After sitting some Time in a very thoughtful Posture, Malatchi sends for Este Paiechi, the Warriours King of the Cussitaws, and the Ollassee King of the Upper Towns, both of them very near Relations of the Acorn Whistler's. He told them they had both of them heard the Governor's Talk and the Demands that were made, and that Nothing would make all streight with the English but the Blood of some of the Offenders, and as those young Fellows had never gone to Charles Town or done the Mischief if it was not by Order of their Relation (the Acorn Whistler) it was hard that the innocent should suffer as they thought no Harm in what they did, but for his Part he ought to have known better, as he heard the Talk from the Governor. And I [*sic*] should have taken care that no Mischief was done by the young People as he was answerable for all their Actions even by the Laws of their own Nation.

He (Malatchi) then related to them all the bad Talks the Acorn Whistler gave to him when he came up from Charles Town, viz., That the Governor had taken away all the Indians' Arms, and wanted to kill them; that he was obliged to fly for his Life naked like a Slave, and might have perished in the Woods. That he was now got Home into his own Country, and that he never would forgive the English as long as he lived. That he would burn his Commission and would have Satisfaction before long, and made use of all the Arguments in his Power to induce him (Malatchi) to kill all the English in the Nation directly. When he asked him what the Indians had done, he replied Nothing at all, but kill their Enemies, which he told the young People to do and it was very good, but the Governor loved the Cherokees and wanted to kill them for it.

Upon which Malatchi said he told him to take care what he did, for no white People should be hurt till he heard the Truth, for the Indians must have done something amiss or the Governor would not have used them so. To which the Acorn Whistler replied that he would kill some white Man himself, and then they would all be obliged to make War, to which Malatchi replied that if he did he should die for it.

The Cussataw King acknowledged that the Acorn Whister [*sic*] gave the same bad Talks to him when he returned to the Nation, and the Ollassee King owned that he gave the same out in the Upper Towns.

Malatchi then told them that he was afraid that when he came to hear of the Demand that is made that he would immediately to do some Mischief thereupon, and that as he himself had acknowledged that he was the Cause of the young Fellows committing that Crime for which Nothing but [34] Blood

would make Satisfaction, it was better that his Life should be taken than that they should break off all Friendship with the English by which Means many innocent Persons must suffer for the mad Actions of one Man. Therefore as he was their Relation it was their Business to do that this Satisfaction was given for the good of them all.

By the Arguments of Malatchi and Chiggilli they both agreed to the Justice and Reasonableness of the Acorn Whistler's suffering Death, but added that he was a great Man and had so many Relations both in the Upper and Lower Creek Nation that might not be of the same Opinion with them. That the Execution thereof would be very difficult and dangerous. That if it was to be publicly known that he was to die on the white People's Account, he had Warriours enough at Command to kill all he came to hear the Talk that the white People would not be safe.

To which Malatchi replied that he knew he was a very hott-headed, passionate Man and what they said was very true, and as there is real Danger of his doing Mischief if the Talk should reach his Ears, which would unavoidably make War with the English. Therefore all possible Haste ought to be made to put him out of the Way, which would make every Thing strait and be the saving of many innocent Lives.

The Reasonableness and Justice of this Proposal was agreed to, but the Difficulty lay in the Execution. Upon which Chiggilli spoke and said, You are his own Flesh and Blood. Either of you or any of his own Relations may kill him and who has any Thing to say to it? But you must take care to give it out that it was upon some other Account that he was killed and not for Satisfaction to the English till there can be a Meeting of all the Head Men to consult about the Discovery of it, for Fear some of his Relations in their Madness should take Revenge upon the white People, and when he is gone then you may take a proper Time to make it known by Degrees to all his Relations, and convince them of the Cause and Reasonableness of his suffering Death for the Good of them all and the whole Nation.

This Advice of the old Man was approved of and agreed upon. The King of the Cussitaws and the Olassée King immediately went over to the Cussataw Town to conclude upon a proper Person for the Executioner.

Wednesday, 12th. This Morning the Cussataw King came over to the Cowetas, and informed Malatchi and Chiggilli that he and the Olassée King had Yesterday pitched upon a young Fellow, Nephew to the Acorn Whistler, whom he had used very ill some Time before on Account of some Woman and had threatned to kill him to do the Business, and that the Reason that they pitched upon the young Fellow was because they imagined that the little private Resentment that he might have against his Uncle for the ill Usage he had received from him might make him the more readily execute their Commands. He likewise told them that the Messenger was Yesterday privately sent away with express Orders to this young Fellow to kill him, and to give it out that his Uncle was mad and wanted to kill him, and that he did it in his own Defence, and further that the Olassée King was gone another Way to arrive there as soon as the Business was done to endeavour to prevent any further Mischief, and that in eight Days they expected an Answer.

[35] Both Malatchi and Chiggilli seemed much afraid of some Miscarriage in the Execution, and blame them for trusting a Matter of so much Consequence to a Boy for Fear he should discover the Cause of his Uncle's Death, thinking thereby to clear himself of Blame, for if it should immediately be known before all the Head Men of both Nations can meet to consult about it, it is their Opinion that his Relations will certainly take Revenge upon us.

I cannot committ a very wise the needless Caution of old Chiggilli to us, viz., to take care not to mention a Word of this Affair to any of the white People till all was over, adding that he knew them to be such Fools that they would certainly tell it to some or other of the Indians, though their own Lives were at Stake for it. It is really a very dangerous and ticklish Point but there is no other Remedy, but waiting the Event with Patience.

I informed Malatchi that I had told Mr. Macintosh and the white People that I intended to proceed directly to the upper Nation, and that I did not know what Excuse to make for my Delays so long. Upon which he made a Speech in the Square addressing himself to me that as it was an antient Custom of their Nation to continue eight Days in the Square after the Bush in performing several Ceremonies and giving several necessary Orders to his People, he hoped I would have Patience till that Time was expired that he might the more maturely consider what Answer to give to the Demand I had made which the whole Nation had entrusted him to do.

Thursday, 13th. This Morning received Advice that Mr. Randle and Fitz's Horses were arrived at the Uchees, and Mr. Kennard's at the Nitchetaws (which is no very agreeable News), and that the Indians below are in great Rage and Fury about the Demand that is made of their Lives (as they represent it) for killing their Enemies, and that the white People has told them that I have no such Orders from the Governor. That it was a very unjust and unreasonable Demand that they should kill one another for killing their Enemies, and that I was a Lyer and made the Talk myself, and they should not mind it foolishly, imagining by such dangerous Talks to engratiate themselves with the Indians and prevent my Succeeding in this Affair, as they are all haunted with the same groundless Fears that a War will be unavoidable if this Demand is insisted upon and for that Reason strike in with the Wishes and Inclinations. It will be difficult to come at any certain Proof of the Authors.

Saturday, the 15th. This Morning an Indian, a Relative to Mrs. Bosomworth, returned from the Hitche Taws, and told her that the Hitchitaw King's Son gave out in the Square that Kennard told him that he met me at Augusta, and that I told him what Business I was coming upon to the Indian Nation. To which he, Kennard, made Answer that the Demand was unreasonable and unjust, and that the Indians would never be such Fools as agree to kill one another, with which Answer I was so enraged that I hit him a Blow on the Breast and asked him if he was a Friend to the English, to which he answered yes. He, Kennard, further told the said Indian [36] that the Governor and beloved of Carolina never sent any such Talk, that I and Mrs. Bosomworth, and some other Light Captains made it ourselves, and as we were very poor,

we thought to please the Governor by killing some of the Indians, and by that Means get a little Money to pay our Debts, but that the Governor would be very angrey when he heard it.

Such Dreams as these spread amongst the Indians at this critical Juncture (which they implicitly believe as they wish them to be true) are of very dangerous Consequence, and are sufficient Incentatives not only to frustrate the Intentions of the Government but even to take away our Lives, which I do sincerely beleive to be the true Intent and Design thereof.

Sunday, the 16th. This Morning set off from the Cowetas to proceed to the Town of the Hitchetaws to endeavour to put a Stop to those dangerous Talks that I had so much Reason to believe were given out by Kennard. Arrived there this Evening.

Monday, the 17th. This Morning in order to give the public Lie to Kennard, I called all the Head Men of the Hitchetaw Town together, read my Commission to them, and insisted upon Kennard's declaring in the public Square that he never spoke with me or see me at Augusta, or ever gave any such Talks to the King's Son (the Particulars of which I mentioned) and that he knew I came by full Authority from the Government of Carolina, and insisted upon the Indian being brought into the Square to declare wether ever Kennard told him any such Stories or not, but Care was taken to keep the Indian out of the Way, so that all I could do was to oblige him to declare himself a Liar before them all in Case he did say so, which the Indian's not appearing and some other corroborating Circumstances strongly induce me to believe he did.

First this Kennard has been a constant Tool of our professed Enemies, has received considerable Sums for his Services in instigating the Indians against us, has been employed as Interpreter and supported in his Licence, though ill deserving it for his Zeal in opposing of us.

[37] 2dly. He was at Augusta very sick when we arrived there from Charles Town, though I never see him, but was informed that he set off the next Morning sick as he was in very great Haste for Savannah, and I must do him the Justice and do sincerly beleive that he is only an Instrument in the Hands of some other Persons, for he has neither Head nor Heart of his own, but very capable implicitly to obey the Dicates [*sic*] of Others. Another Circumstance was, that the King of the Hitchetaws was so vexed that his Son should be made a Liar or be obliged to accuse Kennard, that he to vent his Spleen, he as good as told us to go out of the Square, which was more than any Indian of the Nation durst have done if they had not been instigated to it, but Mrs. Bosomworth payed him in his own Kind and made him much ashamed.

Tuesday, the 18th. Tomorrow being the Busk at this Town, resolved to stay as perhaps we may hear some further News stirring amongst the Indians. Many of our Friends from the Cowetas being expected, bought a Beef to entertain them in Return for the Civilities to us there.

Wednesday, the 19th. This Morning Malatchi, Chiggilli and many of the head Men of the Cowetas came here. Several Ceremonies about the Bush

were performed according to their ancient Custom. About Noon Messrs. Macay and Hewit and several Hirelings came here, most of them very much in Liquor. Macay in particular behaved in a most insulting and audacious Manner. He first began to abouse and quarrel with Mr. Macintosh, afterwards with me, using the most insulting, and oprobrious, and disdainful Language before both Indians and white People that Tongue could utter, telling me that I was but a Boy, and a Fool, and the Governor was no better for sending a Boy and a Woman Agents upon such foolish Erand. Did I or any Body else think that the Indians were such Fools as to kill one another [38] for killing their Enemies, and a great Deal to the same Purpose highly reflecting upon the Wisdom of the Government, and had a direct Tendency to spirit up the Indians against us. This he did in the Presence of Mr. McIntosh, Hewitt, Kennard and several pack Horse Men and Indians. He further told Mr. McIntosh as a great Secret, that the Governor was very sorry that he had sent me, as Agent, for he was now convinced that it was only throwing so much Money away, but I might make much of what I had got for that was all I should ever have, and much more to the same Purpose.

Mrs. Bosomworth informed Malatchi and Chiggilli how the Hitchetaw King had affronted us, which they resented so highly that they begun to drink, and would not go any more into the Square.

This Morning an Indian called Thlackpallacke, a Relation of the Acron Whistler, came to Mrs. Bosomworth in a very great Hurry at the House of John Kennard, at the Hitchetaws, and there in the Presence of Hewitt, Kennard, McIntosh and Self, and told Mrs. Bosomworth *That the Business was done* (meaning the Acorn Whister's Death) and he hoped that the Governor's Heart would now be streight. Mrs. Bosomworth understanding his Meaning checked him for it, and told him not to speak any more about that Affair, either to white People or Indians, and as they were all now very much in Liquor, if they should know it they might do some Mischief. Mrs. Bosomworth informed Mr. McIntosh of the News, being come of the Acorn Whistler being killed for Satisfaction to the English, but charged him not to speak of it.

Thursday, the 20th. Malatchi and Chiggili still kept themselves in Liquor and this Afternoon went home drunk so that Mrs. Bosomworth did not think proper to acquaint them of the News till they were sober, and as we had promised to meet all the Head Men of the Lower Towns at the Pallachuckajas Square on Monday following in order to remove those bad Notions they had imbibed from the white People, with which they were quite distracted, and likewise to talk about the Delivery [39] of the Horses in the Lower Towns (which the two Cherokee Men were waiting for) Mrs. Bosomworth sent Word to Malatchi and Chigolie by a trusty Messenger immediately to consult with the Cussetaw King about sending to the Upper Towns to prevent any Mischief being done, Kinnard being in Liquor last Night. Mrs. Bosomworth this Morning told him that the Acorn Whistler was killed for the Mischief done in Charles Town, but desired him to keep it as a Secret as his own Life and every white Man's in the Nation might be in Danger in case of it immediately being known.

I told Mrs. Bosomworth that I thought there was an immediate Necessity for our going to the Upper Nations, but she was of a different Opinion, and told me that as the Indians had undertook the Management of the Affair that they must go through with it till we heard further, which Advice I followed.

Saturday, 22. This Morning received Information from Malatchi that a Relation of the Acorn Whistler belonging to the Cowetas was sent to bring down his Sons and some of his Relations to talk with them about this Affair. I likewise received Information that one Charles Jordon, Hyreling to Peter Randle at the Utchees, had been guilty of very dangerous Behaviour, viz., that some Days ago he got drunk and quarreled with the Indians, striped naked, painted himself all over, and run about Town like a Madman with his Gun in his Hand, telling the Indians that he would now be revenged upon them for all the ill Usage he had received, that he did not care if they did kill him, that his Death would soon be revenged for there was an Army of white People coming up to cutt them all off, and such mad Discourses, that it was very providential that no Mischief was done. And this I am informed is no unusual Behaviour for that he has often before endangered both his own Life and every white Man's in the Nation by his mad Actions, and it is the general Opinion of both white Men and Indians that his being allowed to continue in the Nation is really dangerous to the Peace thereof. Nor is he the only one, there are several Others that are fitter for Bedlam or New Gate than to be trusted in an Indian Country where the Lives of many may very much depend upon their Behaviour. [40]

Sunday, the 23d. This Morning sett off for the Town of the Pallachuckolas were kindly received, and orders were immediately given in the Square for the Town to provide Victuals for us.

Monday, the 24th. This Morning were sent for into the Square to drink Black Drink.

Mrs. Bosomworth by my Orders talked to the Head Men about the Horses they had promised to deliver, but the Long King who was appointed to get all the Horses in the Lower Towns together was not returned. I then talked to them about the Stories that the white People had set on Foot, viz., that I had no Authority from the Government. That the Governor never made any such Demands as the Lives of any of their People, that we stole the Talk and made it ourselves, and such Stuff as they had filled their Heads with. The Reasons I gave them seemed to be very satisfactory, but what impression their Lies and Stories had made upon their Minds, the Pitch of Insolence the white People were arrived to, and the dangerous Consequences thereof will more evidently appear from the following Facts:

This Evening came a Messenger from Owseeches to acquaint the King of the Palachucolus that Forrest was arrived at the Utchee Town, and had brought a good Talk from the Governor of Carolina, but that he was in Liquor and that he hoped they would wait with Patience till he was sober, and then he would give it out in the Palachucolus Square as that was the Great White Town.

Tuesday, the 25th. This Morning the Headman of the Chehaws, Shinhaichichi, came to the Pallachucolus Square, and as a mighty Secret told the King and some of the Headmen that Ellick, and an Indian called Whechanne of the Owseechees had a great Talk with Forrester, and that he told them the Governor's Heart was very streight, and that he did not want any of their People to be killed, but that I was very much in Debt and did not know where to go, and so come up with a stoln Talk (as much as to say I had no Authority for it) and thought to get a little Money for killing the Indians, [41] but they must not minde my bad Talks for he had brought a great beloved Talk to make all streight and that they must summons all the Headmen to meet in the Pallachnuolas Square the next Day, and then they should hear it.

As those Notions were artfully enough infused into the Heads of those Men who were either Criminal themselves, intrested [*sic*] in the Impunity of the Offenders payed for their Services, or had some private Pique or Prejudice against us, they readily swallowed the Bait and beleived what they wished to be true, which made them very catus [*sic*] to keep every Thing a Secret from us. But not withstanding all their Secrecy, one of their Council came and informed Mrs. Bosomworth of all that had past which was Something so surprizing, and such an unparalleled Peice of Presumption, that I could scarce believe that any white Man durst attempt to summons all the Head Men of the Nation to a Meeting without any Authority from the Government whilst an Agent was upon the Spot, or if any other Person had been appointed I should certainly been first acquainted with it, so really concluded that it could be Nothing but Lyes of their own Invention.

But, however, through Mrs. Bosomworth's Persuasion, who was of a different Opinion, we immediately took Horse, and went to the Cowetas where I found Forrest. I enquired if he had any Letters from the Government for me to which he answered no. I then asked him if he had any Orders with Regard to public Affairs, to which he answered, None at all. I then asked him how he durst presume to give out such Talks to the Indians as I had been informed, and was convinced he had done, and to order a Meeting of the Head Men at the Pallachuckellas to hear the good Talk he had told them he brought from the Governor, all which he absolutely denied, and said it was all Lies of the Indians' own Making, but I was soon convinced to the Contrary for we had not been at the Coweta Town above two Hours, before a Messenger came from the Pallachnekelas to acquaint Malatchi that a Talk of very great Consequence was to be given out the next Day there by Forrest, and they desired he and the Head Men would be there, and bring Forrest allong with them but keep it private from us.

[42] Upon which News Chiggilli asked Forrest in the Square, Mrs. Bosomworth and I being present, what great Talk he had brought from the Governor or any Buisiness with the Public Affairs, to which Chiggilli replied that he must have told the Indians some Lies or other or they never would have ordered a Meeting of the Headmen, if he had not told them that he had a Talk to give them, and if he had nothing to say it was rising the whole Nation like Fools or Children, which he ought to suffer, for Forrest then acknowledged

that he had been saying some thing to Ellick when he was in Liquor, and added that he beleived he had made a Talk of it, and sent it to the Pallachuckclus. To which the old Man answered that it was not the first Time that he and Ellick had made lying Talks together, and he did not think it worth his while to go the Length of the Square to hear what either of them had to say.

Wednesday [*sic*] the 26th. This Morning in order to find out the Truth of this Affair I ordered Forrest, Mr. McIntosch, one Lindin, Store Keeper to Golphin, and one Smith of the Cussetaws to go with me to the Pallachauskelas. In our Way thither we called at the Utchee Town, and then I made Inquiry amongst the white People if they had heard any such Talks given to the Indians by Forrest? And two white Men, one Charles Jordon, Hireling to Randle, and one Samuel Thomas, Hireling to Fitz, declared upon Oath that on Monday Morning last, they heard Forrest in the Presence of a good many Indians in his own House directing his Discourse to Ellick, and one Whehanne, a Leading Man of the Cheewas, tell them much to the same Purpose, viz., that we had brought up very bad Talks, but they were not to mind them but that he had brought a good Talk from the Governor to make all streight, and that when he was sober they should hear it. That they chid him very much for his Imprudence, and went away so did not hear him appoint a Time and Place when and where this Talk was to be given (see Jordon and Thomas Affidavit No. 2).²

[43] This was such a daring Piece of Insolence, and might be attended with such bad Consequences that I thought it absolutely necessary to make a public Example of him before the Indians, that they might be convinced that what he had said was Lies. Pursuant to which I called at the Owseechies, and ordered Ladson and McKay, Traders, to go along with me to the Pallachuckelas to bear Witness of my Proceedings. They were both very much in Liquor, and treated me with a good deal of Insolence and Contempt, particularly Mackay who declared he would obay none of my Orders. He did not know what Bussiness I had with him, or he with the public Affairs, that I might go about my Business and be damned, and that it would have been better for every one if I had never come to the Nation, with my bad ugly Talk to get everybody knocked in the Head, and swore he would tell the Indians not to mind it, with a great deal of such like disdainful Language in the Presence of the Indians and white People, which Mr. McIntoch can testify who advised him to be easey and go along with us. After he had exhausted all his Magazine of Scandul and Reflection he got his Horse and swore he would not go without Whehanne, an Indian whom they had privately instructed to deny what Forrest had said to him, went along with them, who accordingly got his Horse and went with us. But I observed all the Way that one or other of them, were in close Conversation with him instructing him (I presume) what to say which they had Oppertunity enough of doing, as they were all united in one Cause excepting myself and Mr. McIntoch who did not understand the Language. But however they were short in their Politics for I rid before to the Hitchetaws, and ordered Kennard who understands the Tongue to proceed directly with me to the Pallachuckelas where we arrived before the rest. And before the

² Below, p. 309.

Indian came up I asked the King if the Head Men were gone, to which he answered yes. I asked him if they had heard the great white Talk they expected, to which he answered no; I then asked him from whom they expected to hear it, he replied from Forrest in Expectation of which all the Head Men assembled but as he did not come they did not hear it. |44| See John Kennard's Affidavit No. 3.⁸

I then told him that I had brought Forrest along with me, and he should hear what he had to say. Forrest then appeared, and declared that he brought no Talks from the Governor or had any Business with any, and that if he told them so, he must be drunk and told them a Lie, but he did not remember it. Upon which one of the Indians told him, that was an Excuse for an Indian to make and not a white Man. Then Wichanne, the Fellow they had been introducing to clear Forrest spoke and said, that it was him that told Lies and not Forrest, and that I must punish him if I wanted to punish anybody, to which I replied that he was a Lyar for there were two white People that heard Forrest give the Talk to him and Ellick, and why would he that called himself a Head Man demean himself so much as to tell Lyes in order to screen a Man that deserved the greatest Punishment for imposing upon their whole Nation, and giving them the trouble of coming so far when he had no Talk to give them, or if he did give them any, it must be a lying one, which might create great Disturbance and Confusion, as no white Man in the Nation had any Power to give any Talk whatever, but my Self, and in order to convince them of the Truth of what I said, and that they might not be imposed in the like Manner for the Future, I would now order the said Forrest to be tied in the Public Square before them all by Way of Example, and would send him down to the Governor to answer for what he had done.

To which the said Whehanne by way of Defyance replied that if I tyed Forrest, I should tie him to. I told the Interpreter to tell him I would try for that upon which I stept to my Horse that was hanging at the End of the Square and took my Pistols, and returning with them in my Hand to the King's Cabin, I bid the Interpreter tell the Indians that the Governor of Carolina represented the great King George over the Water, that I came by Commission from the Governor and acted on his Behalf whilst I was in that Nation, |45| and that every white Man in it was under my Command and I had Power to punish them, or send them to the Governor if they were guilty of Crimes, and that neither he, the said Whehanne, nor all the Indians there should deter me from doing my Duty. And as he, the said Forrest, had offended very highly, and that if he or any Indian there, should endeavour to hinder me from tying of him, they might be assured that I would fire immediately upon them. Upon which I ordered Mr. McIntoch to tye him which was accordingly done, without any Opposition, and Whehanne finding that his Menaces were of no Effect, was very much confounded. I then told the said Indian that if he that pretended to be a Head Man had used his own young People in the Manner when they were guilty of Crimes then there would have been none of those bad Talks they complained off, which their bad young People were the Cause

⁸ Below, pp. 309-10.

off. To which they answered it was very true, and the Pallachulkas King reprimanded Wehanne for meddling with white People's Affairs, that it was enough for him to mind his own People's Affairs. That it was enough for him to mind his own people; adding I certainly knew best what was done with our own People.

Forrest then spoke and said that he had done wrong, and they see how he was punished for it, and it would be good their mad People were served in the same Manner. The Indians then begged that I would untie his Hands which at their Request, I told them I would do so, but that it was not in my Power to forgive his Crime, for he must go down and answer for it before the Governor. I then smoaked a Pipe with the Head Men, and the young Men went to dancing. At Parting I told them whenever they had anything to say regarding their own Affairs, my Ears were open to receive it and we parted all good Freinds.

It being late, slept all night at the Utchees as Forrest complained very much of the great Detiriment his Confinement would be to his private Affairs. I gave him the Liberty of going about his Bussiness till I had an Oppertunity of sending him down to the Governor.

[46] Thursday, 27th. Returned to the Cowetas. The Indians had informed Mrs. Bosomworth that on Tuesday Morning last after Forrest came out of the Square before Mr. Golphin's Door in the Presence of William Linder, Shop Keeper, struting with an Air of very great Importance, that Mrs. Bosomworth and I were in Carolina, but came up from Georgia with a Parcel of Lies, of our own making, which they must not regard, that all the white People below looked upon us with so much Contempt that no Body would speak to us, much more the Governor, but for his Part he talked with him a whole Day on Indian Affairs, with which he was so pleased that he sent a very good Talk by him. These Notions he had the Assurance to spread abroad in the Coweta Town, where one would have imagined he would have been a little more upon his Gaurd [*sic*]. He even talked in a very high Strain to Mr. McIntosh, viz., that the Governor payed such a Regard to his Advice and Opinion that he wished he had never demanded the Lives of any of the Indians, as he was convinced from what he told him, that it would be impossible to be obtained, particularly that he was very sorry that ever he had employed me or Mrs. Bosomworth as it was only throwing so much Money away, and that if he had arrived in Charles Town before we set off we had never come.

Friday, 28th. This Day some Enemies were discovered not far from the Town. A large Party of Horse went out a scouting.

Saturday, 29th. Being very uneasy at not hearing News from the Upper Towns, desired Malatchi to send over to the Cussetaw King to consult what Measures were necessary to be taken in Regard to the Discovery or the Cause of the Acorn Whistler's Death, and to prevent any Mischief [47] being done. Upon which it was concluded that a beloved Man of the Cowetas called Isspuffnee, a near Relation of his whom Malatchi had acquainted with the Affair, should go up to the Upper Towns to endeavour to convince all his Relations there of the Justice and Necessity of his suffering in order to remove all Obstacles to a good Understanding betwixt the English and their Nation.

Sunday, 30th. This Morning the Messenger was to have set off for the upper Town, but it continuing to rain very hard all the Forenoon prevented him. About two a'Clock the Messenger that was sent after the Acron Whistler's Death returned and brought Advice that his Freinds were so enraged thereat, that they had burnt the Town and left it, and that the Man that was first sent to instigate his Nephew to kill him had killed the young Fellow himself for Fear he should discover that he was told to kill his Uncle on account of the white People. Sent over for the Cussetaw King to consult what was necessary to be done in this difficult Affair.

Monday, 31. This Morning at a Consultation held by Malatchi, Chiggilli, and the Cussetaw King, several other Relations of the Acron Whistler, Mrs. Bosomworth, and my Self, it was concluded that the Cussetaw King, a beloved Man of the Cowetas, Mrs. Bosomworth and myself should proceed to the upper Towns directly, and that the Indians should join and cooperate with us in convincing their Relations there of the Justice and Necessity of his Death and the true Cause thereof, which I told them must be publically declared. In Relation to which old Chiggilly made a very long and excellent Speech by Way of Introduction, how they should act telling them they ought boldly declare that though he was their own Relations and a very great Man, yet has he had broke the Chain of Friendship with the English and the Governor had sent a Talk that Nothing but Blood would make all streight again. They thought that it was better that he should suffer Death for Satisfaction, then that the whole [48] Nation should suffer for the Faults of their Relation, and that it was by their Orders he was killed, upon that Account, and they hoped all their Relations would be satisfied therewith and much more to the same Purpose. But Chigilly perceiving that the Cussetaw King (who is of a very mild, meek Temper, and no publick Speaker, though a Man of very good Sence) seemed to be affrayed to undertake it, he told him if he was affrayed he had better stay at Home, but addressing himself to Isspuffnee, the Cowetaw Man and a nearer Relation than the other, he told him that he should go with us, and gave him particular Orders to send for all his Relations in the upper Nation, and use every Argument in his Power to convince them of the Reasonableness of this Action, and the absolute Necessity of publicly declaring the true Cause or Reason thereof, promised to do.

September, 1752

Tuesday, September 1st. This Morning set off from the Coweta Town, to proceed to the Upper Creeks, the Relations of the Acorn Whistler and some Friends of Mrs. Bosomworth accompanying us. About 12 Miles from Town met his Son, who had got some Item of the Cause of his Father's Death, and was going down to enquire into it, but was satisfied by his Relation, that was in Company with us. Camped about half Way to the Tucco Catchees.

Wednesday, 2d. This Even arrived at the Tuckabatchees. Were very joyfully received by the Head Men of the Town who were most of them Mrs. Bosomworth's Relations.

Thursday, the 14th. All the Head Men being met in the Square to receive us sent their Compliments to us to come and drink Blac Drink. After Mrs. Bosomworth had talked with them some Time, she gave it as her Opinion that it would be much better to give the Talk out in this Town than to proceed to the Oakfuskees, for the following:

First: The Discovery of the Cause of the Acorn Whistler's Death would be a very ticklish Point, and it would be necessary to have some Friends to stand by us [49] in Case of the worst; that the leading Men of this Town are her own Relations and secured in our Interest.

That the Wolf King who is likewise her own Relation had sent Word that when she came they should stop her at the Tuccobatchees to give the Talk there. That Malatchi and Chiggilli said likewise that they should go no further then here.

Upon which I told her that my Instructions were to proceed to the Oakfuskees, and that I did not know how to dispence with a Breach thereof. Upon which she told me that she was so fatigued that she could not proceed any further besides that Nothing could be done at the Oakfuskees, which could not as well or more effectually be done here, which Reasons and Necessity together obliged me to conclude to give the Talk over here, upon which I asked the Head Men of the Nation together. To which they answered in six Days and not well before, which was agreed upon. I likewise writ Letters to all the Traders in the Upper Nations to be present at Talk Time.

Monday, 18th. This Morning drank Black Drink in the Square. Old Brackey Face, Ispocogee Mico, made an excellent Speech to his People from some Hints Mrs. Bosomworth had given of our Bussiness, mentioning the great Injuries and Wrongs that were done to the English, and the Justice and Reasonableness of giving Satisfaction, and what a miserable Situation they would be in, in Case of a Breach of Friendship with the English.

This Day two French Deserters from New Orleans were brought to me by one Germany, a Hireling to Mr. Baxter, from the Oakfuskees. They give an Account that it is about two Months since they come from thence. They gave an Account likewise that a large Body of about 1,500 Men, French and Indians, which were gone against the Chickesaws Nation, and that they expect to be joined by many more of the Northern Indians, and their Design is entirely to destroy that Nation, with [writ?] a Letter to the Chickesaw Traders and sent it by our Indian to give them Notice of it.

[50] Wednesday, the 20th. This Day all the Traders and Head Men of the Upper Nation came here except the Gun Merchant of the Oakchoys, who was gone out a hunting, whom they sent after, and could not come up with, and the Red Coat King of the Oakfuskees, the whole Town being gone out to War for Satisfaction for a Woman that was killed just by the Town.

Thursday, 21st. This Day was held a general Meeting of the Head Men of the Upper Creek Nation, and as Matters are now circumstanced it is impossible for me to act in Conformity to my Instructions, as it is universally allowed both by Indians and white People that the Acron Whistler was the Cause of that Mischief, for doing of which the Government has demanded Satisfaction and for which he has suffered Death. The Point now to be ob-