

*South Carolina Indian Affairs
Documents, 1753-1754*

SOUTH CAROLINA INDIAN AFFAIRS DOCUMENTS, 1753-1754

GOVERNOR HAMILTON TO GOVERNOR GLEN |1|

Letter from Governor Hamilton of Pensilvania to his Excellency James Glen, Esq., &c.

Dated Philadelphia, December the 6th, 1753

SIR, I received from the Hands of Captain Read the Favour of your Letter of the 12th of October last together with the two Shawonese Indians you were pleased to send to me under his Care. They have been detained here much longer than I intended on account of a dangerous Distemper one of them had contracted at Sea, from which as soon as he was recovered, I lost no Time in providing a special Messenger in which I can place a Confidence, and committed both of them to his Care, with Orders to deliver them, with a Message from me agreeable to the Contents of your Letter, to the Six Nations at Ohio, whom I have desired to conduct them to the Lower Shawonese Town, the Place of Residence of the principal Men of that Nation, who will I hope be sensible of your Kindness to their Countrymen as to release your Carolina Indians if any they have, and for the Future give your Province no further Offence or Trouble.

The Cheifs [*sic*] of the Six Nations at Ohio, having sollicitd the Release of these Shawonese, as you will see by my Letter of the 30th of October, of which Mr. Boone was pleased to take the Charge I thought your good Intentions in sending them to me would be best answered by my giving to those Chiefs the Conduct of this Negotiation, and as I have requested them to give me an Account of their Proceedings herein, I shall not fail, upon receiving their Answer, which I expect by the Return of the Messenger, to impart the Contents thereof to you.

If the Northern and Southern Indians can be prevailed on |2| to accept Mr. Dinwiddie's Invitation to be present at the Treaty he proposes to hold next Summer at Winchester in Virginia, there will, I hope, be no great Difficulty in persuading them to enter into a Friendship and good Agreement for the Future seeing it is so much for their mutual Interest, and now, more than ever rendered necessary by the late hostile Attempts of the French.

I am, Sir, Your Excellency's most obedient and most humble Servant,

JAMES HAMILTON

LEGARDEUR DE ST. PIERRE TO LIEUTENANT
GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE

Letter in French from Monsieur Legardeur de St.lierre (this name should be de St. Pierre and is a Mistake of the Clerk) to Lieut. Governor Dinwiddie

Dated Du Fort de la [rivière] au bentle, the 15th of December, 1753 [*sic*]

MONSIEUR, Comme j'ai l'honneur de commander ici en [chef] Monsieur Washington m'a remis la lettre que vous écrives au commandant des troupes françoises [*sic*].

J'aurais été charmé que vous lui eussiez [*sic*] donné ordre [ou] qu'il eût été disposé à se rendre en Canada pour voir Monsieur notre général, auquel il appartient mieux qu'à moi de mettre au jour l'évidence, et la réalité des droits du Roi mon maître sur les terres scituées [*sic*] le long de la belle rivière, et de contester les pretentions du Roi de la grande Bretagne à cet égard.

Je vais adresser votre lettre à Monsieur le Marquis Duguisne, sa réponse me servira de loi, et s'il m'ordonne de vous la communiquer, Monsieur, je puis vous assurer que je ne négligerai rien pour vous la faire tenir [très] promptement. Quant à la sommation que vous me faites de me retirer, je ne me crois pas dans l'obligation de m'y rendre; quelques que puissent être vos Instructions, je suis ici en vertu des ordres de mon général, et je vous prie, Monsieur, de ne pas douter un instant que je suis dans la constante résolution de m'y conformer avec toute l'exactitude, et la fermeté que l'on peut attendre du meilleur officier.

[3] J'ignore que dans le cours de cette campagne il se soit rien passé qui puisse être réputé pour acte d'hostilité, ni qui soit contraire aux traités qui subsistent entre les deux couronnes dont la continuation nous intéresse, et nous flatte autant que Messieurs les Anglais. S'il vous eût été agréable Monsieur, d'en venir sur ce point à un detail particulier des faits qui motivent votre plainte, j'aurais eu l'honneur de vous répondre de la façon la plus positive, et je suis persuadé que vous auriez eu lieu d'être satisfait.

Je me suis fait un devoir particulier de recevoir Monsieur Washington avec la distinction qui convient a votre dignité, à sa qualité, et à son grand mérite; je puis me flatter qu'il me rendra cette justice auprès de vous, monsieur, et qu'il vous fera connaître ainsi que moi le respect profond avec lequel je suis, Monsieur,

Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

LEGARDEUR DE [ST. PIERRE]

LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO GOVERNOR GLEN

Letter from Lieut. Governor Dinwiddie to his Excellency the Governor.

Dated Williamsburg, Virginia, January 29th, 1754

SIR, That I might be truly informed what Steps the French had taken on the Ohio prejudicial to his Majesty's Interest, I thought proper to send a Gentleman to the French Commandant, on whose Return I have the Honour to give your Excellency Part in the following Intelligence.

On his Arrival at the Ohio, Major Washington (the Gentleman whom I sent out) found that the French had taken Post on a Branch of that River and

built a Fort wherein they had mounted eight Peices of Cannon six Pounders, and that they had in readiness Materials for other Forts which they declared their Intention to erect on the River, and particularly at Logs Town the Place destined for their cheif Residence, so soon as the Season would permit them to embark [4] and for which Purpose he saw 220 Canoes ready finished besides a great Number more blocked out. Having delivered his Credentials and my Letter, he complained to that Commander of the Violence that had been offered to his Majesty's Subjects in seizing their Effects, and making Prisoners of their Persons to which he was answered that the Country belonged to them, that no English Man had a Right to trade upon those Waters, and that he (the Commandant) had Orders to make every Person Prisoner that attempted it on the Ohio, or the Waters of it. Your Excellency will perceive these to be their Sentiments by the inclosed, and that they are determined to carry their Designs into Execution, and it were superfluous to advance many Arguments with so discerning and sagacious a Servant of our Master to prove the Urgency that presses every one of his Majesty's Colonies to exert themselves on this Occasion and to vindicate the Honour and Dignity of his Crown, and justify his undoubted Right against these Invaders of the British Property.

The Power of our Enemies is far from being contemptible, and it is as certain they will exert its utmost Efforts to procure all possible Advantages against us. They have already engaged 3 Indian Nations, the Chippowayo, Ottoways, and Orundacks to take up Arms against the English, and from the best Information, Major Washington learned that the French had four Forts on the Mississippi, besides their strong Settlement at New Orleans where they have about 1400 Men in Garrison, that by the means of the River Ouabasech, they have a Communication between Canada, and the Mississippi, and some Forts on the Oubask to cover and protect this Communication.

Before they sent their Troops into winter Quarters last Fall they called the several Tribes of Indians near their Fort together and told them that although the approaching Season, [5] and the State at that Time of the Waters, made it necessary to send the chief of their Forces into winter Quarters, yet they may be assured to see them early in the Spring, with a much more considerable Armament, and that then they would take Possession of the Ohio, and threatened them if they were not entirely passive. These Circumstances induced me to order out for the Present a Detachment of the Militia, and call together the Assembly which I have ordered to meet the 14th of next Month, and hope they will enable me to take more vigorous Measures in the common Cause.

I duly observe what Mr. President says on your being the proper Medium of my Correspondence with the Catawbas and Cherokees, and if the Urgency of the present Juncture did not persuade me to take the more dispatchful Method of sending directly to them the necessary Advices, I should think no Way more eligible to apply to them, than through so good Hands, whose concurrent Influence might effectuate my Desire, and I promise myself that your Excellency will do me the Justice to believe that this is the only Motive, and not the least Intention of interfering with your Government in any Degree, as I have no other Inducement but the Prospect of Dispatch in an Affair that I

consider as urgent and of equal Concern to all his Majesty's Dominions on the Continent.

I assure you Sir, I set a just Value on the Weight of your good Offices which I am desirous to be favoured with, and that you would extend their Influence to the Creeks and Chicsaws, that we may not leave any Assistance unemploy'd that we can obtain against his Majesty's Enemies.

As I do not consider the Meeting at Winchester as a new Treaty between the several Indian Tribes, but rather as a friendly Meeting with them and the English, to concert the common Welfare, I do not apprehend any solemn Invitations from them to each other to be requisite, and therefore hope by [6] your Persuasions, they will be prevailed with to come without, and as for Passports, they cannot, I think, need any to come through his Majesty's Dominions, nor any other Security, than being under his Protection, whilst in his Territories. I am entirely assured, that we cannot be too vigilant, as the French leave no Artifice untried to seduce the Indians from our Interest, and I need not observe to your Excellency, how much depends on the Preservation of their Friendship and Fidelity.

Your friendly Advice on the Return of this Express will be very agreeable, wishing you Health and Happiness

I am, most sincerely, your Excellency's most obedt. humble Servant,

ROBERT DINWIDDIE

LODVIC GRANT TO GOVERNOR GLEN

Letter from Lodvic Grant to his Excellency the Governor

Dated Timotly, Cherokees, February the 8th, 1754

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, According to your Excellency's Order to continue my Intelligence as formerly, before the Fort was settled, I have taken this Opportunity to inform your Excellency of what has come to my Knowledge this Winter since your Departure from Keowee. Some Time ago I heard the Indians were drinking Rum at Chote or Tannasse where half breed Johny's Brother and the Little Carpenter quarraled, the former beat the Little Carpenter so, that by stamping upon his Breast his Life was in Danger for some Days, but is now recovered. At the same Time another Fellow abused Old Hopp and told him your Excellency gave Gifts for nothing, that he was but an old Woman that he was no Warriour, neither ever had given any Proof thereof by killing his Enemy and told him begone or he would beat him, upon which Hopp went Home, took half a Bag of the Town's Ammunition, and in his Canoe went alone down the River. The next Day some young Men with his Son went in search of him but returned without him protesting, that if he did not return, or was not found, that the Fellow who was [7] the Occasion of his going should die. The next Day they sett of in search of him a second Time, and a great Way down the River found him.

There hath twenty northward Indians come into Chote in order to go to War against the Creeks, but Hopp and his Council has given them Scalps and stoped them from going. The Northwards say that 40 more are coming in

order to make Peace between these and some Nations of the French, and that for the Future they shall on neither Side kill either White or Red.

The 5th of this Instant I had Occasion to be at Mr. Buttler's, where an Indian, Brother to the Warriour Usteneue, and a Messenger sent by the Headmen of Kettewa River to him, passed the Town Chewee, giving an Account that a Fellow of that Town Kettewa had killed a white Man, (Barnard Hughs's Man). It is said that Hugs [*sic*] with his Man [went throw] the Towns that Day a Debt Hunting, and in their Return homewards mett near to his House an Indian (Catuchoe by Name, English, the Tail) who owed him 4 Weight of Leather, and asked him for his Debt. The Man told him he refused to trust him Ammunition in the Fall to kill his Debt, and having but little Powder he had killed but few Deer, and laid them out to cloath himself, but that he would pay him in the Summer, or the first he killed should be his, upon which the white Man abused the Fellow calling him Names, and seized his Gun for the Debt, the Indian being unwilling to part from it, they both fell upon him with their Horse Whips, and with the Lash, and butt Ends thereof cutt and bruised the Fellow very much and broke his Gun, with which he intended to go to War the next Day, the Enemy having killed a Woman 2 Days before belonging to Kettewa. The Indian seeing himself bloody and bruised run into the adjacent House and snatching up a Gun run at Hughs and the Man who was killed, who being next to him he shot dead on the Spot. He was one of, if not the strongest Man in the Province. There has been since several Councils held throughout the Nation concerning the Affair; what the Result will be, God knows. The Indians stick close |8| to the Article of the late Ordinance, wherein it is ordered that no Trader shall plunder or beat any Indian for a Debt, and to speak the Truth it is all together wrong so to do. The Man killed was North Carolina by Birth, and being of a mild, obliging, affable Temper, believe he was sett on to abuse the Indian.

Last Night late, came to my House, a Messenger from Keewe to the Raven of Hiwassee with a Letter from the Prince of J-oree and the rest of the Warriours of the Middle Settlement, desiring him to consult with the Headmen in his Valey what should be done. The Raven after a Meeting held at Hywassee returned Answer, that the Offender did not belong to his Parts, and that if he did, he would cause Justice to be executed on the Criminall and as the Warriours and beloved Men of the Towns to which the Murtherer belongs, had sent to Chote where the guilty Person had fled, that it was what they pleased to order what should be done in the Affair, and what all said, it was hard they should be beaten after that Manner. The Beating of the Fellow is what all I have spoke to hinge upon. However all the Middle Settlements are positive in their Determination that he should die, and have sent Men after him over the Hills for that Intent, that if he is there, he should be killed, he, as they say, having murdered one of the Cherokees formerly, and now a white Man, and that by your Excellency's Order and their Agreement he must die. There has been since the Fact was committed Councils held through the whole Nation concerning the same, being in general afraid of your Excellency's Displeasure and least the Trade should be stoped; the contrary of which I assured them of, provided the Offender was put to Death, as they themselves had determined

for he followed the white Man after he was gone off and shott him dead as I told them.

I have not heard any News worth Notice from the Fort, and Lower Towns since I came Home, and believe if any Thing [9] did there happen your Excellency would be informed of the same either from the Fort or Mr. Beamer, but as for some, or most of the Traders their Fears are groundless and consequently not much to be regarded. The Nation all this Time is peaceable and well affected in general, and what particular young Fellows, who are without Force may happen to say, is not worth regarding or rehearsing. I have given your Excellency the truest Account I could hear concerning the Death of the white Man &c., and shall always think myself obliged so to do, and to confess myself with all sincere and due Respect,

Your Excellency's most humble and most obliged Servant,

LUDVC. GRANT

LUD. GRANT TO GOVERNOR GLEN

Letter from Ditto, Lud. Grant to his Excellency

Dated Tomatly Town, Cherokees, February 1754

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, I am credibly informed just now that the Warriours over the Hills, had, at their Council agreed that some young Men should go to Tallasee, and bring the Fellow that killed the white Man to them, which accordingly was done, and as they were on their Way the Fellow wanted to drink Water, and stooping down in order thereto one of his Guard shot him in the Shoulder and another immediately in the Belly or Side, upon which he threw away his Blanket and long Knife which he had under the same and out running the others jumped into the River and swam across, and got clear. This was done about the 6th or seventh Instant.

The young Fellow who brought the News said he came off next Morning, but that he heard there was Orders given to search for him next Day, and if they found him alive to kill him on the Spott and so return.

I am your Excellency's most humble Servant,

LUD. GRANT

LUD. GRANT TO GOVERNOR GLEN

[10] Letter from Ditto, Lud. Grant to his Excellency the Governor

Dated Timothy, February the 10th, 1754, viz.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, Since I wrote my Letters I am informed that there are two Companies of Savannahs come into Great Terequa with some Upper Creeks. They have brought back the Horse which the Savannahs took from Mr. Elliot's Company on the Great Terequa Path coming over last Spring and have delivered him to the Owner, Brian Soloman's Man at Tallase. I hear likewise that a Company of the Lower Creeks are come into Mr. Beamer's Parts, if they are not as yet come, I know they are dayly expected according to their Promise in the Winter when they were a hunting together in the Woods, and determined to trade in this Nation, but whether they will do so or not is uncertain. I shall not fail informing your Excellency of what

relates to the Affairs of this Place worthy your Notice, and again with Submission subscribe myself

Your Excellency's most humble Servt.

LUD. GRANT

SERGEANT HARRISON TO CAPTAIN McCAY

Letter from Sergant Thomas Harrison to Capt. James McCay

Dated Fort Prince George, February the 14th, 1754

HONORED SIR, This is to acquaint you that I have had some Talk with the Headman of Keewohee about the white Man being killed, and he begs it may not go any further for he will take care that the Indian shall be killed that committed the Murder. The Head Man of Keewohee and the Raven of Toxaway desires their kind Respects to his Excellency, and that they will always take care of the white People and always mind his Talk to them. This young Man informs me that the Indian was killed at Tannsey the Day that he came out, but he has some Letters for his Excellency from Mr. Grant which will better inform him of the Matter.

I am, Sir, your most humble Servt.

THOS. HARRISON

GOVERNOR GLEN TO LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE

[11] Letter from his Excellency James Glen, Esq., &c. to Lieut. Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia

Dated Council Chamber, March the 13th, 1754, viz.

SIR, Your Letter of the 29th of January [last] enclosing the Copy of one from the Commander of the French Forts on the Ohio came not to my Hands till the last of Febry., the Person who brought it having as he alledges, been detained upon the Road by Sickness. I have kept him here ever since, in hopes of [being] able to write with some certainty what Reliance you might have on this Government for Assistance. I send you a Copy of my Message to the Assembly on that Subject, and I think I may venture to assure you that this Province will not be wanting in contributing a proportionable Assistance with other Colonies, and I think it incumbent [*sic*] upon me upon this Occasion freely and candidly to speak my own Sentiments.

The French have in Time of Peace unjustly and contrary to Treaty invaded and possessed themselves of some Part of the British Dominions. They have seized the Effects belonging the Subjects of that Crown, and made Prisoners of their Persons, and in order to secure themselves in these usurped Acquisitions they have built Forts, and are preparing to build more. To those Injuries, and Acts of Injustice they have super added Insults, Threats, and Menaces, and all these Things they have done in the Face of the Sun, and in the Sight and Hearing of many Nations of Indians. The Consequence seems certain that the longer we delay the more difficult it will be to dislodge them, and unless we immediately set about it, and shew a becoming Resentment, it would not be surprizing if all the Indians on this Part of the Continent held us in Contempt, and united with the French against us. The French are no ways Strangers to

the superior Strength of the English Colonies on the Continent, but I am affrayed they have too good Reason to |12| consider us as a Rope of Sand, loose and inconnected, and indeed it is to be lamented that we have hitherto been so, for if such an Union or Association as I now propose had been entered into sooner they would hardly have made Trial of our united Strength. I hope it is not as yet too late, and that many of the Colonies will enter into an Agreement for their mutual Defence. Of the 13 that are upon the Continent if seven only, will be the seven united Provinces, and joyn in this salutary Scheme, viz. Massachusetts, New York, Pensilvania, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina. They will keep all the Power of France in this Part of the World at a Distance at least from their own Territories, but they must be determined to stand and fall together, to feel when any of them is hurt, and in general to act upon every Occasion like the Members of the same Body.

The General of Canada may possibly have taken this Step without any positive Orders from his Court, but even if he should have had a private Permission to make some Experiments of our Passiveness, I think you should not consult our true Interest to wait for further Directions from Home. The Mother Country was at great Expence in nursing her infant Colonies in their tender Years, but let us not be always a Burden to Britain, let us exert our own Strength, let us do nothing that may have a Tendancy to draw the 2 Crowns into a Quarrel. This Province was brought to the Brink of Ruin by the last French War, and yours suffered also greatly by it; let us therefore avoid giving the least Opening for one, and surely there can be no Way so likely as fighting our own Battles, which we are well able to do.

Upon the whole I am of opinion that the first Step |13| to be taken is to invite the other Governments to an Interview. It would be to no Purpose to send to any little Government from which no Assistance could be expected at which Meeting the respective Proportions that each is to supply, not only upon the present Emergency, but upon any future Occasion, may be adjusted, Plans of Operations to be proposed, and many other Matters may be discussed for the common Interest. I think upon many Accounts no Place so proper as Virginia, and if the Meeting were to be the first Week in June there will be sufficient Time for every Government to prepare such an Account of their Ability, or State of their Strength, that is, the Number of Men, or Value of their exported Produce, as may enable that Meeting to ascertain their respective Quotas, and I am very hopeful that if you approve of this Measure and without Loss of Time send off Expresses we may be in a Condition to act with Effect perhaps early in the Fall. This Government will be ready, but not till I hear you have written to the other Governors.

Indians cannot be relied on in the Attack of Forts, but they will certainly be of great Service, either in keeping the French Indians in play, or in harrising their Troops. I again intreat you to be persuaded that the readiest and surest Way to have any effectual Assistance from the Catawbas, or Cherokees, is by the Intervention of this Government. They have been under our Direction for upwards of 30 Years, and there is not a Headman or Warriour of any Note among them that I do not personally know. I shall immediately send an Express for 4 of the Head Men of the Creeks, and you may be assured that

they shall be with you, by the last Week of May or first of June. I wish it would not be inconvenient for you to put off your intended Meeting at Winchester till then, and to bring your Indians nearer Williamsburgh, but this I fear cannot well be done, but you may at least propose the |14| the Peace and get the Northern Indians to agree to it, and prevail with 4 or 6 of the Head Men to accompany you to Williamsburgh where they shall be sure to meet the Creeks. At least I shall endeavour that they shall come, and I have already desired the Favour of Capt. Legg, Commander of his Majesty's Ship upon this Station, to carry them which he has promised to do.

JAMES GLEN

GOVERNOR GLEN TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL
OF NORTH CAROLINA

Letter from his Excellency the Governor to the President of the Council of North Carolina

Council Chamber, 14th of March, 1754

SIR, The Intention of this Letter is to represent to you the violent and unjust Proceedings of some Persons said to belong to North Carolina. I have formerly written on that Head, and it was with Concern that I see the Necessity of renewing my Representations, but unless your Government apply some speedy Remedy the Harmony and good Correspondence betwixt the Provinces will unavoidably be interrupted, and even the Peace of both endangered for I truly think that the Consequence may be that if your Officers go on unrestrained, they will draw on an Indian War. They come into this Province in a forcible Manner, disturb our Inhabitants, draw them from their Habitations, destroy their Fences, cut up their Corn, and threaten their Lives. It is hardly credible that there should be a Breach of Hospitality betwixt the *Subjects of the same Prince*, but really Sir, to call these Actions by their proper Name, they are Acts of Hostility, and had any Nation of savage Indians used our People in this Manner, this Province would have thought it necessary to have restrained them by an armed Force. But these Proceedings though detrimental to many Inhabitants are not so dangerous to the Province as the Conduct of your People to the Catawba Nation |15| of Indians may prove, unless you immediately correct it.

That Nation has been in Treatie with this Government for 40 Years. They are brave, and have been faithful to us, but they have some Times complained that our People settled too near them. They said it would breed ill Blood, for as they had no other Way of subsisting but by Hunting they required a Range round their Towns and this Government thought that 30 Miles all round was the least that they could have, and we accordingly restrained our Surveyors from runing any Lands nearer, but some from your Government have most unwarrantably and indiscreetly surveyed up to their very Towns which would cut off all their hunting Ground, and the Nation itself may be cutt off with equal Justice, these iniquitous Proceedings may be productive of much Mischief. The last Indian War that this Country was involved in broke out upon less Provocation, and had like to have proved fatal to it, and though the Catawba

Nation be not very numerous yet an Indian War may soon prove general, and therefore out of Prudence and good Policy as well as from a Principale of Justice, their Grievence in this particular, ought to be redressed. I hope you will join your good Offices with mine to allay any Heats, and compose any Differences that may arise betwixt the People of the two Provinces, and I shall be very sorry to be under a Necessity of complaining to the Crown of the Conduct of the Officers.

His Majesty certainly has Power to divide this Province as he pleases. He has done so in most clear and distinct Words, and that none of your Officers may plead Ignorance I sent a Copy of his Majesty's Will and Pleasure upon that Head to your Government. This may be done and Disputes may be avoided even before the deviding Line be run, but the sooner it be run the better, and we are ready to appoint Commissioners to joyn any to be appointed by you for that desireable end.

I am, Sir, Yours &c.

JAMES GLEN

GOVERNOR GLEN TO LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE

|16| Letter from His Excellency the Governor to Lieut. Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia

Dated Council Chamber, the 14th [of March], 1754

DEAR SIR, My other Letter of this Date is properly an Answer to yours, but I shall add in this what I have omitted. I wish you had been fuller in your Accounts of the Numbers of the French Forces and of their Operations, and if you have not a more particular Account than you have favoured me with, I must beg that you will do every Thing in your Power to procure it for I think it will be absolutely necessary at the Meeting, and as Papples [*sic*] Map (though far from being exact) is in every body's Hands, it would have been of Service to have pointed out the precise Spot where your People were disturbed when they were settling, and where the French have built the Fort mentioned by you.

The Gentleman who saw it should have more minutely discribed it; he says that they have mounted [8] Peices of Cannon. From this I presume it is in a Square with regular Bastians, and that there is one Cannon on each Flank. They certainly would not permit him to measure any Part of it, but he may guess at the Distance from saliant Angle to saliant Angle from which we will know the Demensions. He must have seen whether it be of Stone, of Earth, or of Wood only. He could form a pretty exact Opinion of the Thickness of the Rampart, the Hight of the Wall to the Top of the Parapat, the Wedth, and Depth of the Ditch, and whether there be any rising Grounds that command it or any Hollows that may cover an Approach. All the other Forts that the French have hitherto built in Indian Countries are small Stockadoe Forts of no Strength, but if there are half the Number of Men [in] it that you mention, it will prove no slight Matter to take it. It is necessary to be known if Cannon can be carried over the Blue Mountains, or if there [be] any other Way to the Head of the Ohio River, if there are many Falls in it, what Kinds and Quantity of Cannon |17| there are in Virginia, are any of them mounted or on feild

Carriages, whether you have any Coehorn Mortars and Shells which being of easy Carriage are very fit for such Expeditions, and are very particularly adapted for the Attack of small Forts, what Distance from Williamsburg to the Head of the Ohio and from thence to the French Fort, whether if any Colony cannot conveniently raise its Quota or Compliment of Men within its self, they may hope to do it in yours, or some of the neighbouring Provinces, and upon what Conditions, what Pay, and whether such Men have Arms of their own that may be trusted to, or if they must be supplied by the respective Colonies, what Quantities of serviceable Musquets &c. are in each Province either in public Armories, or in the Hands of private Persons, what Quantity of Amunition and whether you have any but trading Ball which will be of little Service, a full and particular Account of all the different Nations of Indians would be of great Service, describing the Situation of their respective Countries, if remote, or near, the Names of the Tribes, the Number of their Gun Men, their Connections and Alliances with other Indians, their particular Attachment to the English or the French.

I mention but a few of the Things that at present occur to me upon a cursory View, but no doubt your own Reflection will suggest 1000 more, and its probable when Gentlemen come together, and compare their Notes and remarks that some general State of all these Matters may be agreed upon that may be proper for his Majesty's Inspection. I do not mean to tie up our Hands, in the meantime, for I am clear in my former Opinion that we should trust to our own Strength chiefly, and if we are not able to do the whole effectually this Fall, I mean to demolish the French Forts and drive of their Forces, so far I think we may do, that is drive the French every where into their Forts, and clear the rest of the Country of them, and if it shall be thought proper build one or 2 Forts there which will keep Possession of that Country.

I am, Sir, yours &c.

JAMES GLEN

MATHEW ROWAN TO GOVERNOR GLEN

[18] Letter from the Hon. Mathew Rowan, Esq., President of the Council of North Carolina to his Excellency the Governor

Dated Cape Fear, March the 16, 1754

SIR, I herewith send your Excellency a Letter which I apprehend is by Mistake directed to the Governor of North Carolina. By the Purport I think it must be intended to your Excellency, there being no Independent Companies in this Province. Our Assembly has granted £1200 Proclamation Money to raise a Regiment of 750 effective Men to send to the Assistance of Virginia. I expect they will be ready to march in about a Month. If there is any Thing in my Power that can be of Service to his Majesty in your Province, or to your Excellency, you may command me and am

Your Excellency's most obedient humble servant,

MATHEW ROWAN

P. S. I am informed it will be May before Mr. Dobbs can leave England.

GOVERNOR SHIRLEY TO GOVERNOR GLEN

Letter from the Hon. William Shirly, Esq., Governor of Massachusetts Bay, directed to His Excellency

Dated Boston, November the 26th, 1753

SIR, I received by the last Post a Letter from the Earl of Holderness dated the 29th of August past (a circular one as it appears to be to all his Majesty's Governors in North America) acquainting me that his Majesty had received Information of a considerable Number of Indians, not in Alliance with him, supported by some regular European Troops, intending as it is apprehended, to commit some Hostilities on Parts of his Majesty's Dominions in America, and directing me to use my utmost Diligence to learn, how far the same may be well grounded, acquainting me also, that his Lordship had it particularly in charge to let me know, that it was his Majesty's royal Will and Pleasure, that I should keep up an exact Correspondence with all his Majesty's [19] Governments on the Continent, and in case I should be informed by any of them, of any hostile Attempts that I should immediately assemble the General Assembly within my Government, and lay before them the Necessity of a mutual Assistance, and engage them to grant such Supplies as the Exegency of Affairs may require.

Sir, in Obedience to these Directions, as I have heard imperfect Accounts of some late Hostilities committed upon his Majesty's Territories within the Lemits of your Excellency's Government, I trouble you with this Letter to let you know that in case these Reports (concerning the Occasion of which I shall be obliged to you for a particular Information) are well founded, and you shall stand in Need of Assistance from his Majesty's other Colonies upon the Continent, I am ready to do my Duty within my Government for procuring their due Proportion of Supplies upon the Emergency and for this Purpose. I shall be very glad to maintain a strict Correspondence with you pursuant to his Majesty's Commands signified to me in the Earl of Holderness' before mentioned Letter. I have the Honour to be Sir,

Your Excellency's most humble Servant,

WILLIAM SHIRLEY

GOVERNOR GLEN TO LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE

Letter from his Excellency to Lieut. Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia

Council Chamber, March the 25th, 1754

SIR, On the 20th of this Instant I received your Letter dated the 5th and also one from Mr. Roan Commander in Cheif of North Carolina, of the 16th, and at the same Time one from the Earl of Holderness, directed to the Governor of North Carolina, and as I agree with you and Mr. Roan in Opinion that his Lordship's Letter was intended for me, I without Loss of Time gave the necessary Orders, that one compleat Company should get ready to proceed to Virginia, and at my Disire Capt. Legg, Commander of his Majesty's Ships upon this Station, in the most obliging Manner, offered to send them in the Jamaica Snow, [20] Man of War, which will sail with them this Day Senight, so you may have them with you by the 4th or 5th of April.

As our Independent Companies have done Duty by Detachments for several Years and are spread over the Face of a widely extended Country, some of them being at the Fort that I lately built in the Cherokee Nation, above 300 Miles from hence, some at another Fort 160 Miles off, and some at another Fort 140 Miles, and some by his Majesty's Orders, at the southern Extremity of Georgia it was impossible to send one entire Company, but I send you a Number of Officers and Men equal to one Company, they are mostly picked Men, and I think I may safely say that the King has in no Part of his Dominions a finer Independent Company. I had Occasion to review them about a Month agoe, when they went through the manual Exercise, the Evolutions and Firings, with as great Address as any Troopes that ever I have seen in any Part of the World. They are well cloathed, and that they might be well armed I have given them the best that we had in our Armory, their own, by sixteen years Service in America, being not fit to be trusted to upon such an Occasion.

They are lately returned from a long and fatiguing Expedition, most of them having accompanied me to the Cherokee Nation, a March which they performed with surprising Allacrity, and though we lay two Months in the Woods and had some pretty severe Weather in November and December, yet I had the Happiness not to lose a Man. I furnished every Man with a good duffield Blanket before they set out and took care to supply them with plenty of good Provisions when they were out, without which little Service can be expected from any Men.

Three or 4 Years agoe I proposed to Governor Clinton the Expediency of concerting a general comprehensive |21| Plan to unite together in one Bond of Friendship all the Indians upon the Continent that were in Alliance with any of the British Governments or had any Dependence upon them as the most likely Means of securing their Attachments to the British Interest and as Mr. Clinton entirely agreed with me in Opinion, he invited the several Governors that had any Connection with Indians or had any Knowledge in these Affairs to a Meeting at New York, but by some Disturbances among the Cherokees about that Time occasioned chiefly by our Traders, I could not be present at that Meeting. However, I believe there was then little concluded upon, otherwise there would have been no Occasion for patching up a Peace betwixt the Six Nations and the Southern Indians at a Time when the Assistance of both is extremely necessary.

My Sentiments with regard to these Maters are still the same. I have acted invariably upon these Principles and accordingly I have cemented in Friendship the four Nations, viz. Cherokees, Catawbas, Creeks, and Chickasaws, who for many Years have been in strict Friendship with this Government, and at my last Interview with all the Head Men of the Creek Nation, and Southern Indians, I proposed to them to be at Peace also with the Six Nations and other Northern Indians to which they agreed, and I begged of you and Mr. Clinton to strengthen my Hands in that good Work.

You now acquaint me that you have proposed it to some of the Indians near you, who seem to express no Aversion to it, but you do not mention any

of the particular Tribes or Nations or what Consequence they are of, and in order to prosecute this Measure, you desire that four of the Headmen of the Creeks should meet you early in May at Winchester. These Headmen never travel without Attendants, and I could hardly prevail with them to come half so far as Charles Town without 40 Men to accompany them; but to persuade them to [22] undertake a Journey of many hundred Miles through the Woods to meet your Indians at Winchester is impracticable, I know they would with Pleasure travel twice as far to make war, but I believe they would hardly stir a Step to make a Peace especially with Indians whom they look upon as inferior to themselves. It was at my Desire and Persuasion that they consented so readily to a Peace, and there is no Way so probable to bring it to a happy Period, as that I pointed out in my last Letter, viz. in a public and solemn Manner at Winchester to propose a Peace betwixt all the Nations who may be at that Meeting, and all our Southern Indians, and to bring four or 6 of their most leading Men to Williamsburgh to meet with an equal Number of Head Men from our Parts who, I think, will have no Objection to meet them there when they see they are to be carried thither in Safety in one of his Majesty's Ships, and when they are told that your Head Men come half Way to meet them.

Without all these Precautions I am apprehensive that should you prevail with any of the Cherokees and Catawbas to go to the Assistance of your Indians it may be productive of much Mischief, and may have the Effect to kindle a fresh War amongst all our Indians, for the Creeks and Southern Indians who are pretty jealous will naturally say that these two Nations are gone to the Assistance of their Enemies.

But to leave Indian Affairs and return to what was the Subject of my last Letters, I now more than ever see the absolute Necessity of concerting some Plan betwixt the Governments on this Continent, for their mutual Assistance and I think no Place can be so proper as Virginia, nor any Time so fit as that I mentioned, viz. the Beginning of June, and I have not the least Doubt that before this reaches you, you will have proposed to most of the Governments such a Meeting.

[23] There is no Province in America that will more readily exert themselves for his Majesty's Service, and the Common Wealth, than this, but they complain of being kept in the Dark, and think that you certainly enlighten other Governments more than theirs or they could not have Clearness to raise either Men or Money.

I have read Major Washington's Journal, but I forbear at Present to say any Thing of it.

I am yours &c.

JAMES GLEN

SERGEANT HARRISON TO GOVERNOR GLEN

Letter from Thomas Harrison, Sergeant and Commandant at Present of the Fort near Keowee, to His Excellency the Governor

Dated from Fort Prince George, March the 27th, 1754

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, I send this Messenger to acquaint you that the French have actually sent into the Cherokee Nation for Peace, and

has sent a Stand of French Colours into Tannasey to affirm their Friendship, and likewise sent for the Headman called the Little Carpinter to come to them, but he is not gone as yet. Likewise the Governor of Virginia has sent in for all the Headmen of the Nation to come to meet him at Winchester in the latter End of May next to receive a Part of the Presents he has received from his Majesty to distribute among the Indians that are in that Province. Intreats them likewise to go with him against a French Fort that is settled at a Place called Munongohallah which is reported to be settled with 1200 Men. As I am informed it is to draw the Trade of the Nation there, for which I thought proper to acquaint your Excellency as soon as possible, and to know what your Excellency would have done in that Affair. Likewise to acquaint your Excellency that there is a great Demur among the Indians occasioned by the Raven of Toxaway for he had made away with all the Presents your Excellency gave him, and he never gave the Kewohee People any Thing of the Presents but the Powder and Ball, for which Reason they |24| will not hear any Thing from him. They denyed me the Liberty of planting any Thing for some Time, till I had a Talk with the real Head Man that is on this River. At least they will allow us about 100 Yards above the Fort, for the Raven denyes that he promised any more Land then what the Fort stands on and a Road to it.

The Head Men of the Lower Towns will not hear your Excellency's Talk from the Raven, but they desire to come to Charles Town to talk with your Excellency. He says he knew of your Excellency's coming to build a Fort. His Reasons for not staying to wait on your Excellency is that all the young Men would have stayed, then how must they have been clothed or how could the Traders sell their Goods or how must they pay their Debts to the Traders. He says he ordered the old Men and beloved Men to stay at Home and hear your Excellency's Talk and that they should agree to every Thing that you desired. But when he came Home he found that the Raven had acted beyond what he should have done, and kept Nothing for the Town where the Fort is settled.

I am your Excellency's most obedient humble Servant,

THOMAS HARRISON

JAMES BEAMER TO GOVERNOR GLEN

Letter from James Beamer, Indian Trader among the Lower Cherokees, directed to his Excellency the Governor without any Date, viz.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, I take this Opportunity to acquaint you that the Governor of Virginia has sent another Express by Abraham Smith to invite the Emperor and the Rest of the Heads of the Nation into Virginia to take share of a Present sent from the King to the Netawegas. Likewise he tells them that there is about a 1000 French Men come and fortified themselves in about 13 Miles off the Shawenese at a Place called Logs Town and he desires as many as can be got of these People to go across to meet his Forces at a Place called Monongakaly |25| by the 1st of April where he tells them that the Catawbias and the 5 Nations are likewise to meet him, and their he will have all Conveniences of War for them, of Arms, and Ammunition, and Provisions for them, and hopes by their Assistance to drive the French back. But may it please

your Excellency it's my humble Opinion it's only to get the Nations together to settle a Trade with them that his Traders may pass and repass without being molested by any Party. The princeable Head Man that is most looked on by all these Towns is called Whokiorer, and when he heard the Talk the Governor of Virginia sent to him and particularly these Lower Towns to come in, he refused and told them that it was a great Ways for to travel and that he never was in Virginia nor knew no Part of the Path, nor no Path but to Carolina.

I am informed the French has sent in this Winter over the Hills to make a Peace and for the Little Carpenter to go in and carry the French Prisoners in with him, which they did agree to, but the Carpenter has altered his Mind and is gone out to War against them or their Indians (the first he meets with). The above Head Man of Kewohee wants to see your Excellency if you will suffer him to come down, there has been a Missunderstanding among themselves. They will not allow the Raven of Tacksaway to be Head Man but of his own Town, and has made away with all the Presents your Excellency gave to his own Use. I have no other News material to acquaint your Excellency with.

I am your Excellency's most obedient Servant to command

JAMES BEAMER

HEAD MEN OF THE UPPER CHEROKEES TO GOVERNOR GLEN

Letter or Talk signed by 5 Men, the Heads of the Upper Cherokee Nation viz.

February 19th, 1754

TO OUR BROTHER THE GOVERNOR OF CAROLINA, Connacrote the Head Man of Chote speaks for all. He speaks and says he is very much troubled concerning |26| the white Man that was killed. He did not belong to his Towns and that it was Barnard Hughs's Fault that it was so, but he hopes that it will make no Differance between him and the Governor.

He says that he would have gone and seen the Governor at Keewohee but he was left at Home by himself, his Warriours being all gone a Hunting or else they should have talked good together. He says that he still expects to talk with the Governor, he having built his House amongst their Houses, and there to take him by the Hand. He says that he expects to meet his Brother the Governor at Keowee at the Time appointed which is in the Month of March.

He says the Man that killed the white Man did not belong to the seven Towns over the Hills but came their after he had done the Mischief. And the Warriours met concerning the Matter, and they ordered him to be shot which was not done efectually but only wounded him, but the Bullet lodged in him and he is now a dying. He says he hopes that his Brother the Governor will not think hard of him or his People for what has happned, nor yet stop the Traders from comeing amongst us, for it was Barnard Hughs's Fault that the two Men lost their Lives only upon the account of his Debts. He desires that

if any Letters or Lies should be told to you or sent, that you will not believe them for he will write nothing but the Truth

Signed by

CONNACROTE of Chote
LITTLE CARPINTER of Tonnissee
SKIAGUNSTA of Chote
SKSANGUNSTO of Tellico
TOSSITA of Togua

KING AND HEAD MEN OF THE CATAWBAS
TO GOVERNOR GLEN

Letter or Talk of the King and Head Men of the Catawbas to his Excellency

Dated Catawba Nation, the 9th April, 1754

At the Request of the King and Head Men of the Catawbas and Cheif Warriours of the same to our good Friends and loving Brothers, the Governor of South Carolina and all his beloved Men. [27]

LOVING BROTHERS, We have at different Times received Talks from our Friend and loving Brother the Governor of Virginia, which we all received as if it was our own Child, to go to War with his People against his and our Enemeis, which I and my People has waited this two Months to hear from you concerning it, as you are our Protector wee will do nothing without your Knowledge.

We have sent several of our young Men out to make what Discoveries they could, and they and our Brothers, the Cherokees, came to two of their Forts before they was aware as they were so nigh they were discovered and had like every Man to be cut off. We lost two Men and had another wounded. Our People were oblinded to fire, and run, or else would bin all cut off. We are destitute of Ammunition very much at this Time, and our Brothers the white People going to Wars, wee want to be along with them as we understand none of the Cherokees will joyn and go. But their Hearts is going to be bad along with their Talks. Our Hearts is good to our Brothers the English. We are willing to go and let them that is their and our Enemies see, that we are not afraid. But we are afraid that we cannot be supplied with Ammunition Time enough to be with them without your Excellency thinks proper to order our white Man which is our Interperter to give us a Supply to goe to War, and our white Men that understands us Orders to go with us, to joyn our Brothers that you sent their. When we come together how we may carry on and go through with the Warr as they nor wee cannot understand one another. We want our Interpreter to go with us, as he has got Ammunition plenty. We have got no Skins to buy any of him, and we are very much in debt to him already. He will not trust us or we all would have gone before now. We only wait for your Talk [28] to us, and are ready to go when you send us Orders to joyn our Brothers the English. We still remain your loveing Brothers whilst one of us is alive.

The King, Head Men, and Warriours of the Catawbas

KING HAGLER and 8 more Subscribers

P. S. We have lost a great many of our People since the Peace was made by the Senecas and French Indians.

MATHEW TOOL
Interpreter

MATHEW TOOL TO GOVERNOR GLEN

Letter from Mathew Tool to His Excellency

Catawba Nation, April the 9th, 1754

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, Our Indians all met together Yesterday and held a Council at the King's House, and has agreed to go to meet the Forces that is going against the French and their Indians at the Ohio at the Place of Rendevouse, and wants me very much to go with them, and the white People as lives with me that understands what they say. They are very destitute of Ammunition and wanted me to let them have it which I would not. If your Excellency thinks proper to give me Orders to go with them and my Hirelings, and to let them have Amunition, we are all willing to go, only wait your Excellency's Answer, and to dispatch the Bearer. We want no Pay, only what we can take and plunder, what Slaves we take to be our own of Indians.

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

MATHEW TOOLE

RICHARD SMITH AND JOHN HATTON TO GOVERNOR GLEN

Letter to the Governor signed by Richd. Smith and John Hatton containing the Talk of Old Hop from Chote, viz.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, The Speech of Old Hop sent by a Messenger from Chote.

I find I have been deceived by the Nittewakees a long Time. We took them to be our Friends, but now find they have been seeking our Distruction. They come into our [29] Nation under Pretence of being our Friends and in the Time of some of them here amongst us, others of them are killing us, and must think you are deceived by them in takeing them to be your Friends, and recomending to us to be at Peace with them for they brought in Collours from the French which we despised and have burned their Colours. We have observed what you often recomended to us to be at Peace with the Creeks and have made a firm Peace with them and the Catawbas. And I that has been a beloved Man for a long Time am now provoaked to take up the Hatchett of War against the French and Norward Indians, and beg you, as you are Governor of Carolina, you will send us a Supply of Amunition, and Guns, and Pistols. The French are dayly and will be now giving their Indians Supplies to come to war against us, and we begg you may send us 24 Baggs of Powder and Lead answerable to it with Guns, and Pistols, and Knives for we have sent to the Creeks to come and assist us, and we expect they will be here in great Bodies, and we want this Amunition to be ready to supply them as well as ourselves. This is what I thought proper to acquaint my Brother the Governor of and leave it to the Lower Towns to make an Adition.

At Fort Prince George

This Day the Headmen of all the Lower Towns mett and made the following Speech:

To our Brother the Governor of Carolina, We have often heard that King George over the Great Water owned us for his Children as well as you white People, and that you the Governor of Carolina was sent to Carolina to act in his Stead, and if we were in want of any Thing at any Time to apply to you for it. We hope you as our Governor, and as we have applied to you for Assistance, you will assist us in our Necessity.

[30] N.B. After this Letter was wrote Wryhoche, the Headman of Kehowee, claimed and desired to be remembred to the Governor and begs he would send him a rideing Saddle, a Case of Pistols, and that he never had any of the Presents given the Raven in consideration of their Lands.

Interpreted by RICHARD SMITH and JOHN HATTON

MATHEW ROWAN TO GOVERNOR GLEN

Letter from the Hon. Mathew Rowan, Esq., President of the Council of North Carolina, directed to his Excellency

Dated Cape Fair, April the 16th, 1754, viz.

SIR, It was with Surprise I received your Excellency's Letter of the 14th and 24th of March as several of the Inhabitants of Anson County had been down with me just before and never heard of any Complaint from the People of your Province or from the Indians. John Clark is a Lieut. Colonel and a Justice of Peace in Anson. He is looked on here as a good natured Man, and the most hospitable to Strangers of any Man in that Country. I wish your Excellency had been more particular that the Persons that have been guilty might be prosecuted. I have wrote to the Justices and King's Attorney of Anson to make Enquiry about it and to let me know the Particulars that the Offenders may be brought to Justice. I have given Orders to use the Indians well, and if they are attacked by any powerful Body of forreign Indians to protect them.

It will not be proper for me to appoint Commissioners to continue the Line, as Mr. Dobbs will be over very soon and will come fully instructed on that Head.

I expect our Forces will begin their March for the Ohio in a few Days. Nothing could give me more Pleasure then having the Honour to meet your Excellency and the other [31] Governors in Virginia, but I expect Mr. Dobbs will be here by that Time so that it will not be proper for me to enter into that Affair.

There shall be nothing wanting in me to cultivate a good Understanding betwixt the two Provinces, and with your Excellency in particular whose great Character I have in the highest Esteem and am with the greatest Regard

Your Excellency's most obedient humble Servant.

MATHEW ROWN [*sic*]

GOVERNOR GLEN TO THE CATAWBA HEAD MEN

Letter from his Excellency the Governor to the Heads of the Catawbas

Dated Council Chamber, April the 24th, 1754

MY GOOD FRIENDS AND LOVING BROTHERS, The Friendship betwixt the Province of South Carolina and the Catawba Nation is not of late Date. It subsisted before you and I were born, and I hope it will last while the Sun gives Light. The repeated Assurances that you give of your inviolable Attachment to his Majesty King George, and to his Children the English, is extreamly agreeable to this Government and your constant gratefull Behaviour is very suitable to such Declerations, and woud be strong Inducements to us did we need any, to continue our Care of you, and to give you fresh Marks of our Favour and Affection.

Many Nations of Indians think we distinguish you too much, and that we are more sollicitous of your Welfare than of theirs, though they alledge that they are equally deserving of our Friendship, and even some white People say, that we make no Difference betwixt you and them, that we not only call you Brothers but upon all Occasions treat you as such. They say that our late Behaviour with regard to your Lands was a convincing Proof of it, for whereas you complained that some white People had settled too near you which you said hindred your Hunting and might create Misunderstandings, we gave [32] positive Orders that for the Future none of our Inhabitants should run out Lands or make Settlements within 30 Miles of your Towns, and that such as had settled nearer should remove back, but there may be some from other Provinces and we are now taking Measures to have them removed also, and we shall endeavour to prevent for the Future any such Practices that nothing may disquiet or molest our faithful Friends.

Upon the Receipt of your Letter dated the 9th Instant I summoned a Council, and laid it before them, and both the beloved Men and I are well pleased with the prudent Step you have taken in asking our Advice and Directions, and you may depend upon it that we shall at all Times readiely give you our best Advice, but in the present Case of your going to Virginia we have not Clearness to offer any Opinion as you have not sent us any of the Governor of Virginia's Letters to you, from which we might judge how many may be proper to go, for that you should all go as you insinuate in your Letter, or even the one half of you, and leave your Women and Children exposed a Pray to your Enemies to be killed or carried off at their Pleasure, we can't by any means think adviseable.

When you send us these Letters, which we desire you may do soon, we shall let you know the Number that we would advise you to permit to go, and we shall recommend it to Mr. Tool and some of his People to accompany that Party, and to furnish them with Ammunition at the Expencc of this Government.

I am your loving Brother and faithful Friend,

JAMES GLEN, Governor

GOVERNOR GLEN TO THE CHEROKEE HEAD MEN

|33| Letter from his Excellency the Governor to the Heads of the Cherokee Nation

Dated the 16th April, 1754

To Old Hop, the Little Carpenter, &c.

GOOD FRIENDS AND LOVING BROTHERS, I had frequently received Letters from Old Hop informing me of the earnest Desire he had to see me, but that his Age and Lamness render him unable to travel as far as Charles Town, and therefore requested that I would have the Goodness to come to Keowee to talk over all Matters their promising to meet me between the Cherokee Nation and the English if he should be carried on Men's Shoulders or craull on his Hands and Knees. The Little Carpenter also and some of the Headmen from over the Hills brought me a Pipe from him having Eagles' Tails tied to it and praying that I would bring that Pipe with me to Keowee that we might there smoke together out of it, and that both the People of Charles Town and of Chottee might see the Smoke assend.

I accordingly came to Keowee and brought the Pipe along with me; I brought also plenty of Tobacco to fill it with, but as Old Hop did not appear I brought it back without using it. However while I was there I built a small Fort and put some Warriours in it to help to defend the Lower Towns from their Enemies and to prevent any French or Northern Indians from comeing into this Government. What you mean by saying in your Letter just now received that you hope to see me at the Time appointed which you say is March, I know not, for I did not at present intend to come to Keowee. Had I ever promised it, I would certainly have performed it, for I am very careful never to break my Word and I hope you will all endeavour to imitate my Example, but it surprizes me to hear from others that 3 French Men have lately been in the Over Hills Towns and have invited |34| the Little Carpenter to go to the French and carry the French Prisoners with them, and yet to receive a Letter from you and no Notice taken of such an Event. This I say surprised me as you have frequently faithfully promised to give me immediate [Notice] of all such Occurances. However I am glad the Little Carpenter did not listen to their insiduous Proposals for it's more than probable that had he suffered himself to have been insnared by them, he would never again have seen his own Country, but would either have been killed by them or kept in Captivity.

I must therefore most earnestly recommend it to you that you will neither permit the French nor French Indians to come into your Nation. I hear they are encroaching upon some of your Hunting Grounds on the Ohio, and have built a Fort there, but unless they immediately remove from thence, the English intend to drive them off, and will desire their Brothers the Cherokees and other Indians in Amity with King George to joyn them, and go to the War against our and your Enemies. I shall not fail to acquaint you when it will be a proper Time to begin.

In the meantime I am glad that the Peace betwixt you and the Creeks is likely to last, and that your People have made very good Hunts.

I am &c.

JAMES GLEN

SERGEANT HARRISON TO GOVERNOR GLEN

Letter from Sergeant Thoms. Harrison

Dated Fort Prince George, the 13th of April, 1754, viz.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, Since I sent down my last Letter the Indians have had their Consultation about what I wrote in my last, and the inclosed is as the Indians deliverd it. As Smith and Hatton declared to me that they will give their Oaths to be the Truth of what was declared, and as they have made their Complaint to me [35] of their being not provided for, to send down to serve them I have given the Fellows that come a Letter to free them from Expencc upon the Path which I hope your Excellency will not take ill of me, which is all the Particulars I can find out at present.

I am Sir your most obedient, humble Servant.

THOMAS HARRISON

GOVERNOR GLEN TO THE CHEROKEE HEAD MEN

Letter from his Excellency the Governor to the Head Men of the Cherokee Nation

Dated the 30th Day of April, viz.

FRIENDS AND BROTHERS, You may remember that about seven or eight Years ago you sent me Word that some French Men were than in your Nation, that they had brought with them French Collours, and some small Presents, and were attended by many of their Indians and preposed a Peace betwixt you and them. I soon saw that their Intention was to withdraw you from your true Interest and therefore my Love for you made me undertake a long Journey to meet you in the Woods, on the Borders of your own Countrey, when in presence of most of the Head Men of the whole Nation the ancient Treaties betwixt the English and the Cherokees were so [firmly?] renewed.

I gave you good Advice adviseing you to be ware of the Artifices of the French, and recommended to you to adhere to your old Friends.

I told you that the Road to Carolina which you and your Fathers had been accustomed to, was streight and smooth, but that it was dangerous to try untrodden Paths. You then gave me the strongest Assurances, that you would turn a deaf Ear to all they could say, and though they came into Chote as Messengers of Peace, yet upon your Return Home you were determined to drive them away, and accordingly I remember that soon after my good [36] Friend the Black Dog knocked one of them on the Head with a Hatchet, and threw his Body into the River, and another of them was shot at and wounded. This Conduct was the best Proof of the Sincerity of the Declerations you had made me, and though this was done when the English and French were at War, yet one would imagine it might have convinced them how vain it was to try ever to seduce you from your Engagement with the English, and perhaps

your Conduct at that Time, and upon several Occasions since, especially the late Behaviour of the Little Carpenter upon the Mississippi makes them more cautious. They care not now to venture in [themselves]. They send their Indians before to pave the Way with Collours and Proposals of Peace, but my Friends remember your repeated Promises to me not to listen to them, you see how punctually I perform all mine. I assured you that you should have no more Reason to complain of want of Goods, and I have accordingly taken care to supply you plentifully. I promised to come to Keowee in order to meet Old Hop. I fullfilled my Promise. I was sollicitd to build a Fort in the Lower Towns to defend them from their Enemies. I said it should be done, and I have been as good as my Word, and therefore you may rely upon whatever I say. I now send you up Amunition, and you may put your Trust in me that it will be done.

You inform me that the Nittawagees, pretending to be your Friends, came into your Country and while some of them are in your Towns others of them killing your People. This is indeed very treacherous, but I cannot help thinking that it must be Caughnawagees or some other French Indians, and I am the more confirmed in this Opinion by their bringing with [37] them French Colours, for the real Nittawegas at the Back of New York who are Friends to the English would never bring Peace Talks from the French, but as the Coughnawagees and French Indians speak the Nittawagee Language they may perhaps sometimes persuade some of their young Fellows to come with them and call themselves by their Names purposely to deceive, but the true Test to try all Indians by is this, whoever would persuade you to break with your old Friends, the English, and make Friends with the French desire your Destruction. Such would rejoice to see you without Friends, without Cloaths, and without Arms or Amunition, that they might openly attack you, and so without Fear perpetrate what they are now forced to do by Stealth.

I am &c.

JAMES GLEN

TALK OF TWO CHEROKEE MESSENGERS

The two Cherokee Messengers now in Town who brought Dispatches [*sic*] from the Cherokee Nation were sent for when the following Questions were asked; Brannan Interpreter:

GOVERNOR (to the Interpreter) holding in his Hand the original Deed or Contract between his Excellency and the Heads of the Cherokee Nation for the Land whereon Fort Prince George is built and the contiguous Lands. Tell them this is the Paper that they gave me for the Land I bought. Ask if this be their Mark.

GOVERNOR. Ask if they know the Raven of Toxowa.

INDIAN. He is my Grand Father.

GOVERNOR. Ask if he knows Ornseo.

INDIAN. Ornseo is at present very sick.

GOVERNOR. Ask if these who made these several marks are the beloved Men of all the Lower Towns.

INDIAN. Yes, all of them are Head Men.

GOVERNOR. Tell them that by this Paper they gave me all the Land between the River and a Place called the Long Canes together with all the Trees, corn Feilds, pasture Grounds, |38| Hills, Woods, and Water, and they put me in Possession thereof, but I received a Letter from the Commander of the Fort, that the Cherokees (which very much surprizes me) telling that they will not allow the English to plant on the said Ground.

INDIAN. We heard nothing of that when we came away, there is Land enough for every body.

2ND INDIAN. We design to plant our Corn at Ustanatey.

GOVERNOR. Very well, I think it is better for them to plant their Corn near their own River, then there will never be any Disputes. (To the Interpreter) However you may tell them that in case they have already planted any Corn this Year on our Land they are wellcome to this Year.

GOVERNOR. One of the Head Men of Keowee was out a Hunting when the Land was sold me. (Governor to the Interpreter) ask what [his] Name was.

INDIAN. His Name was Wahatchee.

GOVERNOR. Tell them as he was not at Home when this Paper was signed, I shall send it up for him to sign, and also the Pistols, and other Presents he desires. The Paper shall be sent up to the Traders.

GOVERNOR (to the Interpreter). Ask if any of the Nittawgees came into their Nation.

INDIAN. We consulted the Cajur about that, and he told us that a great many are a coming into our Nation. I know not but they are there by this Time. I intend to go Home by the Saludy Path lest I should fall in any of their Hands, for they took and made a Slave of a Cherokee Boy.

GOVERNOR. What do they mean by the Indians called the Nettawegees?

INDIAN. They mean the French, they have a Town over the Hills &c.

GOVERNOR. What is the Name of that Town?

INDIAN. It is called Caniankee.

GOVERNOR. There are five Nations to the West of New York, |39| viz. the Onondagos, Mohawks, Onydas, Caiagas, and Tuscarraoes.

INDIAN. These do not molest our Country, the others come over the Mountains to us, and propose a Peace between them and us, and that we should join to go against the Southern Indians, but the People of Chote which is a Mother Town refused their Offer for they knew they were Rogues, and had killed our People and made Slaves of others.

GOVERNOR. I am very glad that you find it is not the Five Nations that molest you, and do you Meschief for I should be very sorry if the Peace was broke with any of the Five Nations for they are our Friends.

INDIAN. The French Indians we find haved deceived us. They have eat, drank with us, and stay in our Towns, yet we perceive when they go off they kill our People and carry others away Prisoners.

GOVERNOR (to the Interpreter). Ask if they have had any Messages sent them from Virginia.

INDIAN. Two over the Hill Traders came from Virginia, and proposed to send us Goods, but they broke their Words with us, and while they stayed

among us, they were very troublesome. Richard Smith, one of them, is gone back to Virginia, and says he is to return with a Letter from Virginia.

GOVERNOR (to the Interpreter). Tell them that if I should send them Word to go and join with the great King's Forces in Virginia to march against the French and their Indians who have taken our Lands there, that I hope they will do it.

INDIAN. Yes, what the Governor says, we will do.

GOVERNOR (to the Interpreter). Tell them that we shall send up to the Traders some Amunition for defending themselves against their Enemies, and that each of the two Messengers shall have a Blankett, and a Gun, and some Powder, and Ball to carry with them up the Road.

MEMORIAL OF THOMAS BOSOMWORTH

[40] The Memorial of Thomas Bosomworth, late Agent to the Creek Nation, in behalf of Mary Bosomworth, Wife of your Memorialist,

Most humbly sheweth

That Mary Bosomworth, the Wife of your Memorialist, is of Indian Extraction decended by the maternal Line from the Sister of the Old Emperor of the Creek Nation of the same Blood of the present Mico's, or Chiefs now presiding there, over several of which by their Laws, and the Voice of the said Nation, she has a rightfull and natural Power to command. That she has always used the Utmost of her Authority, Influence, and private Fortune (to the utter Ruin of herself and Family) to continue those Nations of Indians steady and steadfast in their Friendship and Alliance with the English, and whenever the public Service required their Assistance, has employed them against his Majesty's Enemies. The French and Spaniards were during the last War very much annoyed, and were a strong Barrier and Defence to his Majesty's Frontier Settlements as she can evidently make appear by authentick Letters and Testimonies under the Hands of every Gentleman that has had the Command of his Majesty's Forces in Georgia.

That the Wife of your Memorialist never has received more from any Person or Persons whatsoever than the Sum of 200 pound Sterling for all her personal Services rendered the Crown since the first Settlement of the Colony of Georgia in the Year 1732, notwithstanding the many Hardships and Fatigues she has upon all Occasions been exposed to for the public Welfare and the great Losses sustained in her own private Affairs by the Neglect thereof on his Majesty's Service since the first Sittlement of that Colony near annually amounted to the total Sum received for so long and faithful Services the Truth of which he is ready to prove when required.

[41] That whereas she for many Years in vain has relyed on and confided in spacious Promises from England to make her ample Restitution and to solicit and obtain from the Government such Rewards for her past Services as might redress those Greivences consequent thereupon

In the Year 1747 a Petition setting forth her Services rendered his Majesty and her Losses sustained thereby was transmitted to his Grace the Duke of Bedford, one of his Majesty's then Principal Secretaries of State.

That his Grace the Duke of Bedford in a Letter to the Commanding Officer of Georgia dated the 28th of April, 1748, and in another Letter of the same Date to your Excellency and other subsequent thereto was pleased to notifie,

That the Petition of Mrs. Bosomworth had been laid before his Majesty, and that his Majesty had left it to the Consideration of the Agents who [were] to distribute the Presents to the Indians whether it would not be for his Majesty's Service that some Part of those Presents should be given to her.

That the Committee of Conference of this Province appointed to take into Consideration several Letters from His Grace the Duke of Bedford, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State, and other Papers relating to the distributing the Presents granted by his Majesty to the Indians contiguous to, and in Alliance with this Province and Georgia did report

That agreeable to his Majesty's Directions such Part of the Presents should be given to Mrs. Bosomworth as those two Persons that were to distribute them should think proper out of the Moiety of Presents to be given in Georgia conformable to their respective Instructions. That your Excellency in your Instructions to the Agent appointed by this Province to act in conjunction with the Person nominated by the Trustees for Georgia to distribute his Majesty's [42] Presents to the Indians did recommend the Affair of Mrs. Bosomworth to be first taken under Consideration joyntly by the two Agents agreeable to his Majesty's Directions. That on account of some Disputes subsisting between the People of Georgia and your Memorialist (the Reason of which he is ready to assign to all the World) the Agent for Georgia refused to co-operate with the Agent appointed by this Province, and no Part of his Majesty's intended Bounty was ever yet received either from Georgia or this Province.

That it seems to appear from his Grace the Duke of Bedford's Letters that his Majesty's Intentions were that Mrs. Bosomworth should receive such Part of the whole three thousand pound Sterling that is annually allowed to be laid out in Presents to the Indians as should be judged for his Majesty's Service as no Limitation is made to that Part of the Moiety *only* of the said Presents which are to be distributed in Georgia.

That your Memorialist humbly conceives that the Reason that induced the Committee of Conference to *report* that such Part of the Presents should be given to Mrs. Bosomworth out of the Moiety allotted to be distributed in Georgia were because that Colony had more immediately enjoyed the Benefits of her past Services of which this Province had then had no convincing Proofs to intitle her to his Majesty's intended Bounty to be distributed here.

In Answer to which your Memorialist begs Leave to observe that in May 1752 he and his Wife arrived in Charles Town with an Intent to have proceeded directly for England in Hopes there to have obtained that Justice which we have long in vain sought for in a neighbouring Province. [43] That upon our Arrival here your Memorialist and his Wife did themselves the Honours to wait upon your Excellency who was pleased to inform them that by and with the Advice of his Majesty's honourable Council you thought it expedient and absolutely necessary that an Agent should immediately be sent to the Creek Nation from

this Province to negotiate several Matters of Consequence to the public Welfare. That the Matters to be negotiated with that Nation were of such a Nature that the Influence and Authority of Mrs. Bosomworth was judged expedient towards obtaining those Demands that were thought necessary to be made in behalf of this Government and an adequate Reward promised by two Branches of the legislative Power of this Province in case she succeeded therein.

That after none would undertake the Execution of that Commission it was proposed to your Memorialist who informed your Excellency that his own private Business called him for England, and as the Affairs of Georgia were then under Consideration, and might shortly be brought to a Crisis the Delay that, that Agency would necessarily occasion might be very prejudicial to his Affairs at Home, besides that the Demands that this Government thought itself in Honour bound to make were such, that your Memorialist could promise himself very little Hopes of Success without the Interest and Authority of Mrs. Bosomworth whose proceeding to the Nation with him would be so great an additional Expence to his Agency as could not possibly be defrayed out of the Salary provided for that Purpose. That the Hardships, Dangers and Fatigues that must necessarily attend a woman's undertaking so long a Journey at that sultry Season of the Year were so numerous that your Memorialist informed your Excellency |44| that he could not in Justice or Conscience desire it of her, as he was very sensible it must be at the utmost Hazard of her Life.

That the Necessity of this Service being urged in such pressing Terms, and the Reward such a signal Proof of her Interest and Authority with that Nation of Indians would merit, she was willing to undergo the greater Dangers and Difficulties for the public Service, intirely relying and confiding in the Honor of this Government to make her such Restitution for her extraordinary Services as the Merit thereof might be deemed to deserve when performed.

That your Memorialist near 17 Months agoe did happily execute the Matters he had in charge from this Government, yet in Justice to Merit of his Wife's Service he thinks himself obliged to declare that it would not have been in his Power to have obtained the End of his Agency without her Interest and Authority.

Your Memorialist humbly begs Leave further to observe that before he proceeded on his Agency, he, his Wife, and Servants were detained in Charles Town upwards of six Weeks in Attendance upon the Government, that their Expences on that account and other necessary extraordinary Charges in equipping Mrs. Bosomworth and her Servant to proceed this Journey amounted to near 400 Pounds Currency Cash advanced by your Memorialist before he left this Place.

That the additional Expences your Memorialist was at in maintaining Mrs. Bosomworth and her Servant in the Nation till the Time he was ordered to leave it did not amount to less than 300 pound Currancy more. That your Memorialist was so earnestly desirous that all Negotiations with that Nation regarding his Agency |45| should be finally ratified and confirmed before your Excellency to the entire Satisfaction of this Government, that in Compliance with the Request of the Cheifs of that Nation he thought it necessary for the

public Service that Mrs. Bosomworth should continue in the Nation that she might be present at the general Meeting of the Creeks and Cherokees in order to employ her Interest in obtaining those Ends the Government had in View which was a further additional Expence to what your Memorialist has already been at.

That the Wife of your Memorialist before her Return to Charles Town was near 12 Months in the Public Service of the Province during which Time the bare Expences of herself and Servant upon the most moderate Computation amounted to upwards of 1000 pound Currancy as he is ready to make appear by authentic Vouchers.

That it appears from his Grace the Duke of Bedford's Letters abovementioned in regard to the Distribution of his Majesty's Presents to the Indians that it was his Majesty's gracious Intention that such Part thereof should be given to Mrs. Bosomworth as the Merit of her Services should be judged to deserve without any Limitation to that Moiety that should be distributed in Georgia.

That whereas Mrs. Bosomworth has been at very great private Expence, risked her Life for the Public Service of this Province, given the most signal Instances of her Zeal for his Majesty's Service and her Interest and Influence with the Creek Nation of Indians (whose Friendship and Alliance is well known to be of the utmost Consequence to the Welfare of his Majesty's frontier Provinces) in making them sensible of the Reasonableness and Necessity of being obedient to the Law of Nations which your Memorialist presumes to say could not otherwise have been obtained from which Precedent not only from the Creeks but from all the different Nations of Indians contiguous to and in Alliance with this Province very beneficial and salutary Effects in advancing his Majesty's Authority amongst them may reasonably be expected.

To the candid Consideration of this Government your Memorialist therefore submits the Case of Mrs. Bosomworth and most humbly prays that you would please to allow her such a Part of his Majesty's Presents given to be distributed for the securing the Friendship of the Indians, or such adequate Allowance to the extraordinary Expences she has been at, and the Merit of her Services rendered this Province may be deemed to deserve. And your Memorialist as in Duty bound shall ever pray.

THOMAS BOSOMWORTH

Charles Town, the 7th day of May, 1754

GOVERNOR GLEN TO THE CATAWBA KING AND HEAD MEN

Letter from His Excellency the Governor to the King and Heads of the Catawba Indians

Dated Council Chamber, the 9th of May, 1754

GOOD FRIENDS AND LOVING BROTHERS, The Province of Carolina and the Catawba Indians have been so long and so closely connected that they are become as one People. Whatever tends to your Welfare and Happiness gives us Pleasure, whatever is hurtful to you fills us with Concern. You are very sensible of all this and you acknowledge it in the most proper Manner when you say that the Governor of Carolina is your Protector and that you are determined to

public Service that Mrs. Bosomworth should continue in the Nation that she might be present at the general Meeting of the Creeks and Cherokees in order to employ her Interest in obtaining those Ends the Government had in View which was a further additional Expence to what your Memorialist has already been at.

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To the candid Consideration of this Government your Memorialist therefore submits the Case of Mrs. Bosomworth and most humbly prays that you would please to allow her such a Part of his Majesty's Presents given to be distributed for the securing the Friendship of the Indians, or such adequate Allowance to the extraordinary Expences she has been at, and the Merit of her Services rendered this Province may be deemed to deserve. And your Memorialist as in Duty bound shall ever pray.

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do nothing without his Direction. This is the Language of faithful Friends and is a very acceptable Testimony of your Gratitude, and therefore the Governor and |47| beloved Men in Council return you Thanks and desire that you and your People may continue stedfast in this Way of thinking and acting.

I am sorry to find that your Enemies continue attacking your Towns and killing your People; my Advice therefore is to stay at Home and defend yourselves, your Women, and Children, and hunt briskley to cloath them. Your Nation is already greatly reduced and thinned, and you are also surrounded and beset by Enemies that while you are gone against one Nation two or [three] others may power in upon your Towns and burn them, and sweep all away. I therefore once more repeat it as the Advice of the Governor of Carolina and his beloved Men, that you should at present stay at Home and defend yourselves, your Women, and Children against your Enemies who are dayly destroying you, or watching Opportunities of doing it, and the better to enable you to do so I shall without Loss of Time send you Ammunition and fire Arms.

I am &c.

JAMES GLEN

P. S. Whenever you apply to us for Advice, and whenever this Government thinks you may leave your own Towns with Safety, and when your doing it may be for your Interest, we shall not fail to send you Notice.

GEORGE GALPHIN TO GOVERNOR GLEN

Letter from George Galphin, Indian Trader to his Excellency

Dated Cowetas, May the 12th, 1754

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, According to your Desire, I interpreted your Letter to Malatchi as well as lay in my Power. There was but one Man in the Lower Towns that could interpret better then myself and I sent of dyrectly for him, but he sent me Word he would be Interpreter for no Man, for the rest was gone down to Savannah Town.

The Head Men of the Cussetaws was at the Talk and |48| they all aprove much of it, but there is none of their People at Home except a few old Fellows. The Chactaws has killed two of the Upper Towns People, and there has been several Parties of the Upper Towns out against the Chacktaws but killed none. Know the French has taken in Hand to pach up a dishonourable Peace for them. They have sent off a French Man and some of their Indians to the Chacktaws to bring some of the Headmen down to the Fort to confirm a Peace with the Creeks. I am with the greatest Respect

Your Excellency's most obedient humble Servant,

GEORGE GALPHIN

MALATCHI TO GOVERNOR GLEN

Letter from Malatchi, King of the Cawettas, to his Excellency the Governor

May the 12th, 1754

MY FRIEND AND LOVING BROTHERS, I received yours and I see you have not forgot your Promise when I was last in Town. When you confirmed a

Peace between us and the Cherokees you proposed a Peace between us and the 5 Nations which I much approved of. I have agreed to your Talk that you sent up and am glad to hear the 5 Nations has agreed to make a Peace with us, but can do nothing at present for my People is all out a hunting and will not be in this two Months. There is not above 10 old Men at Home.

There is one of the Head Men of the 5 Nations that has lived some Time amongst us. He and some more of our People were a going to the 5 Nations this Spring, but we understood there was a great many Enemies in the Rode and we put him off going till another Oppertunity, but our People will be all in at the Busk and the Head Norward Man and some more of our People shall go down to you and confirm the Peace you have |49| taken so much Trouble about. We know we are at Peace with the Chickesaws, Cherokees, and Catawbas, and there is nothing we desire more than to be at Peace with the 5 Nations. I do not want to be at war with any Indian that is Friends to my Brothers the English. That Day will never come that I will throw away you or any Talk that comes from you and I hope you will do the same by me.

I remain your loving Friend and Brother

MALATCH

LIEUTENANT CADOGAN TO GOVERNOR GLEN

Letter from Lieut. George Cadogan to His Excellency the Governor

Dated Fort Augusta, the 24th May, 1754

HONORED SIR, Inclosed you receive the Answer to your Excellency's by Bubby who informs me that Sickness detained him in coming down or he would have been here sooner. I am apt to beleive him as I have not ever known him guilty of a Falsehood, and also as he is not now in the best travelling State but very anxious to ride hard; fall back fall edge as he says.

Though your Excellency's prevailing Letter to Malatchi has not (by the Absence of the Indians) met with the desired Success with regard to their going now yet I am much pleased with his Talk and Assurances.

Your Excellency's unwearied Pains and the right Understanding of the Indian Natures I have found often manifested. May the same Measures be always prosecuted for the Good of the English Interests. Commendations and Acknowledgements, Sir, must come from your Superiors at Home, for so little a Fellow as a poor Cn. Lieut. sufficient it is to wish for some Part of your Excellency's Capacity and really, Sir, even now a Flight of political Vanity (in me greatly so) I fear will prolong this Letter. Least it should be silly pray do not turn over.

|50| The Motions of the French southerly, their building Forts in their March; their known Inveteracy against the poor Remains of the Chicasaws; their constant Endeavours to corrupt some of the Creeks; to me seems evident that when they do strike, the Blow will be at Carolina, and Georgia, in order to open themselves a Passage to our Seas, what more strongly confirms me in this Opinion is as follows.

Prodigious Sums of Money have been drained from the English for Indigo, and the Encouragement these Provinces meet with for the raising that

Commodity, may alarm their Jealousies. I believe the northern Settlements go upon nothing that hurts their Trade and are too strong to fear their Attacks, how the southern ones are I cannot say. If this Thought seems impertinent, I beg to be excused as I am but a Dabler in Politicks.

I am with great Esteem and Respect your Excellency's most obliged and most obedient humble Servant

GEO. CADOGAN

JOHN BUCKLES TO GOVERNOR GLEN

Letter from John Buckles to his Excellency the Governor

Dated March the 15th, 1754

SIR, I am this Day seting off for the Chickesaws, from the Coosaws with your Excellency's Bounty, the Presents for that Nation. I do assure you it has not been in my Power to get there before without running a great Risque on the Path of loseing the Presents.

My Men discharged themselves here and would by no means proceed any further with me so that I was obliged to send into the Chickasaws by two [Runners] for a stronger Gaurd and some Assistance from the Traders. The 12 Instant Messrs. Courtonnee and Brown's |51| Men, two of them, arrived here together with 10 Indians. They give me an Account of 11 Fellows and 2 Women being killed by the Chactaws at their hunting Camps. One Woman killed her Husband and a Fellow killed himself because his Wife was cross. They also say that many of the Choctaws have been in the Chickesaws this Winter trading with the white People here, and that all the six Towns besides several of the frontier Towns, their Hearts are still good towards the English.

The 11th Instant we had certain News of the Choctaws haveing killed two Creeks of the Poakcantalleshasses between the Coosaws and the Breed Nation at a hunting Camp. Several Gangs of the Creeks are since gone to War against them to take Satisfaction. There is a firm Peace between the Cherokees and the Creeks, and they have frequently been together in the Woods this Winter without doing any Damage to one another. I also have an Account of a great many Cherokees that are to be in the Breed this Spring in order to go to warr against the Enemy Choctaws so that I hope the Guns and Ammunition &c. will be up in good Time. I have got 30 odd stout Fellows to gaurd me, and shall with God's Assistance take all the prudent Steps I can to gett up safe. If they had the Presents sooner they would undoubtedly have made a great Part of it away before Summer which is the only Time they are most in Need.

I have no more to add but begg Leave to subscribe myself

Your Excellency's most obedient humble Servant,

JOHN BUCKLES

LACHLAN MCGILLIVRAY TO GOVERNOR GLEN

Letter from Lachlan McGillivray to His Excellency the Governor

Dated Upper Creeks, April the 14th, 1754

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, Having had no Oportunity since my Arrival |52| here, and now, though I have nothing material, I take the Liberty

to trouble you with the Perusal of these few Lines, thinking it would be agreeable to know the present State of this Nation. In order thereto, I am to acquaint your Excellency that upon my Arrival in this Nation I delivered the Gun Merchant the Presents you sent him. He was very thankful and well pleased that you remembered him and desires to acquaint you that he is always ready and lends an attentive Ear to whatever you are pleased to recommend to him. The Peace you made between this Nation and the Cherokees shews a very promising Aspect, for last Winter they met in the hunting Ground, eat, drank, and smoaked together, and a few Days ago there was several Head Men and Warriours set out from this Nation for the Cherokees in order to confirm the Peace.

Last Month there has been 5 several Companies of this Nation to War against the French Chacktaws, but all returned without any Success. The French are endeavouring to make up the Breach but I hope they will not succeed, for Devals Landlord and some other Headmen are inflexible and will not hearken to any Accommodation. This Rupture (if I may call it so) was occasioned by the Chacktaws killing 2 Creeks at Pattagahatchee last February. The Indians are well affected and a general Peace and Quietness reigns among them, excepting what Disturbance is occasioned by immoderate Quantities of Rum brought among them, which if a Stop put to, would very much contribute towards a good Harmony among the Indians.

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

CATAWBA KING AND HEAD MEN TO THE
CHICKASAW HEAD MEN

[53] Speech of the King and Headmen of the Catawbas to the Heads of the Chickesaws without Date

By the Request of the King and Headmen of the Catawba Nation a Speech to their loving Brothers the Chickesaws

LOVING BROTHERS, We have been this long Time wanting to see you and we have sent some of our young Men with a Token of Love to you, as we have always been Brothers and Friends together. We have a plain Path from our Nation to yours without any Trees or any Thing to hinder us from going to see each other, and never shall the Grass grow to make it blind. I think the Time long to see some of your beloved Men for to shake Hands and smoke together, as your Nation and ours is not a great Distance we want to see you to talk together. We always keep our Friends and Brothers' Talk in our Hearts, and if our Friends and Brothers have any Enemies they must be ours too, for we will never harbour any foreign Nations to destroy our old Friends for we think it is our Duty to take up the Hatchet against them. Your beloved Head Man you made when you were here last to see us, has sent you a Pipe to smoke when you read this Letter.

Our loving Brother the Governor made Peace between us and a Nation that we had been many Years at war with. I beleive he did it to preserve us, but now we see they have broke it, and we are all glad of it for they were destroying of you, and our Brothers the Creeks, and that would not satisfy them for

they robbed and murdered our Brothers the Whitemen when they were here in our Nation last Spring. When we looked at them our Blood boiled within us, but we did not [54] care to break the Peace that our beloved Men made, for our Ears are always open to our Brother the Governor's Talk. We hope you will not fail coming some of [you] with the Bearer.

We remain your Friends and loving Brothers,

KING HAGLER

and 4 more Head Men, Subscribers

SERGEANT HARRISON TO GOVERNOR GLEN

Letter from Sergant Harrison, Commander of Fort Prince George, to his Excellency

Dated May the 21st, 1754

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, This is to acquaint you that I have received your Letters interpreted to the Indians in the Lower Towns, and have sent them over to the Middle Settlements by a white Man and to be forwarded as soon as possible.

But my Answer from the Head Men of the Lower Towns is that your Excellency keeps promising them Ammunition, but as they see none come they think you never intend to send any. And with that Answer they got up, and said that if they were to apply to the French they should have Ammunition directly, and that they would go Home and think, and as their Thoughts led them they would go. On which Answer I have consulted with Mr. Beamer and Mr. James May from the Middle Settlements and they thought it was proper to lett your Excellency know as soon as possible. Likewise I have given them 50 wt. of Powder and 100 wt. of Bullets of my own on the Public Account to keep them as easy as I can till I hear what your Excellency will have done. I likewise have made diligent Enquiry to find out if any one has put these Notions in their Heads, but I cannot find any certain Proof of that. Mr. Beamer is very jelous. [55] It may be Hatton for the Indians themselves say that they want him gone from them, and that Smith and him are Lyers and will not tell the Truth, that your Excellency wrote to them which I beleave is a great Reason of their Uneasyness. I likewise strove all I could to get the Governor of Virginia's Letters and their Answers to them, which I hope I shall accomplish without any Mistrust from the Indians. I will send a Copy the first Oportunity after I get it.

Before I received your Excellency's Letter, Abraham Smith was returned into the Nation with a second Message and is gone over the Hills to Old Hopp and the Warriours with an Indian he had hired when he was taken sick.

I am your Excellency's most obedient, humble Servant

THOMAS HARRISON

P. S. This Day I gave the Indians the Powder and Ball, and they seem to be more contented for they expect a great many of the Creeks to go with them next Month against the French Indians to War, and has sent the Creeks Word that they had plenty of Ammunition expecting that your Excellency would have sent before now.

LAUHLAN MACKINTOSH TO GOVERNOR GLEN

Letter from Lauchlan Mackintosh to his Excellency

Dated Caileges, the 3d of April, 1754

SIR, I thought it my Duty to acquaint your Excellency what News we have in the Upper Creek Nation. About a Month ago 3 Indians was killed by the Flatt Indians in their Hunting Ground of Creeks' Relations to Devall's Landlord, and he is gone to have Satisfaction of them to warr with 100 Indians with him.

The French wants much to make Peace [56] but they declare they will have Satisfaction of them before they make it up. We hear from the Chickesaw Nation that 15 of their best Warriours were killed by the Flatts about 2 Months ago, and that they dare not hunt for the Flatts is so troublesome to them. A great Warriour called the Mortter went about 10 Days ago to the Mountins to confirm a Peace with them. He belongs to the Ockchose, and he is to bring with him some of the Head Men which is to meet at the Ockchose to conclude a general Peace with them. About 20 Days ago the Handsome Fellow belonging to the Ockfuskees killed another Indian in the Woods belonging to the same Town coming up to some Game, and he is much affraid of being killed for it. I hear of no more News. We have had good Hunts in the Upper Creek Nation.

I ad no more at Present, and am your Excellency's most obedient, humble Servant,

LAUHLAN MACKINTOSH

WARRIORS OF HIGHWASSEE AND TOMMOTHY
TO GOVERNOR GLEN

A Talk of the Warriors and beloved Men of the Valley of Highwassee and Tommothy ordered to be sent down to his Excellency by such of the Warriours as [were] present, and by the Warrior of Tommothy's Desire in the behalf of others who could not conveniently attend the Meeting, but gave their unanimous Consent to what he should say is as follows

THE WARRIOR OF TOMMOTHY, SPEAKER. He says he remembers still since the Warrior of Tecethece, Suttallitchee by Name, was in England and that when he returned he told them, before he saw the King, being surprized he was as it were in a Dream, not thinking there could be so great a Man, but after he had seen him, he was [57] perswaded in himself that it was he, and that all the Talk they had between them was good. He says further when Suttellitchee was before the great King and had given him the Scalps, he asked him who was their Enemies, and he answered that the French and their Indians [were] those he allways was and will be at warr with, and that the King answered it was very well, and that he would defend them to maintain their Land, that the Ground they lived upon and his white People was alike and for both to inhabit, to which Suttellitchee answered, that though he himself came from the setting of the Sun and the King lived at his rising and though it was as dark where he came from, and as light where he now was, yet both the Lands and People were as one, as Brothers, and all the great King's Children, and that

he returned the great King thanks for esteeming his People, though red, as his Children also. He says that Suttellitchee told him also at his return Home, that he had been before the Lords of Trade which he said were beloved Men appointed by the King, to see that all his Subjects traded honestly, who among several other Things they talkt of, told them, that if they at any Time should have any Complaint or Grievence, they had no doubt Men in their Nation who could write, and should inform the Governor thereof, and that the Governor would write to them, and what they complained of should be redressed, and that those head beloved Men further told Suttellitchee that if they wanted a Supply of Arms and Ammunition to assist them against their Enemies it should be sent them, and that they should be always well supplied with a Trade from the English there Brothers.

He says further Suttelsetchee told him, that he said to the King that the Path was now made streight |58| between him and his People over the great Water where the King and his People lived, and that the Chain of Friendship which now was fastned to each of their Hearts, though it was at a great Distance, should never be broke, and that now as the Governor had lately made the Path between their Nation, and himself, and his People broad and streight, it should no more be spoiled while he lived. He says he only mentions these Things to the Governor to lett him know that though the Man he speaks of is dead, he was while alive always well affected to the white People and told him still to be the same. He says he still does and will remember his Talk and that he thinks thereon daily from the rising of the Sun to his going down and even when he is in Bed. And that as he is now an old Man and cannot expect to live long, he daily talks to his young Men, to be good and always to love the white People, for what can they do without the English, and he hopes they will continue to love the English as long as any of them lives.

He says he remembers, that when the Warriors and his People were last in Charles Town with the Governor he was so good as to tell them that every Town of their Nation shuld be supplied with a Trade and should have a Trader in their Towns, but that he has had none these many Years, by which his People had suffered both for Want of Amunition and other Necssarys for themselves, their Women and Children.

That Cornelious said the Towns in the Valley all belong to him, and there being a great many Men in the Towns of the Valley, Cornelious had not supplied them, making always a great many Excuses so that the Town where he lived were in want of several Necssarys very much and the People always complaining to him. |59| He was now weary of it. That now he had gott a young white Man, John Kelly, who traded last winter for Cornelious in his Town, and that as he liked him, he hopes the Governor would allow him to trade in his Town and Noewee, they being just by one another. That when they were in Charles Town he heard they were promised to have a white Man whom they loved to live in their Towns, and that as he loved him the Governor would do so likewise, and he says he hopes his Trader will not want Goods to bring amongst them. He says that where they have been supplied from formerly they have had both short Measure of Cloath and Powder although the Governor and his beloved Men ordered good Measure of both. That most of the

Traders had thrown the Governor's Talk away, and neither regarded him nor his beloved Men, when they were out of their Sight which he believes the Governor does not know. He says that he knows they have been in Times past much cheated by [false] Stilliards and short Yards, and desires that each Trader may bring up a Pair of true Stilliards, and yard and Powder Measure, such as the Governor shall approve of.

He says as the Governor has been so good as to make a Peace between the Creeks and his Nation, he and all his People thanks him for it. That a Warrior of the Cowataks has been at Chotee, the beloved Town, and that he was received as a Brother, and that now the Peace through the Governor's Means was concluded all over the Creek Nation and his People, and that they now might come and go as Friends to one another to either Nation as they thought fit, and that lately they have sent Messengers to the Creek Nation to inform them, that they will now joyn them against the common Enemy, the Norward Indians, for they had of a long Time killed and still did continue [60] to kill their People.

He says further that when he saw the Governor at Keowhee with all his Warriors his Heart was glad. That he had often seen at several Times a Warriour that was sent to the Nation by the Governors and his beloved Men, but the Governor himself never came before, and that he thanked him for coming to his Nation and would always remember it as long as he lived, and that he was still sorry he came one of the last to Kehowee to see the Governor. That a white Man living in the Town of Sticoe had his Horse and detained him from him, and he could not borrow another, which was the Reason of his not comeing sooner, but though he came last to Kewohee the Governor was kind to him and gave him and the People that came with him Presents and promised he should have his Horse again from the white Man, though he had not as yet got him yet he thanked the Governor and should love him and the white People his Brothers, and should tell all his People also to love them as he himself had always done.

Given at Tommothy in the House of Ludvick Grant, April the 15th, 1754.

Before us

ROBERT BUNNING

JOSEPH AXSON

LUD. GRANT

his

TACELEE of _____ Eupt

Mark

his

WARRIOR TOMMOTHY _____

Mark

his

TACITEE NOEWEE _____

Mark

his

CHUCONANTA TOMMY. _____

Mark

his

CLENEWA NOEWEE _____

Mark

JAMES BEAMER TO GOVERNOR GLEN

Letter from James Beamer to his Excellency the Governor

Dated Cherokees, May the 27th, 1754

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, I thought it my Duty to acquaint your Excellency [61] that the Governor of Virginia has sent Abraham Smith the second Time to envite the Cherokees in to see him and to receive a Present sent to him from his Majesty for them, but my humble Opinion that that is not all the Reason. I understand by the Indians that Abraham Smith has promised by the Governor's Orders if they will go into that they shall be plentifully supplied with Goods and Traders to come out with them. I have not seen Smith for he keeps all as private from me as can be but what I hear from the Indians he sent over the Hills, but Old Hopp sent him Word the Weather was hot and he did not care to send his People out, but I understand there is seven of these Lower Towns' People a going with him. I wrote to the Sergeant of the Fort this Day to acquaint him of it, and for him to prevent it if he can. I have done all in my Power to prevent their going, and they do tell me they will not, but I can hardly beleive them. Smith gives them such Encouragement and tels them what vast Presents they shall get, not old Cloaths but every Thing good and plenty. And if I was to think his Brother Richard Smith assisted him to get the Indians to go, I do not think I should be mistaken for Abraham has not enough of the Tongue to perswade them against their Inclinations.

Long Jack's Brother arriaved from Warr the other Day and brought in 3 Frenchmen Prisoners and one Scalp. I beg pardon for thinking he ought to be taken Notice of. The Indians are very uneasy for some Ammunition, Pistols, and Cutlasses to fight against their Enemies, and they say the French supplies all their Indians with such Necessaries of Warr. My People killed 2 of the Savannahs a while ago, that they supposed them to be Savannahs that they double armed with Gun, Pistol, and Cutlass, each [62] of them.

I shall be ever obliged to your Excellency if you will indulge me with your Protection by the Bearer for two Months till I can do my Buisness in Charles Town. And I shall be always ready to serve your Excellency and my Country.

I am your Excellency's most dutiful and obedient Servant to command,

JAMES BEAMER

MALATCHI TO GOVERNOR GLEN

Letter from Malatchi, King of the Creeks, to His Excellency the Governor

Dated Cowetas, May the 7th, 1754

FRIEND AND BROTHER, You told me after I arrived in my Nation to let you know if it was a firm Peace between the Cherokees and us. I never had an Opertunety to see any of them till now. There was 8 of them came into my Town, three is returned Home, and the rest is here still, and there is some of my Townspeople now in the Cherokees. They have sent to me to assist them against the Nottawages. My People is all out a hunting, but when they

return I intend to send them to warr against the Northward Indians. I now beleive it is a firm Peace between the Cherokees and us, for my People and them has met together in the Hunting Ground and eat and smoked together. The Chaktaws have killed 2 of the Puckintellahosey People in the Upper Creeks, but they have sent a Talk into the Chaktaws if they will deliver them up the 2 fellows that killed our People it will be made up, but if not there will be a Warr between us.

There is a young Man come up here and went to the French Fort. I had Buisness in the Upper Towns and I went to the Fort and see him. I asked him what he went there for and he told me he had killed |63| a Man. I told him you had promised me any Favour I would ask you, and if he would return to my Town I would write down to you to beg a Pardon for him, and if you do not grant it I have given my Word to him to see him safe back to the Fort again. And as the other Man is dead, the Death of this Man will not bring him to Life again; the Thoughts of Death is teryfying to the stoutest of us. Suppose the Case was yours or mine, we should be loth to die, so I hope you will grant me his Pardon, and send it by the first Opertunety, and I shall take it as a great Favour done to your assured Friend and Brother,

MALATCHI

P. S. I suppose you know the young Man's Name is John Toomer.

JOHN BUCKLES TO GOVERNOR GLEN

Letter from John Buckles, Indian Trader, to his Excellency the Governor,

June the 26, 1754

SIR, I arrived at Augusta the third of June and the very Day Mr. McKintosh sett off for Charles Town, so that I have not had an Oppertunity to write to your Excellency before now.

My Misfortunes will not permit me to come down, however I hope your Excellency will find a satisfactory Account in regard to the safe Deliverey of the Presents. Inclosed your Excellency will find my Journal together with a Certificate signed by the Traders and Head Indians.

If my former Service be found to have been honourable I hope if any future Presents are to be sent I shall be employed.

I arrived at the Chickesaw Town in the Upper Creeks on the 17th of January where my Men left me being afraid to go further, so I was left alone with 30 Horses and the Presents to take care of. |64| While I remained here I was put to great Inconveniency for want of Men, and could not have got up at last if I had not sent to the Chickesaws for Assistance from Messrs. Courtonne and Brown who sent me 2 of their Men whom I paid. But in order to serve the Public better I left my own Goods in the Upper Creeks with Mr. Clark.

What Value the Trade of the Chocktaws and Chickesaws would be to the Publick, I do not think myself an able Judge, but this I know, the great Danger we are in of loosing the Chickesaws is a Consequence of our having lost the Chocktaws in all which Mr. Pettycrew was the Principal.

I should not think it my Place to medle with the Distribution of former Presents, but if I may beleive Stories told in the Nation Mr. Pettycrew did not apply all the Presents committed to his Care and that he converted some to his own Use.

The 17th of January the said Pettycrow offered me 500 Pound to run away to some other Country and leave my own Goods and the Presents with him.

I am very unable to write any further being very weak having had a severer Fit of Sickness. Begging your Excellency's Excuse, I am with Submission
Your Excellency's most humble and obedient Servant,

JOHN BUCKLES

JOURNAL OF JOHN BUCKLES

Journal of John Buckles, Indian Trader, Memorandum of my Journey from Augusta to the Chickesaw Nation with his Excellency's Bounty

December 2d, 1753. I was 36 Days on the Path between Augusta and the Upper Creeks, had very great Rains and high Rivers.

January the 8th, 1754. I arrived at the Oakfuskees in Company with 17 Chickesaws whom I mett on their Way to Charles Town. It cost me some Pains to diswade them from |65| going down and was obliged to give them a Gun and a Blanket, a Peice of the Presents, otherwise they would not have returned with me. I stayed at the Oakfuskees 7 Days to rest my Horses and provide Provisions for myself and the Indians.

January 18th. I arrived at the Breed Camp at which Place my Man left me and would not proceed any further so that I am obliged to stay here till I can get Assistance from the Chickesaws. In order thereto I sent off two Runners the 20th to Messrs. Courtonne and Brown, Traders in the Chickesaw Nation, and also to the Indians for a stronger Gaurd. I continued here till the 8th of March and had no Account from thence.

March the 12th. Francis Underwood and John Smith, Pack Horse Men, belonging to the said Courtonne and Brown together with 10 Indians arrived here. The said Underwood &c. told me they had received Orders from their Employers to assisst me up to the Breed with the Presents.

13th. We had an Account here that the Chocktaws have killed 2 Creek Indians belonging to a Town called the Poakanlattehausus at their Hunting Camp between the Coosaws and the Checkesaws, and the Creeks are making Preperation to go to Warr against them in order to take Satisfaction.

23d. Left the Coosaws and proceeded on my Journey to the Chickesaws in Company with the said Mr. Courtonne &c. Men, who are to assist me up. My Gaurd consists of at least 40 bold Warriors so that I [hope] there is no Danger of geting safe up. I was under a Necessity of giving them Powder and Bullets on the Path for most of them had litle or none to defend themselves and us in case we should hapen to meet with an Enemy.

April the 8th. I arrived safe in the Chickesawes. There is here 2 French Dezertters and a Negro. The Negro says he was born in Carolina, and that his Mother was a free Woman, |66| and he was also free, but was sold to the French by Hugh Cartwright deceased, and shiped off from Charles Town.

Some Time last Summer some Shawanas came to the Chickesaws with a Peace Talk, and brought with them a Chickesaw and a Creek Woman whom they had formerly taken Slaves from the aforesaid Nations in Consideration whereof the Chickesaws made them a Present of a French Girl who was brought in here about 5 Years ago with her Mother. The Mother was redeemed and sent down but her Doughter has been kept here ever since. The Shawanas returned to their Land after a Peace was concluded between them and the Breed and a Chickesaw Fellow whent Home with them. He is to return when green Corn is ripe, and about 40 Shawanas with him in order to go to War against the Chocktaws.

There is another Nation of Norward Indians called Tauwas have been to war against this Nation last Summer, but mett with bad Success. The Chickesaws killed 10 of them at different Times and took 2 alive. Not one Gang of them that came on the Nation got off without being merrooned. The Breed sent Home one of the said Tauwas to make a Peace, the other remains in the Breed Nation.

Three Days before I arrived in the Breed, died much lamented by both white and red, the old Jockey. He was always a Friend to all white People and is much missed in this Nation. Before his Decease he appointed another in his Room and gave him a strict Charge to use all white People kindly as he had always done. The Warrior appointed is a well inclined Indian. There is nothing wanting to make him esteemed by all his Nation as well as the Jockey but your Excellency's Encouragement.

[67] Chickesaws Dead since Last Spring

17 Men killed by the Chactaws	- - - - -	17
5 Women killed by Ditto	- - - - -	5
1 Man killed himself	- - - - -	5
1 Man killed by his Wife	- - - - -	1
1 killed by his own Relations	- - - - -	1
Died by Sickness	- - - - -	3
	Sum Total	28

Several of the Chactaws of our late Friend Party was in the Chickesaws last Summer and traded with Mr. Jeromy Courtonne who trusted them several small Cargoes of Goods for which they made Returns in November last. He says that several Kings of the said Nation came into the Chickesaws, and he trusted them Goods to the Amount of seven hundred Weight of Leather. They were to have made a Return for the same when the Peach Trees were in Blossom, but we have had no Account of them as yet.

April the 12th, 1754. In the Presence of Jeromy Courtonne and John Highrider, Traders, and several other white [People] I distributed the Presents among the Chickesaws. It was very acceptable to them, as they have not been able to hunt for Enemy these 12 Months past which has made them very poor. After I had given the Presents amongst them they asked if I had not a Speech from your Excellency for them. I made bold to give them the following Talk in your Excellency's Name hoping you will please to pardon me.

From his Excellency the Governor of South Carolina to all the beloved Men and Warriors in the Chickesaw Nation:

I understand by your humble Request that your Nation is constantly surrounded by the Chocktaws |68| and your other Enemies so that it's hardly possible for you to hunt and kill Dear sufficient to cloath yourselves, Women, and Children which has induced me after consulting my beloved Men to take Pitty on you, and I have thought proper to send the following Goods by John Buckles, a Trader in your Nation:

75 Guns
 75 white Duffel Blankets
 600 lb. of Powder which is 12 Baggs
 1200 wt. of Bullets is 24 Baggs
 4000 Flints
 6 lb. of Paint

I hope this will inable you to defend yourselves at Present and induce you to gaurd the white People to and from your Nation as its impossible for you to stand your Ground without their Assistance. I am heartly sorry to here so many of you being killed by your Enemies, but you know fulwell that many of our Traders have and dayly do lose their Lives with you, yet we have still sent more amongst you whom you ought to use well as you are sensible they venture very hard in carrying Goods to support you with such Necessaries as you want. I hope you have no Reason to complain for want of any Thing that is usefull for you. If you swap with the white People and purchase them, it's not in their Power to give away or trust all their Goods. In so doing many of them have formerly been spoiled and can by no means gett more Goods to come amongst you which is the chief Reason you have so few Traders amongst you at Present. Many of them have been broke by these Practises and many of my beloved People that trusted them have lost a great Deal in so doing.

It's good for you always to indeavour to pay |69| your just Debts which you have from Time to Time contracted with the white People. It will be a Means to make them the readyer to trust you again in your Need. I am greatly concerned for you as I am not unacquainted with the Number of Enemy that's round you. Stand your Ground like brave Men and Warriors, and you may always be sure of being supported by us in all our Extremitities whenever we find you are distressed by your [Enemies] in our Interest.

I have used all possible Means to make Peace with your Enemies espesially with the Chocktaws, and am sorry to hear they have revolted our Interest and joyned the French. You are not insensible I have sent them several large Presents thinking to have contracted a lasting Friendship between you. Therefore it would be good for you to still indeavour to renew the Peace with that Nation if it's in your Power, or if they or any Part of them should be well effected towards you and want to swap Leather for Goods in your Nation, encourage the same. In so doing you will learn from them all the Motions of the French and your other Enemies in their Interest. Thereby you will be the better able to defend yourselves in case an Army should come against you.

I am sorry to tell you that your Nation is greatly weakned by Reason a great many of your Warriors leaving their Lands and settling in other Nations,

and are still dayly running away, some to the Creeks, Cherokees, &c. This I hope you will endeavour to prevent for the Future, as it's a great Means of lessning your Number and weakning your Nation as much as your Enemies. Indeaour to keep your Warriors together for the Future, and bring back all you can that have formerly left your Land by which means you'l increase and be [70] strong and able to defend yourselves against all your Enemies. You may be sure whenever you leave your Lands and settle in other Nations you will be no more a People. Besides you'l lose your antient Rights and Customs, and be confined to comply with the Laws and Customs of other Nations whom you live amongst, who perhaps may use you hardly, and you will get no Satisfaction. Be kind and sivil to all my white People that comes to your Nation, do not hurt nor spoil any Thing that is theirs, neither are they to hurt or spoil any Thing of yours. If they should, no doubt you are always ready to get Satisfaction. That is all at Present from your Friend.

CHICKESAW HEAD MEN AND WARRIORS TO GOVERNOR GLEN

To His Excellency James Glen, Esq., Governor of South Carolina, and the Honourable Council from the Head Men and Warriours of the Chickesaw Nation

We have heard your friendly Talk delivered to us by Mr. John Buckles which together with your kind Presents confirms in us the Oppinion we have long had of your Desire that we should live and injoy our Lands against all the Attempts of our Enemies. Though your Lands and ours is far distant from each other, and that of our Enemies, the French, but a little Way from us, yet we look on you not only as our best Friends, but as our Fathers haveing always found a Readyness in you to assist us whenever we made Application to you, and although we are Red People, we can and ever will make a true Distinction between the English and ever other Nation, and shall love and esteem them all our Days.

It's true some Years ago we did not mind how [71] many our Enemies were, but that is not our case at Present, our Number being reduced to a Handful of Men, and thereby we are rendered uncapable of keeping our Ground without a Continuance of your friendly Assistance, we not being able to hunt nor are we free from the Hands of our Enemies even in our Towns, so that it is impossible for us to kill Dear to buy Cloathing for ourselves, our Wives, and Children, or even to purchase Amunition. This the English Traders that comes amongst us is too sencable off from the small Quantity of Skins they have carried out of this Nation these two last Years to what they used to do formerly. It's needless to trouble you with an Account of what People we have lost in a few Months as we suppose the said Buckles will do it. Nothing but our present Necessity could oblige us at this Time to ask you for a further Suply of Guns and Ammunition, without which we must either stand and be shott, or defend the Enemies' Bullets with our Hatchets as we have nothing else at Present. Our Traders is tired out with trusting us with Ammunition and Guns, nor can we be angry with them as it has not been in our Power to pay them for it, and many other Things we had from them, so that we may now say our Lives is in your Power to save or to let the Enemy have their Desire off us. It has always

been your Desire as well as our own that we should keep this Ground from the French which we have hitherto done, but now this is our very case; we must either run from it and save our Lives or die upon it, and either Ways give it up to them unless assisted by you. In former Times when we either went or sent to you we had Presents of all kinds of Cloths, Duffels, Red Coats, and a great many good Things, but now we do not desire any other then Guns and Amunition to preserve our Lives with. We still love our Lands |72| and Liberties nor shall we chuse ever to give it up but with the Loss of our Lives.

A great many of our People has left us; a Thing we are sorry at, but young People will rather go from us to live in Peace than stay here where they are in Danger every Day. We will not now trouble you with any Thing farther then to assure you this Paper contains nothing but Truth as we know it would be bad to send Lies to our best Friends. If you think good to take Pity on us and send us some Ammunition and at the same Time four of your Guns that make a great Noise and will kill our Enemys at a great Distance we will either keep our Land or die along side of them Guns, and if we should be all killed the Guns would still remain on our Ground to shew the French how much the English loved us. All your old good Talks is still fresh with us, and so shall this your last Talk nor shall we ever throw them away.

April the 16th. 17 Cherokees arrived in the Chickesaws in order to go to Warr against the Chocktaws. They also give an Account of a large Body of the said Cherokees which are to follow them and are to come into this Nation presently to assist the Chickesaws against their Enemies.

23d. Messrs. Courtonne, Brown, and Company sett off their Men and 53 Horses loaded with Leather. About 8 o'Clock at Night a Chocktaw Fellow arrived here and brought an Account of an Army of Choctaw and other French Indians being sett out from the Fort in the Chocktaws 2 Days before him and intended to cut off this Nation. Also after they had attacked the Chickesaws and done what Meschief they could to that Nation they were to drive off all the Horses |73| belonging to the Traders &c. as it was judged to be about the Time of us gathering our Horses together, and if they happned to be too late they were to persue us on the Path, and if they came up with us to kill us all and afterwards to destroy our Leather and drive our Horses to the French. In Consideration whereof the French had given them large Presents before their coming off from their Nation and still give greater Incouragement then ever for our Scalps. About 12 o'Clock att Night in Company with Mr. Jeromy Courtonne went after the Horses who were at Camp about 10 Miles off in order to make the best of our Way to the Coosaws for we had no other Way left to escape their Fury.

April the 24th. About 5 o'Clock in the Morning after getting our Horses together haveing found the best Part of them before Day we sett off for the Coosaws. We travelled at least 40 and sometimes 50 Miles a Day which was hardly ever known. Our Horses being deep laden notwithstanding we arrived at the Coosaws the 11th Day safe and out of the Power of our Enemies. Had we not made so quick a Despatch we should certainly all of us been cut off. A Chickesaw Fellow who came with us was frequently behind, and discovered a large Body of Indians in persuit of us about half Way between the Chickesaws

and Coosaws at one of our camping Places, but as we had all the Way made a Practice of outing our Fire with Water made them think we had been gone longer then we really were, they dispaired of overtaking us and declined following us any further.

During our Stay at the Coosaws in the Upper Creeks we had no further Account of the said Army. What Damage they may have done to that Nation, I can give no further Account, but as I left them [74] well supplied with Ammunition there is no Danger of their [not?] making a good Defence.

Number of Chickesaws Living in that Nation

Able Gun Men - - - - -	340
Old Men between 50 and 60 and 70 Years of Age - -	25
Young Boys - - - - -	155

As to the Number of Women in that Nation I can give little or no Account any further than every Fellow has at least 2 or 3 Wives and young Girls there may be about the same Number of them as of the Boys or they may exceed.

Having no more to add at present I beg Leave to subscribe myself

Your Excellency's most humble Servant,

JOHN BUCKLES

MATHEW TOOL TO GOVERNOR GLEN

Letter from Mathew Tool, Indian Trader in the Catawba Nation, to his Excellency

Dated the 15th of July, 1754, viz.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, I thought proper to acquaint your Excellency that Abraham Smith has returned from the Cherokee Nation and brought with him some of the Indians of that Nation and he went to the King of the Nation and insisted upon him going along with him to see the Governor of Virginia. The King told him he had received your Excellency's Letter, and that your Excellency had wrote him not to go to Virginia for he must stay at Home and minde his Woman and Children, and that your Excellency had promised to send them some Powder and Led to defend themselves from their Enemies, which Abraham Smith told them your Excellency was making fools of them for your [75] Excellency would not send them any, and it was good for them to go along with him to the Governor of Virginia, and there they should get greater Presents than ever they had got from your Excellency, upon which the King agreed to go with him, as he being a Fellow that loved Presents. One of the Indians came up to my House and told me of it. Immediately I went down to the Nation, but Smith was gone to [Atkin?] and the Indians were to march to him the next Day. I amediately went to the King and told him I was informed he was going to Virginia. He told me he would sett off tomorrow Morning. I used a great many Arguements with him to try to prevent him and his People from going but all to no Purpose. I asked him if your Excellency had not wrote to him, and he told me you had. I desired him to let me see your Excellency's Letter and I would interpret it to him. He told me he had not your Excellency's Letter by him, that Smith wanted to carry to the Governor of Virginia to shew him, but he had not it for he left it

in the Settlement with one of the white Captains which I understand they took a Copy of and sent it down to the President of North Carolina and an Answer to your Letter came back from the President of North Carolina to one of the Justices of the Waxsa Settlement. I get a Copy of that Letter as soon as possible and send it down to your Excellency. There is about 19 of the Cheaf of those People gone. They have been gone for some Time. I am perswaded that the Catawba Nation will be no more in one Year's Time, there is not 30 Men at Home. A small Body of Enemy might easily take their Towns.

I am your Excellency's most obedient humble Servant,

MATHEW TOOLE

KILLA CUNSTA TO GOVERNOR GLEN

Talk to his Excellency the Governor from Killa Cunsta, Prince of Ioree in the Cherokee Nation, dated July the 6th, 1754 |76| to our beloved Brother James Glen, Esq., Governor and Commander in Cheif in and over the Province of South Carolina

Most humbly sheweth,

According to your Order and your Commission gave to me, I, the Prince of Ioree, by the Orders of my beloved Men and Warriors both of the Middle Settlements and over the Hills was at War against the French Indians and [brought] in one Slave whom we burnt, but on his Decleration he positively told us that there was 600 French Men and as many Indians coming in with an Intent to kill, take, and destroy the Seven Towns over the Hills, and if so undoubtedly will go further. Therefore they intreat of you their Brother to dispatch Ammunition up as quick as possible for what the Traders has brought is not a Hand full a Piece for so many Men as is there and others who are agoing to their Assistance. Therefore as they are your Enemies and ours I hope you will now in the Time of our greatest Extremity which our great King over the great Water has told us and you likewise a sundry Times for we are not no Way acquainted with the French but the English, nor never doe desire that we may. Therefore hopes you will grant this small Request that we may the better be inabled to drive them away.

I remain your loving Friend and Brother

I likewise have sent your Token which you ordered Killa Cunsta to send on any Express that was urgent.

JAMES BEAMER TO GOVERNOR GLEN

Letter from James Beamer Indian Trader to his Excellency

Dated July the 24th, 1754

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, I should have waited on your Excellency last Night having just come down, but I finde Mr. Eveleigh, in Contempt of your Excellency's Orders and Protection you was so |77| good as to send me, inclines to seize me, and as I have not wherewith all at this Time to pay him, neither is the Debt due by me alone but several that was in Company at that Time.

Inclosed you have two Letters from the Indians. I have a good deal to acquaint your Excellency concerning the Motions of the French which is now got very near us and other Things the first Opertunity I can get to wait on your Excellency till when

I remain your Excellency's most dutyfull and obedient Servant to command,

JAMES BEAMER

JAMES BEAMER TO GOVERNOR GLEN

Letter from Ditto James Beamer to his Excellency the Governor without Date.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, I hope you will pardon me for not waiting on your Excellency before now, but knowing how spitefull Mr. Eveleigh is, I dread him, and I have something of Moment to acquaint your Excellency with, though may be reckoned a Sham but is not. If your Goodness has any Thing to send me, please to send it to me by my Boy, and according to your Orders I shall obey them.

From Your Excellency's most dutyful and obedient Servant to command,

JAMES BEAMER

COMMANDING OFFICER OF FORT PRINCE GEORGE
TO GOVERNOR GLEN

Letter from the Commanding Officer of Frott Prince George which was sent by Conacorte of Chote to the said Commander, viz.

The Governor imprisoned the Shawanese in Charles Town is the Occasion of a War between us and our Enemies for the Shawenese sent a Belt of Wampum to the French Indians to get them to assist them and they are now coming in a Body against us. He says you may think by this Time that we are dead for not having Ammunition to defend them with. The Governor his Brother he says is a great Way off but he brought the War upon them by imprisoning the Shawenese. He says that he will not |78| wright for Ammunition because he has been disappointed and it is only to lett you know the Distress that he and his People are now in.

CONACORTE of Chote

KIAGUNSTA of Chote

EXAMINATION OF JAMES BEAMER BY THE GOVERNOR
AND COUNCIL

James Beamer, an Indian Trader among the Cherokee Indians who had brought Dispatches from the Indian Country, was called in before the Governor and Council and examined, viz.

GOVERNOR. How long have you left the Cherokee Nation?

BEAMER. It's this Day one and twenty Days when I sett out.

GOVERNOR. You brought me 2 Letters from the Lower Towns directed to me from the Upper Towns. Did you see the Messenger that brought them to the Lower Towns, when that Talk was held?

BEAMER. The Messenger acquainted the Assembly that he was sent as a Runner from the Town of Chote with a Scalp of a [Nuntriya?] French Indian to acquaint the whole Nation to be on their Guard. That the said Indian before he was put to Death declared to the People present in the Upper Towns that there was a Body of French Men and French Indians of a considerable Number, of which it was reported that there was about 600 of each, then encamped and building a Fort within 50 Miles of the Town of Tanassee, but what their further Design was, was not known. He said that he was not afraid to die for he expected to be killed, and that there was enough to revenge his Death, and owned that he came out into this Nation before the rest with two other Indians in Company with him having been sent out before the others to do Mischief, and did accordingly kill two Women in a Corn Field over the River of Chote which greatly terrified the whole Nation. That the Middle Valley People was ordered to repair over the Hills to the Town of Chote in case they should be invaded on which Account the Prince of Ioree sent an Express down to his Excellency for Ammunition to defend [79] themselves.

GOVERNOR. Did you hear of any Persons coming down?

BEAMER. No, I did not.

GOVERNOR. Did you imagine if the French Indians were settling in the Upper Towns do you think a Runner could not come to the Lower Towns to acquaint them thereof in 3 Days?

BEAMER. Yes, with travelling Day and Night which they don't stick out to do on a case of any extraordinary Emergency.

GOVERNOR. What's become of the 3 French Men that were in the Nation?

BEAMER. They are there now for what I know.

GOVERNOR. Was John, the French Man, in the Nation when you left it?

BEAMER. Yes, he was.

GOVERNOR. Has he not been out lately?

BEAMER. Yes, he has.

GOVERNOR. Where did he go to, and who went with him?

BEAMER. He went out early in the Fall and carryed along with him 13 or 14 of the Shawanese Indians, but where he went to, or what they went about, I cannot tell.

GOVERNOR. When did he return?

BEAMER. He returned late in the Winter, but what Indians he brought in with him I don't know.

GOVERNOR. How many Miles do you think it is from hence to the Town of Chote?

BEAMER. I take it to be about 500 Miles.

GOVERNOR. How much Powder and Ball do you think you can be able to carry up to the Nation?

BEAMER. 700 Weight of Powder, 1400 of Bullets, and 2000 Flints, and no more.

GOVERNOR. How much must you have for carrying it up to the Town of Chote?

BEAMER. £300 and no less.

PETITION OF LACHLAN MCGILLIVERY

Read the Petition of Lachlan McGillivery in Council humbly shewing,
That your Petitioner has enjoyed the Priviledge of a Licence to trade with the Upper Creek Indians since the Year 1744 untill this Time. That |80| he gave no Cause of Complaint to the Indians or his fellow Traders and kept the Indians of his Towns in good Order and well affected to this Government, and that he has upon all Occasions exerted himself in the Indian Nation for the publick Good even to the Neglect and Detriment of his own private Buissness is a Fact well known to all the Traders in that Nation, some of whom are now in Town.

That your Petitioner has at various Times officiated as Linguist between his Excellency the Governor and the Creek Indians without Fee or Reward, and in particular when Malatchi and other Head Men of that Nation were last in Town. That your Petitioner being detained last June about publick Affairs in the Nation longer than usual, the Commissioner for Indian Affairs, for Reasons unknown to your Petitioner and without any Complaint, granted his Towns, viz. Puckentallahassee, Wocckukay, and Weetomkee Old Town, alias Little Talassee to one John Baxter, notwithstanding that said Baxter obtained the Licence of William Sludders deceased last October, to the great Detriment and Loss of your Petitioner, which is a great Grievence. Wherefore hopes your Honors will please to take his Case into serious Consideration and your Petitioner as in Duty bound shall ever pray,

LACHLAN MCGILLIVERY

This Petition being taken into Consideration by his Excellency and the honourable Council, and the Petitioner attending and being examined upon several Facts to which he gave satisfactory Answers of his Conduct and Behaviour amongst the Indians having been such as to deserve the Aprobation of this Government, and the Commission[er] for Indian Affairs having granted a Licence to one John Baxter for the said Towns before Mr. Lachlan McGillivery's Licence was expired. Therefore the Governor and Council do revoke the Licence to the said John Baxter granted in June last by the Commissioner for Indian |81| Affairs, and declare the same to be void and null, of which he and all others who it may concern are to take Notice at their Parril.

GOVERNOR GLEN TO THE HEAD MEN OF THE
UPPER CHEROKEES

Letter from his Excellency the Governor to the Heads of the Upper Cherokee Indians sent them by Mr. Beamer, Indian Trader, viz.

GOOD FRIENDS AND BROTHERS, The great King George your Father has the same kind Concern and tender Affection for the Cherokee Nation that Parents have for their Children, and has commanded me his Governor to love and cherish them, to supply their Wants, to help to defend them against their Enemies, and particularly to protect their Country against the French, and I having lately received Letters from your Nation acquainting me that you had received Information of a Body of French and their Indians coming against you and representing the great Necessity that you were in for Want of Am-

munition, I have therefore sent you a [plentyfull] Supply for the Over Hills Towns, viz.: seven Baggs of Powder of fifty Pound Weight each Bagg, and 14 Baggs of Bullets also of 50 lb. Weight each, and a thousand Flints, and if the Report shall be confirmed that the French are making a Settlement any where upon Tannessie River, let me know by Express (which Mr. Elliat or any other of the Traders are hereby ordered to bring) and in that Case I will send Warriours to your Assistance, to drive them back to their own Country, and to build a Fort there for all that Country is yours, not [only] the Land which you live on, but all the Lands on each Side down Tennesse River as far as Mississippi, and all from Tennesse to the Ohio or the fair River. This has been the Hunting Ground of the Cherokee Nation Time out of Minde. The French must never be permitted to possess a Foot of it. I know they want to |82| build Forts there to prevent your going to War against your Enemies, their Indians, and to restrain the Little Carpenter and Long Jack's Brother from diverting themselves upon the Mississippi, but I think your best Defence against the French and their Indians will be to write a Letter to the great King George to be signed by all the principal Head Men of the whole Nation, or by Old Hopp in the Name and at the Desire of all. This Letter to be put into the great King George's own Hand, acknowledging him to be your King, and Head, and Father, desiring him to build a Fort upon Tennesse River, and to put white Men Warriours in it, and great Guns to defend you his Children, and to protect your Country which is his own, and to pray him to permit you to offer him one Deer Skin [yearly?] from each Town in the Nation as a Mark that he is your Head and for his Protection, and in that Letter you should thank him for the Ammunition, and pray that he may still order his Governors to continue to send Supplies. If the Letter should not be right I will amend any Part of it that may need it, and sent it back to you to put your Mark to it, and then I have no Doubt but that the great King George will be desirous of seeing some of your Head Men in England. Seven went about twenty Years ago and I think as many or more should go now. The Little Carpenter, Pusteneka, the Emperor, the Great Warrior of Tennesse, and some others from other Parts of the Nation, but this could not well be till next Spring,

I am your good Friend and loving Brother,

JAMES GLEN

DEED FOR THE FORT PRINCE GEORGE TRACT

|83| This Paper witnesseth to all manner of Persons what hath been transacted in the Cherokee Nation between His Excellency James Glen, Esq., Governor of South Carolina, and Corone, The Raven of Toxawa, in the Presence and by the Approbation of many of the Head Men, and most of the beloved Men of the Nation.

Whereas, the Head Men of the said Cherokee Nation have for many Years solicited the said Governor of the Province aforesaid, to have a Fort built in the Nation, and in order to induce him thereto freely offered the Land in any Part of the said Nation, that he should chuse to build upon.

And whereas some of the Head-men are since dead, and I, the said Raven of Toxawa, being now in their Stead, and having consulted with many of the

Head Men of the said Nation, and most of the beloved Men of the Lower Towns, did offer to make a free Donation of all the Lands in the North East Side of Keowee River betwixt a Creek known by the Name of Mile Creek, and the River aforesaid for that Purpose.

But he, the said Governor, refusing to accept of the same by way of Gift and being desirous to purchase it

Therefore, this present Paper witnesseth, that for, and in consideration of thirty Stroud Match Coats, a certain Number of Duffel Blankets, Striped Flannels, Shirts, Guns, a certain Quantity of Powder, and Bullets, Flints, Knives, and Paint, the Receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged I, the said Raven of Toxowa, have in the Name of the Cherokee Nation aforesaid, by the Consent of many of the Head Men, and most of the beloved Men, granted, bargained, sold, alienated, and confirmed, unto the said James Glen, Esq., Governor of South Carolina, his Heirs in Trust [84] nevertheless for his Majesty King George the Second, King of Great Britain, &c. his Heirs and Successors for ever, for the Use of his Subjects of the Province aforesaid, not only the Spot of Ground upon which a Fort is at present building near Keowee, and all the Land betwixt that and a Place called Long Canes of the Width of the said Fort, but also all the Lands, as well Corn Feilds as pasture Grounds, Hills, Woods, and Waters, and all the Right and Title the Cherokee Nation can lay Claim to in the said Lands for ever.

And I have put him, the said Governor, into Possession thereof by giving him a Handful of the Earth with what was growing thereon and by delivering him a Branch of a Tree with Design that neither we, nor our Children will never lay any Claim to the said Premises while the Sun shines, or the Rivers run, and we shall, and will be always ready to defend his said Majesty King George the Second, his Heirs and Successors' Right thereto, against all manner of Persons whatsoever.

In Witness whereof we have subscribed these presents by putting our Marks and Seals to the same

In Fort Prince George near Keowee

This 24th Day of November in the Year of our Lord, 1753

Signed, sealed

and delivered

in the Presence of

RAYMOND DEMERE

JAMES MCKAY

WHITE OUTERBRIDGE

THOMAS GLEN

JAMES FRANCIS

LUD. GRANT

JAMES BEAMER

JOHN ELLIOT

his

CORANE _____ The Raven of Toxawa

Mark

his

CANACAUGHT _____ The great Conjurer

Mark

of Keowee

his

SINNAWA _____ The Hawk Head

Mark

Warrior of Toxawa

his

NETTAWAGETCHE _____ of Toxawa

Mark

his
 YAHOMA _____ of Keowee
 Mark
 his
 CANNASAITA _____ of Keowee
 Mark
 his
 YORHATCHE _____ of Taxawa
 Mark
 his
 OWASTA _____ The Head Beloved Man
 Mark
 of Toxawa

GOVERNOR GLEN TO THE CHEROKEE HEAD MEN

|85| Letter from his Excellency to the Indians,

June 13, 1754

GOOD FRIENDS AND LOVING BROTHERS, I have sent you two several Letters lately, and I have desired Mr. Buttler to carry this to your Town of Chotte and to interpret it in your hearing, and as I am dubious that my former Letters may not have been truly interpreted, I think it would not be amiss if you give them to him to interpret for I know him to be true and honest, and that he will neither deceive you nor me.

I hear that you intend to break out War with the Five Nations, and that the Creeks and Catawbaws are to joyn you in it. I know you are as brave as the Nittawagees and are much more numerous, but they have Friends no doubt who will joyn them, and so it may become a very general War, and how melancholly a Prospect must it be to the English to see their Brothers bathing their Hands in one another's Blood, how joyful a Sight to the French to see their Enemies cutting one another's Throats, and doing their Work for them. This is indeed what they would do were they able, and knock all of you of the Head, and take your Country from you, so while you fight against one another, you both fight the Battles of the French and fight for them; however if you have good Proof that it is really the Nittawegaas that treacherously kill your People while at the same Time they pretend to be your Friends they should give you Satisfaction. They should punish the guilty and permit none of their People upon any Pretence to go to your Nation or into your Towns, for they help to consume your Corn and Provisions and what is worse are always breeding Quarrels, but I hope all this may be brought about without a War. I wish therefore that the Peace was preserved till I send to my Brother the Governor of New York that he may acquaint the Five Nations with your Complaints and try to procure Redress in a friendly Manner, and I shall at the same Time desire him to propose a Peace betwixt them and |86| the Creeks also for it is under Pretence of going against them to War that they come into your Towns, but till all these Matters are fully settled (in doing which I shall lose no Time)

I think it would be very hazardous for any of your People to go into Virginia least they should meet a superiour Number of the 6 Nations.

I shall be always ready as I have been to give you my best Advice, and I hope you will not take any Step that may involve you in War without it.

I am good Friends and loving Brothers,

JAMES GLEN

LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO GOVERNOR GLEN

Letter from Lieut. Gov. Dinwiddie to His Excellency read May 6, 1754

Williams Burgh, Virginia, April 15th, 1754

SIR, Your two Letters of the 14th and 25th of March I duely received. Your Observations on the French Transactions in this Part of the World are very right and the Consequences you draw in regard to their securing the many Nations of Indians to their Interest is very just and exactly agreeable to my Opinion, and that no Time is to be lost in preventing their further Invasion on his Majesty's Lands is what I have much at Heart, and is the Foundation of my Earnestness in complying with his Majesty's Commands to build two Forts on the Ohio River as Marks of Possession and to prevent their Extention of their Forts down that River.

The Steps that I have taken in conformity thereto is that in January last I sent out a Company of eighty Men to the Forks of Monongehela where they have cleared the Land and I hope by |87| this have begun the Fort. Since that I have sent two Detachments of 150 Men each to support them, and I expect three or four hundred Men from North Carolina to follow them in a Fort Night's Time, which with the three Independent Companies, the Assistance of the Northern Colonies, and the Junction of our Friendly Indians, I am in hopes will put me in some Capacity to prevent the French extending their Settlements on that River.

I shall be very glad to hear the Government goes into the mutual Assistance recommended by the Earl of Holderness as his Majesty's Commands to each Colony on the Continent, and if you cannot conveniently raise Men &c., if you can supply me with Money, I doubt not but can raise Men sufficient here agreeable to the Aid your Assembly may vote for a Supply on this critical Juncture, and I believe can procure small Arms for them if you qualify me to make a Purchase of them; but I hope you'l join with me that no Time is to be lost, as I suppose the French are now on their March towards the Ohio. Your Assembly's Compliance will shew the French the Connection of the British Colonies against their Invasions. The Assembly of Pensylvania are now sitting, and from the Governor's Letter to me I have good Reason to expect a handsom Supply from them.

Your Proposal of a general Meeting of all the Governors, no doubt would be of great Service, both as to Representations Home, and a true Knowledge of the Strength of each Colony, but as to their proportioning the Quota each is to supply would have no Weight with my Assembly, as they are too headstrong to be under any Direction but from their own Opinions and Arguments. What Influence you may have over your Assembly I know not, but I frankly tell you

I have none over this here further than arguing on the Necessity, leaving the Quantum to them; and I read His Majesty's Directions for |88| a mutual Supply to be no other than our Endeavours with the Assemblies to vote Supplies for his Service.

I must further observe let your People be ever so eligible for an Interview and Meeting of the several Governors, this is a very improper Time, first as the French are on their March, we should be active in our Supplies to prevent their further Encroachments by an immediate Force to stop their Proceedings. Secondly by meeting the Indians at Winchester on the 20th of May will in all Probability prevent my Return hither till the End of June.

Thirdly, the Governor of New York has a Meeting with the Six Nations at Albany by Order from Home to deliver them a Present on the 12th of June. Lastly it cannot be expected that Mr. Shirley, the Governor of New England, would come here which I believe is a Journey of 800 Miles. For these Reasons I believe you will think with me, that the Time and Place you mention cannot be complied with.

But to bring our Affairs with the Indians into a better Regulation, I have sent Home a Scheme to the Lords of Trade, which I conceive will answer all the Views you propose. If approved of at Home, I shall in Time give you due Notice thereof. I am obliged to you for the Care you have taken in ordering the Independent Company here, which I daily expect though not yet arrived, and am glad of the Account you give of them.

It is impossible for me as yet to describe to you the different Tribes of Indians or their Number of Gun Men, but after their Meeting at Winchester, I hope to be able to give you a particular Account. My Invitation is to the Six Nations, the different Tribes of Indians on the Ohio River, the Twightwees, a large Nation to the Southward, that inhabit between the Ohio and Lake Erie, the Cherokees, Catawbaws, and Chickesaws, and if we meet and come to a proper Treaty, I shall be very glad to |89| include the Creeks and all other Indian Nations in Friendship with Britain and these Colonies.

If I possibly can persuade some of the Chiefs to come from Winchester here, I should be glad, but as you know them better than I do, I suppose you will think that very uncertain, and more so if their People should be wanted to defend their hunting Grounds on the Ohio. I can give you no fuller Accounts of the French Force, than what you have in Major Washington's Journal.

I have no View at Present of dislodging them from the Fort they have unjustly built on his Majesty's Lands which may be considered hereafter. At Present in Obedience to his Majesty's Commands I want to build two Forts as a Possession and for a safe Retreat on Occasion. His Majesty has sent me thirty Cannon, four Pounders mounted on proper Carriages with all Implements properly fitted, and eighty Barrels of Powder. Ten of the Cannon I have sent out to be carried to the Fort now building with one third of the Stores belonging to the whole, and if they can carry them properly over the Mountains, the others shall be sent after them. We have no Coehorns Mortars or Shells, and as we are not going to attack but build Forts, they are not so immediately wanted.

The Distance from this to the Place I propose building the Forts is about 400 Miles. I think I can supply Provisions for more Men than I think I have any Prospect of raising, though there is no Doubt of raising a great Number of Men here and in North Carolina. You have enclosed an Account of the Pay I have established for our Forces and I supply them with Arms and each Colony must do the same. I cannot tell the Quantity of Arms in other Colonies. There now remains in our Magazine about 400; some of them I must lend to North Carolina.

Hereafter I hope to be able to give you an Account [90] of the Numbers and Situation of each Tribe of Indians, but I once more desire to enforce the absolute Necessity of a Supply from your Province. I am sorry your People should suggest my keeping them in the Dark and enlighten other Governments, I declare I have been open to them all in giving them all the Intilligence in my Power, and my Letters to you corresponds with what I wrote the other Governments, and I cannot help saying I am surprised at your Backwardness as I really had great Dependance on a handsome Supply from you, but if they disappoint the Expectation of his Majesty in giving a mutual Supply, I must be easy as to myself; as the present Designs of the French effect all the Colonies it's just and natural to expect each of them should exert themselves with a proper Spirit at this Time.

Your Answer by this Express will much oblige
Your Excellency's most obedient, humble Servant,

ROBERT DINWIDDIE

Governor Glen

GOVERNOR GLEN TO LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE

Letter from his Excellency the Governor to Lieutenant Governor Dinwiddie

South Carolina, June 1, 1754

SIR, In some of your Letters to me and I believe to all the Governors in America you inform us that before you left England his Majesty had been pleased to grant by Patent to a certain Company some Lands on the Ohio that are an undoubted Part of the Dominion of Virginia, that the said Company or the Province of Virginia had also made a fair Purchase of the said Lands from the Indians, the Proprietors and Possessors of them. That in Consequence of both these Titles you had sent a Colony of British Subjects to clear the Lands; that while they [91] were quietly cultivating the same a French Army consisting of some thousands Regular Troopes marched from Canada and fell upon that little Colony killing great Numbers upon the Spot, carrying many into Captivity, and seizing all their Effects to a great Amount, and that in order to secure themselves in their usurped Acquisitions they had built Forts and garrisoned them with many hundred Soldiers.

Those Letters I communicated to the Council and Assembly and accompanied them with a Message to enforce the Necessity of exerting ourselves, and of repelling the French, and with all shewing the Facility of doing it. A Copy of my Message I already sent you; these Papers being referred to Committees,

both of the Council and Assembly. They made a Report to which both Houses agreed, the Substance of which I also communicated to you, but least it might have lost anything by being shortened I now send you the Report its self, and I truly think that no Province could have gone a greater Length. They are unanimously of Opinion that this Province should in conjunction with other Colonies give a proportionable Assistance to dislodge the French and repel any Invasion upon his Majesty's Territories in any of the said Colonies, but both they and I thought and still do think that nothing can be done to purpose in any Case till there be a previous Meeting of the Governors or of Commissioners to consider of the different Circumstances of the several Provinces and to apportion and adjust what the Quota of each should be upon every different Emergency; I was so full upon this Subject in my former Letters, and you said so little against it, though you did not agree to it, that I forbear to press it. If Virginia had been too [far] for Mr. Shirley to come as you alledge, we might have [met] at New York which is more central.

I also send you a second Report agreed to by both Houses upon some of your subsequent Letters, by which you may see their Opinion which is also mine. God forbid that we [should] content ourselves with building a Fort or two to prevent future Injuries and Wrongs. Murders and Depredations, I think, call for different Measures, and it will be found that the best Way to prevent them for the Future is to punish the Past. This is the Conduct prescribed by his Majesty to all his Governors in America for though the Secretary of State's Letter be written with great Caution, yet nothing can be more clear than that [upon] any Invasion of the British Territories we are to repel [Force] with Force, this is the Language of [92] the Law of Nations, it is the Voice of Nature. Without it fifty Forts would be of small Service and will prove no Defence.

I find that a Fort is proposed to be built at the Mouth of Monongehala, were it built below the Mouth of River *au Beuf* or French Creek as you call it, or lower down the Ohio, it might in some Measure prevent the French from going down that River from Lake Erie, and so have a good Effect, but I must confess that I cannot see any great Utility of a Fort where it is proposed to be built. Surely no Person can seriously think that the French will ever attempt the Conquest of the powerful Province of Virginia situated as it is betwixt some of the most populous Provinces in America; two or three of which are a Match for all the Power of France in this Part of the World.

Carolina is the Country that has Reason to fear the Force of France in case of any Rupture; it is thinly inhabited; it is a frontier Province, and consequently weak by Situation. It may be easy to cut off a Corner, but it would be Madness to attempt the Center where the English are remarkably strong, rich, and populous, having been settled there an hundred Years before this Province, and even this Province has not much to fear while we keep our Interest with the Indian Nations around us, but should we ever lose their Affections either by any Mismanagement of the English, or by the superior Address of the French, we must be in a miserable Situation, for the Cherokees alone are several thousand Gun Men all acquainted with every Inch of this Province. Their Country is the Key of Carolina and from thence may be made frequent

Incursions, almost without a Possibility to checque or restrain them, for when they have done any Damage, perhaps cut off a [Number] of Families in the Out Parts, they may the Day after [be] back at their Mountains which may be said to be inaccessible, as ten Men will defend some of the Passes against a thousand. 'Tis for this Reason that this Province is [extremely] jealous of any other Colonies intermeddling [with] our Indians.

By long Experience we are become acquainted with their Nature and Inclinations and have managed them so as to keep them steady in the British Interest notwithstanding the restless Endeavours of France to gain them from us. We were greatly alarmed some Years agoe when your Province received with open Arms and caressed some of the Cherokees who had given just Offence to this [Province], and whom we intended to have corrected. You will see a Letter of mine upon that Head [93] in your Journals when Mr. Lee was Commander in Chief. Mr. Lee acknowledged that he had been greatly deceived and was so candid as to print a Paragraph to that Purpose in the *Virginia Gazette*, but it gave me great Concern upon your Arrival to perceive that notwithstanding his Error you pursued the same Steps, for though I know your Abilities are great, yet you must for many Years at least be unacquainted with these Matters the more so that I know of few or no Indians that are in Treaty with or who may be said properly to belong to Virginia, and I shall be glad to know what End you think it will answer to draw them from one Part of his Majesty's Dominions to another, I fear it will have an Effect in the End to withdraw them from the British Interest.

His Majesty has been graciously pleased to send Presents to this Province to be distributed to such Indians as are contiguous to and in Alliance with it. These Presents in the Manner that we manage them are fully sufficient to fix the Friendship of all those Nations, the Catawbaws, the Cherokees, Creeks and Chickesaws, and it is certain that by our Means they are not only in perfect Peace and Friendship with one another, but were never more strongly attached to the British Interest. If this were to be disputed, let Facts speak; they come when we send for them, they go when they are bid and they do whatever is desired of them, they now perfectly understand the Injustice of punishing the Innocent for the Guilty, and the Necessity of punishing the Guilty in conformity to the Treaties betwixt them and us, such at least as are guilty of offending the English, as it will sometimes happen that in a drunken Quarrel they will kill a Pack Horseman in their Nation, for though all our Traders are by Law restrained from carrying Rum amongst them, yet some People from your Country take care that they shall not want it, but whenever that happens although they say that it is not the Fault of the Indians but of the White People who bring the Rum, yet they never fail to put to Death the Indian who killed the White Man, were he the greatest Headman of the Nation, and I could give you several late Instances that they do not now wait till an Agent be sent up to solicit it, or till I write to desire it, they immediately hold a Consultation upon it and he is directly put to Death. When People unacquainted with the Nature of Crimes and Punishments are brought to inflict Punishments for Crimes and think it just and [94] right, it may be safely said we have gone a great Way to civilize Savages. All this I do aver to be Truth.

What Benefit then do you propose by sending so many pressing Messages to prevail with these Four Nations or with the Five Nations in New York to come to Virginia. If indeed Carolina or New York were not able to conduct these Matters it might be advisable for Virginia to interpose that they might not be lost to the British Interest, but the contrary is notorious, and I will answer for their good Behaviour with my Life, if your Province does not interfere.

When I was in the Cherokee Nation I saw one Abraham Smith who was said to have brought a Message from you to those Indians but did not care to deliver it in my Presence though I pressed him to do it. The Indians said they believed his real Business was to steal their Horses and carry them to Virginia as he had frequently done formerly, which they instantly proved. He was also by some of the English that were with me, [charged?] with having stolen their Horses upon which I intended to have brought him to Charles Town to have taken his Tryal, but he made his Escape that Night to Virginia. I was in hopes that he would not have ventured back to the Cherokees again, or that you would not have sent him on any Message thither for the Future, as I understand that in my Absence the Council of this Province had by Letter prayed you not to intermeddle with our Indians. I have also requested the same Thing in the strongest Terms, and yet I find you have sent of late three different Times to the Catawbaws, as often for the Cherokees, for the Chickesaws &c. You send for them to come to receive Part of the Presents sent by the King. If you are pleased to send the Presents hither we shall give them to them and tell them that they are from their Father King George, who desires them to live in Friendship with all the English, but if they are to go so far as Virginia for them, and loose so much Time that may be better employed in hunting nearer home, and which is still worse run such great Risque of their Lives by Enemies in the Woods, the Presents will be dear bought though I believe you may prevail on a few of the lower Sort to come.

This Letter will be delivered to you by Captain Julian Legge, Commander of his Majesty's Ship Shoreham, who has the Character of being an able Officer from everybody that are Judges of Merit in that Way. For my own Part I know him to be a very worthy good natured Gentleman, ever ready to serve and oblige, but he [95] carries a Passenger in his Ship whom I am more interested in as being a Member of the Council of this Province, the Honourable William Wragg, Esq. I do not decline saying any Thing of him from any Apprehension of exceeding in his Character but because it is unnecessary, for it is impossible for him to conceal his Knowledge and Learning or his great Desire still to know, and learn more. He returns from Nova Scotia or Boston at least by Land, but I believe his Time will not permit him to make any Stay in any of the Colonies which I am sorry for because I know he would collect whatever is curious or worth transplanting either in the Constitution or Government of any of the Northern Provinces, but I must desire you may communicate to him any Proposal or Plan that you think may contribute to the mutual Good or Benefit of our Colonies, particularly the Scheme that you say you sent to the Lords of Trade about Indian Affairs, and I hope you will send it here

as soon as possible. It will be of little Service to see it after their Lordships have done with it.

I have left to the last a Matter that is not of the least Concern to this Province, that is to desire that you may send back as soon as possible our Independent Company. I sent them readily because it was the King's Pleasure; I did it without remonstrating or representing any Thing about it to the Ministry because you had told me that you intended to dislodge the French whom you called the Enemy, and said that the Season for Action was at Hand, but since that seems to be wholly laid aside, I hope you will with the same Cheerfulness with which they were sent send them back again, you know our Situation and the great Need we have of them. We had formerly three Companies and then not half enough, but one of these three is now in Georgia, another is gone to Virginia, and with one Company we garrison as well as we can, Fort Prince George in the Cherokee Nation above three hundred Miles from hence, Fort Moore about one hundred and sixty Miles, the Congaree Fort an hundred and forty Miles, Fort Frederick sixty Miles, and Fort Johnson. You may judge how hard must be the Duty and how impossible it is for one Company to garrison so many and so distant Forts, and consequently how few Men are left in Charles Town, a Place where they are greatly wanted, there being betwixt three and four thousand Negro Slaves always in it. I desire I may hear soon from you upon this Head.

LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO GOVERNOR GLEN

[96] Governor Dinwiddie's Letter to Governor Glen in Answer to the foregoing. Dated August 5, 1754

Williams Burgh, Virginia, Augt. 5th, 1754

SIR, Your two Letters of the 1st of June by Capt. Legge I duely received and should have answered them before this, but it was late in June before I came from Winchester, and have been much hurried ever since.

It's true his Majesty by Patent granted to a certain Company a Quantity of Lands on the River Ohio which Lands are his Majesty's undoubted Right by the Treaty of Lancaster, and by subsequent Treaties at Loggs-Town on the Ohio.

I wrote you the 23rd of May, 1753 that a Number of Families were going to make a Settlement on these Lands, but my Letters do not say, "That a French Army consisting of many thousand Regular Troopes marched from Canada and fell on that little Colony, killing great Numbers on the Spot, and carrying many into Captivity, and seizing their Effects to a great Amount." If you had laid my Letters before your Legislature they would have found no such Paragraph. I said that they took some Traders, confiscated their Goods, and carried them Prisoners to Canada.

I approve of Commissioners from each Government to enquire into the State of the Colonies, but at this Time, when the French are in Arms and invaded his Majesty's Lands in a hostile Manner, there is no Time to be spared for a general Congress. It appears to me more eligible in obedience to his Majesty's Commands that each Colony grant a mutual Supply, by Application

to the Assemblies, without waiting to adjust the proper Quotas, and this the other Colonies are doing.

North Carolina and Maryland have done, and the Assembly of Pennsylvania now sitting will contribute to the Support of the common Cause, and I hope your Assembly will think proper to do the same.

You mistake my Desire, if you think I wanted your Assistance for building two Forts. No, this Dominion could do that without any Assistance, but my repeated Application was for Men and Money to defeat the Designs of the French in invading the King's Lands and to be able to repel Force by Force.

The Place I began to build a Fort in is the most proper, as it commands Monongehela and River Ohio, and is the very Spott the French are now fortifying. [97] No doubt two or three of our Colonies may be able to repel any Force the French may bring against us, but if those Colonies will not join with Spirit, the French take the Advantage of our Supiness, which is the Case now, to the Discredit of his Majesty's Subjects in these Parts in not supporting an Expedition of so great Consequence to the Nation and ourselves.

I acknowledge very freely that I do not know the Affairs of the Indians so well as you; but I have observed ever since I have been here, that the particular Attachment of the different Governments to their own particular Interests (and not as Subjects to one Prince) has been of very bad Consequence in Indian Affairs, and the Indian Nations do not like to be confined to any one of the Governments.

In regard to their Trade we have very little from this, but pray by what Law can I restrain my People from trading with any Nation of Indians in Amity with Great Britain, or shall I be confined from shewing any Regard to our friendly Indians when they come into this Government? The seldomer they come the better, it's always attended with great Expence.

The Emperor of the Cherokees was here with his Attendants. I received them properly with Presents and recommended him and his People to your Province for Trade as being much more contiguous.

The King of the Catawbaws and some Cherokees were lately here. I gave them Presents and recommended them as above, and indeed very few of our People have any Indian Trade to the Northward; it's chiefly conducted by Pennsylvania and New York.

About a Year agoe the Cherokees and Catawbaws wrote me, if the French should come to invade their Hunting Grounds and our Lands, they would assist me with 800 Warriours. As I was disappointed from our own Colonies I sent to them for their Assistance on this Emergency to march some of their Warriours to join our Forces on the Ohio. They sent me Word they were ready if I would supply them with Ammunition, but that the Governor of South Carolina desired them to remain at Home, take care of their Families and Hunting, for I was only going to build a Fort which I could do without their Assistance. If this is true I think his Majesty's Service has been ill used and much neglected by one of his Governors. I never had any View of Trade with them which is much too mercenary while his Majesty's Dominions are so much exposed to the Invasions and Insults of the French.

[98] You surprize me that you know of few or no Indians in Treaty with Virginia. I think all the Nations of Indians that are Allies to Great Britain are in Friendship with this Dominion and as such I always receive them, besides we have several seperate Treaties with Indians. However, it gives me Pleasure that you keep the Catawbaws, Cherokees, Chickesaws, and Creeks in so good Order, which I wish may long continue, though I am informed the French are now building two Forts among the Cherokees, one not far from Choto; which I presume from your close Attention with them they have apprised you of it.

No doubt New York and Carolina are well able to conduct their Indian Affairs, but am sorry they should be distinguished as their Indians which I never heard New York assumed, but now when his Majesty's Service so much requires it, and necessary to keep them in our Interest, I hope I cannot justly be charged with Misconduct to get the Assistance of the Indians; let their Attachment to any one Colony be what it will.

You go a great Length in saying you will answer for their Conduct with your Life.

If I had known Abraham Smith's Character I would not have employed him even as a Messenger, but it was Necessity having very few Traders to these Nations, but after this Year he shall not be employed.

The Presents to the Indians is paid out of the Funds of this Dominion, and hope you will not take it amiss if we see the Delivery of it in a proper Manner.

Capt. Legg is my former Acquaintance; a Man of Merit, Worth and a good Officer. I thank you for the Pleasure I had in Mr. Wragg's short Acquaintance; he appears to be a Gentleman of great Learning and superior Sense. His Stay here was very short, but expect it will be longer on his Return home-wards.

You surprize me much in desiring me to send back the Independent Company; they were sent here by his Majesty's Orders, and must remain till ordered back by the King. I know no Power Governors have to send his Majesty's Forces from one Colony to another without distinct Orders from Home, and at Present they are very much wanted here.

The Indian that came with Captain Mackay went with that Company to the Camp, and orderd to be sent to his Nation. I am sorry for the barbarous Behaviour of the Shawannoos Indians that broke out of your Goal. I fear that Nation have joyned the French, so at Present nothing can be [99] done, but if we are so lucky to succeed in our present Expedition, I shall hereafter endeavour to have them brought to Justice.

The present Affairs of the French prevented the Chiefs of the Indians meeting me at Winchester. They sent me Word that they could not leave their young Men for Fear of being deluded by the French fair Promises.

Now, Sir, I think I have pretty fully answered your two Letters and my Duty to the Crown engages me to give you an Account of the Operation of our few Forces near to the Ohio. By Capt. Dubois I wrote you the French from Canada had landed near the Fort I ordered to be built, summoned them to surrender, which from our small Force, were obliged to comply.

Col. Washington with his first Detachment of our Regiment marched over the Allegany Mountains, and encamped at a Place called the Great Meadows, within thirty Miles of the Fort they took from us. On the 27th May he had Notice of a Party from the French Fort were reconnoitring our small Camp. This Information was sent them by the Half King (who is Chief of the Indians on the Ohio) who desired him to march with some of his Men to joyn him, and he would shew where the French were encamped, who consisted of 35 Men and two Officers. Col. Washington marched with 40 Men to the Half King. One of the Indian Runners tracked the French to their Lodgment. Our small Party was in Sight about 9 o'Clock in the Morning when the French flew to their Arms. We lost one Man and two wounded. They killed 13 of the French and took 21 Prisoners who are now in this Goal.

Your Independent Company and the rest of our Regiment joined Colonel Washington about the 20th of June; they had Information the 3rd of July that the French being reinforced with 700 Men were on their March to attack them. The short Warning gave them little Time to put themselves in a proper Posture of Defence, but I refer you to the enclosed News Paper for the Particulars as reported to me by the Officers.

Our small Number of Men behaved with great Spirit and Courage, that although the French have the Advantage by Capitulation, yet Honour is due to our People. I presume you will now join with me in calling the French on this Continent Enemies.

This small Defeat has given me much Concern, but it seems to have opened the Eyes of our neighbouring Colonies to joyn sincerely in the common Cause. Maryland has voted £6,000 and the Assembly of Pensylvania now sitting will, without doubt, act properly in granting handsome Supplies.

As I do not care to let our Forces lie idle, they are now near 1000 |100| Men, I have ordered them to march over the Allegany Mountains. If they cannot dislodge the Enemy from the Fort, they have my Orders to build a Fort in a proper Place that may be concluded on by a Council of War.

The Money [raised] by our Assembly is very near exhausted which obliges me to call them the 22nd of this Month when I have good Assurances of their granting further Supplies. I hope when your People consider the Insults of the French and our present Situation that they will cordially and with Unanimity grant their Aid against the Enemy, and in the Cause that all the Colonies are so greatly concerned in. The Management of this must be left to you.

I hear from England that your People complain I keep you in the Dark. I cannot conceive the Reason for this. I wrote you the Purport of his Majesty's Commands to me; I sent you Colonel Washington's Journal and gave you an Account of my Operations, probably not so fully as you might have expected, but consider I have been obliged to write to every Government on this Continent. That takes up most of my Time, and I am sure there is no secret Designs or Advantage in my View. No, Sir, my Endeavours are with Diligence and Assiduity to comply with the Commands I have from Home, and to conduct this essential Expedition with all the Vigour and Care in my Power, and if the other Colonies had contributed in Time, I think it would have been over

before now and the French drove from the Ohio. As formerly if your Assembly grant any Supply by Money or Bills of Exchange, I can raise Men and provide the Necessaries for them.

I shall be glad by the Return of this Express to know your Opinion if I can have any Dependence of a Supply from you.

I remain with due Esteem, your Excellency's most humble Servant,

ROBT. DINWIDDIE

GOVERNOR GLEN TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE

Copy of a Letter from Governor Glen to [Sir Thomas Robinson] dated¹ Sir, None of King's Colonies felt more sensibly the Calamities of the last French War than this for which Reason we are very attentive to every Circumstance that has any Tendency towards one, and are greatly alarmed at the present Proceedings to the Northward. We think that a small Spark may kindle a great Fire, and are affraid that if the Flame bursts out all the Water in the Ohio will not be able to extinguish [101] it, but that it may soon spread and light up a general Conflagration.

We wish that the Measures that are now pursued there may not be productive of such Consequences, but we are persuaded that had the Proposals of this Government been listened to, they would have perserved Peace, and we are still of Opinion that they will be found to be the most likely Means to restore it should it be lost; namely that there should be a Meeting at Virginia of most of the British Governments upon the Continent, at least of these Six. The two Carolinas, Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New York, to consider and canvas the present Disputes betwixt the French and us more minutely, than has hitherto been done, not to rest satisfied with the general Words of Murders, Depredations, and Invasions so frequently used in the News Papers of those Countries, but to fix upon particular Facts and Acts of Hostility and to get the fullest Proof that can be had of them, and when we ourselves are fully convinced of the Truth of them, to send specifick Complaints accompanied with the Proofs to the Governor of Canada to demand Redress and Satisfaction for the Injuries, and an *Eclaircissement* upon all the Differencies betwixt us. This I apprehend should be one Part of our Business at that Meeting, and the first Step to be taken. At the same Time a proper Plan of Operations might be concerted in case of his Refusal, we might also agree upon and adjust the several Quotas that each particular Province should advance, not only upon the present Occasion but any subsequent Emergency, and though perhaps the several General Assemblies who retain the Power of raising or levying these Quotas might make some little Alterations from what might be agreed upon by the Governors, yet that could make no sensible Difference in the Scheme and we are fully persuaded that if such a Confederacy were fully known it would either prevent any Controversies between the French and as or soon finish them.

Whereas the present Management is likely to cherish and protract them, and to feed the Flame; a few Men raised in one Province, this Month, a small Sum [squeezed] out of another the next, the Men die or desert, the Money

¹ The addressee and the date are missing; the former is given in the original index.

gone and nothing done effectually. It will be in vain to think of having Recourse to these Provinces a second Time, and therefore something to the Purpose should be done. At first something that will soon finish the Matter which cannot be expected without such a Meeting as I proposed and such an Examination which I believe is much wanted, for can it be supposed that distant Provinces who hear many |102| contradictory Accounts will pay such a Deference to a Letter from another Governor perhaps neither full nor satisfactory and raise Men and Money when they see his own Province which is more immediately concerned turn a deaf Ear to such Reports and do nothing or what is next to nothing.

Such an Examination into Facts as is here proposed appears to me to be the more necessary as I find that long after the Wrongs said to be done, by the French upon the Ohio and in the Back Parts of Virginia had been trumpeted in one Province, and echoed from others so that all America rung with them, Mr. Dinwiddie sent a Gentleman to the Ohio to get Intilligence what the French had done prejudicial to his Majesty's Interest, these are the Words of his Letter to me, and I acknowledge they surprized me, for I thought that their many Acts of Hostility, though all unknown to me were notorious in Virginia. I have indeed heard since that a Family in the Back Parts, that is to say in the Woods, had been murdered, but that happend afterwards and the Discovery is said to be made by some Indians. This Mr. Dinwiddie says he concludes must be done by the French or their Indians, but this I think woud be a very hard and I hope a very groundless Conclusion as to the French. There never passes one Year that the Cherokees do not take a Boat or two belonging to the French on the Mississippi and destroy most of the Crew. Last Year they killed eight People belonging to one Boat, and brought two People alive into their Nation, and this Year they killed most of the Crew of another Vessel upon that River, and brought in three Prisoners, but they never accused and I dare swear never suspected the English as the Actors of such Barbarity, neither can they imagine that we are or ought to be answerable for what our Indians do, nor can the Crimes of their Indians be imputed to them except when they countenance or advise them, of which there is no Proof in the present Case. On the contrary from a longer Experience in Indian Affairs and a more intimate Knowledge in the Nature of them than Governor Dinwiddie can yet have, I conclude it more likely to have been perpetrated by our own Indians, by those very Indians who pretended to have made the Discovery and of such Practices I can produce many Instances before the Peace, which I lately made, between the Cherokees and Creeks was fully finished. Some Parties of Indians (a small Nation) too much in the French Interest set upon and killed several of the Cherokees leaving Marks and Tokens as if it had been done |103| by Creeks. This was done after the Creeks and Cherokees had agreed to forbear Hostilities that Matters might be fully adjusted. The Creeks also seized several of these Fellows lurking in the Woods watching an Opportunity of killing some of them that the Cherokees might be suspected, and so that the War might be blown up into a fresh Flame.

Some Years agoe a pretty large Party of Schawanna Indians came from the Ohio and settled among the Cherokees and took great Pains to improve

every little Misunderstanding between them and this Province aggravating our Conduct as oppressive and advising them to resent it, promising to stand by them and to bring many more to their Assistance, at the same Time firing at and wounding some of our People and accusing the Cherokees of it in hopes to work us up to revenge it, but finding all their Artifices were discovered and likely to signify little, two of them set out from the Cherokee Nation and came into a House in our Out Parts, the Master of which spoke their Language well, and though they were hospitably entertained they murdered the Man, his Wife, and all his Children with a Stranger that lodged there that Night concluding that would suspect the Cherokees with whom we had some little Difference at that Time and call them to an Account for it, but the Woman though mortally wounded lived long enough to declare that they were Schawanna Indians who had committed the Fact, and that her Husband had told her so before he was murdered. Soon after this the whole Body left the Cherokee Nation and returned to the Ohio declaring when they went away that they would live no longer among the Cherokees since they could neither get them to strike a Stroke against us nor embroil us with them. How melancholly woud it have been had we become the Dupes of those Indians, or had we fallen into the Snares spread for us by Savages, and I really suspect that this is the Case in this Instance at least at Virginia.

I expected to have found all the Offences of the French exactly and particularly enumerated in the Lieut. Governor of Virginia's Letter to the French Commandant, but was greatly disappointed to find them all lumped in these Words, that he had sent to "complain of the Encroachments made on Lands on the Ohio and of the Injuries done to the Subjects of Great Britain in open Violation of the Law of Nations and Treaties subsisting betwixt the two Crowns;" that if he had been pleased to have condescended upon any of the particular Facts which occasioned his Complaint he would have answered the fullest and most satisfactory Manner. His whole Letter is cool and clear; it is as sensible as civil. It contains no Declaration of War, nor does it seem to furnish a Handle for one. 'Tis true indeed he refuses to obey |104| Governor Dinwiddie's Summons to retire, but from what Place Mr. Dinwiddie's Letter says that the Lands on the Ohio are so notoriously known to be the Property of the Crown of Great Britain that it surprized him to hear that a Body of French Forces were erecting Fortresses within his Majesty's Dominions. Major Washington, when he came to the Ohio with that Letter, found neither Forces nor Fortresses there; he met indeed three Frenchmen and asked them where their nearest Fort lay, to which they answerd that it was near Lake Erie. This he found to be many a Mile to the Northward of the Ohio, for it took four or five Days for to ride it, he says 'tis 130 Miles by Water. Every one acquainted with American Affairs knows that the French have had Forts on or near Lake Erie for these four score Years.

I cannot therefore think that it is his Majesty's Intention that his Subjects in these Parts in Time of Peace should disturb such long Possession; I am affraid that a Book of no great Authority may have misled some Gentlemen of Virginia into an Opinion that if they could get a large Share in the Indian Trade it might be greatly for the Benefit of that Province for I have seen them pointing that

Way for above four or five Years. The Book is Keith's History of Virginia; in Page 181 are the following Words, the most ancient though not the most considerable Branch of Commerce in Virginia is its Indian Trade &c., and in the same Parragraph he says, but if ever the English (as one Time or other they probably may) extend their Settlements in Virginia beyond the Great Mountains and come to possess Lands on Lake Erie, and as far back as the Branches of Mississippi, then will the Indian Trade be considerable indeed. But the Government of Virginia knows little of our Indians and can have no great Knowledge in any Indian Affairs. They |105| have nevertheless busied themselves extremely for these three or four Years past with all the Indians contiguous to and in Alliance with this Province, which has been Matter of great Concern to every Member [of] this Community as they are sensible how dangerous it may be when Matters of so great Delicacy are handled by Gentlemen that can have no great Experience in them.

The Person who has been often sent from that Government to the Cherokees and Catawbaws to invite, and I must add to press them to go thither to get Presents has spoken very disrespectfully of this Province to the Indians telling them that they will not be treated there with old Cloaths alluding to the Presents sent by his Majesty to be distributed to them by us and has endeavoured to bring this Province into Contempt, and by a late Letter that I have received from the Catawbaw Interpreter, he tells me that this Fellow has deluded the King of the Catawbaws and most of the Headmen of that Nation to go to Virginia to receive Presents, and there being no Headmen left in the Nation and most of the Warriours dispersed, some a hunting and some gone to War, there are not thirty Men left at Home. The Interpreter therefore concludes that if an Enemy come against them at Present the whole Nation must be cutt off, and whether or not he thinks the Nation from this Fellow's Intrigues will move away in a Body in the Spring which will be no Benefit to Virginia but an irreparable Loss to this Province, it were therefore to be wished that the Management of Indians and of Indian Affairs were left to these that are the most conversant in them.

But upon all these Accounts I am confirmd in my Opinion that there ought to be a Meeting of the Governors, a thorough Examination of all our Complaints against the French, and if they shall appear to be well founded that Redress and Satisfaction should be demanded, and in case of a |106| Refusal that Provision shoud be made for a sufficient Force to do ourselves Justice. If these Steps are taken we shall begin regularly, if War should happen we shall be able to fix upon the French the Odium of involving their Colonies in an unjust War, which for that Reason I hope Heaven will render a destructive one to them. On the other Hand if we hurry into it without these previous Precautions they will have Reason to roll over the Blame upon us of being the Beginners of it.

But though I am thus cautious not to plunge the Provinces so precipitately into a War, yet I should be sorry to see the French permitted to settle the Ohio River, but infinitely more so to see them settle and build Forts on Tennessee River. The one might prevent some Good, the other must be productive of

much Mischief, and this Province must neither spare Blood nor Treasure to prevent it, and I hope it may be done without great Expence of either, at least without the forcible Intervention of the Mother Country especially if the Provinces enter into a Confederacy, for it is probable that when the French see that we are proceeding regularly and unanimously, that is with united Councils, they will be too wise to measure their Strength with ours, well knowing that such a Combat must prove very unequal. 'Tis true we have no great Reason to congratulate ourselves upon any Measures that have hitherto been pursued, nor do I think there is any Appearance that we ever shall while we proceed in the Manner we now do, and until we have the Meeting that I have often proposed, for it is my Opinion that every single Step that has been taken is wrong, and when I sincerely think so, I know it is my Duty writing to a Secretary of State, to say so. It were criminal in me to commend when I think Things deserve Censure even Silence would be blamable more especially as the Province that I have the Honour to command might be greatly affected by the present Proceedings.

[107] But instead of animadverting on the Conduct of other Colonies, permit me Sir to propose a Plan that if it meets with his Majesty's Approbation will in my humble Opinion secure to his Majesty at a small Expence the Countries that seem to be the Cause of the present Contention betwixt the French and us. The Country lying betwixt the Atlantick Ocean and the Mississippi River is about 1000 Mile in Depth, that is to say from East to West; it is intersected by a Ridge of Mountains running from the North to South called in Virginia the Blue Mountains or the Allegany Mountains, and in this Province the Cherokee or Appalanthian Mountains. The Rivers that flow from the east Side of them have an easterly Course verging toward the South and after running 400 Miles fall into the Sea as those from the west Side after a much longer Course westerly fall into the Mississippi. Some of the most sensible and credible Cherokee Indians who have often traversd every Part of the Country both in going to War and Hunting describe it to me as the most delightful as well as the most fertile in the World, abounding with large extensive Plains and Savannahs swarming with Deer and Buffalo. I should be affraid to indulge myself with the Liberty of copying lest I should be thought to be drawing a Picture or painting a Landscape, Numbers of Rivulets water it, but it is the Bed principally of three great Rivers, Ouabash, Ohio, and Tennessee. This Last has its Rise in the Cherokee Nation and runs a great Way through it. These three Rivers after a Course as I have said of some hundred Miles, at Length mingle their friendly Streams together, and continuing united a considerable Way discharge themselves by one Mouth into the Mississippi. I have not rested satisfied with a verbal Discription of the Country from the Indians but have often made them trace the Rivers on the Floor with Chalk, and also on Paper, and it is surprizing how near they approach to our best Maps. [108] It would not be difficult to demonstrate the present Benefit that would accrue to Great Britain by peopling and settling the Country that I am speaking of, but all I plead for is that we may with the good Will of the Indians take and keep Possession of it by Forts. I have upon some former Occasions represented both

to the Secretary of State and to the Lords of Trade the Efforts of the French and their restless Endeavors to get some Footing near the Cherokees upon Tennessee River, and though I have hitherto been happy enough to defeat their Designs yet I may not be always so successful. I have foretold the Danger that threatened all the King's Colonies but particularly this Province; should they ever be permitted to have a Fort there, a Thing that they have long laboured, that this would secure to them the Overhills Towns, that these Towns command the whole Nation, and that if ever the French become Masters of the Cherokee Nation it would in my sincere Opinion render the Properties of his Majesty's Subjects in this Province very precarious.

[In] Consequence of my repeated Representations I received an Instruction under the Hands and Seals of their Excellencies, the Lords of the Regency, dated in June 1748 ordering me to enter into a Treaty with these Indians for the Purchase of a Spot of Ground over the Hills for building a Fort. This I accordingly did though it was sometime before I had an Opportunity, and of which I acquainted the Ministry, but as that Fort has never yet been built, I would now propose to treat with them for an actual Surrender of their whole Country, and that all the Lands as far as the Mississippi should be his Majesty's Property, and that they should execute an absolute Conveyance of it, and acknowledge themselves to be the King's Subjects. I have the less Doubt of being able to procure such a Deed because when I was there last Year and had purchased some Land on which I built a Fort a [109] principal [Headman] told me in the Presence of several other Headmen and of all the Gentlemen who were with me, that the Land that they had now given was not worth Acceptance, it was like a small Shred from a great Piece of Cloath, but that he himself would soon go round the whole Nation (naming the Towns) and get them to give up all their Land, at least I am pretty certain that I shall be able to prevail with them to enter into a solemn Agreement to hold their Lands of his Majesty as Head, and pay an annual Tribute of a few Deer Skins for his Protection, and as an Acknowledgment of him as their Superior and Lord, or it may be paid once in every King's Reign. When this Deed is executed I think it would be very proper to invite over some of the Headmen to England, and that they should be deputed by their Nation to do Homage to his Majesty; seven Headmen went to England in the Year 1730. The Lords of Trade in his Majesty's Name entered into a Treaty with them, and they were all received and entertained. This has been productive of many good Consequences ever since. These seven are all dead except one, who is a Man of great Note. He lately pressed me very earnestly before the Gentlemen of the Council, and many of the Headmen of his own Nation, to send him to England, and though I could [hardly] refuse him, as it is 24 Years since any of them were [there], yet I did not promise it as I had no Permission for so doing. I could pitch upon seven Persons very proper to [be?] sent to England, who now sway the Nation, while they [are among the English] they will be a sort of Pledge [for the good Behaviour] of their People at Home, and when they return I know they will keep them firm to their Engagements. Were any Part of the Country that I have mentioned possessed or claimed by other Indian Nations it might be

difficult to procure such a Surrender, but from the Town of Toquo, the westernmost of the Cherokee Nation, all along the River Tennessee on both Sides to the Mississippi which as I have said is near 600 Miles, and all between Tennessee and the Ohio, there is not the smallest Settlement, whether in former [Ages this] great Tract might not have been inhabited is uncertain, but if ever it was the several Tribes have been all conquered and destroyed by the Cherokees whose hunting Ground it has been time out of Mind so that we need fear no Disturbance from Indians, for we will be supported |110| and assisted by the Cherokees, [and] I know of no Indians that [choose to quarrel with] that great Nation. The Creeks indeed are nearly a Match for them, but I have lately made a firm Peace betwixt them, which is like to be a lasting one, and they will be as zealous as the Cherokees in promoting out Interest in that particular.

I would therefore humbly propose, that as soon as this Agreement can be made we should build two Forts at the Confluence of these three Rivers, one on the Neck of Land betwixt Tennessee and Ohio, and the other betwixt the Ohio and Ouabash, or perhaps it may be more advisable to erect one considerable Fortress below the Junction of these Rivers upon the south Side of their united Stream, before it falls into the Mississippi. The Fort could not be safely garrisoned with less than a Regiment. It would command these Rivers and all the Country, and absolutely cut off the Communication between Canada and Louisiana, for a single Cannoo could neither go down Tennessee, the Ohio, or Ouabash, nor pass up without Leave, and in case of any Rupture with France it would greatly [distress] New Orleans and their Trade which depend in a great Measure upon the Supplies of Flour and other Things that [come?] down the Mississippi from the [Illinois], a [Navigation] that would then be too hazardous to be [attempted].

I am in great hopes that this Fort might be built at the Expence of Great Britain, but if his Majesty is pleased to express his Pleasure, that it should be built by the Colonies, it might be done after the following Manner. If it cost for example £12000 Sterling which probably it might do, £3000 might be advanced by Virginia, an old, rich, and well settled Province, £3000 by Pennsylvania, a flourishing and very populous Province, the staple Commodity of which not being enumerated pays no Duty to the Crown, £2000 by this Province, which though perhaps a little above our Proportion I am persuaded would be cheerfully borne as it is |111| greatly interested, 2000 by New York, 1000 by North Carolina, and 1000 by Maryland, this Sum will be small to what I foresee this Expedition to the Northward will cost us, especially if it is carried on by little and little which seems to be the present Plan.

As the present Transactions to the Northward seems to be of the greatest Importance, and as I imagine the Government would have the clearest View of them by the Correspondence of the several Governors with the Government of Virginia I have taken the Liberty to lay before the Secretary of State most of the Letters that have passed from Time to Time between Governor Dinwiddie and me, and I now take the Liberty to enclose the Copy of a Letter received from him in May last dated the 15th of April, and a Letter from me to him dated the 1st of June. I have lately received another Letter from him

by Express which I have not had Time to have copied. He informs me of an Action that happened on the 3rd of July betwixt our Forces and the French in which there are these remarkable Words "The French have got the Advantage "by Capitulation," but refers me to a fuller Account of the Action to a *Virginia Gazette* inclosed which being reprinted in the *Carolina Gazettee* I take the Liberty to transmit it to you, and also Part of a Letter from me to Mr. Dinwiddie which I have read to the Council several Days agoe, from which you will learn the Sentiments of this Government upon the present State of Affairs. The Vessel that is to carry these Dispatches being already under Sail I have not Time to finish it. [I] think it my Duty to acquaint you that a few Hours agoe a Person arrived from Virginia who was in the Engagement and has made an Affidavit here confirming all my Suspicions to be too true that we never had above 60 Indians in our Interest in those Parts and that most of those have now joyned the French. The Half King and a few Fellows with some Women and Children making in the whole Men, Women, and Children about 50 or 60 had fled and had gone to live in Pensylvania, and |112| that all the Indians in those Parts and on the Ohio were entirely in the French Interest, and that our few Forces after the Engagement had returned having previously stipulated with the French not to be seen in that Country or on the Waters of the Ohio for a Year and a Day, that they had been obliged to leave two of their Captains as Hostages for the Delivery of some French Prisoners who were at Williams Burgh, and that after the Engagement above two thirds of the Virginia Regiment which never consisted of 200 Men including of Volunteers and Cadets of which there were many were returned Home refusing absolutely to continue any longer in the Service.

I am,

JAMES GLEN